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Diary of
Fernando del Bosque,
1675

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C O N T E N T S

Introduction	283
Sets out from Guadalupe	291
The Rio Grande del Norte	296
The Buffalo; Christian Instruction for Indians	398
San Pablo Ermitaño; the Return	305
Indians desire Instruction; Possible Settlements	308

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INTRODUCTION

In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the frontiers of New Spain had expanded northeastward as well as northward and northwestward. In the sixteenth century the three columns of advancing outposts had kept a nearly equal pace. In 1522 Cortés founded Pánuco, and by 1565 the advance up the central plateau had resulted in conquests as far to the northeast as Saltillo and perhaps as far as Monterey. Advance was now made again along the Gulf plain when in 1579 Luis de Carabajal was authorized to found the new Kingdom of Nuevo León. This province was to extend two hundred leagues north from Pánuco, thus embracing much territory now within the state of Texas. In (or by) 1583 Carabajal took a colony inland, opened the mines of San Gregorio, and founded the capital city of León, now Cerralvo, a few miles south of the Rio Grande. Within the next few years several points were settled between Cerralvo and Monterey, and in 1590 Carabajal founded the Villa de Almadén, where Monclova now stands. While there he was arrested by order of the Inquisition and taken to Mexico, leaving Castaño de Sosa in charge. But Sosa, as has been stated elsewhere, promptly deserted the place and led his colony to New Mexico. In 1603 and again in 1644 efforts were made to open the mines at Almadén, but without success, and Cerralvo remained the northeastern outpost.

Attention was drawn beyond this frontier, however, by various interests. There was frequent talk of establishing communication with Florida by land. To discover a rumored Silver Hill (Cerro de la Plata) somewhere to the north, several

attempts were made before 1650 from both Nuevo León and Nueva Vizcaya, but were frustrated by Indian hostilities. Soon after that date the pursuit of Indians led the frontier soldiery across the lower Rio Grande. In 1655, after long continued troubles, a troop of one hundred and three soldiers, supported by more than three hundred Indian allies, was led by Fernández de Azcué against the Cacaxtles. Going north from Monterey, at a place twenty-four leagues beyond the Rio Grande they encountered the enemy, slew a hundred warriors, and took seventy prisoners. This expedition made by Azcué is the first to cross the lower Rio Grande northward of which we have explicit information. And it was nearly twenty years more before another was made of which we have record.

Thus by 1670 the Spaniards had barely broken over the Rio Grande below the Pecos. Now, however, another forward step was taken, the frontier of settlement pushed northeastward, Coahuila founded, and missionary work extended beyond the Rio Grande. The pioneers in this advance were the missionaries; their leader was Father Juan Larios, a Franciscan friar of the province of Santiago de Jalisco, whose headquarters were at Guadalajara.

The principal factor in bringing this movement about was the Indian situation. The needs of the frontier settlements demanded that the Indians of the Coahuila be pacified. Not only the settlements of Nuevo León, but also those of Nueva Vizcaya, and even of Nueva Galicia, were greatly troubled by the tribes of the Coahuila district and of the region beyond the Rio Grande. The roads between the frontier outposts were unsafe for travellers, while mines and ranches were being abandoned. On the other hand, it is clear that for several years some of the Indians of Coahuila and even from beyond the Rio Grande had been asking for missionaries, and, under what influences we do not know, had sent messengers to Saltillo, Parral, Guadalajara, and Mexico City to seek them.

While on one of these journeys to Guadalajara they came into contact with Father Larios, whom they begged to go to aid them.

In response to this call Father Larios went in 1670 to the troubled Coahuila frontier, where he seems to have remained alone for some three years. Returning to Guadalajara for help, in 1673 he went again to Coahuila, accompanied by Father Dionysio de Peñasco and Fray Manuel de la Cruz, a lay brother. Aided by soldiers from Saltillo under Captain Elisondo, early in 1674 they founded of the roving tribes two Indian settlements, one on the Sabinas River and one to the northward of that stream. On one of his missionary trips made at this time Fray Manuel is known to have crossed the Rio Grande, where he came into contact with the Yrbipiamas, Gueiquesales, and Boboles.

Thus far the conquest had been only "en lo espiritual." But in May, 1674, Don Antonio Balcárcel Riva de Neira Sotomayor was made *alcalde mayor* of the province of Coahuila, or Nueva Estremadura, and charged with its conquest and settlement. At the same time the missionary field was more completely organized. In November Balcárcel set out from Saltillo with settlers, stock, implements, and provisions, and a following of Coahuila Indians. Balcárcel's lieutenant was Fernando del Bosque, who had been with Elisondo. Father Larios, who now had the title of *comisario* of the missions, met Balcárcel a few leagues out. Fray Manuel was also with the party, as well as Father Dionysio de San Buenaventura, a new missionary. Father Peñasco does not appear in the records till the following April; he may have remained in the missionary field while Father Larios made preparations for larger work.

Beginning at a point twenty leagues from Saltillo, which point was regarded as the border of Coahuila, Balcárcel ceremoniously took possession of all the important watering places

on the way, till on the 23d he reached the site of thrice deserted Nuevo Almadén. This place he selected as the head of his jurisdiction, and the site of a city called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, province of Nueva Estremadura. Municipal officers were elected, crops planted, ditches opened, a church begun, and by February 25 the outlines of a civil settlement were complete.

Meanwhile Father Larios and Fray Manuel were sent out to assemble the northern Indians with a view to establishing them in pueblos. In the course of the next five months they brought in the chiefs, sometimes with followers, of band after band, who made submission, received pardon for past wrongs, and were promised aid. By the end of April an Indian settlement, called Pueblo de la Luna, had been founded near Guadalupe. It was designed in the first place for the Bobole following, but as other bands arrived they were temporarily added to it, until the host was found to be too great and composed of too many hostile elements to be cared for on one spot.¹

By this time, moreover, because of the declarations of the chiefs concerning the great number of Indians beyond the Rio Grande, especially near Sierra Dacate, of the petitions which they brought from their bands, and of the aversion of the different groups toward settling together, it was decided before proceeding further to send an expedition across the Rio Grande, to learn the facts of the Indian situation.

Being in ill health himself, Balcárcel entrusted the mission to Fernando del Bosque. Besides Fathers Larios and San

¹ For a sketch of the expansion of the northeastern frontier of New Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Bolton, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-1690," in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVI. 11-17. See also Alonso DeLeón, *Historia de Nuevo León* (Mexico, 1909); Estéban L. Portillo, *Apuntes para la Historia Antigua de Coahuila y Texas* (Saltillo, 1888); E. J. González, *Lecciones Orales de Historia de Nuevo León* (Monterey, 1887); E. J. González, *Colección de Noticias y Documentos para la Historia del Estado de Nuevo León* (Monterey, 1885); Alejandro Prieto, *Historia, Geografía y Estadística del Estado de Tamaulipas* (Mexico, 1873).

Buenaventura, who went to take ecclesiastical possession of the country, Bosque was ordered to take ten Spaniards, Lázaro Agustín, governor of the Pueblo de la Luna and interpreter, the Bobole chief, Juan de la Cruz, accompanied by twenty-one of his men, and one hundred Gueiquesale warriors, these to be recruited beyond the Nadadores. He was to go as far as the Sierra Dacate (Sacatsol) or farther, if necessary, to take royal possession, see the Indians, aid the missionaries, and bring back a full report.

On the same day that he received his instructions Bosque set out northward, which direction, according to his diary, he continued to follow to the end of his journey. His return was by a more westward route. Of each of the stopping places on the way he took possession, giving it a name, while the missionaries set up a portable altar which they carried, said mass, and instructed the Indians whom they encountered.

In regard to the names and numbers of Indians no details are given before the crossing of the Rio Grande, Bosque's objective point being the country beyond. The distances given in the diary are thirty leagues to the Sabinas, thirty-one from that stream to the Rio Grande, nineteen to Sierra Dacate, and twenty-three leagues beyond that point to San Pablo, the last place reached. From the statements regarding directions and relative distances to the Sabinas and the Rio Grande, it is inferred that the route was northeast, toward Eagle Pass or above. The Ona River, crossed eleven leagues beyond the Rio Grande, was in all probability a branch of the Nueces, and it seems not improbable that the Sierra Dacate was the present Anacacho Mountain, and that San Pablo, the limit of the journey, was in Edwards County.¹

North of the Rio Grande, Bosque and Larios encountered Indians of the Yorica, Jeapa, Bibit, Pinanaca, Xaaser, Teni-

¹ From other data we know that Sierra Sacatsol was between San Juan Bautista and the Pecos.

mama, Cocoma, Xoman, Teroodan, Teaname, Teimamar, Gueiquesale, and Geniocane tribes, some of whom lived on the other side but had crossed over to hunt buffalo. Among the Gueiquesales he rescued a Spanish boy who had lived among the Indians so long that he had forgotten his own language.

Returning to Guadalupe in June, Bosque reported that the country, so far as he had seen it, comprised three chains of settlements. That extending northward from Guadalupe on the left hand was of the following of Chief Estéban, Gueiquesale; the middle one comprised the followers of the Bobole chief, Juan de la Cruz; that on the right, or to the northeast, was of the Catujane following. Other reports added a fourth group lying to the northwest, under the leadership of the Salineros, but included by Bosque in the Gueiquesale following. In view of their great numbers, of their racial differences, and of their hostility toward each other, Bosque recommended three principal settlements, independent and separate, served by twelve missionaries, and kept in order by a *presidio* of not less than seventy soldiers.

The Bosque-Larios expedition across the Rio Grande, though not great in size or extent, was important in its bearings. Taken with the preliminary reconnaissance of Fray Manuel de la Cruz a few months before, it is the earliest well-authenticated missionary expedition on record to cross the Rio Grande from the south at any point below the Pecos. Bosque's report on the Indian situation is one of the most valuable extant for the region and period. As a result of the reports and recommendations of Bosque and Father Larios, four missions were soon established in the Coahuila district, to serve Indians living to the north as well as to the south of the Rio Grande. And now the Tejas, Indians living far on the Louisiana border, rose above the Coahuila horizon. In 1676 the Bishop of Guadalajara visited Monclova, and one of the reasons which he gave for favoring the adoption of the

measures urged by Bosque was the opportunity it would afford to reach and convert the more important Tejas, beyond.

The principal source of information for the Bosque-Larios expedition is a manuscript in the archives of Saltillo, Coahuila, entitled: "Autos de la conquista de la Prov^a de Coahuila hecha en este año por D. Antonio Balcarcel, Alc^o Mayor de ella: gente que condujo: asiento y fundacion de la ciudad de N. Sra. de Guadalupe Prov^a de la Nva. Extremadura a 8 de Dbre de dho año (hoy Monclova): Religiosos que lo acompañaron en esta empresa: conversiones de las naciones barbaras que encontraron: Expedicion de Fernando del Bosque, Ten^{te} de Alc^o Mayor a la parte del Norte: descubrim^{to} de la tierra y nombres que puso á los diversos parajes en que estubo, hasta la otra banda del Rio g^o del Norte. Ereccion de las primeras misiones y naciones de que compusieron. Tiene este Quad^{no} 64 foxas sin 19 que le faltan al principio, y quedan en 45 utiles" (Archivo de la Secretaría de Gobierno del Estado de Coahuila, legajo no. 1, Años 1688 á 1736).

This document consists of the original records (*autos*) of the preparation of the Balcárcel expedition, the march to the site of abandoned Nuevo Almadén, the founding there of the City of Guadalupe and of Pueblo de la Luna, the Bosque-Larios expedition, and some subsequent events. These *autos* are followed by copies of the original records of the preparation of Father Larios at Guadalajara and Saltillo for his expedition in 1673, and of his expedition with Elisondo to Coahuila in 1673-1674. They contain also a report by Balcárcel dated July 6, 1675, to the audiencia of Guadalajara. In 1888 these documents were printed, with essential completeness, but with numerous minor inaccuracies, in Esteban L. Portillo's *Apuntes para la Historia Antigua de Coahuila y Texas*, pp. 44-181. In 1903 an abstract of the *autos* of the Bosque expedition across the Rio Grande was printed in the *National Geographic Magazine* (XIV. 339-348), as "Translated from an Old Unpublished

Spanish Manuscript by Betty B. Brewster." Presumably the translator used the manuscript in the archives at Saltillo, since it is evident that she had not seen the printed version which had appeared in the same city fifteen years before. The introduction preceding that translation gives a brief abstract of a part of the earlier documents, but besides containing grave inaccuracies it conveys no idea of the bearing of the expedition. The translation is likewise unsatisfactory. It is very much abbreviated, especially in the difficult places. While it gives most of the essentials with general accuracy, it is exceedingly free and inexact in matters of detail. A new translation, therefore, has been made.

DIARY OF FERNANDO DEL BOSQUE, 1675¹

IN the province of Nueva Estremadura de Quaguila, on the 30th day of April, 1675, I, Fernando de el Bosque, lieutenant *alcalde mayor*² of the province, its settlements and conquest, and its royal ensign, acting as notary public, according to orders, there being no public or royal notary within more than one hundred leagues, set out this day from the city of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, of said province, in fulfillment of the orders of Captain Don Antonio de Balcarcel Riba de Neira Sotomaior, *alcalde mayor* of said province, which appear in an *auto*³ which he drew this day (and which is filed in the original *autos* of settlement and conquest) arising from the petition of Pablo, Indian chief of the nation of Manosprietas, and the other nations from the Rio del Norte and its vicinity,⁴ and the rest contained in the *auto* to which I refer.

And having set out with the Spaniards and governor, captain, ensign, and the Indians of the pueblo of San Miguel de Luna, of said city, and in company with the fathers, the commissary missionary,⁵ Fray Juan Larios, and Fray Dionisio de San Buena Ventura, chaplain of said conquest, of the order of the Seraphic San Francisco; and having travelled down the river⁶ from said city toward the north, I arrived at a place which they said was called Pajarito, on said river, about six leagues from said city. Finding it unoccupied and uninhabited, and with no sign of having formerly been inhabited, I took royal possession in the name of the King, our Lord Carlos II., God preserve him. I took said possession in legal form,

¹ "Autos de la conquista de la Prov^a de Coahuila" (manuscript in the Archivo de la Secretaría de Gobierno del Estado de Coahuila, legajo no. 1, Años 1688 á 1736).

² *Teniente de alcalde mayor*. "Lieutenant" is a rather free translation for *teniente*, and yet in this case it conveys the essential meaning.

³ An *auto* is a judicial act, such as a decree, writ, or legalized record. In the following pages the meaning is usually conveyed by "legal record."

⁴ They had asked to be settled in missions.

⁵ *Comisario misionero*.

⁶ Río de Monclova, which runs through Monclova.

made a legal record,¹ ordered a high wooden cross erected, and walked over the place and along the bank of the river, in which I saw many fish, some of which they caught, to which I certify. And I named the place San Felipe de Jesus; and in order that it may always be known I set it down in a legal record, which I signed with the assisting witnesses, namely Ambrosio de Berlanga and Diego Luis Sanches; and the said fathers, the commissary missionary and the chaplain, being witnesses, also signed it. FERNANDO DE EL BOSQUE (rubric); Ambrosio Berlanga (rubric), witness; Diego Luis Sanches (rubric), witness; Fray JUAN LARIOS (rubric); Fray DIONYSIO DE SAN BUENA VENTURA (rubric).

In said province, on the 2d day of the month of May of said year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor* of said conquest and its settlements, having already left the post of San Felipe de Jesus on the first day of this month, and always travelling toward the north and down the river, in company with the said fathers, the commissary missionary Fray Juan Larios, and Chaplain Fray Dionisio de San Buena Ventura, the Spaniards, the governor, and Indians, arrived and saw at about four leagues, apparently, that this river joined another. And travelling along it toward the north, having on the right hand and toward the sunrise some large hills with sharp peaks of rock, like sugar loaves, and passing beyond them, I arrived at the ford of a river called Nadadores.² Finding it unpossessed and uninhabited I took formal possession of all of it in the king's name. I walked over the ground and made a legal record; this day Christian instruction was given to the Indians; they caught fish from the river, which carries much water. It has cottonwoods and many mesquite trees on its banks. It is distant from San Felipe about ten leagues. I had a high wooden cross erected on the bank of the river, and named the ford and post San Francisco del Paso. I certify that I saw taken from the river large catfish, bream, *mojarros*, tortoises, mud-turtles, *bobos*, and eels, and had them in my hands.³

¹ *Hise auto.*

² Still so called.

³ In this and the following entries the formal statements about signing have been omitted to save space, since they are practically identical with that in the foregoing entry.

In said province, on the 4th of the said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, set out from San Francisco del Paso de Nadadores in the company of the fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, and of the Spaniards, the governor, and Indians; and having crossed said river, and journeying north, keeping always on the left a high, long mountain range which forms what resembles a chain, and runs from south to north,¹ and having travelled apparently about four leagues, I arrived at an arroyo near a long hill, which flows apparently from west to east and has running water, for which reason, the Indians said, it was called in their language Toporica.² I took possession of it in the royal name for said settlement and conquest, in witness whereof I had a high wooden cross erected, made a legal record, and named it Santa Crus.

In said province, on said day, month, and year, I the said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out from the post of Santa Crus in said company, and having journeyed toward the north about four leagues, with the mountains on the same hand as before, arrived at an arroyo which is at the foot of a hill and in front of a little peak like a nipple.³ In it I found running water and a growth of tule. I took possession of it in the royal name for said settlement and conquest, and named it Santa Catalina Martir.⁴ As evidence of possession I had a high wooden cross erected, made a legal record, and performed other necessary legal acts. Instruction was given to the Indians. I found this post and the former uninhabited.

In said province, on the 5th day of the said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, left the post and watering place of Santa Catalina Martir in company with the fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and, having journeyed apparently about six leagues toward the north, keeping the mountain range on the

¹ Probably the Sierra de Obayas, which lies between Río Nadadores and Río Aura, and trends from northwest to southeast. Between Río Aura and Río de Sabinas the mountains are called Sierra de Santa Rosa.

² Evidently Río Aura.

³ At about this point there is a branch of the Río Nadadores flowing from Sierra de Santa Rosa.

⁴ St. Catharine the Martyr.

same hand, I arrived at a large river, very beautiful with many groves of very large cedars, cottonwoods, and mesquite brush, and with great plains of land which are very pleasing with green grass. I found it unoccupied and uninhabited. The Indians said it was called Rio de las Savinas,¹ and in their language Muero. Of it I took possession in the royal name, for said settlement and conquest, and named it San Antonio. And as evidence of possession I made a legal record, and ordered erected a high wooden cross. In this river are fish of all kinds in abundance. They caught *piltontes*, bream, and catfish; and the Christian doctrine was taught to the Indians by the commissary.

In said province, on the 7th day of said month and year I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out in company with the fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and having travelled northward apparently about twelve leagues from San Antonio de las Sabinas, arrived at a post and watering place which the Indians said was called San Yldefonso.² Finding it unoccupied and uninhabited, with only some ruins of two grass huts, already almost rotten,³ I took royal possession of it in the name of his Majesty, for said settlement and conquest, in witness whereof I made a legal record, and ordered a high wooden cross erected.

In said province, on the 8th day of said month and year,⁴ I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, set out in company with the fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, from said post of San Yldefonso, and having travelled northward apparently about seven leagues, I arrived at a watering place where there was plentiful water, with wide plains, in the middle of which was much mesquite, and which I found unoccupied and uninhabited. The said Indians said that in their language it was called Cocomarque Jojona. I took possession of it in the name of his Majesty

¹ Río de Sabinas, called Salado lower down.

² San Yldefonso.

³ Perhaps the remains of the mission settlement established in the previous year by Father Larios.

⁴ In the Brewster translation the entry for May 8 is omitted, but a part of it is run into that for May 7. In this way one day's march is lost.

for said settlement and conquest, and named it San Juan Evangelista;¹ and as evidence of possession I made a legal record, and ordered a high wooden cross erected. Christian instruction was given to the Indians by said father commissary.

In said province, on the 9th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, set out in company with said fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, from the post of San Juan Evangelista, and having travelled northward apparently about six leagues, through some plains with mesquite groves, I arrived at a watering place consisting of a marsh with a growth of tule, among some low hills having oak trees. Finding it unoccupied and uninhabited, I took possession of it in the name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest and named it San Reymundo de Peña Forte de Fuertes Aires; and in evidence of possession I made a legal record and ordered a high wooden cross erected. Religious instruction was given to the Indians by Father Fray Dionisio de San Buenabentura.

In said province, on the 10th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, set out from said post of San Reymundo in company with said fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and having journeyed northward apparently about three leagues, I arrived at a river which runs from west to east, which the Indians said was called El Agua Asul.² In it there are many fish of all kinds. It is very pleasing to the sight, having many cottonwoods, willows, mesquites and *guisaches*,³ and wide plains with very green grass. Finding it unoccupied and uninhabited, I took possession of it in the name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest, and named it San Jocefe⁴ River. As evidence of possession I made a legal record and ordered a high wooden cross erected; and religious instruction was given to the Indians by the fathers.

In said province, on the 11th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, set out from the post and San Jocefe River in company with the fathers commissary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and having travelled northward apparently about three leagues through

¹ St. John the Evangelist.

² The blue water.

³ A small shrub.

⁴ St. Joseph.

plains with much mesquite, and with fine pastures of green grass, I arrived at a very copious and very wide river, with a current more than four hundred *varas* across, which the Indians said was called Rio del Norte. I found it unoccupied and uninhabited, with only rancherías of Indians, consisting of dwellings of grass huts after their custom. Having passed up stream in search of a ford and not having found one, as it is very deep, the said Indians decided to take us across at a place where the river forms three branches.¹ It was necessary to make a raft of poles to cross the middle one, having forded the first, which is more than two hundred *varas* wide and a *vara* and a half deep, with the water above the stirrup and near the hind bow of the saddle, with a current the whole width, and with willow and osier brush on a little island which is in the middle. On its banks it is very pleasing, and it had many fish, such as catfish, *piltontes*, very large turtles, and eels, all of which kinds were caught in my presence, and which, I certify, I took in my hands. I took royal possession of the river and its territory in the name of his Majesty. It runs, apparently, from west to east. And for said settlement and conquest I named it San Buena Ventura River; and as evidence of possession I made a legal record and ordered a high wooden cross erected; and religious instruction was given to the Indians by the father chaplain.

In said province, on the 13th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, set out from said Rio de San Buenaventura del Norte in company with said fathers commissary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and having travelled northward apparently about four leagues, I arrived at an arroyo between hills, where I found fifty-four adult heathen Indians of the Yorica and Jeapa nations, loaded with tierces of jerked buffalo meat. I had them examined through interpretation of Don Lasaro Augustin, the governor, who is versed in their language and in Castilian; and having asked many questions, they said that they came to kill buffaloes and get meat for sustenance for themselves and their families and rancherías, since they were obliged, through having no food in the places where they lived, to come to seek it

¹ Evidently a place where the river widened out and formed islands. The Rio Grande is notable for its shifting back and forth.

at a distance; that they were numerous, but could not say exactly how many; that they wished to be Christians and settled in a pueblo, and that the religious should give them Christian instruction; that through fear of other nations, their enemies, they have not come out to seek it, but wander at a distance; that the enemies had killed one of them, and that the ones who did it were of the Ocane, Pataguaque, and Yurbipame nations; and that as evidence that they were obedient to the King our lord, they would go with me to the place where the Indian nations of the Sierra Dacate y Yacazole¹ are, and would send to their rancherías to have them come out to a place where they might be given Christian instruction. Of this place I took royal possession in the name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest, and in evidence of it I made a legal record, and ordered a high wooden cross erected. Christian instruction was given to all the Indians by said father chaplain, and I named said post San Gregorio Nasianseno.

In said province, on the 14th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out in company with the fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, both those who came from the city of Guadalupe and the Yoricas and Jeapas mentioned in the preceding *auto*, and having travelled from the post of San Gregorio Nasianseno about three leagues toward the north, arrived at a watering place in a plain without any trees except mesquite groves. Finding it unoccupied and uninhabited I took royal possession of it in the name of his Majesty, and named it San Bisente Ferrer;² and Christian instruction was given to said Indians by said commissary missionary.

In said province and in said post of San Bisente Ferrer on

¹ It seems quite possible that the Sierra Dacate (Yacasol, Sacatsol, Yacatsol), was Anacacho Mountain. Early in the eighteenth century Captain Diego Ramón pursued Indians above San Juan Bautista, and having crossed the hills called "Yacatsol" he reached wide plains and beyond them the Pecos River. Thus the Sierra Yacasol was between San Juan Bautista and the Pecos ("Relación del P^e Hidalgo De la Quivira," MS.). Assuming the word Yacasol to have been accented on the penult, "Yacásol," it would approach Anacácho in sound. Father Massanet stated in 1690 that Sacatsol meant "stone nostrils" (see his letter, p. 356).

² San Vicente Ferrer.

said day, month, and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, certify and testify that in my presence there were killed by said Indians and Spaniards three buffalo bulls and two buffalo cows for the people to eat. The meat is very savory. The form of the buffalo is very ugly. Although large, they resemble cows and bulls. Their hair is shaggy. The withers are very high, making them appear humpbacked, and their necks are large. The head is short and very shaggy, so that the wool covers the eyes and prevents them from seeing well. The horns are small and thick, but like those of the bull. The hips and haunches are like those of a hog, and the tail is bare except at the end, where there are long bristles. The hoofs are cloven, and at the knees and from there up to the shoulder there is much bristle-like hair, like he-goats. The females are of the same sort and have four teats. They gaze at the people sidewise like wild hogs, with hair abristle. They are of the size of cattle.

In said post of San Bisente Ferrer, on said day, month, and year, before me, Fernando de el Bosque, lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, appeared Juan, an Indian of the Bibit nation, and chief of it, and said that he was a Christian, having been baptized at the Villa of Saltillo, and another Indian, a heathen, who said he was chief of the Jume nation. I examined them through interpretation of Don Lasaro Augustin, who speaks their language and Castilian. And having asked them various questions, they said that for a long time they had desired to be Christians, and that some of them, having gone to the Villa of Saltillo, had succeeded, but that to the rest it had been impossible, because of being distant and unable to take out their people, of whom many had died from smallpox without receiving the water of baptism; and that they requested this, and desired to settle in pueblos and be under instruction in the Christian doctrine; and that they have not gone to do this or been able to join with the rest of the people of their nation through fear of other barbarian tribes, who kill them. The people whom they brought numbered one hundred and five persons, large and small, including women and children. Present at all this were the father commissary missionary, Fray Juan Larios, and Chaplain Fray Dionisio de San Buenaventura, who signed with me and with the witnesses as-

sisting me, who were Ambrosio de Berlanga and Diego Luis Sanches.

In said post of San Bisente Ferrer, on said day, month and year, before me, said Lieutenant, came and appeared six adult Indians who said they were heathen of the Pinanaca, Xaesser, Tenimama, and Cocoma nations, of the band of Don Esteban Gueiquesal. I had them examined through interpretation of Don Lasaro Augustin, who knows both Castilian and their language; and having asked them what they had come for, they said to see me in the name of their chiefs and to render obedience to his Majesty, thus ratifying that rendered by Don Esteban in their name; and to let it be known that they are waiting to be Christians and to live under instruction in the Christian doctrine, and to settle in a pueblo; and that all their people and others remain in the Sierra de Matoat.

In said province on the 15th day of said month and year I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out from said post of San Vicente Ferrer in company with said fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and having journeyed toward the north, and arrived at a river which is distant from the post of San Vicente apparently about four leagues, and which the Indians said was called in their language Ona, which in Spanish means salty, took royal possession in the name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest, in witness whereof I had a high wooden cross erected, had a legal record made, and named the place San Ysidro Labrador. This place has many groves of oak and mesquite; there are many buffalo; the country has fine pastures; and there are many fish in the river, which I found unoccupied and uninhabited.

In said province, on said day, month, and year, in said post of San Ysidro, before me, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, appeared the chiefs Xoman, Teroodan, Teaname, and Teimamar, with their people. I had them examined through sworn interpreters who understand their language, Mexican,¹ and Castilian, namely Don Lasaro Augustin, governor of the pueblo of San Miguel de Luna of the city of Guadalupe of this province, and an Indian named Pasqual. Various questions having been asked of these chiefs, each one separately, they said

¹ Aztec is probably meant here.

unanimously and in agreement that they were heathen; that in their lives they [never]¹ had seen Spaniards; and had lived as heathen without knowledge that there was a God, or who He was, and without knowledge of the true way to salvation, and in the dark regarding it; that they wished to be Christians and be baptized, with their children and wives, and to live as such in a pueblo or pueblos where they might place them, so that while they, being old, would not enjoy it, their children would enjoy it and be reared as Christians, but that they would continue in the same way;² and that at once they were rendering and did render obedience to his Majesty the King our lord Don Carlos the Second; and that they would be friends of the Spaniards. Thereupon they shouted "Viva, viva, viva,³ the King our lord!"

Seeing this, and that they appeared to be eager and to give signs of sincerity, I received them in the King's name under the royal protection, and assured them in the name of his Majesty that peace should not be withheld from them, but that what had been promised on his part would be fulfilled. And I ordered them to live quiet and peaceful and to come to be taught the Christian doctrine in the place most convenient for that purpose, both because of the remoteness of their dwelling places, and because of some dissensions which the nations of Indians, as barbarous natives of this country, have with one another, and as a result of which they kill each other; and because they have nothing with which to sustain so many people, until his Majesty provides what may please him, in order to settle them in the most convenient place.

This being understood by the chiefs, they replied through the interpreters that they would comply. And at once their people approached, and both men and women devotedly kissed the sleeves of the habits of the fathers, the commissary missionary, Fray Juan Larios, and chaplain Fray Dionisio de San Buenabentura; and they asked permission to give them as alms something of what they possessed, as a mark of gratitude to God for having opened to them the way to the truth. And

¹ Both my transcript from the original and the Portillo version omit the negative, but I feel confident from the sense that it is intended.

² That is, the old people would remain heathen.

³ "Long live the King our lord."

at once they began throwing things upon the ground, some a piece of tallow, others hides or skins of animals, of the kind with which they clothe themselves or cover themselves, and in which they sleep. To all of this I certify.

In said post and river of San Ysidro of said province, its settlement and conquest, on the 16th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, certify that this day there was erected in said post a portable altar, and that it was prepared to say mass; and at a signal made with a small bell the people came to hear it. It was chanted by the father commissary missionary, Fray Juan Larios, and was attended by all the people. After it was concluded they asked the said father to baptize them; and when they were given to understand by him through an interpreter that he could not baptize them until they knew their prayers, to console them he baptized fifty-five infants, the Spaniards acting as their god-fathers. They were instructed in the doctrine and counted, and the people of the four chiefs named in the preceding *auto* were found to comprise four hundred and twenty-five warriors¹ and seven hundred and forty-seven women, boys, and girls, of all ages, making in all eleven hundred and seventy-two persons.

In said post of San Ysidro, on said day, month, and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, put the father commissary, Fray Juan Larios, in possession of his office and of the administration in said post, in virtue of a royal provision and of licenses, as is stated and appears in them, and to which I refer. Of this legal record was made in his despatches, following the rest of the ecclesiastical despatches regarding this settlement.

On said day, month, and year, in said post, before me, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, a heathen Indian of the Gueiquesal nation, made a demonstration and brought to my presence a Spanish boy apparently about twelve years of age, with a black streak on his face running from the forehead to the nose, and two on the cheeks, one on each, like o's, and many rows of them on the left arm and one on the right. And having examined said Indian, through the interpretation of Don Lasaro Agustin, versed in their language and in Castilian, and through an Indian named Pasqual, likewise versed in it, and

¹ *De arco y flecha, i. e.*, carrying, or capable of carrying bow and arrow.

asking him where he had got him, he replied that his mother had raised him, he having been given by her to the Cavesas many years ago; that they had told him that they had brought him with others from Yndee, near Parral; and that although they loved him like a brother, and were keeping him in this place, they would give him to me as a sign of friendship for the Spaniards, and that he might be sent to his relatives. The boy was not examined for the present to learn what other Spaniards they have, because he cannot speak the Castilian language. The Indian was asked if there were other Spanish boys among the Indians. He replied that all he knew was that at the time when they brought the boy the Cavezas brought another boy and a Spanish girl; that they killed the boy with arrows, having made him stand up for the purpose; that when the boy saw this he took a cross in his hands and began to say his prayers, and was praying till he died; that the Spanish girl they brought with them likewise, as a servant, and because during an expedition which the Cabezas made to rob and kill, they killed one of their companions, they¹ captured and shot her with arrows until she died, leaving her lying where she fell; that two years later they passed by there and found her just as they had left her, the body being undecayed and the animals not having eaten it.² In view of this they took it and carried it to a cave, where it now is; and that it has long hair; that he knows no more, and that this is the truth.

In said province, on the 18th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out from the post of San Ysidro in company with the fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and having travelled about eight leagues northward, and having arrived at a post and small river which they said was called Dacate, and finding it unoccupied and uninhabited, took royal possession of it in the name of his Majesty, and named it San Bernardino, in testimony of which I made a legal record and ordered a high wooden cross erected. This day there came before me Chief Geniocane, a heathen Indian, who said that

¹ It is not clear from the syntax who did the killing.

² Stories of miraculous happenings of this particular sort were common in New Spain.

he was awaiting the religious with his people at another place farther on, that they might give them Christian instruction and catechise them in it; that the reason why he and his people had not come out was the multitude of enemies on the way who would not let them pass to seek aid; and that over this matter they were killing each other. In view of this and of their petition to the religious, it was decided to give them the consolation of the spiritual nourishment of Christian instruction.

In said province, on the 20th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out from the post of San Bernardino in company with said fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, the Spaniards, governor and Indians, and having travelled about eight leagues northward, the Indians of the Geniocane nation having come out to meet us and the rest of the Indians on the way, I arrived at the ranchería, or camp, at an arroyo between some hills where there are many grapevines like wild grape stocks, many being like vineyards, the green fruit being large like that of Castile. In this place I took royal possession in the name of his Majesty, in testimony whereof and for said settlement and conquest I made a legal record and ordered a high wooden cross erected, Christian instruction being given the Indians by Father Fray Dionisio de San Buenaventura.

In the said province and in the place named above, which I called San Jorje, on the 21st day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, certify that this day the father commissary missionary ordered an altar erected, and at it Father Fray Dionisio de San Buenaventura said mass. It was attended by the Geniocane Indians and the rest, and after it was concluded they were taught the doctrine by the father commissary missionary. They were counted and there were found sixty-five adult Indians and one hundred and thirteen Indian women, boys, and girls, making a total of one hundred and seventy-eight persons of this nation of Geniocanes. They told the father commissary missionary that they wished to be Christians, and he consoled them by saying that they should learn to pray and he would baptize them. This day the father commissary missionary took official possession, of which I made a legal record in the original *autos* of his despatches.

In said post of San Jorje, on the 23d day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having seen that there are many nations of Indians who are asking to be Christians and who wish to settle in pueblos, since their chiefs come to me every day to ask it; and being so far from the city of Guadalupe; and because some are hostile to others; and because all ask instruction in the Christian doctrine at the same time; and because when they come together over their barbarous discords they kill each other like barbarians; and since the country thus far seen is divided into three tiers of settlements, according to the custom of such people, the one extending from the city of Guadalupe northward on the left hand obeying and following Don Esteban Gueiquesal, the one in the middle being devoted to Juan de la Crus, chief of the Bobole nation, and the one on the right hand including the Catujanos, Tilijaes, Apes, Pachaques, and their chiefs, all being very numerous; and to obviate dissensions among these natives, since all desire religious and Spaniards; and there being only hostility among them in the district seen; and not having force to prevent their plans, I decided to return to the city of Guadalupe to report to the *alcalde mayor*, counting if possible on the way back the people of said Don Esteban which are lacking, in order that in view of the report he may provide what is best for the service of both Majesties. And I ordered said nation of Jeniocanes to await in the place which would be the most convenient to them for their conversion and quietude.

In said province, on the 25th day of the said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out from the post of San Jorje in company with the father commissary missionary, the chaplain, Spaniards, governor, and Indians, and having travelled about fourteen leagues northward, arrived at a small arroyo with heavy timber, between some knolls and high hills like nipples, where I took possession in the name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest, naming the place San Pablo Ermitaño.¹ In witness thereof I made a legal record, and ordered a high wooden cross erected, instruction being given to the people by Father Fray Dionissio de San Buenaventura. And I ordered the nations of Indians of the four chiefs mentioned in the record² of the post of San

¹ Saint Paul the Hermit.

²Auto.

Ysidro, of the faction of Don Esteban and his following, to remain quiet in their country and live good lives, without killing each other, and to join with the other followers of their great chief. On hearing this they said they could comply, and remained awaiting a religious who should go to instruct them until they should settle in a pueblo.

In said province, on the 29th of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having set out from the post of San Pablo Ermitaño to return to the city of Guadalupe in company with the governor and Indians, arrived at another place on the River of San Buenabentura del Norte,¹ where I found part of the Bobole Indians with their women and children. They were killing buffalo for food, and it was some time since they had gone out to their pueblo and settlement.² I ordered them to go to it, which in fact they did, joining their chief and the rest of their nation. They were taught the doctrine by said father commissary missionary, and I made a legal record of it, which I signed with said fathers and witnesses.

In said province, on the 1st day of June of said year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having already set out from the San Buenabentura River, in company with said fathers commissary and chaplain, Spaniards, and Indians, and having travelled about twenty leagues to the west, arrived at a river which they said was called the Nueses,³ where I found chiefs Bacora and Pinanaca, at some springs formed at a river with many walnuts and other kinds of trees. Here I took royal possession in the name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest. As evidence of it I made a legal record and ordered a high wooden cross erected, the doctrine being taught to the people by the father commissary missionary, who ordered an altar erected in a bower, and that Father Fray Dionisio de San Buenabentura should say mass. This concluded, at the sound of a little bell the people again said the creed. The people of Captain Bacora were counted and were found to

¹ Evidently higher up than the place where it was crossed before. It is clear that Bosque's march beyond the Rio Grande was northward instead of eastward.

² That is, Pueblo de Luna.

³ This was evidently a stream flowing eastward into the Rio Grande. The stream now called San Diego on some maps fits the conditions fairly well; if it was higher up, La Zorra might answer.

comprise one hundred and fifty persons, sixty-two warriors and eighty-eight women and children. In this post possession was given him¹ of that which concerns his administration, and I made a legal record of it in the original *autos* of ecclesiastical possessions.

In said province, on the 5th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having already set out from the River of Santa Clara de las Nueses in company of said fathers missionary commissary and chaplain, Spaniards and Indians, and having journeyed about fourteen leagues to the south and toward the city of Guadalupe, arrived at a river where I found the Gueiquesal and Manosprietas people. I took royal possession in the name of his Majesty and named the place San Diego,² and mass was said by the father commissary. The people were counted and found to comprise three hundred and eighty-seven persons, one hundred and three warriors and two hundred and eighty-four women, boys and girls. They said that of the rest of the men some were killing buffalo and others were with their chief, Don Esteban, in the city of Guadalupe. This day ecclesiastical possession was given to the father commissary missionary, of which a legal record was made in the ecclesiastical *autos*.

In this province, on the 10th day of said month and year, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having previously set out for the river and post of San Diego in company with said fathers commissary missionary and chaplain, and the Spaniards and Indians, and having travelled about twenty-two leagues, passing through the valley of the River of San Antonio de Sabinas, and entering an opening in some large mountains called Obayas,³ I arrived at an arroyo with water. Finding it unoccupied and uninhabited, I took royal possession in name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest, and named it San Anbrossio, in witness whereof I made a legal record and

¹ The *comisario misionero*.

² This seems to be further south than the stream now called San Diego, entering the Rio Grande about twenty-five miles above Eagle Pass. The stream may have been the San Fernando, which enters the Rio Grande at Piedras Negras.

³ Bosque seems to have followed the route of the International Railroad here. The stream was evidently the Río Aura. It is just possible that he had been west of the Santa Rosa Mountains and followed the pass made by the Río Aura.

ordered a high wooden cross erected. Mass was said by the father commissary missionary, and was attended by Don Bernabe, chief of the Contotore nation, with his people. Mass ended, they were instructed by the said father commissary. This nation was counted and there were found sixty-eight warriors and one hundred and thirty women and children.

In said province, on the 12th day of June, 1675, I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, having previously set out from the post of San Anbrossio, and having travelled apparently about fourteen leagues toward the city of Guadalupe and opposite it, at the foot of a large mountain and toward the west of it, in company with the fathers commissary and chaplain, and with said Spaniards, arrived at a watering place which I found unoccupied and uninhabited; taking royal possession in the name of his Majesty for said settlement and conquest, in testimony whereof I made a legal record, I ordered a large wooden cross erected and named the place San Bartolome. At this place there came to me Chief Don Salvador, of the Babosarigame nation, with some of his people, saying that he had sent for the rest, who, for lack of food, were scattered about. He and the people whom he brought were instructed in the doctrine by the father commissary missionary. This ended, they were counted and found to comprise forty-two warriors and sixty-six women and children, including the Tetecores. I ordered him to assemble the rest and to keep them in sight of chief Don Bernabe and of Don Esteban.

In said province of Nueva Estremadura, on said day, month, and year I, said lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, make known to Captain Don Antonio de Balcarcel Riba de Neira Sotomaior, *alcalde mayor* of this province, its settlements and conquest for his Majesty, that, having gone at his orders to reconnoitre the nations of Indians of the following of Don Esteban Gueiquesale, who live toward the Sierra Dacate and in its vicinity, and the others of their district and neighborhood, they manifested before his Majesty, through me and their messengers, that they wish to settle in pueblos and be Christians, with religious to catechise and instruct them. And having passed through the length and breadth of the country which appears in the records, and having seen it and its inhabitants, I have learned that they are divided into three followings or bands,

each very numerous, since the least numerous, although wild and the most bellicose, is that of the following of Don Esteban Gueiquesal, which are the nations counted, excepting the Yoricas, Jumees, Vivit, and Jeniocanes, who belong with the Boboles, Catujanos, and Tilijaes, of the districts already stated; and of the great discord between them, from which they kill and eat each other and capture each other's children, for they say this, being now actually at war with each other, the band of Don Esteban with that of the Jeniocanes and their allies, and the Yoricas, Jumees, and Vivit with the Arames, Ocanes, and those of their following, and the Boboles with the Yurbi-pames. These tiers of people are very numerous and their limits or that of one with another is not known, for neither on the north nor on the east is there any report of their terminus.

For this reason these Indians begged me to go to see their rancherías and those of their allies; and they have said that they wished to be Christians, and that all wish it, and to settle in pueblos, and to ask for religious; and they wish that aid be given to each one separately and not together, for it happens that for very slight causes they kill each other, and conditions become bad. I decided, therefore, to return from said post of San Jorge, counting on the way the people of Don Esteban who might be on the road, to inform said *alcalde mayor*, which I now do, both of this as well as that unless for these three bands or followings of people three head settlements¹ be made, in which each shall be regarded as independent of the other—one in the valley of San Antonio and Sabinas River, which will accommodate many settlements, and another at Los Baluartes and San Francisco River, which is of the same sort, and the one which is already made at the city of Guadalupe—it will not be possible to maintain these nations under instruction in the Christian doctrine. For they are people, one extremely barbarous, and the others barbarous, who have shown bad conduct toward the Spaniards and other vassals of his Majesty in La Viscaia, the Kingdom of Leon, and in part of La Galicia, robbing and killing for more than twenty years.

Even less will it be possible for any officer of his Majesty to keep them in order and under instruction unless he has forces for it, although he may have to use much love and blandish-

¹ *Cabeseras*.

ment when having to correct them, for since they are vicious people and not habituated to labor to sustain themselves, they will return to their natural habits, and greater damages will result. And there will not be Spaniards who wish to settle in the country, for it is known that those who entered it have left with misgivings or fears which some have been spreading abroad.

The most important post found in which to establish forces is Santa Crus, since it is fourteen leagues from the valley of San Antonio, a little less from Los Baluartes, and twenty from the city of Guadalupe,¹ and in the heart and centre of the country. These forces will not be sufficient if less than seventy men, since it is very remote from settlements and aid, for that of the Villa of Saltillo is more than sixty-eight leagues away, and the Kingdom of Leon the same, these being the nearest. Likewise, ministers of the gospel are necessary, since these nations ask for them; and they do not wish to have those of one nation attend the others, because they are of different languages, the people numerous, and their homes far apart. There are necessary for the present at least four religious for each group, if his Majesty, God preserve him, is pleased to have it settled and given seed grain, oxen, and some families of Tlaxcalteco Indians.²

This report I make to said *alcalde mayor* on the basis of what I have seen and observed, and of my experience of more than twenty years with barbarian natives and others. And in order that it may be on record I set it down as an *auto*, which I signed with the witnesses assisting me, who were Diego Luis Sanches and Ambrosio de Verlanga.

FERNANDO DE EL BOSQUE (rubric).

Witness, AMBROSIO BERLANGA (rubric).

Witness, DIEGO LUIS SANCHES (rubric).

¹ This statement gives an important clue to the relation of the going and return routes to each other.

² The Indians from Tlascala played an important part in the founding of frontier settlements, they being used as teachers of the new converts. About 1590 a colony of them was established at Saltillo, with the name of San Esteban. In subsequent times this colony was freely drawn upon in the establishment of new Indian pueblos on the northern frontier.