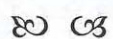


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Declaration of
Pedro de Bustamante,
1582

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INTRODUCTION

THE renewed activities on the Pacific coast at the turn of the century, as exemplified by the two expeditions of Vizcaino, were preceded and stimulated by a new advance into the northern interior. Coronado's expedition into New Mexico had proved disappointing and for nearly four decades no further explorations were made in the region, according to the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless, during that time the frontier of settlement was pushed rapidly northward, and a new line of approach to New Mexico was opened by way of the great central plateau. In the forward moving column were explorers, missionaries, miners, and cattlemen. Zacatecas was founded in 1548, Durango in 1563, and with the opening of the mines of Santa Bárbara, Parral, San Bartolomé, and other places in their vicinity, before 1580, the frontier of settlement reached the head of the Conchos River. It was this stream which furnished the new avenue of approach to New Mexico.

The military frontier had proceeded even further, for, in pursuit of marauding Indians, as well as in search of mines and slaves, the frontier garrisons had made many forays to the interior beyond Santa Bárbara. In this way they had heard new reports of the Pueblo region, which had never been forgotten. About 1579 an Indian captured during one of these raids told at Santa Bárbara of a country to the north where there were large settlements of people who raised cotton for clothing, and had a plentiful food supply. Upon hear-

ing this report, Fray Agustín Rodríguez, a Franciscan lay brother, stationed at San Bartolomé, began to plan with some of the soldiers to make an expedition to the region thus described. Fray Agustín went to Mexico to get permission from the viceroy, and the outcome was the expedition narrated in the documents which follow.

The party comprised three friars, nine soldiers, and some sixteen Indian servants. Fray Agustín Rodríguez, the organizer of the enterprise, was a native of Niebla, Spain. Fray Francisco López, who went as superior to the missionaries, was an Andalusian. The third friar, Juan de Santa María, was a Catalan, versed in astrology. The commander of the soldiers was Francisco Sánchez, commonly called Chamuscado. The career and calling of Hernando Gallegos, one of the followers of Sánchez, were typical of that far northern frontier and significant of the interests in whose behalf the frontier was being extended. He was a native of Spain, had spent eight years in Mexico as a prospector and soldier, and was among those who had made expeditions beyond the mines against the Indians.

Leaving Santa Bárbara on June 5, 1581, the party of about twenty-eight persons passed down the Conchos River to the Rio Grande. Following that stream for many leagues through a settled country and then for nineteen or twenty days through a desert, they reached the first pueblos in the region of Socorro. From there they continued up the river, fifty leagues according to one witness, passing numerous pueblos on the way, to the Tigua towns about Bernalillo. Against the advice of the rest, Father Santa María now set out alone to report the discoveries in Mexico but was killed within a few days by the Maguas Indians. The rest of the party visited the salinas east of the Manzano Mountains, and the buffalo plains beyond

the Pecos. West of the river they visited Ácoma and Zuñi. Leaving the other missionaries at Puaray, near the present Bernalillo, the soldiers returned to Nueva Vizcaya.

The expedition had important consequences. The reports made by Bustamante and Gallegos in Mexico in May, 1582, greatly interested the viceroy, and he thought at once of sending out another expedition, to aid the missionaries if they were still alive, and to explore in any case. News received later that Father López had been killed at Puaray somewhat changed his plans but did not lessen his interest. Rodrigo del Río de Losa, lieutenant-captain-general of Nueva Galicia, of whom the viceroy sought advice, now recommended an expedition of three hundred men, equipped to overawe the natives, settle New Mexico, explore and occupy the country beyond Quivira, and build two vessels on the northern strait if it should be reached. The men were to serve without pay, but were to be rewarded with titles of nobility, encomiendas, haciendas, and exemption from taxation. Truly the journey of Father Rodríguez had stirred up large ideas. When the matter was reported to the king he immediately ordered a contract made for the proposed undertaking.

The principal published sources of information regarding the Rodríguez expedition are those printed hereinafter. In addition, there is a declaration by Hernando Gallegos, made before the viceroy on May 16, 1582, at the time when Bustamante gave his testimony. It is so nearly identical with that of Bustamante that it is not included here, but all essential variations are indicated in the foot-notes to Bustamante's statement. All of these documents are published in Spanish in Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, XV. 80-150, under the title "Testimonio dado en Méjico sobre el descubrimiento de doscientas leguas adelante, de las

minas de Santa Bárbara, Gobernación de Diego de Ibarra; cuyo descubrimiento se hizo en virtud de cierta licencia que pidió Fr. Agustín Rodríguez y otros religiosos franciscos: Acompañan Relaciones de este descubrimiento y otros documentos (Años de 1582 y 1583)." This collection covers both the Rodríguez and the Espejo expeditions. The originals are in the Archivo de Indias at Seville, Patronato, *est.* 1, *caj.* 1. Two documents in the collection (pp. 137-146) not reproduced here are the opinions of Rodrigo del Río referred to above. The "Relacion Breve" of Escalante and Barrando (the same as Barrado) is also printed in Spanish in the *Cartas de Indias* (pp. 230-233), published at Madrid in 1877 by the Ministerio de Fomento of Spain. So far as the editor is informed, none of these documents have hitherto been published in English. Some additional information regarding the Rodríguez expedition is contained in the documents of the Espejo journey (see *post*). Bancroft, in his *Arizona and New Mexico* (pp. 79-80), gives extensive notes concerning accounts of the expedition in the older Spanish works.

Two manuscript accounts of the greatest importance have recently come to light and will add much to our present knowledge of the Rodríguez expedition. They are: (1) Hernan Gallegos, "Relacion y concudío de el viage y subceso que Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus compañeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico en Junio de 1581" (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 1-1-3/22). Gallegos was a member of the Rodríguez party. In his declaration (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 88-95) he states that he has "made a book, written by his hand, wherein he gives an account of all this journey which he has made, and which he has delivered to His Excellency." The "Relacion" noted above is doubtless the same. (2) Baltasar de Obregón, "Cro-

nica comentario ó relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de N.E. y del Nuevo Mexico," 1584 (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 1-1-3/22). Obregón had been a member of the Ibarra exploring expedition, and had secured first-hand information regarding the Rodríguez and Espejo expeditions. The purpose of his Relation was to offer his services for further exploration and conquest in New Mexico.¹

¹ Copies of these two manuscripts are in the Edward E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and have been used by the editor.

DECLARATION OF PEDRO DE BUSTAMANTE,
1582¹

In the City of Mexico, New Spain, on the 16th day of the month of May, 1582, his Excellency Señor Don Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza, Count of Coruña, viceroy, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in this New Spain, and president of the Royal Audiencia which is located there, etc., said that, having been informed by Fray Agustín Rodríguez, of the order of San Francisco, and other religious of that order, that they desired to go to preach the gospel beyond the mines of Santa Bárbara² and the government of Diego de Ibarra³, in a certain new land which they heard must be a place where they could obtain very fruitful results, he gave them permission in the name of his Majesty to go to discover said land and the people who might be in it; and that for the safety of their persons, and in order that thereby they might be able to preach the gospel, he granted that as many as twenty men might go with them. And it appears that, conforming to said permit, these religious and eight⁴ of the said men

¹ Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 80-88.

² Santa Bárbara is a mining town in Chihuahua, near the southern boundary of the state. It was founded about 1563 by Rodrigo del Río de Losa, under the direction of Francisco de Ibarra, founder of Nueva Vizcaya (Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I. 106).

³ Diego de Ibarra was evidently the successor of Francisco de Ibarra. In 1576 the Licenciado Ibarra was sent from Spain to take the place of his brother, Francisco, as governor of Nueva Vizcaya. On October, 1576, the viceroy wrote to the king: "Dize V.M. quen lugar de Francisco de Ybarra, governador que fué de la Nueva Vizcaya, a hecho V.M. merced de proveer al licenciado Ibarra, su hermano, y que vendria en esta flota." (*Cartas de Indias*, p. 325; see also Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I. 112).

⁴ Evidently there were eight men besides the leader, Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. The "Relación Breve y Verdadera," by Escalante and Barrado (Barrando), translated hereinafter, gives the number as nine, and Bancroft was able to find the names of nine. See pp. 138, 168.

set forth; and yesterday, the 15th of the present month, there came to this city two of the men who accompanied the said religious, who report that they discovered and explored, two hundred leagues beyond the said mines of Santa Bárbara, which are within the government of Diego de Ibarra, a land thickly settled with pueblos of Indians who wear clothes and who live in a civilized way like the people of this New Spain, and that they had learned that beyond was much more land, settled by many pueblos of civilized people. In order to learn the facts in the case, he ordered taken the sworn testimony of these two men, who, as has been said, have come out and come to this city; all of which was done in the following manner:

At once oath was administered to and sworn in due form, in the name of God and Holy Mary, and with a sign of the cross, by Pedro de Bustamante, who is one of the said two men who came to this city. Under this oath he promised to tell the truth, and after he had taken it the following questions were asked him:

He was asked his name and his birthplace, and he replied that his name was Pedro de Bustamante, and that he was a native of a pueblo called Carancejas, of La Montaña del Valle de Cavezon, near the Villa de Santillana.

He was asked how long since he had come to this New Spain, and he replied that it was some ten years, more or less.

He was asked what had been his occupation since coming to this New Spain, and he said that the first three years he spent in prospecting for mines, and that the remaining seven he had been a soldier serving his Majesty in the government of Diego de Ibarra.

He was asked if he was one of the eight soldiers who had accompanied Fray Agustín Rodríguez, of the Order of San Francisco, and the other religious¹ who went with him; and who had solicited his services for the said journey; and with what object and purpose he had gone. He answered that it was true that he was one of those who accompanied the said religious, and that what particularly influenced him to make the journey with them was his desire to serve our

¹ The names of the other friars are given on p. 138.

Lord and his Majesty; that no one persuaded him to do so, but, on the contrary, with the desire already stated, he and the said religious had planned for more than two years to go on the journey, and that he had tried to enlist the others who went.

He was asked, since he said that for more than two years he was talking of and planning to make the journey, what information he had of the country leading him to believe that it was worth while; and he replied that the reason why they planned the journey was because an Indian¹ had told him that beyond the government of Diego de Ibarra there was a certain settlement of Indians who had cotton, and made cloth with which they clothed themselves; and that besides he was influenced by hearing of the account given by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Baca,² in a book which he wrote regarding a journey that he made coming from Florida to this New Spain.

Being asked what authority he and the rest who went with him had for making the journey; and how they provided themselves with arms, horses, and the other necessary equipment which they carried to make it, and what servants they had, he said that the journey having been decided and agreed upon between the witness, his companions, and the religious, they equipped and provided themselves with arms for their persons, that is, coats of mail, arquebuses, armored horses, and an Indian servant apiece, while the friars took seven Indians from the mines of Santa Bárbola, amongst whom was a half-breed.

Being asked what route they took, having set out from the mines of Santa Bárbola and the journey having been

¹ Gallegos says that he "had made, together with leaders and captains named for this purpose, many journeys into the interior beyond Santa Bárbola in pursuit of thieving Indians," and that through an Indian captured in an expedition he had learned of the country beyond. He states also that for two years he had discussed the matter with Fray Agustín and Francisco Sánchez (Chamuscado), and that together they had persuaded the others to go. Thus it is not quite clear who played the leading part in organizing the party (Declaration of Hernando Gallegos, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 88-89).

² Gallegos puts it somewhat differently, saying that they were guided (*guiándose*) by the relation of Cabeza de Vaca. He perhaps means that they were guided by it in forming their opinion (*ibid.*, p. 89).

begun, and through what pueblos and provinces they passed, he replied that on the 6th of June¹ of last year, 1581, he, his companions, and the religious set out from the valley of San Gregorio,² of the jurisdiction of Santa Bárbara, Nueva Vizcaya, and went down the same valley until they came to the river called Concha,³ where they found a little settlement of the wild⁴ Indians, who were naked and lived on roots and other things found in the fields; and following down the river, they came to another to which they gave the name of the Guadalquivir,⁵ because it was large and carried an abundance of water. On this river they found other Indians of different nation and tongue from those of the Concha, although they too are naked like the latter. These and the others received them peacefully, and willingly offered them of what they had, and when inquiry was made of them as to whether there were more settlements beyond, they said yes, and that they were a people naked like themselves, and hostile to and at war with them.

And so they continued up the same river for twenty days,⁶ through eighty leagues of uninhabited country, until they came to a settlement to which they gave the name of the province of Sant Felipe.⁷ There they found a permanent

¹ It will be seen by comparing these documents that the expedition left Santa Bárbara on the 5th, and San Gregorio on the 6th. See *post*, p. 154. Bancroft and those who follow him give the 6th as the date of leaving San Bartolomé (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 76; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I. 256).

² San Gregorio is in the valley of a small stream running northeastward from Santa Bárbara to the Río Florido, the main southern branch of the Conchos River. The route evidently was directly northeastward to the neighborhood of the present Jiménez.

³ The Conchos River. It heads in southern Chihuahua and flows northeastward into the Río Grande at Ojinaga, Chihuahua.

⁴ *Chichimeco*, at first applied to a single wild tribe of Indians of central Mexico, came to be a generic term for the wild tribes, as opposed to the settled and more civilized tribes.

⁵ In honor, of course, of the Guadalquivir River of Spain.

⁶ The account of Escalante and Barrado (Barrando) given later, says nineteen days. Gallegos says twenty days.

⁷ Bancroft located San Felipe in the Socorro region, which Coronado had visited (*Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 76, 77); Twitchell identifies it, a little more exactly, with San Marcial, the Piro village named Tre-na-qué, visited by Coronado's men, in 1542 (*Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I. 256).

pueblo with houses two stories high and of good appearance, built of mud walls and white inside, the people being dressed in cotton *mantas* with shirts of the same. They learned that away from the river on both sides there were many other pueblos of Indians of the same nation, who also received them peacefully and gave them of what they had, namely, maize, gourds, beans, chickens, and other things, which is what they live upon. Inquiry being made as to whether there were more settlements of people, by signs the natives replied in the affirmative.

With this information they passed on up the same river, and found many pueblos along the road they travelled, as well as others off to the sides, which were to be seen from the road; and they came to another nation of Indians of different tongue and dress, where they were also received peacefully and gladly by the Indians, who kissed the hands of the religious. These Indians are also clothed¹ and have three-story houses, whitewashed and painted inside; and they plant many fields of maize, beans, and gourds, and raise many chickens.

From there they passed on to another nation,² dwelling further up the same river. These were the finest people of all they had met, possessing better pueblos and houses, and were the ones who treated them best, giving them the most generously of whatever they had. They have well-built houses of four and five stories,³ with corridors and rooms twenty-four feet long and thirteen feet wide, whitewashed and painted. They have very good plazas, and leading from one to the other there are streets along which they pass in good order. Like the others, they have a good supply of provisions. Two or three leagues distant are other pueblos of the same nation, and consisting of three or four hundred

¹ Gallegos says "dressed in cotton cloth and shirts."

² Probably the Puaray mentioned farther along in the narrative. Puaray was the principal pueblo of the province of Tigux in Coronado's time. Its ruins have been located by Bandelier opposite Bernalillo (A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II. 226; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II. 313). For new light on the location of Puaray, see Charles W. Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía in 1680-1681," in *Old Santa Fé*, II. 381-391.

³ Gallegos says "four, five, and six stories."

houses, built in the same fashion. They dress in cotton like the foregoing nations.

He said that up to this point they had always been travelling north. Leaving the river one day's journey and continuing north, they saw a large pueblo of four or five hundred dwellings, more or less. On reaching it they saw that the houses of the Indians were of four or five stories, and they named it Tlascalá,¹ because it was so large. They were received peacefully there, as they had been in the other pueblos. There they were informed by the natives themselves that there was a very large settlement of Indians ten days' journey in the same northerly direction which they were following; but because of a lack of shoes for the horses and of clothing for himself and the rest of the men, they did not dare to go farther, but returned over the same road by which they had gone. From one of the pueblos which they had passed through and had named Castildavid, they crossed the river to the south,² following along a small river³ which joined the other, and went to see three pueblos of which they had heard. The first two of them had as many as two hundred dwellings and the other as many as seventy.⁴ In this last pueblo they learned of eleven others, further up the river, of a different nation and tongue from these. To the valley where the three pueblos were they gave the name of Valleviciosa.⁵ They did not go to see them [the eleven] because they wished to go to find the cows which they had been informed existed in large numbers some thirty leagues distant, more or less.

Accordingly, they went in search of them, travelling the said thirty leagues in a roundabout course, because the guide

¹This may have been northwest of Bernalillo, in the Xemes River valley. Gallegos says: "They named it Tlaxcala because of its size and because it resembled the city of Tlaxcala" (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 92). The allusion is to Tlaxcala, an important city in Mexico east of the capital. During the conquest it gave stubborn resistance to Cortés, but later became a firm ally of the Spaniards.

²"South" here probably means "west."

³This was probably the Jémez River.

⁴Gallegos says "about seventy or eighty."

⁵Gallegos is directly in conflict with Bustamante here, stating that "Valle Viciosa" was the name given to the valley of the eleven pueblos of which they had heard, instead of that of the three where they were (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 92).

who conducted them took them that way, which appeared different from the route described to them by the natives, for if they had gone by a direct road they would have arrived more quickly. Reaching some plains and water-holes, which they gave the name Los Llanos de San Francisco and Aguas Zarcas, they saw many herds of cows that come there to drink. They go in herds of two and three hundred; they are hump-backed, shaggy, small-horned, thick set, and low of body. There they found a ranchería of naked Indians of a different nation from those they had left behind, going to kill cattle for their food. They carried their provisions of maize and dates¹ loaded on dogs which they raise for this purpose. This witness and his companions killed with their arquebuses as many as forty cattle, made jerked beef, and returned to the settlement whence they had set out.

From there they returned down the river through the same country they had traversed, until they came to a pueblo called Puaray.² Here they heard of a certain valley and settlement of a different tongue, called Valle de Camí, south of the river.³ On hearing this news they went forth and reached the said valley, where they found six pueblos of thirty, forty, and even one hundred houses, with many Indians clothed in the same

¹ The word is *dátil*, which means the fruit of the common date palm.

² See note 2, p. 146, above. According to Gallegos's "Relacion" and Obregón's "Cronica," Father Santa María set out from the Province of San Felipe alone and against advice to tell in Mexico the news of the discoveries. He was killed shortly afterward by wandering people of the Sierra Morena, but the others did not hear of his death till they returned from the buffalo plains. On September 28 they left Pueblo de Malpartida to go to the buffalo; on October 10 they reached Valle de San Francisco, and on the 19th set out to return. Reaching the Rio Grande they set up camp at Pueblo de Piedra y Taques, where they demanded provisions with threats of force. They now heard of Father Santa María's death, but tried to conceal it, lest they be considered vulnerable. An Indian attack was threatened, and they moved to Pueblo de Mal Puesto, where the Indians killed three of their horses. Three Indians were captured and sentenced by Chamuscado to be hanged, but the missionaries interfered. During the remainder of their explorations the party was constantly in danger. When the soldiers set out to return they left horses, goats, merchandise, and ornaments with the missionaries at Puaray. It was for these things, says Obregón, that the Indians killed them.

³ "South" here means "west." Gallegos (*Relacion*) mentions both Ácoma and Zuñi as pueblos visited.

manner as the others,¹ the houses being of two and three stories and built of stone. While there they told them of the Valle de Asay,² where there were five large pueblos with many people. According to the signs which the Indians made, they understood that two of the pueblos were very large, and that in all of them large quantities of cotton were raised, more than in any other place which they had seen.

But, owing to a snowfall,³ they could not go forward and were forced to return to the said pueblo of Puaray, whence they had set out. Learning there of some salines lying fourteen leagues from the said pueblo, they went to see them and found that they were behind a mountain range which they named Sierra Morena.⁴ They are the best that have been discovered up to the present, and extend, in the opinion of this witness and the rest, five leagues. They provided themselves with what they needed, and of it brought to his Excellency the quantity which he has seen.⁵ Near these salines were seen many other pueblos, which they visited. They had the same appearance as the others. The natives informed them of three other pueblos, which they represented as being⁶ near these salines and very large.

From here they returned to the pueblo of Puaray, where they had left the religious, the horses, and the rest of the things which they possessed, and from this pueblo they returned along the same route by which they had gone. In the said pueblo the religious remained with the Indian servants whom they had taken, among them being a half-breed.⁷ This witness and the rest of the soldiers returned with their leader to Santa Bárbola, whence they had set out with the com-

¹ Gallegos says "dressed in shirts, cotton blankets, and hide shoes with soles" (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 93).

² Gallegos says "Osay." Bandelier was of the opinion, and I concur in it, that Camí was Zuñi (*Final Report*, II. 228). In that case Osay, or Asay, might have been Oraibi, one of the Moqui pueblos.

³ Gallegos adds that it was now December.

⁴ The Sierra Morena was evidently the Manzano Mountains, east of which lie extensive salines (Bandelier, *Final Report*, II. 253-254).

⁵ Gallegos says the viceroy was pleased with the samples (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 94).

⁶ *Bigurificaban.*

⁷ Gallegos tells us that his name was Juan Bautista (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 94).

mission of his Excellency, and came to report to him what they had seen and discovered.

He said that in the course of the journey, in some pueblos, they found and explored five¹ mine prospects which appeared to them good, but because they did not go prepared they did not assay them; nor did they dare to bring any Indians from those parts, although they attempted to do so through kindness and the promise of gifts, but the Indians would not agree to it,² and they did not dare to use force lest they should anger them. He said that besides the aforesaid mine prospects, they told them of many others, and that this is the truth by the oath he has taken; and he approved, ratified, and signed it in his name.³ He said that he was thirty-four years of age, and that their leader, named Francisco Sanches Chamuscado, died⁴ thirty leagues from Santa Bárbara while coming hither with this witness and Hernan Gallegos, his companion, to report what they had seen.—PEDRO DE BUSTAMANTE. Before me, JUAN DE CUEVA.⁵

¹ Escalante says that eleven mines were discovered (see p. 157, *post*). Gallegos says that besides those discovered, many more, rich in silver, were heard of (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 95).

² Gallegos says that the Indians refused to mount the horses (*ibid.*).

³ Gallegos adds (*ibid.*) that the distance from Mexico City to the country discovered was four hundred leagues, mainly over level road, passable for men on horseback, with pack trains, or with carts.

⁴ On the way back from New Mexico Chamuscado, who was more than sixty years old, fell ill. He was bled, and long halts were made to give him rest. As he got no better, he was carried between two horses on a litter made of poles cut with sabres, and of thongs from the hide of a horse killed for the purpose. Thirty leagues before reaching Santa Bárbara he died (Gallegos's *Relacion*, cap. XV).

⁵ The declaration of Hernando Gallegos which follows here in the *Colección*, pp. 88-95, is omitted, since it is nearly identical with the foregoing deposition.