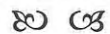
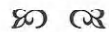


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Record of the Marches by the Army,
New Spain to New Mexico,
1596-98

DOCUMENT NO. AJ-102



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RECORD OF THE MARCHES BY THE ARMY, NEW SPAIN TO NEW MEXICO, 1596-98.¹

ITINERARY from the mines of Casco, in the government of New Vizcaya (when the latitude was taken on June 20, 1596, the army was at 27 degrees), to New Mexico, describing the watering places and their distances apart, in leagues. The entire road is suitable for carts, both by way of the ranch of Rodrigo de Río and by Aviño.² Prepared by a witness, a priest, who saw and experienced it all and who reports the truth.

One reaches the mines of Casco from Aviño by way of San Juan del Río, a distance of six leagues. From there to the ranch of Ontiveros, six leagues, and from there to the Nazas river at the Cacapa ford, five. Midway along this road one crosses the arroyo of Coneto de las Nazas. To the mines of Casco, four leagues, over a road that is bad for carts, although some have been over it. The distance, therefore, is twenty-one leagues by this route.

Going by way of the hacienda of Rodrigo de Río, one passes Las Peñuelas, five leagues distant, and to Titiritero or Fuente del Sacramento it is five more. From there to Aguaje de la Vieja it is three leagues, and five from there to the Nazas river, at Rentería ford. From there to Ojo del Gallo it is seven leagues, and two from there to Cieneguilla. The distance to Aguaje de Brondate is half a league, and two and one-half from there to

1. From a photograph of a copy preserved in the Archivo General de Indias, *Patronato*, legajo 22; there is a printed text in Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xvi, pp. 228-276.

2. The general route followed by Oñate's forces from Mexico City to Santa Bárbara in Chihuahua is fairly clear, though it cannot be determined exactly without a reconnaissance of the trail. Most of the soldiers and colonists were recruited around Mexico City, Zacatecas, and the frontier posts surrounding the latter, and in these areas they were on familiar roads or trails till they reached the mines of Casco, New Vizcaya. Thence the route lay in a north-northwest direction to the headwaters of the Conchos river and then followed approximately the line of the modern Mexican railroad to about twenty-five miles south of El Paso, where the route again struck the Río Grande.

Casco, over a fine road for carts. The distance, therefore, is thirty leagues by this route.

NOVEMBER, 1597

WE LEFT the mines of Casco on August 1, 1597, having reached them on November 1, 1596. From Casco to Carrizal we went north-northwest one-fourth degree, which direction we tried to follow whenever we could. We traveled three leagues from Carrizal to La Zarza. Here we remained eleven days to repair our carts. We buried a child, a son of Herrera.

We set out on the 14th and went to Los Patos, four leagues. At this place we buried a servant who had been killed by a colt.

On the 15th from Los Patos to Cerro Gordo, four leagues.

On the 16th from Cerro Gordo to La Parida, four leagues.

On the 17th from Bauz to the Río Florido, two good leagues, another to the middle fork, and another to the last fork, which is called Los Buñuelos on account of the large sea lettuce³ which grows there; the total distance is four leagues.

From La Parida to Aguaje de Baptista, the march made before the one noted above, three good leagues.

On the 19th we traveled from the Buñuelos river to the pueblo and valley of San Bartolomé, province of Santa Bárbara, four leagues.

We arrived at this place on August 19 [*sic*], day of San Luis Obispo, and were detained until December 17 in order that the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, might be inspected a second time. This San Bartolomé river is in 27½ degrees.⁴ We took the latitude on November 20. The river flows from southeast to northwest.

DECEMBER, 1597

WE LEFT the said valley on December 17 and went to the ranch of Fuensalida, three leagues.

We spent Thursday and Friday, the 18th and 19th of this month, in crossing the river, rounding up the cattle, and collecting the necessary provisions. On the 20th we went to the arroyo of San Gerónimo, two and a half leagues.

3. *Ulva*, seaweed or sea lettuce.

4. The expedition had reached the headwaters of one of the streams flowing into the Conchos river, in the region of the present-day Santa Bárbara, a short distance southwest of Parral.

JANUARY, 1598

THE second inspection was held here, and we were commanded to halt until it was over.⁵ It took a month and six days. So we left this arroyo on January 26, 1598.

Passing El Torrente de la Cruz, we spent the night at the mouth of the Todos Santos mines.

On the 28th we marched to Ojo de Agua Hondo, two leagues.

On the 29th from there to Lamosso arroyo, a league and a half.

On the 30th from there to the Conchas river, another league and a half. This river flows from the west to the east, somewhat to the southeast. It is in $28\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. We took the latitude on February 1. We remained at this river until the 7th, not only to review the army and to finish the last details of the inspection and preparations for the journey, but to take leave of the inspector.

FEBRUARY, 1598

WE SET out on February 7, 1598, went through Portezuelo, and followed our route to the north until we came to Agua de la Tentación, so named because we reached it on Temptation Sunday. The distance is three leagues.

On the 8th we went by El Pizarral [slate quarry], to Agua del Incendio, a distance of two leagues. From there we went to the barrancas of the San Pedro river, where water was found at about half a league, in the river itself. The distance is three leagues.

On February 10 the army marched three leagues farther to this same San Pedro river; its course at the ford is from west to east, and its latitude $28\frac{3}{4}$ degrees. We took the latitude on March 4, 1598.

At this river we halted exactly a month, until the 10th of the following month of March, to await the friars of Saint Francis and their commissary and prelate, who arrived at the camp on March 3. During this time the governor sent out the sargento mayor to discover a road for carts to the Río del Norte. He set out from the San Pedro river on February 14, accompanied by 17 men. A road having been discovered, half of the party re-

5. See the Salazar Inspection, above pp. 197-308.

turned to camp on March 7. The sargento mayor and the others returned on the 10th, after the friars had arrived.

MARCH, 1598

On the 10th we went to the tanks of Sant Greco,⁶ three leagues. At two leagues are found the Charcos de las Mojarras. These pools are numerous and deep.

On the 12th, to the Nombre de Dios river, five leagues; it flows from west to east. Its latitude is $29\frac{1}{4}$ degrees. We took the latitude on March 14. Pools and marshes extend about a league and a half up the river.

On the 14th⁷ we went to the oak grove of San Buenaventura, five leagues, a place ahead of the one just mentioned.

From this camp at the river of Nombre de Dios, Diego Landín was dispatched with letters to Mexico. We spent four days in doing this and in crossing the river to our left, going almost due southeast in order to enter the valle de San Martín at a point near a lone mountain, round and bare.

On the 18th we went to Sierrezuela de las Ogeras, three leagues. At this place, to the left, there is a fair-sized watering place.

On the 19th we marched a league to Agua de San Joseph, where we adored the Blessed Sacrament, March 20, 1598.

On the 21st we went to the Descendimiento de la Cruz y Sancto Sepulcro, a distance of three leagues.

On the 22nd to the oak grove of Resurrección and Ojos Milagrossos, so named because, when a horse stepped in a bog near a large spring, a waterspout about the thickness of an orange shot into the air nearly the height of a man and then continued flowing about one span high. We spent Easter Sunday at this place. The distance is three leagues.

On the 24th we went to Alameda de la Asumpción de Nuestra Señora, two leagues. All the water holes are large and good.

On the 25th we went to Laguna de San Benito and Ojuelos del Norte, one league distant. The lake is large, measuring two

6. Pacheco y Cárdenas have "Sant Pedro," but the manuscript clearly reads "Sant Greco."

7. The Spanish reads *A honce*, doubtless a scribal error. The date meant is either *catorce* or *quince*, and we have rendered it the 14th, following Pacheco y Cárdenas.

leagues around, and its water tastes and smells like that of the lake of Mexico.⁸

On the 26th we went to Aguaje de la Cruz, three leagues.

On the 27th, to the entrance of Peñol de Vélez, and the end of the sierras of Levante and of Oñate, to the west, which enclose the San Martín valley. The distance is one league. The water here is the overflow from the abovesaid water hole. We remained two days at this place, the latitude of which we found to be exactly 30 degrees.

On March 30 we went to Ancón del Recelo, a distance of three leagues. On the last day of the month, two short leagues to Fuente de San Francisco de Paula.

APRIL, 1598

ON the first of April we set out on a march of nine leagues, during which we found no water. After traveling three leagues, God succored us with a downpour so heavy that very large pools were formed. Then we unyoked the cattle, and more than five thousand head of livestock of all kinds drank, and later two thousand more head of cattle and mares that were following behind. Therefore we named this place Socorro del Cielo.

On April 3 we set out from this place, and, after traveling that day and the next, we reached the Río de la Mentira, so named because, although it had a large bed and many trees, it does not carry a drop of water. Two harquebus shots beyond it, extending for more than three leagues to the east, is the marsh of Los Baños de San Isidro, which is formed by some springs, nearly hot. It is located in almost 30½ degrees. The distance from this place to that of Socorro del Cielo is six short leagues. We remained here on the 5th and 6th of April.

On the 7th we marched to Alchicubite de San Vicente, a well-known sierra and marsh with very good water. Two leagues.

On the 8th we went to Ciénega de la Concepción, three leagues. Here the sand dunes began.

On the 10th, a league and a half to San León spring, a small water hole a short distance to the right of the road. These two places are in exactly 31 degrees.

8. Lake Texcoco, the waters of which were brackish.

On the 11th we traveled three leagues to the spring of San Ermenegildo, named for a Spanish prince and martyr.

On the 12th, three leagues to the openings of the sand dunes [Bocas de los Médanos]. There we remained until the 19th, because, since the preceding watering places did not have sufficient water for the oxen and livestock, they had to be driven down to the Río del Norte. At this place we buried an Indian boy.

On April 19 we entered the sand dunes, with only a little more than half of the train, and traveled three leagues. We spent the night without water. The rest of the carts remained at the opening of the sand dunes, waiting for a reinforcement of oxen.

On the 20th we traveled three leagues to the Río del Norte. We reached it exactly in latitude $31\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. This is a larger river than the Conchas, and carries even more water than the Nazas, although its bed is not as large. At this place it is sluggish and muddy because it flows over loose soil. It has much vegetation and trees, abundant fish, such as bagre, mochote, róbaló, armado, apujas, and a white fish almost half a yard long that resembles jurel and matalote. There are willows, large and small mesquites, thick brambles, and some salines of excellent salt like those of the Guadalquivir, which the Río del Norte resembles very much. The river flows from the north; that is how it gets its name. It turns toward the east, being called Río Bravo where the Conchas and others join it. We remained at this place until the 26th, when the whole army reunited, and Captain Aguilar was sent ahead to explore the road. He came back with good news, having traveled sixteen leagues.

On the 27th we went a league and a half up the river.

On the 28th we traveled half a league.

On the 29th we went one league. Here are salines of granulated and encrusted salt which exudes from the soil when the river overflows.

On April 30, 1598, day of the ascension of our Lord, at this Río del Norte, Governor Don Juan de Oñate took possession of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico, in the name of King Philip, our lord, in the presence of Juan Pérez de Donís,

royal notary and secretary of this jurisdiction and expedition. There was a sermon, a great ecclesiastical and secular celebration, a great salute and rejoicing, and, in the afternoon, a comedy. The royal standard was blessed and placed in charge of Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, the royal ensign.⁹

MAY, 1598

ON May 1 we marched two leagues up the river. On the 2nd we traveled a league and a half. On the 3rd, two leagues. At this place the first Indians of the river were brought to the camp by the sargento mayor. After being clothed they were sent to tell their friends and to bring them in. That day about eight Indians came of their own accord. They were of the kind we called muleteers (*arreadores*), because to say "yes" they roll their tongues against their palates as we do when driving animals, "*arre.*"

On May 4 we did not travel farther than to the pass of the river and the ford.¹⁰ Forty of these Indians came to the camp. They had Turkish bows, long hair cut to resemble little Milan caps, headgear made to hold down the hair and colored with blood or paint. Their first words were *manxo*, *manxo*, *micos*, *micos*, by which they meant "peaceful ones" and "friends." They make the sign of the cross by raising their thumbs. They told us very clearly by signs that the settlements were six days distant, or eight days along the road. They mark the day by the course of the sun; in these things they are like ourselves. We gave them many presents, and they helped us to transport the sheep across the river, which was forded on this day at the crossing which we named Los Puertos, because it is used by them to go inland. There is no other road for carts for many leagues.

The ford is in 31 degrees exactly. So, from April 20, when we reached the river, to May 4, during the time that we traveled the eight and one-half leagues, more or less, mentioned above, we descended half a degree of latitude. On this day we passed

9. Compare the "Acts of Possession," which are given in full in this volume, beginning on page 329.

10. This was the point at which the mountains come down to the river so that the ford in the stream is also the pass through the hills, the modern El Paso and Juarez.

the ruts made by the ten carts that Castaño and Morlete took out from New Mexico.¹¹

On the 5th we traveled a league through the passes, over a road difficult in time of rain, but very good when dry. We rested at this place on the 6th, and on the next day, the 7th, we marched about half a league, still through a small pass and over a bad road. On the 8th we halted until noon, as some of the carts broke down. That afternoon we traveled almost a league.

On the 9th, the day preceding Pentecost, we traveled two leagues. On the 10th we rested because of the solemnity of the day.

On the 11th we traveled two leagues and stopped in approximately the same place where it is said that Captain Morlete hanged four Indians because they had stolen some horses.

On the 12th we went nearly three leagues up the river. Captain Aguilar was sent ahead to explore. We traveled up the river these three leagues.

On the 13th we traveled two leagues, leaving the river to the left and the Sierra del Olvido to the right.¹² It was given this name because none of those who had passed it before remembered it.

On the 14th and 15th we traveled a league and a half, the train being divided because of the bad road.

On the 16th we stopped because some of the oxen had been lost. On the 17th, day of the Holy Trinity, we marched almost a league. We buried a child.

On the 18th two horses drowned in the Río del Norte. We did not travel because of the loss of some oxen. On the 19th we marched one league.

On the 20th we went a little more than half a league. Captain Aguilar returned.

On the 21st, day of the Most Holy Sacrament, we buried Pedro Robledo.

On the 22nd the governor, our father commissary, Fray

11. Castaño de Sosa in 1590 had led his colony from Nuevo León up the Pecos river to New Mexico, but since his departure was unauthorized, Captain Morlete was sent to bring him back. See Dorothy Hull, "Castaño de Sosa's Expedition to New Mexico."

12. Undoubtedly the Organ mountains, which present a very imposing sight.
American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org

Cristóbal de Salazar, the sargento mayor, and the maese de campo set out for the settlements, which were about twenty-two leagues distant from that place. They went both to get provisions for the army and to pacify the land so that the Indians would not become excited at the appearance of such an array. We went two leagues and spent the night without water.¹³ The animals went almost a league to the river.

On the 23rd we traveled four leagues, and we all fared badly on account of the lack of water, because we were traveling five or six leagues to the right of the river, toward the east. On this day, when a dog appeared with muddy paws and hind feet, we searched for some water holes. Captain Villagrán found one and Cristóbal Sánchez another, not far from where we were, toward the river. Our father commissary came down with the gout.

On the 24th we traveled four leagues in the same direction, always toward the north, and without water. Finally we came to some small pools near some grinding stones, where we all drank and rested. Our horses went down to the river, which was more than six leagues off to the left. That entire side of the river is very rough, extremely hilly, almost like cut rock. For this reason our horses, and those who drove them, and later the army and the cart train, almost perished of thirst.

On this day Juan del Casso, Elena, and her husband, got lost, but finally after a few days they came to the river, where they chanced to meet some of the people of our company.

On the 25th we descended to the Muertos or Parras arroyo, a distance of two leagues. It has running water, although it is not very good, so we did not stop there, but continued another league to the Río del Norte. We were exploring and feeling our way along this entire route for the first time, and we suffered a great deal because of not knowing it.

On the 26th we went a little more than two leagues, without our carts, for it was impossible to proceed in any other way.

On the 27th we traveled seven leagues to the marsh of Mesilla de Guinea, so named because it was of black rock.¹⁴

On the 28th, in the morning, mass was said, and we took

13. They were entering the famous Jornada del Muerto. The terrain along the river was so rough as to make travel almost impossible, whereas the dry plains to the east were very flat, but lacked water.

14. On the east bank of the Río Grande near the modern San Marcial.

communion in order to enter the first settlements with good luck. We traveled nearly four leagues and camped for the night across from the second pueblo, called Qualacu,¹⁵ toward the bank of the river which we were following. The Indians, suspicious and excited, had abandoned the pueblo. We reassured them with gifts of trinkets. In order not to frighten them we went to the bank of the river, where we remained, living in tents, for a month. This was both because of the sickness of the father commissary who had grown worse, and to provision the army with maize. Diego de Zubía, the purveyor general, brought the provisions.

JUNE, 1598

AT this time, the cart train was in trouble, both on account of dissension among those in charge, and of lack of water, and the governor had to return to them. He smoothed everything by his tact, and came back to this place on June 12 and brought some provisions. His visit gave us new life. During this time two negroes, Luis and Manuel, got lost and their straying cost them their lives.

On the 14th we traveled three leagues, stopping always in open country. We halted for the night opposite Teypana, the pueblo which we called Socorro, because it furnished us with much maize.¹⁶ Its chieftain, named Letoc, gave us a very accurate and truthful account of the pueblos of the country, as we later learned by experience. We found people only at this pueblo, and at the first and second; all the others we found deserted.

On the 15th we went four leagues, halting always on the bank of the river. We traveled three leagues to the little pueblo which we named Nueva Sevilla, because of its site.¹⁷ This was the first pueblo in which we camped, as we considered it safer to take refuge in the houses for protection in case the Indians of the country should decide to attack. We remained there until the

15. The most southerly of the Piro settlements on the east bank of the river, at the foot of Black Mesa, near San Marcial.

16. Teypana, a former pueblo of the Piro, on the west bank of the Río Grande, near the present town of Socorro.

17. Or Sevilleta, so named because of its resemblance to Seville, Spain. It was a Piro pueblo, situated on the east bank of the Río Grande about twenty miles above Socorro.

21st to wait for the supply of maize brought by Villagrán and because of the exploration of the pueblos of Abó by the maese de campo and the sargento mayor. We traveled four leagues to the pueblo of San Juan Bautista, newly built, but deserted because of our coming.¹⁸ Here we found a large quantity of maize, and so many painted idols that in two rooms alone I counted sixty.

We remained at this place on the feast day of Saint John the Baptist, and many Indians from different places came to visit us. Among them, and they seemed like spies, was the one whom we called Don Lope, sent by Tomás and Cristóbal, Indians who had remained there since the time of Castaño.

On the 25th we proceeded six leagues in the same direction in search of Puaray, passing many pueblos, farms, and planted fields on both banks of the river, most of them abandoned on account of fear.

On the 26th we marched five leagues. We had a good rain on this day. We spent the night on the bank of the river.

On the 27th we traveled five more leagues. The governor was mired down in a maize field, although he soon got out, and we reached Puaray, the pueblo where they had killed Fray Agustín and Fray Francisco, first discoverers and fathers of New Mexico.¹⁹ That night the governor and the maese de campo set out from that place for Santo Domingo, six leagues distant, to find Tomás and Cristóbal. Thus Saint Anthony of Padua was chosen as the patron saint of Puaray.

On the 28th they were taken by surprise and brought to Puaray. From here on the 29th Tzia was discovered and visited by the maese de campo, the sargento mayor, and Father Salazar. Thus its patrons are Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

On the 30th we went on to San Felipe, almost three leagues, then to Santo Domingo, nearly four leagues farther. This province was chosen as the site for a convent devoted to Nuestra Señora de la Asunción.

18. San Juan Bautista, a small pueblo on the Río Grande about sixteen miles above Sevilleta.

19. A former Tigua pueblo a league above Alameda and, as Hackett has demonstrated, situated on the east bank of the Río Grande. C. W. Hackett, "Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandía in 1680-81," in *Old Santa Fé*, vol. II, p. 383. For the death of these friars, see Hammond and Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodríguez Expedition to New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1927).

JULY, 1598

ON July 4, because of the great delay of the carts—they did not reach the settlements until June 26, day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, although we had left them at the grave of Robledo in May—the governor sent his *maese de campo*, Don Juan de Zaldivar, after them. He was to bring them to the San Juan valley,²⁰ which he did on August 18, eve of the feast day of San Luis Obispo, a Franciscan friar. On this day, toward evening, they completed their last march at this pueblo, valley, and convent of San Juan Bautista. They had traveled, with few oxen and very weary, 161 leagues, the distance by the cart road, from the valley of San Bartolomé to this pueblo. Of the eighty-three carts and wagons which began the expedition, sixty-one arrived. The other twenty-two, as each was unburdened of provisions, had been left on the road in order to relieve the oxen and to spare us trouble as they were so little needed.

On the 7th of this month, at Santo Domingo, there was held a general council of seven Indian chieftains of different provinces of this New Mexico, and each one in the name of his province voluntarily pledged obedience to his majesty.

We left Bove, which we called San Ildefonso, in honor of Fray Alonso Martínez, our apostolic father commissary. It is almost eight leagues, with some bad road not fit for carts, so these came farther up, by way of the pueblo of San Marcos, making a detour of six more leagues.

On the 11th we traveled two leagues to the pueblo of Caypa, which we called San Juan.²¹ The army and the carts stopped here, as we have stated, completing the sixty-one leagues, or sixty-seven, including the roundabout route taken by the carts by way of the pueblo of San Marcos.

On the 13th the governor went on to the great pueblo of Picurías. He remained there on the feast day of San Buenaven-

20. Oñate's first headquarters, usually called San Juan de los Caballeros, had been established here somewhat earlier, after the ceremonies at Santo Domingo.

21. On the basis of this statement, San Juan de los Caballeros has generally been identified with Caypa, but it is now recognized that the author of the "Itinerario" was in error and that San Juan was established at the Indian pueblo of Okhe, which was on the east or left bank of the Río Grande. Caypa is the pueblo of Santa Clara. See John P. Harrington, "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," *29th Annual Report. Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1916, p. 242. American Journeys—www.americanjourneys.org

tura, and therefore this saint was chosen as its patron. It is distant six long leagues. On this trip there was found a quantity of ore which had accumulated in the riffles of an arroyo.

On this day, after mass, we set out for the province of Taos, which is also called Tayberon, and others. The distance is six leagues of bad road. It was named San Miguel. We did not go any farther in the direction we were following, *i.e.*, north by northwest. From there we returned on the 18th to Picurías; on the 19th, to Valle de San Juan; on the 20th, to San Ildefonso; and on the 21st we went up five leagues toward the east to the pueblo of San Marcos.

On the 22nd we went to the pueblo of San Cristóbal, where Doña Inés was born. She is the Indian woman we brought from Mexico like a second Malinche, but she does not know that language or any other spoken in New Mexico, nor is she learning them. Her parents and almost all of her relatives were already dead, and there was hardly anyone who remembered how Castaño had taken her away.

On the 24th we went to Galisteo, which we named Santa Ana.

On the 25th we went to the great pueblo of Pecos,²² which Espejo calls the province of Tamos, of which Don Pedro Orez, who died at Tanepantla, was a native. Therefore Juan de Dios, a lay brother who learned the language from him, acted as interpreter in it, and at present teaches in that pueblo in company with Father Fray Francisco de San Miguel. The blessed Santiago is its patron saint.

On the 26th we returned to San Cristóbal for dinner and spent the night at San Marcos, about five leagues distant. Ore was extracted there from the mines called Escalante.

On the 27th we returned to the valley of Santo Domingo. On this day, and almost at the same hour, the *maese de campo* arrived there with all the carts and the main part of the army. We remained together until August 1.

AUGUST, 1598

ON August 2, feast day of Portiuncula, after celebrating the Holy Jubilee in the church of the friars of Saint Francis, who

22. A. F. Bandelier made a famous report on this pueblo, "Report on the Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos," in Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, *American* & American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org

always carried it with them and who had said many masses all along the route, the governor set out for the province of the Emes.²³ He spent that night at the great pueblo of Tzia, already mentioned.

On August 3 we went to the great pueblo of the Emes. On this trip the natives came out to meet us, bringing water and bread, at a most difficult hill, and they helped us to take up the cavalry armor and weapons. Two horses rolled down shortly before reaching the top. It was the feast day of the Ynbención. We found the paten which belonged to the fathers, first discoverers, who had been killed eighteen years before. It was worn, suspended from the neck, by a petty chieftain of Emes who had drilled a small hole in the middle of it. He traded it for hawks bells, but even if he had not accepted them, he would not have been allowed to take it away. It is now kept in the ciborium of this convent of San Juan. It was the feast day of the Ynbención of San Estevan when we found it.

On the 4th we went down to other Emes pueblos. They say that there are eleven altogether; we saw eight. The descent was so rough that three horses tumbled down the precipice, and two of them were killed. Most of us who were on foot also fell. With extreme caution, we traveled about four leagues.

On the 5th we went down one league to the last pueblo of this province. We saw the marvelous hot baths, the waters of which rise in many places. They are unusual marvels of nature, having cold and very hot waters, and many deposits of sulphur and alum.²⁴ These are indeed well worth seeing, as will be fully told in the description of this land. The present report is only an itinerary of our journey. One league.

On the 6th, day of the Transfiguration, which we chose as the name of the convent there, we set out, after mass, and camped for the night on our way back to our headquarters. On the 7th we continued to Santo Domingo and spent the night at Asumpción. On the 8th we left for San Ildefonso, where we remained on the 9th; on the 10th, feast day of San Lorenzo, after mass, we went to San Juan.

On the 11th we began work on the irrigation ditch for the

23. That is, Jemez.

24. The Jemez HoAmerican Journeys – www.americanjourneys.org worth a visit.

city of our father, Saint Francis. Just as the Spaniards worship him as their patron saint, so the Indians in their chapel worship Saint Paul on the feast day of his conversion, and thus St. Paul is considered as the patron saint of all New Mexico, as Saint Joseph is of New Spain. Thus these provinces are called the *Conversión Evangélica*, and they have the conversion of Saint Paul as their emblem. Some fifteen hundred barbarian Indians gathered on this day and helped us with our work.

We waited for the carts until August 18 of the said year, 1598, when they arrived. This was the eve of the feast of the blessed San Luis Obispo, on whose day, a year before, they had arrived at San Bartolomé after a long wait at Casco, harassed by the children of this world in the prosecution of this blessed expedition.

On the 20th the worthlessness of some soldiers who organized a conspiracy was made evident. The 21st was the day of merciful punishment. It was the occasion of the famous sermon of tears, and of universal peace.

On the 23rd the building of the church was started, and it was completed on September 7. It was large enough to accommodate all the people of the camp.

SEPTEMBER, 1598

ON September 8, feast day of our Lady, the great celebration of the dedication of the church of Saint John the Baptist took place. It was blessed by the father commissary, who also consecrated the altar and the chalices. Father Salazar delivered the sermon. In the afternoon the whole camp celebrated with a good sham battle between Moors and Christians, the latter on foot with arquebuses, the former on horseback with lances and shields.

On the 9th a general assembly was held of all the country thus far discovered, and its provinces were distributed among the eight friar priests of the order of Saint Francis.²⁵ These provinces rendered obedience to his majesty voluntarily, accepting him as their king and lord. On the 10th or 11th the governor

²⁵. For the assignment of the missionaries to their pueblos, see below, "Act of Obedience and Vassalage by the Indians of the Pueblo of San Juan Bautista," pp. 342-347.

appointed as alguaciles, Tomás and Cristóbal, Indians who had been with Castaño, whom he found in the land.

On the 12th Juan Rodríguez, his younger brother, Manuel Portugués, and Juan González deserted. Captain Márquez, Captain Villagrán, Medel, Pedro de Ribera, and Arauxo set out to punish them. They beheaded the last two; the two brothers escaped at full gallop.

On the 15th Father Fray Francisco de Zamora left for his province of Picuríes and Taos. On the 16th Father Fray Francisco de San Miguel left for his province of Pecos. This same day the sargento mayor set out with fifty soldiers for the discovery of the buffalo.²⁶

On the 17th our father commissary returned from Picuríes, leaving friars there, and set out with the other four to establish them as follows: Father Fray Juan de Rozas in the province of the Cheres; Father Fray Alonso de Lugo in that of Emes; Father Fray Andrés Corchado in that of Tzia; and Father Fray Juan Claros in that of the Chiguas.

In the San Juan valley, province of the Teguas, he left Father Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, and, as his companion, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, a lay brother. They were placed in charge of the camp and its Indians.

On the 23rd he returned to the camp with his companion, Fray Pedro, a lay brother. This accounts for the ten friars who came on this expedition. At this time the Indian of Mentillo arrived, through whom we learned of the death of Leyva.²⁷

OCTOBER, 1598

ON October 6, Tuesday, the governor and our father commissary left for the salines of Pecos. These extend for many leagues and contain an infinite quantity of excellent white salt.²⁸ The party went also to the pueblos of the Jumanas, or Rayados, which are three in number, one of them very large. After visiting them all, they decided to cross to the west to discover the South sea, which they did. For this purpose they left Puaray on October 23 for this expedition to the sea.

26. See "Account of the Expedition to Discover the Buffalo, 1599," pp. 398-405.

27. See below, "Account Given by an Indian," pp. 416-419.

28. This statement is misleading, as the salt beds are east of the Manzano mountains, around Estancia in Terence county.

NOVEMBER, 1598

ON November 4 Captain Márquez arrived from New Spain and left Puaray for Acoma, following the governor.

On the 8th the sargento mayor came back from the land of the buffalo. He brought quantities of meat, fat, and tallow, although he was unable to bring any live animals. There were infinite numbers of them. Their hide is very woolly and thick. He traveled seventy leagues inland, as far as the pueblo which is nine leagues long. Several times he found traces of Umaña.

On Wednesday, November 18, at noon, the maese de campo set out for the South sea, following the governor.

DECEMBER, 1598

ON December 4 the maese was killed at Acoma by the Indians of that stronghold, which is the best situated in all Christendom. Also killed with him were Captain Diego Núñez, Captain Felipe de Escalante, Alférez Pereyra, Arauxo, Juan Camacho, Martín Ramírez, Juan de Segura, Pedro Robledo, Martín de Riveros, Sebastián Rodríguez, and two servants, a mulatto belonging to Damiero, and a Cochuelo Indian. They wounded León Zapata, Juan de Olague, Cavanillas, and twice stoned the royal alguacil.

On the 5th the royal alguacil set out with three companions to inform the governor, who was in the provinces of Zuñi and Mohoqui, of this incident. The alguacil lost the trail and returned on the 6th.

On the 7th Bernabé de las Casas set out with six men to make the same report, which he gave the governor ten leagues beyond Acoma. This was the salvation of the people who were with his lordship, because they were returning to Acoma completely confident, ignorant of the outrage the Indians had committed.

On the 21st, after receiving this warning, the governor returned to this pueblo of San Juan, the headquarters of his army and of our father commissary.

JANUARY, 1599

ON January 12 the sargento mayor²⁹ set forth with seventy men to punish Acoma. He was given the title of lieutenant governor

29. Vicente de Zaldívar, brother of the slain officer.

and chief of the companies. On the 21st, feast day of Santa Inés, the sargento mayor arrived with his soldiers, carts, and artillery to lay siege to Acoma. Its inhabitants, in war array, received our men with a shower of arrows and other missiles, and with many insults. They appeared with some of the weapons of the Christians whom they had killed there. Since they would not submit to the peace summons made to them, according to the instructions from his lordship, the Spaniards, on Friday the 22nd, feast day of Saint Vincent, at four o'clock in the afternoon, after all had confessed and made their peace with God, made the first assault, a feigned one, on one side of the peñol of Acoma. When the people of the peñol rushed there, the Spaniards climbed up the other side and by a valiant effort captured the first small crag, and other rocks and boulders, and finally came face to face with the enemy and held that position all that day and night with great care and diligence.

The next day, the 23rd, feast day of San Ildefonso, the soldiers began a general attack at daybreak and continued it until after four in the afternoon. It was miraculous that so many of the enemy were killed without the loss of any of our own, and that the air was so favorable, being so cold that our harquebuses never became overheated, even though they were fired incessantly all day. As the Spaniards up on the peñol were so few, not even fifty, for the rest of the seventy who went on this campaign guarded the base of the peñol on horseback, there were more than ten of the enemy on top of the peñol for every Spaniard. On this day the Indians saw either Santiago or Saint Paul. The accident that befell Lorenzo, a soldier, was due to carelessness in the ascent.

On this day, the 24th, the Indians capitulated, although the Spaniards did not enter the pueblo until Sunday, the 24th [*sic*], when they established their camp in one of its plazas. They began to seize the Indians, and some entrenched themselves in the estufas and underground passages of the rock which they had undermined in many directions. Most of them were punished and put to death by fire and sword. The pueblo was completely laid waste and burned.³⁰

30. These events are told in much greater detail in the "Trial of the Indians of the Pueblo of Acoma," December 28, 1629, below, pp. 479-480.

This peñol is reached from Puaray by the following watering places and marches:

Going west, it is four leagues to Torrente de los Alamos. Midway is Mimbres arroyo. It is seven leagues from there to Barranca spring, and from the spring to Acoma, two. From the peñol of Acoma, traveling to Zuñi and Mohoce, provinces with well-disposed Indians, to the source of the Mala Nueva river it is four leagues. It is eight to Agua de la Peña, and four to the spring which flows to Zuñi. In that region there are three pueblos in ruins. It is three leagues to the first pueblo of Zuñi.³¹

At that place our men were well received and furnished with what they needed. It is a land abounding in game. There are crosses, erected in former times, and the Indians worship and offer them what they offer their idols. At that place descendants of the Mexican Indians left there by Coronado were found.

Nine leagues from there to the east was discovered the famous saline of granulated salt. Captain Villagrán, procurator general of New Spain,³² arrived here on foot, almost starved to death, and frozen from the cold as a result of falling into a trap at Acoma.

From the first pueblo of this province of Zuñi, in which there are six, to the last one, it is three leagues. From here to the province of Mohoce, it is six leagues to Cieneguilla, and six more to the small springs [Manantialejos].

There are crosses on the way to the first pueblo of Mohoqui or Mohoce. The natives scatter meal as a sign of friendship. The distance is five leagues. To the second pueblo it is three leagues. To the fourth pueblo, going through the third, it is four leagues. The people are all very good. They wear blankets, generally of istle, excellent and beautifully painted cotton clothing, and skins of the buffalo and other animals. Up to this place, the settlements have been reached from the east, up to today, December 20, 1598.

From here, having received reports of rich mines, the captain

31. For a discussion of the Zuñi pueblos, see F. W. Hodge, "The Six Cities of Cibola, 1581-1608," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 1 (1926), pp. 478-488.

32. Pacheco y Cárdenas erroneously give this as Captain Márquez, though it reads Villagrán in the Spanish manuscript. The saline referred to was the Zuñi Salt spring.

of the guard, Marcos Farfán, Captain Alonso de Quesada, Captain Bartolomé Romero, Francisco Vido, and others left by order of the governor to discover them.³³

It is six leagues west to the small spring at the sand dunes. From there it is three leagues to the Alameda river; three leagues to the slope of the mountain, without water; two leagues to the pool of Pinal; two and a half leagues to the *ranchería* of the Gandules; six leagues through the mountain range to Agua del Valle; two leagues to the *ranchería* of the Cruzados.³⁴

To the valley of the Spanish partridges and Mexican magueys, and to their *ranchería* and a fine river, three leagues. It is four leagues to the third river and two to the fourth, both very large. There are fine pastures and plains, a very pleasing country.

They went to the hills of the mines and to the springs of almost hot water, and there they found them. The deposits contain numerous very wide veins, of very high grade ore. The governor has special information concerning their indications, assays, and richness, to which I refer.

33. See the "Account of the Discovery of Mines, 1599," below, pp. 408-415.

34. Katharine Bartlett and Harold S. Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona at Flagstaff have studied the terrain of the Farfán expedition and have made the best identification of the route. It is their conclusion that the group probably set out from Awátobi, first of the Hopi pueblos of that time coming from Zuñi. The Alameda river was the Little Colorado; the slope of the mountain, Sunset Mountain; the pool of Pinal, Sunset Tanks; the *ranchería* of the Gandules, a camp of Jumano Indians near Hay lake; thence over a high ridge past Pine springs and Stoneman lake to Beaver creek, Oak creek, and the Verde. The mines were probably at the site of modern Jerome. See Katharine Bartlett, "Notes upon the Routes of Espejo and Farfán to the Mines in the Sixteenth Century," in *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xvii, pp. 21-36.