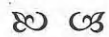
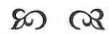


AMERICAN JOURNEYS COLLECTION



Investigation of Conditions
in New Mexico,
1601

DOCUMENT NO. AJ-105



WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
DIGITAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES



|| www.americanjourneys.org || www.wisconsinhistory.org ||
© Wisconsin Historical Society 2003

INVESTIGATION OF CONDITIONS IN NEW MEXICO, 1601

INVESTIGATION MADE BY DON FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE BY ORDER OF THE VICEROY, COUNT OF MONTERREY, REGARDING CONDITIONS IN THE PROVINCES OF NEW MEXICO. JULY, 1601.¹

DON GASPAR DE ZÚÑIGA Y ACEVEDO, Count of Monterrey, lord of the houses and estate of Viedma and Ulloa, viceroy, his majesty's representative, governor and captain general of New Spain, and president of its audiencia and royal chancellery:

Whereas during the first days of June some captains and soldiers of Governor Don Juan de Oñate, who is in New Mexico by authority of his majesty, came to this city and brought me a letter and some reports from the said governor; and whereas I tried then to inform myself in detail with regard to the situation in which Don Juan and his people find themselves, their good or bad experiences, their expectations for the future, and other matters pertaining to those provinces, nevertheless it seemed to me that in order to inform his majesty more fully regarding what these captains and soldiers have reported, it was desirable that an experienced person, commissioned by me, should call together the men now in this city and question them fully, under oath, in regard to whatever he thought appropriate, in order that a copy of this testimony might be sent to his majesty together with the other reports that I have received from the said governor.

Therefore, having confidence in you, Don Francisco de Valverde, his majesty's factor in this treasury of Mexico, and believing that you will be able to examine these persons thoroughly and properly, by this letter I appoint you, in the name of his majesty, and hereby commission you to call before you the said captains and persons who may now be in this city, and to examine each one individually and ask him to state under oath

1. From a photograph of a certified copy in the Archivo General de Indias, *Audiencia de México*, legajo 26.

whatever he may know of the said expedition that he thinks his majesty should be advised of. I shall also inform you orally of what has been reported to me and of other matters in order that you may the better obtain their testimony, which you shall deliver to me later, signed by you and the witnesses, for the purpose stated above. This is done by virtue of a cedula which I have from his majesty, authorizing me to dispatch personally matters that I consider suitable; and I ask that this appointment be endorsed by Juan Bautista de Ureta.

Mexico, July 25, 1601. COUNT OF MONTERREY. By order of his lordship, JUAN BAUTISTA DE URETA.

ON July 28, 1601, in Mexico, Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, his majesty's factor of the royal treasury in New Spain, by virtue of the commission given him by his excellency, the Count of Monterrey, ordered Joseph Brondate, now in this city, to testify in the inquiry ordered by his lordship to ascertain the situation of Don Juan de Oñate, governor of the provinces of New Mexico, and of his people, and the good or bad experiences that they had met with since they set out from this city, or that they expect to meet with, and other matters concerning those provinces of which his majesty should be informed.

The witness took his oath in due legal manner and promised to tell the truth. Thereupon he said that he had left this city with Don Juan de Oñate when he set out for the conquest of the provinces of New Mexico. The witness went as captain of cavalry, May 6, 1595, but the expedition was halted by order of his majesty and the viceroy of New Spain until December 19, 1597. On this date they started out from the mines of Santa Bárbara, the last settlement in New Vizcaya and its jurisdiction, located two hundred leagues from this city, more or less, and proceeded to the exploration of the provinces of New Mexico, where, after delays and travels, they arrived at the Río del Norte on April 20, 1598, in which year these provinces began to be explored. They entered them in $32\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, ninety-five leagues from the town of Santa Bárbara. All of this land is uninhabited, with fair water and pastures up to within twelve leagues of the Río del Norte, where the land is sandy, covered with dunes, and without water.

From there they marched up the Del Norte river about eight leagues in three days over sandy ground. At this place the governor took possession of those provinces in the name of his majesty with much solemnity. From there they marched five leagues up the river, where, on crossing it, they met the first Indians. He thought that there must have been about two hundred fishermen, practicing their occupation peaceably. They received the Spaniards in a friendly manner, regaling them and aiding them to get their baggage, carts, and cattle across the river, which they crossed in 32 degrees. Going up the river they reached the first pueblos in the province. These pueblos must be fifty leagues, more or less, from the said ford. The land is all good, with fine pastures, except for eight leagues where there is a lack of water.

Asked how long he had resided in the provinces of New Mexico, the witness replied that he had been there from the first day when, as he said, he entered with the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, until March 23 of this year, 1601, serving his majesty.

Asked what he had seen and traversed in those provinces from the first pueblo that they found in the province to the locality where Don Juan de Oñate had established the headquarters of his army and the rest of the people, the witness said that he had been in all the pueblos of that region as far as San Gabriel, which is the place where their camp was established. From this place they went out to explore about fifty leagues to the north and twenty toward the sides. In this territory there must be about fifty pueblos, the smallest with thirty houses and the largest with four hundred. The small houses are two storeys high, and the large ones four. They are built of adobes and covered with flat dirt roofs like the houses in this city. The dirt of these roofs is so well packed that it makes a compact surface that sheds the water in time of rain. On each storey of these houses there dwells a family occupying three rooms, one behind the other. The rooms are all built alike, although some of them are larger than others.

When the latitude was taken at this pueblo of San Gabriel it was found to be in 37 degrees and 15 minutes north latitude.

Asked about the nature of the people who live in these

pueblos, the witness replied that they were well-disposed, dressed in cotton blankets or in tanned skins of the Cíbola cattle, which have long hair resembling coarse wool very much like the nap of Flemish rugs. The wool of these cattle is dark brown, somewhat like the color of lions. In general the Indian men all wear these blankets or skins, just as the Mexicans wear their *tilmas*, and the women wear cotton blankets in the same way, which consists in tying them in a knot over the shoulder. These Indian men and women are very similar in color to those of New Spain.

The people devote themselves to agriculture, growing maize, beans, calabashes, fine melons, and watermelons. Some of their fields are irrigated by means of ditches, others depend on seasonal rains. They plant all their crops in May and harvest in August. This is the time when it rains in the province, although but little. In the winter it snows five or six times, as in Spain. There are few storms, and the prevailing winds blow from the west or south. The maize stalks are small, but the ears large. One fanega of wheat seed produces thirty-five or forty fanegas. The Río del Norte is the main river in the province, carrying as much water as the Tagus. It rises in the month of May when the snow begins to melt and carries considerable water until September. It never becomes muddy, but flows with its usual clearness. It has an abundance of many kinds of fish.

These Indians do not have any domestic animals, but only the native fowl of Mexico, which in Spain are called turkeys. They raise them for their feathers, but they do not eat their meat or eggs. The meat that they eat is what they obtain by hunting with bow and arrow, such as deer, hares, and rabbits, which are found in large numbers. Thus they are hardly ever without meat. They eat also some varieties of herbs, cooking them in ollas which hold three or four arrobas. They use no other beverage except pure water. After the herbs have been cooked, they keep them in preserve for the whole year, and when they wish to eat them, they cook them again.

Asked what type of government they have or whose orders they follow, the witness said that they recognize no superior at all, but that they are accustomed to gather in some underground

caves,² which they use as plazas for their games and dances. They come out of these places to dance in the plazas, but they do not show any particular respect or obedience for anyone among their people. When the Spaniards want something and they call some Indian and ask him to go with them as interpreter and guide, he goes with them and explains that the natives should give what is asked, and if they do not give it of their own accord, there is no use in thinking of anything else but of moving on. The one who goes along to ask for it will never coerce them by force. They do not have a community house or building other than the said caves, which, as has been stated, serve as community centers and are quite odd in their way. The natives have no rank or preference in seating or in other customs. They sit on the ground, without using any bench, stone, or anything else.

Asked whether the Indians marry or have any ceremony for the occasion, whether they have one or more wives and keep them for life, the witness said that the house belongs to the wife; she is the one who builds it and not the man. They make agreements among themselves and live together as long as they want to, and when the woman takes a notion, she looks for another husband and the man for another wife. The men have three or four wives at one time, but the women have only one husband; however, they are not faithful to their husbands, nor do the latter care about this or punish them. They do, none the less, have great affection for their children, and the latter show great respect for their parents. The spinning and weaving of the blankets which they use for clothing is done by the men, not by the women. The girls go about naked, and the boys likewise until they are twelve or thirteen years of age.

Asked whether the natives use a common language or many different dialects, the witness answered that there are various languages, six or seven or more, and that the pueblo people do not understand one another but must use interpreters. There is no one language common to all of them.

Asked what goods the Indians trade among themselves, the

2. These were, of course, the kivas. See Herbert E. Bolton's chapter on "Pueblo Society" in *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, pp. 413-422, and Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, under individual pueblos.

witness said that there is no buying or selling or barter among them, nor do they have public places where they come to buy and exchange. They trade only with the buffalo-hunting Vaquero Indians, who bring them dried meat, fat, and dressed skins for clothing themselves. They give them maize in trade and cotton blankets painted in various colors, which the Vaqueros do not have.

Asked what metals there are found in the said province and whether the Indians have gold, silver, copper, etc., the witness said that they do not have any metals, but that by means of stones they work in their own way the wood and other things they need.

Asked what religion, idolatries, rituals, and ceremonies the natives practice among themselves,³ the witness said that they have medicine men who talk to the devil, and that they consult them as to whether or not it will rain. They have no churches, except that they reserve one of the above-mentioned caves or estufas as residence and living quarters for the medicine men, and no one else is allowed to enter them. They worship some small idols made of stone or wood, but they do not have much attachment for them and do not mind abandoning them. These natives are not known to have any vices; on the contrary, they live an orderly life. Thieving, insults, quarrels, or anything else that might give rise to fights are not known to exist among them.

In burying their dead, some were laid face down, with an ear of maize in the mouth, others face up, in holes, where they also put some food. However, they cast the bodies of the old people in the fields to be devoured by wild beasts.

Asked how many Spaniards remained in the province at the time of his departure, the witness said that there were two hundred, more or less, among them forty-one or forty-two married men with their wives.

Asked what cattle they have, the witness replied that they had about two hundred brood mares, eight hundred horses, six hundred cows, four hundred oxen, three thousand goats and sheep, and three hundred mules; he said that there were rolling

3. For a comprehensive study of Pueblo religion and social customs, see Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, Chicago, 1939, 2 vols.

pastures excellent for such stock, and for many more, and that the cattle multiplied rapidly. This year there were harvested almost three thousand fanegas of wheat and some barley.

Asked how the governor had established his camp, whether it was founded as a town or was only temporary, the witness said that the governor and his people had settled in an Indian pueblo consisting of approximately four hundred houses, which the Spaniards occupied and adapted to their needs, but they built no houses or fortification because it was unnecessary,⁴ owing to the gentle nature of the people, for they were peaceful and docile. The place was appropriate for any kind of establishment, because it had water, rivers, and forests.

Asked how many people there were, discovered and pacified, under the jurisdiction of Don Juan de Oñate, the witness said that from the first pueblos to the limits of what had been discovered there must be fifty or sixty thousand people, including men and women, children, and old persons. These people were all of the nature described above. They were distributed in one hundred thirty pueblos. These facts are known to everyone. The witness knows this from what he saw and from talks with other captains who went out to explore. This province is surrounded entirely by uninhabited areas. It has no communication with other pueblos, except with some Indians who wander about in rancherías and who have no permanent place of residence. These wanderers live in tents; they do not plant or harvest, but live entirely on game, which, it is said, is found in large numbers.

Asked what information there was of other provinces, the witness said that it was a matter of public knowledge that one hundred fifty leagues farther to the northeast there was a Great Settlement seven leagues long with huts built of straw, and containing numerous people. A Mexican Indian named Jusepillo was said to have been there and to have seen the settlement. He went there with a Spaniard named Umaña. This Jusepillo remained in the camp of Governor Don Juan de Oñate and does not know nor has he heard of any other settlement.

4. San Gabriel, on the Chama river, which remained the capital until Santa Fé was founded some years later.

Asked whether the said Don Juan had allotted any of these pueblos as repartimientos or encomiendas, he said that he had not.

Asked whether he knew the reasons or causes why the governor had failed to do so, the witness replied that he did not know.

Asked whether the governor had levied any tribute or personal service for labor or necessary tasks in the camp on the peaceful Indians under his jurisdiction, the witness said that altogether they pay him as tribute about two thousand cotton blankets, which are a yard and a half long and almost as wide, five hundred dressed buckskins, five or six thousand fanegas of maize and beans, and a very small number of fowls. The governor distributes all of this among his people according to their needs and shows much affection and sympathy for everyone and looks after their welfare. People come from all the pueblos to help in planting, weeding, and cultivating the land, to work in the harvest, to serve in the houses, and to tend the livestock.

Asked whether, after the governor had arrived, they discovered mines of gold, silver, etc., the witness said that at the pueblo of San Marcos, six leagues from the camp, there were mines with rich lodes. These ores, on being assayed, yielded four ounces. This witness saw it himself, and also that the sargento mayor was building a device to crush ore and extract metals, of which there were numerous reports.

Asked whether he saw any pearls, or whether there were reports of them from the North or South seas, from which some claimed to have obtained pearl-bearing shells, the witness stated that he saw some shells which were supposed to be pearl-bearing. He had heard it said that they were from the South sea, which he understands is very distant from the camp.

Asked what priests or friars remained in the said provinces, the witness said that there were about six friar priests of the order of Saint Francis, and that they were distributed as follows: two in the camp, where there are churches and convents;⁵ one at the pueblo of San Ildefonso, three leagues from the camp, accompanied by two or three Spaniards; one at Santa Clara,

5. At the headquarters in San Gabriel.

one league away, accompanied by a Spaniard; and two others at a pueblo called San Francisco del Monte, four leagues beyond.

Asked how many of the Indians have been baptized, not only in the camp, but in other places, the witness answered about one hundred. Most of them, if not all, were from those at the camp who associated with the Spaniards. The friars have not baptized more because they wanted to see what trend matters in the province were going to take.

Asked if the Indians in the province were inclined to accept baptism and our holy faith, the witness replied that he believed they were all well disposed, that they would become Christians willingly, and that they were well qualified to become good converts, as they were naturally free from vices and not inclined to idolatry.

Asked why Governor Don Juan de Oñate, during the time that he had been in the province, did not explore farther, the witness said that it was because the governor did not have sufficient people to do so. To go to the Great Ranchería mentioned above, which extended for seven leagues, he would have needed one hundred fifty men, and he never had them until the reinforcement of seventy arrived. He could now take one hundred thirty to the said ranchería and leave the others at the camp. In the meantime he had busied himself in exploring two hundred leagues to the northwest toward the South sea, with thirty or forty soldiers, which were all that could then be spared or equipped, and in making the expedition to the cattle beyond the salines to the southwest, where they found a most fertile valley abounding in fish [*sic*], new fruits, grapes, plums, and forests. They came upon one hundred Indian tents occupied by more than fifteen hundred persons, who abandoned them and fled. When the Spaniards drew away, the Indians returned to their tents, for the Spaniards saw them go back.

The witness was asked what impression he got from what he saw in the country and heard from the captains and soldiers who remained there as to the desires and satisfaction of the settlers, what he knew that should be reported to his majesty in order that, as king and lord, he might send protection and aid to his vassals and thus be able to maintain this people through

the present situation and give them hope for the future, and whether the colonists were in the province willingly or were eager to return to New Spain; to this he answered that in some of the colonists he had discerned a good spirit and a desire to explore farther and to maintain what had been discovered; others wanted to return to this city; still others were unable to return because they were married and burdened with wives, children, and relatives. He believes that they will all suffer hardships and difficulties in order to survive unless something better is discovered or his majesty sends them clothing, munitions, and other necessary things such as iron, medicines, oil, and wine until they plant vines. If his majesty furnishes them with these and other essential things, they will stay there, and the friars will be able to baptize the rest of the Indians. This witness thinks that this aid could be sent at a yearly cost of ten thousand pesos.

All that the witness has stated is the truth and of common knowledge. This is what he knows, under his oath. He ratified his testimony and signed it. He said that he was more than thirty years of age, and that the general questions of the law did not concern him. DON FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE MERCADO. JUSEPE BRONDATE. Before me, MARCOS LEANDRO, royal notary.

ON July 28, 1601, the factor, Don Francisco de Valverde, in accordance with his commission, ordered Marcelo de Espinosa of this city to testify. The latter took his oath in due legal manner and promised to tell the truth.

On being questioned, this witness testified that he set out in May, 1595, from this city of Mexico for Zacatecas with Don Juan de Oñate in charge of a company as captain of cavalry for the conquest of the provinces of New Mexico. By order of his majesty and the viceroy of New Spain, they were detained at the mines of Casco, jurisdiction of New Vizcaya, until December, 1597. From there they proceeded to the mines of Santa Bárbara and Todos Santos, last settlement of that province, two hundred leagues from this city, more or less. From there he accompanied the governor to the discovery of New Mexico, which they reached at the Río del Norte on April 20, 1598, after their delays and travels. Here begins the region of the provinces of New

Mexico. They traveled upstream along this river until they came to the Indian pueblos, which they gradually brought to the service of his majesty.

Asked how long he stayed in the provinces of New Mexico, the witness said that he had been there from the time he arrived with Don Juan de Oñate until March 23 of this year, 1601, when the governor sent him with some papers and reports to his excellency, the Count of Monterrey, viceroy of New Spain.

Asked what he had explored and seen in the said provinces from the first pueblo until they came to the place where Don Juan de Oñate had established his headquarters, and what he knew of the other pueblos in the province, the witness said that the Indian pueblos under the jurisdiction and authority of Governor Don Juan de Oñate seemed to number 125 or 130, more or less. He had traveled through them and seen them with his own eyes. He went with the sargento mayor, Vicente de Zaldívar, to the discovery of the Cíbola cattle. Returning from this trip, he accompanied the sargento mayor to the discovery of the South sea, some of his company of horsemen always going along.

From the first pueblo, which is named Cuelaqu, to the last one, named Taos, there is a distance of seventy leagues, all in the upper valley of the Río del Norte, and the width of the land must be twenty-five or thirty leagues. This does not apply to the two provinces of Moqui and Zuñi, which are sixty leagues from the pueblo of San Gabriel, headquarters of the governor. Of all the pueblos the witness has seen, the smallest one must have about thirty-five houses, and the largest four hundred, but he does not think that any one pueblo has this many. The small houses have two storeys, the large ones, four and five. They are built of adobe, with round timbers and flat roofs, so that, in the wet season, it rains in. Each house has its dweller and his family. Some have two, but as a rule there is only one. In the other rooms of these houses they store maize, cotton, ollas, and such vegetables as beans, calabashes, and greens. These houses are very much alike, although differing in height, width, and length.

Asked what type of people dwell in these pueblos, how many inhabitants there are, both men and women, and what their nature is, the witness said that both men and women are corpulent, that the women are of whiter complexion than the men.

The latter resemble very much those in New Spain, although they are of better disposition. The men wear blankets, dressed skins of buffaloes and coyotes. The women always wear cotton blankets reaching to their ankles. The buffalo skins are woolly, the hair long and coarse. The Spaniards often used them as blankets to put over them at night, and to make caparisons and many other useful articles.

These people are farmers. They grow maize, cotton, beans, calabashes, melons, and watermelons. Some fields are irrigated, others depend on seasonal rains. They do their planting in May and harvest in August. During this time there is some rain, although not very much, for the land obtains its moisture from snowfalls, which are frequent from September to April. There are few storms. The prevailing winds are from the west and north, wherefore it is very cold. The maize stalks grow to about half a yard tall; the ears are large. One fanega of wheat seed which the soldiers planted there produced from twenty to thirty fanegas.

The main river in that province⁶ is as large as the Tagus at Toledo. From May to September it carries much water because of the melting snow. It has a variety of fish such as bagre, eel, trout, and other kinds. These Indians do not have domestic animals of any kind except turkeys, which here are called native hens. They do not raise these birds for food, but for their feathers, as they make blankets out of them, with which they keep warm in winter. The meat which the natives eat comes from the game they kill with their arrows. It consists of venison, hare, rabbit, and some animals like sheep, but these differ from ours in their hair, which is like that of deer, with a head larger than the whole body, the horns very twisted and heavier than the horns of a bull.⁷ When this beast jumps from some high rock, it lands on its head, then rises and flees. The meat of these animals is good for jerking. There are many herds of them.

When the Indians go hunting, the chieftain in charge of this activity goes through the pueblo, calling like a town crier, and those who are hunters go out together. All the game that they

6. The Río Grande.

7. Probably Rocky Mountain sheep, which ranged as far south as northern Mexico.

get they distribute equally, except the skin, which belongs to the one who kills the animal. They also eat field herbs which they know. These greens, although not well cooked, are preserved and saved for the winter, when there are none. They use no beverage except water. They use corn flour for making pinole; as a result there is never a drunken Indian.

Asked what type of government and organization the natives have and whom they obey, the witness said that all he knows is that when he arrived at any of the pueblos where the governor sent him and his men in search of maize, fowl, blankets, or Indian servants, his interpreter would tell one of the Indians of the pueblo to call the chieftain. On being called, an Indian came⁸ and they told him through the interpreter what they wanted. The Indian went away and walked through the pueblo, shouting to the people in their own tongue what the Spanish captain was asking for, or telling them to assemble to discuss the matter. After a while they gathered in a cave, which the soldiers called an *estufa*. The latter was plastered and whitewashed on the inside and had a roof over it. There the natives decided what they should do. This witness heard from an Indian interpreter that they did not reach any decision without first consulting the women and getting their opinion. Then the Indian chieftain went back and told the Spaniards what they could give. If the said chieftain thought that what his people offered was insufficient, the natives discussed the matter again and reached a final agreement and gave what was asked of them, delivering it to the said chieftain. The sacks for the maize were handed over to him, and in the morning they were found in the plaza, filled. If it was blankets that the natives were asked to give, a soldier went to each house after they had reached an agreement, and at the entrance found his blankets and buckskins.

So it is clear that they have leaders whom they respect. These chiefs are not elected but are hereditary; when the father dies, the son is invested with the same post that his father held. If the Spaniards ever tried to make a chieftain or his son bear bur-

8. The change in tense evidently indicates that the witness was telling of a particular incident. American Journeys – www.americanjourneys.org

dens, the others prevented it, saying that they were chieftains, whom they obeyed and respected.

Asked whether they marry, have one or more wives, have wedding ceremonies, and whether the men keep their wives for life,⁹ the witness stated that in their wedding ceremonies the Indian talks to the girl he likes and gives her two, three, or four blankets, according to the esteem in which she is held. She takes him to her house, for the houses belong to the women, they being the ones who build them. She keeps the man with her three or four months, which they call moons. If she becomes pregnant during this time, the man supports her, and she cares for him all her life and remains his wife. If she does not become pregnant, the man abandons her and she is marked with two roses in her hair. This indicates that she is ready to marry [*sic*] any man, if she is paid. I saw Indians who had five or six wives who had become pregnant. They keep them in different pueblos, never keeping two in the same one. The women are not faithful to these Indians, nor do the men punish them. The men have great affection for their children, and the latter are obedient and respectful to their parents. The men spin and weave the blankets, and the women busy themselves preparing the food and in making pottery. Boys and girls go about entirely naked until they are twelve years old, without any covering whatsoever.

Asked if these Indians use a common language or many dialects, the witness replied that they have no common language, but many. One pueblo does not understand the language of another except through interpreters. But the people from the same province understand and trade with one another.

Asked what goods the Indians trade among themselves, the witness said that their trade is in blankets, buffalo skins, meat, fat, and tallow brought by the Vaqueros from the buffalo plains. The Indians do not gather in the plazas, for they do not trade there, but only in special houses. When strangers want something, they show what they have and trade it for what they want.

Asked what metals the Indians had, whether gold, silver, cop-

9. Information on the marriage customs of the Pueblo Indians is given in the following: "Gallegos' Relation," *New Mexico Historical Review*, II (1927), pp. 347-348; Bandelier, "Kin and Clan," *ibid.*, VIII (1935), pp. 167-169; Benavides' *Revised Memorial of 1634*, pp. 44, 230, 241; Bandelier, *Final Report*, vol. I (1890), pp. 141-142; Elsie Clew *American Journeys* - www.americanjourneys.org, I, pp. 41-44.

per, or anything else, the witness replied that when the Spaniards reached the province, he did not see gold, silver, copper, or any other metal except *tezcazequis* and *cobucos*,^{9a} with which the Indians daub and paint themselves to celebrate their idolatries.

Asked what religion, idolatry, rituals, or ceremonies these Indians practiced, the witness said, as he has stated before, that there is an estufa, painted all over with large and small idols in the same manner that they paint devils here in Mexico. In the middle are sculptured idols of stone or wood to which they offer maize, small birds of various colors, reeds, lizards, and other reptiles. At the time of their offerings they all gather in a big circle to dance a sort of *mitote*. At the offerings they select some Indians, whom they flay unmercifully with rattan. Those flayed never complain or open their mouths. There are among them some dedicated to become medicine men. They are the ones who ask questions of the devil and receive his answers. These medicine men are venerated by the others and have charge of the estufas. These Indians are devoted to their idols, and there is nothing they resent so much as to have them knocked to the ground.

These Indians fast in their own way, eating only every twenty-four hours. They have no vices other than lust. There is no thieving among them; they keep their doors open and no one takes what belongs to someone else. In all the time that this witness was in the province, he never saw a quarrel among men. From a distance he saw women dispute, and he heard it said that they wrangle for no particular reason but that no one was ever needed to restore peace among them. They leave their dead, if they are old, in the fields for the crows; the young ones they burn, and in some places they bury them. They say that they dispose of the old in this way because they are useless and serve only to consume the bread of those who work.

Asked what good or bad experiences, what resistance, what kinds of offense and defense the Indians had offered from the time that Governor Don Juan de Oñate arrived until March 23,

9a. These Aztec words evidently refer to some blackish and reddish substances from which the Indians obtained coloring matter, but the spelling of the words is garbled.

when the last captains and soldiers who are now in this city left by order of the governor, the witness said that, in the discovery of the Río del Norte, the sargento mayor went ahead with twelve companions and came to a ranchería containing about four hundred Indians. Some of the latter fled, but the chieftains called and rallied them. The sargento mayor ordered, under penalty of death, that no one fire his harquebus until he gave the order to do so. The Indians began to shoot arrows, while the sargento mayor continued to appeal to them. Finally they struck a soldier twice with arrows and wounded a horse. Then Captain Aguilar asked permission to shoot at an Indian, having loaded his harquebus with small shot. Permission was given and he fired. The Indian moved nearer the sargento mayor and began to shoot arrows at him. At this time they fired an harquebus at the Indian and killed him. Then the Indians began to fight, until some were wounded, whereupon they withdrew. Forewarned by this experience, and intimidated, they became friendly, and later when the carts came they let them pass. This was by order of the sargento mayor, who established peace with them.

At the pueblo of Taos—I mean the pueblo of Acoma—after it had rendered obedience, when the maese de campo went there to obtain provisions (he was following the governor, who had gone ahead to the discovery of the South sea), the Indians revolted and killed the maese de campo and twelve of his men and wounded four others. The sargento mayor then went with sixty soldiers to punish these Indians. For this reason and to set an example to the others, he destroyed and burned the pueblo and took the people as prisoners. This was the worst experience that the Spaniards had on the entire expedition. In the other cases the natives, with a little punishment and good handling by the governor or the sargento mayor, submitted and became peaceful, as they continue to this day.

Asked how many Spaniards there were in the province at the time he set out from there, the witness said that perhaps two hundred soldiers remained, forty-two of them married.

Asked what cattle they had, he said that there must be about five hundred brood mares, eight hundred horses, six hundred cows, four hundred oxen, thirty-five hundred sheep and goats, and seven hundred tame mules. The pastures are ample for this

stock and even for a much larger number. The animals are fat and multiply readily. He thinks that this year the settlers will harvest more than three thousand fanegas of wheat and a small amount of barley.

Asked in what manner the governor had established his headquarters, whether it was a city or a temporary settlement, the witness said that it was established in a pueblo named San Gabriel, which belonged to the Indians. It must have four hundred houses, which the Spaniards adapted for their living quarters. They sent the Indians to another pueblo facing this one and separated only by the Río del Norte.¹⁰ Some Indians remained among the Spaniards. The latter did not build a settlement because they did not find it necessary, for the pueblo itself is strong, due to its location, and the Indians are by nature quiet, peaceful, and loyal. The location of the said pueblo is suitable for a great city, for it has rivers, springs, and woods very close by.

Asked how many people there were in the one hundred twenty-five or one hundred thirty pacified pueblos under the government of Don Juan de Oñate, the witness said that there must be about fourteen or fifteen thousand inhabitants, so that, including men and women, there must be between twenty-two and twenty-four thousand, all domestic and peaceful people. He knows this to be true because he has traveled throughout the land and has seen it all. This province, aside from the places mentioned, is uninhabited, and there are no other pueblos except that in the uninhabited areas there are Indians who roam like nomads, without a fixed place of residence and without other possessions than their bows and arrows. They do not plant or harvest. They live by hunting. At planting time, before the towns and villages came under the favor and protection of the Spaniards, and after the harvest, they fought the Indians of the pueblos for their products, leaving their women and children in the sierra.

Asked what information there was of other provinces, the witness said that he went on the trip to the buffalo where he saw rancherías of thirty or forty tents. The latter are made of tanned buffalo hides and are put up in the shape of a pavilion.

10. This was the American Journeys – www.americanjourneys.org

They withstand the water and the sun and hold four or five people. These Indians, taking their women and children along, support themselves by following the buffalo, which are large like the cattle of Castile. They have humps like camels. From the middle of their body to the front they resemble lions because of their long hair. Their haunches are like those of a priest's fat mules, and their tails like pigs' tails, hairless to the tip, which has some bristles. The animals are very fat and their meat tasty. The Indians kill them with arrows at their watering places, make dried meat from them, and take their tallow and fat.

There are vast numbers of these cattle on the prairies where they graze. We saw them only at good watering places and on the plains where there is fine short grass. The Spaniards were unable to corral these animals, but killed more than a thousand.

These Indians come to trade with those of the pueblos. They do not bear any burdens, because they load their meat, fat, and tents on packs of dogs, each dog carrying a load of fifty pounds. The dogs are much smaller than mastiffs. The Spaniards saw no established town or heard of any. They returned to camp from there, laden with meat and fat.

From there the sargento mayor with twenty-five captains and soldiers, including this witness, set out for the discovery of the South sea.¹¹ We traveled about two hundred leagues on foot, including the side trips that were made. Not being able to go on, we arrived, the horses exhausted and their hoofs bruised, at some woods where we learned that the Indians planned to kill us in an ambush since we were only a few, as most of the horses and the nine men who guarded them had remained at the serranía of Topia.

In view of the fact, as this witness has stated, that we could not avail ourselves of the horses, and that we were only thirteen persons, it seemed suitable and necessary to all of us to turn back. We did so, without ever discovering in the said two hundred leagues any established pueblo. We found only rancherías, the largest of which had about four hundred Indians, who all together did not possess two fanegas of maize. They sustained

11. This is one additional bit of evidence that such an expedition took place, evidently in 1599. See also Hammond, *The Founding of New Mexico*, pp. 131-132.

themselves by eating mesquite, a small, thick-skinned fruit which grows on some wild trees. All the people go about naked, but the women wear a kind of shirt made from the cottonwood tree.

After seeing all of this, we returned to camp, having spent more than three months on the aforesaid expedition. Lately, the governor was about to set out with one hundred thirty soldiers to a ranchería and settlement composed of huts which the Indian Jusepillo claimed that he had seen when he was with Umaña. He claimed that the settlement was seven leagues long; and there were other Indians who said that it was very large. This witness does not know whether there is other proof of this story. They said that the settlement was one hundred fifty leagues from the quarters at San Gabriel.

Asked whether the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, had allotted the peaceful, discovered pueblos as repartimientos or encomiendas, the witness said that he did not know the reason why the governor had not done it.

Asked whether the governor had levied any tribute on the peaceful Indians under his jurisdiction, or any personal services, work, or other tasks related to the service of the camp, the witness stated that the governor had levied a tribute on the pueblos of two thousand cotton blankets one and a half yards square, five hundred buckskins, two thousand fanegas of maize, some beans and fowl. He distributed all these things among the soldiers, according to the needs of each one. The governor ruled to the satisfaction of the soldiers. From the neighboring pueblos people came to help plant, weed, and cultivate the land, and to harvest and tend the livestock. These Indians could not help him with anything else except by furnishing these things in larger quantities than they do now.

Asked whether mines of gold, silver, and other metals had been found since the arrival of the governor, the witness replied that at the pueblo of San Marcos,¹² six leagues from San Gabriel, silver lodes were found which, on being assayed by the smelting process, produced four ounces. He heard this told, and he also heard that there were other mines at the pueblo

12. San Marcos was in the Galisteo valley, about twenty miles east of the Río Grande.

of El Tuerto which, it was said, were rich. The sargento mayor stayed there to crush and smelt the ore, building machinery for this purpose.

Asked whether he saw pearls on his trip to the South sea, the witness said that he saw shells and periwinkles, but he saw no pearls or heard of any. He believes that the South sea must be about two hundred and forty leagues from the camp at San Gabriel at the nearest point.

Asked what priests and friars still remained in the said province, the witness said that there were six priests and three lay brothers of the seraphic order of Saint Francis. They were distributed in the camp and four leagues around, each one accompanied by a Spaniard and in some places by two or three.

Asked how many Indians the friars had baptized, the witness answered that he did not know because he was always engaged in expeditions and never resided permanently at San Gabriel. He had heard it said, however, that they had baptized about one hundred youngsters, more or less, at the said camp and in its vicinity.

Asked whether the Indians of that province were eager to be baptized and to accept our holy faith, the witness said that it seemed to him that they were, because they were well suited for it, as they were gentle and peaceful, naturally free from vices.

Asked to explain the reason why the governor, during the time that he was in the province, failed to explore farther, the witness said that his people made the said entradas and that he needed all of them to maintain the provinces he now held. When reinforcements arrived, he began to search in earnest for the North sea, for which he was about to set out.

The witness was asked, from what he had seen of the nature of the land and had heard from the captains and soldiers who remain in the province, whether he thought it could be maintained, what he thought of the attitude and contentment of the people, and what he knows about this or anything else that should be reported to his majesty so that, as king and lord, he might come to the aid and support of his vassals; and he was further asked whether the people, considering their present situation and expectations for the future, could be maintained and kept there, whether they remained willingly in the province

or were there against their will and anxious to return to New Spain, and, if so, why.

To these questions the witness replied that some of the soldiers, especially those with family and children who earned their livelihood in the province, eat and drink and are happy and have no desire to abandon the said land; on the contrary, they want to found a city and remain there for the rest of their lives. Others, people of distinction and without so many obligations, are eager to make new discoveries from which they might derive greater profit and advantage to themselves. And he added that there were some shiftless, unattached, young men who wanted to leave. He is of the opinion that the people who are there now can be supported by what has been discovered, as the land is suitable and the people are not many. But they should be helped with linen, clothing, and iron until it is determined more definitely what there is in the land and until the Indians are won over and Christianized. For it seems to this witness that up to the present the friars have not displayed the zeal that one would expect, and that they must have been influenced by some just cause which he does not know.

Under his oath, he ratified his testimony and signed it, together with the factor. He said that he was twenty-five years old, and that the general questions of the law did not concern him. Signed, DON FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE MERCADO. MARCELO DE ESPINOSA. Before me, MARCOS LEANDRO, royal notary.

IN Mexico, July 30, 1601, Factor Don Francisco de Valverde called as witness the bachiller, Ginés de Herrera Horta, a resident of this city, who took his oath in due legal manner and promised to tell the truth. On being questioned the witness stated that he went to the provinces of New Mexico about a year and a half ago, more or less, as chief auditor and legal assessor to Don Juan de Oñate, governor of the said provinces, by virtue of a commission from the viceroy, Count of Monterrey, and a royal order, in company with the reinforcements that the viceroy sent. With them he arrived at the town of Santa Bárbara in the province of New Vizcaya, two hundred leagues from this city. From there, taking all of the relief supplies, they continued on their way until they reached the pueblo of San

Gabriel, New Mexico, which is the place where Don Juan de Oñate has established his headquarters. The whole region is pacified and the natives of that district have rendered obedience to his majesty, all by the efforts of Don Juan de Oñate, although this witness has heard many persons say, both here in New Spain and in the said provinces, that the latter had been pacified since the time Castaño went there, before the governor arrived.

Asked how long he stayed in New Mexico, the witness said that he remained there three or four months, more or less. The reason that he remained only such a short time was that the governor refused to recognize the commission which he brought as auditor and legal assessor. In view of this, the witness asked his permission to return, and came back, as the request was granted.

Asked what he saw in the land from the first Indian pueblo to the one where the governor had established his headquarters, and what he saw in the other pueblos of the province, the witness said that he did not see all of the pueblos which had been pacified, but only those that lay along the route of travel. They contained the greater portion of the towns, according to the report of the people there. This witness asked the people how many pueblos there might be in all, and he was told that there were one hundred ten, more or less, including those inhabited and uninhabited. Of the latter he saw some during his trips. He thought that the inhabited pueblos had thirty or forty houses, built in quadrangles, which means four squares, the entrances being at the corners of the squares. The Indian houses are built of adobes, with roofs of banked dirt, which are used as terraces. These houses contain the living quarters. They are three storeys high, and each house lodges one family. Most of these pueblos have only one plaza, but the larger ones have two or three, built in the form of quadrangles, as stated.

Asked about the kind of people who dwell in these pueblos and the customs of the men and women, the witness said that those in the towns are of medium stature, the women being of somewhat lighter complexion than the men. Some of the women have very attractive faces. They appeared to be accustomed to wear clothes, as their skin was not burned or tanned. Many of the men are stark naked, without any vestige of dress or indica-

tion of self-consciousness. In the winter, when they left their estufas, some wore buffalo skins, with the fur on the inside. Some of the women wore tight buckskin leggings from the feet almost to the waist. They also wear shoes, which they make of buffalo skins, with the hair on the inside. The women wear some short cotton blankets reaching a little below the knee and tied around the waist by a sash, also of cotton. They wear another blanket as a sort of *tilma*, thrown loosely over the shoulder and tied at both ends. The blankets which they wear on the outside often contain rough designs resembling grotesque masks, without actually having the shape of the face. The women are barefooted; they wear no covering over their hair but simply twist and roll it on top of the head in points. The men wear their hair braided in cues, cropping it to their ears on the side.

In the summer the Indians devote themselves to the work of their fields, they say. They plant maize, beans, cotton, calabashes, melons, and other things. In the winter, the time when this witness was in that province, they remain in the estufas because of the cold, which is intense. In the estufas they spin and weave blankets, as this is the usual occupation of the men. The women build the houses and prepare the food. The latter consists of an atole, which is a gruel made of corn flour, cooked beans, and calabashes. This witness saw Indians carrying some very dry leaves, which they say they eat. Once he saw a native carry a dead deer into his house, but he does not know how they used it. He also saw snowfalls, for during the winter that he spent there it snowed heavily. The cold is so intense that drinking water must be heated over the fire, as this witness often found it frozen. He has seen the Río del Norte and two arroyos near the camp of San Gabriel frozen over for most of their width. Several persons told him that they had crossed the river on horseback when it was completely frozen. Once when this witness complained of the bitter cold he was told that it was like summer in comparison with the cold that usually prevailed. An old friar told him that once when he was about to drink the consecrated wine, he had to warm it before he could drink it.

As for vegetables, the varieties taken there from this kingdom grow fine in summer, he was told. In some of the estuaries of the Río del Norte, there are quantities of fish. On his way back

to New Spain, this witness saw in a short distance about one hundred savage Indians wandering about. They caught large numbers of fish, such as bagre, matalote, and other species, by means of long sticks sharpened like needles. This must have been about fifty-seven leagues from the said camp.

This witness saw that during the Lenten period, about half of which he spent at the camp, the people never ate fish, because there was none, nor was it brought in. For this reason the commissary had to grant a dispensation to eat meat three times a week, because of the lack of fish and vegetables. Since the latter were produced in summer, they were not available, as it was winter. This witness ate stale cabbage because no other kind was obtainable. The Indians and the Spaniards cut, hang up to dry, and store for the winter the calabashes that are grown in the country. These Indians, men and women, use no beverage other than water and a certain pinole, which they made of toasted corn flour mixed with water.

Asked what form of government and organization the Indians had and whom they obeyed, the witness said that he did not know that they had any chief or master. They are all equal and live in great harmony, without stealing anything from one another even when the houses are left unguarded. Going to some pueblos with other men, this witness noticed that, when they asked the Indians for tortillas, one of the Indians went about through the various sections of the pueblo and shouted the request in his own tongue. Then the Indian women appeared with from three or four to six tortillas from each house. It looked as if the said Indian were a sort of major-domo or superintendent. This is the practice among those pueblos. The Indian who performs the above task is the oldest and most respected among them. This witness does not know whether the Indians on other occasions have shown that they have no one to rule over them, nor that they hold meetings and consultations among themselves. He did hear the Spaniards say that the natives assemble to go hunting, and that all those who take part in the hunt, and they are many, surround a hill and then close in. Thus they are able to kill the game inside the circle, using sticks shaped like small bows, but without string. These sticks are of hardwood and very smooth. The hunters hurl them and hit any

object they aim at. When differences arise among them or with the Spaniards, they use these sticks to defend themselves, as well as bows and arrows, which they also use. They also use strong, heavy clubs, studded with large flints or tied with gut. This witness does not know from what animal the gut is obtained. He does not know, either, whether they have any other form of government or organization.

Asked whether the natives have more than one wife, whether they have wedding ceremonies, whether they live with their wives for life, and how they treat them, the witness said that all he knows is what the Spaniards told him, that the Indians had as many wives as they could support, and that their only wedding ceremony consisted in the man's giving the woman two blankets, and that by accepting them she agreed to become his wife and serve him as long as he could support her. The Indians endeavor to obtain cornfields in proportion to the number of wives they have, in order to provide for them. When they are unable to do so, the wives are free to marry someone else, nor does this give rise to any complaint on the part of the Indian, even if he dislikes it. Moreover, they are not people who care much whether or not their wives are faithful. They do not keep their wives all at one place, but at various pueblos.

Asked whether these Indians use a common language or many dialects, the witness replied that he knew for sure, having seen some Indians who did not understand the others, that they have no common language, but many local dialects, which correspond to the names of their nations, such as Picurías, Taos, Emes, Queres, Acomas, and various others. Each nation in this province has its particular language.

Asked what kind of commerce these Indians carry on among themselves, whether it is a system of barter, the witness said that he had not seen them engage in any commerce or intercourse, nor did they have definite places set aside for trade. The Spaniards told him that a nation of savage Indians called the Apaches, or Vaqueros by the Spaniards because they lived on the buffalo plains where they say that these animals are numerous, bring to the pueblos the skins, meat, and fat of the cattle they kill, and trade these products with the pueblo natives for maize.

Asked what metals the Indians had before the Spaniards came to the said provinces, the witness replied that he did not know nor had he heard that they had any metal, whether gold, silver, copper, or any other. He knows that they daub and paint themselves with different colors, but he does not know what they use in their paint, whether metals or anything else.

Asked what religion, idolatry, rituals, or ceremonies of this nature the Indians use, the witness said that all he knows is that at the pueblos where he went there were some ugly figures painted on the walls of the houses, placed helter-skelter, with their arms and feet in disorder. He rather understood that these were idols, for he remembers that once, when looking at these figures, he asked an Indian what they were. The Indian, who understood some Spanish and Mexican words, replied that the figures represented God and our Lady. So this witness believed that they worshiped those figures. He did not know them to have other rituals or ceremonies, but he noticed that the arms of most of the Indians were covered with bruises, from which he inferred that they practiced sacrifices and idolatries.

Asked what good and bad experiences the Spaniards had encountered, what opposition, what modes of offense or defense the Indians had offered from the time the governor arrived in the province until March 23 of the present year, when this witness and the others who are in this city left the said camp to return to New Spain, the witness declared that two days before he started out from the camp, the commissary of the friars, Fray Juan de Escalona, of the seraphic order of Saint Francis, sent for him, took him to the secrecy of his cell, and told him on his conscience to see his excellency, the Count of Monterrey, viceroy of New Spain, and give him the following message. So, both for the discharge of his conscience and under his oath, this witness states that, in discussing the conditions of the country with the leading persons, both friars and laymen, they told him in detail what had happened to the Indians of a pueblo named Acoma, which is situated on a high rock.

The maese de campo at that time was Don Juan de Zaldívar, nephew of the governor. He had gone with twelve or fourteen men to explore and seek new things not yet known. This witness was told that un^{American Journeys}—www.americanjourneys.org/orthwhile, he in-

tended to return to New Spain with his men. While they were on this exploration, they came to the pueblo of Acoma, where they asked the Indians for provisions. The natives furnished them some, and the Spaniards proceeded on their journey about two leagues beyond the pueblo.

Then the *maese de campo*, Captain Escalante, Diego Núñez, and other men turned back to ask again for provisions, fowl, and blankets, and even to take them by force. When the Indians saw this, they began to resist and to defend themselves. This witness was told that the Spaniards had killed one or two Indians. Then the Indians killed the *maese de campo* and Diego Núñez and the others with rocks and slabs of stone. When the governor learned of this, he declared war by fire and sword against the Indians of the pueblo and named *Sargento Mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, his nephew, and brother of the slain *maese de campo*, as chief of the punitive army. He set out with seventy soldiers to punish the aforesaid Indians. Afraid of what the Spaniards might do, the natives refused to surrender, but defended themselves.

Thus the punishment began, lasting almost two days, during which many Indians were killed. Finally, overcome and exhausted from the struggle, the Indians gave up, offering blankets and fowl to the *sargento mayor* and his soldiers, who refused to accept them. Instead, the *sargento mayor* had the Indians arrested and placed in an *estufa*. Then he ordered them taken out one by one, and an Indian he had along stabbed them to death and hurled them down the rock. When other Indian men and women, who had taken shelter in other *estufas*, saw what was going on, they fortified themselves and refused to come out. In view of this, the *sargento mayor* ordered that wood be brought and fires started and from the smoke many Indian men, women, and children suffocated. This witness was told that some were even burned alive. All of the men, women, and children who survived were brought to the camp as prisoners. The governor ordered the children placed in the care of individuals. The men and women from eighteen to nineteen years of age were declared slaves for twenty years. Others were maimed by having their feet cut off; this witness saw some of them at the said camp. He was told that most of the slaves had run away that they had tried

to reestablish the pueblo, and that the governor neither authorized nor prevented this, but dissimulated, although this witness heard that he wanted to send someone or go himself to see the said pueblo.

This is what this witness heard from the said persons, who gave him the information in secret. He remembers them as a captain, Gregorio de César; and a Franciscan, Fray Alonso de Lugo, who was present and who is now in the city of Zacatecas. He does not remember the names of the others.

This witness believes that another Franciscan friar, Fray Luis Mairones, who is now at Toluca, and another, Fray Alonso de la Oliva, who is in the interior toward New Vizcaya, are well informed of the aforesaid matters. The reason why the commissary charged this witness on his conscience to tell this story was because he considered the punishment and enslavement of the Indians unjust and that the viceroy should order the prisoners liberated.

A short time ago the governor set out with a large force to collect what they call in that land the "tribute of the blankets." His aim also was to visit a pueblo of the Jumanes, which means striped Indians,¹³ those who have a stripe painted across the nose. The governor said that he wanted to punish their insolence toward the sargento mayor, his nephew. The latter said that when he came by that pueblo with some soldiers and asked the inhabitants for provisions and tortillas, as his men were hungry and exhausted, the Indians refused to furnish any. On the contrary, this witness was told that they offered them stones to eat.

When the governor arrived at this pueblo of the Jumanes, he asked them for blankets. The natives gathered about twelve or fourteen and gave them to him, explaining that they had no more which they could give. With this the governor withdrew to a watering place half a league away. On the following day he returned to the pueblo, taking along an Indian interpreter who knew the language of the Jumanes. Through him he told them that he was going to punish them because they had refused to furnish the sargento mayor with provisions, and that those

13. The Spanish reads, "que llaman de los Jumanes que quiere decir yndios rayados . . ."

American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org

who submitted peacefully he would treat kindly. After this the governor at once ordered his men to set fire to certain groups of houses of the Indians, whereupon they took to their houses and terraces. Then the governor ordered that they be showered with a volley of harquebus shots. Five or six Indians were killed in this manner, not to mention those who must have been wounded. Two whom the governor considered very warlike he ordered hanged, and so they were. He asked the interpreter to tell the Indians something which this witness does not remember. A soldier thought that what the interpreter was saying to them was against the interests of the Spaniards. He told the governor so, and the latter had the interpreter hanged.

The Indians of that province are all orderly, peaceful, and timid, and live in great fear of the Spaniards. They have neither attacked nor offered other resistance than the aforesaid.

Asked how many Spaniards there were in the said provinces at the time he left, the witness said that there were about one hundred and fifty soldiers, forty-two to fifty of them married.

Asked what cattle there were in those provinces and that Don Juan had at his camp for the service and provisioning of his people, the witness said he thought that there might be one thousand head of sheep and goats, more or less. He saw most of this livestock at a pueblo named Santa Clara, and at San Miguel, in the care of a certain Naranjo. The rest of the animals were at the camp. This witness did not see any mares, but he heard that there were some, though he did not learn how many. He heard that they had taken fifteen hundred horses on the first expedition, of which many were lost; some died and others were found shot with arrows. He heard that altogether, including those taken at first as well as those sent with the reinforcements, there might be five hundred left. As for the cattle, when this witness arrived at the said camp, he noticed that they were not slaughtering or eating beef because the cattle had been consumed. Some told him that they had slaughtered the oxen they had used to pull their carts, and that they were plowing with horses. So he thinks that there may be four hundred head of cattle left, which are those that were taken with the reinforcements. Of these, they have been killing seven animals each week. This provides a very limited supply of meat for each soldier, so

they do not eat it throughout the week. This witness understands that the said stock will soon be exhausted, because he heard it said that they do not reproduce very well in that land. On the contrary, the stock will give out, as he has stated. As for oxen, there are no more left than those taken with the carts when the reinforcement was sent, and these number perhaps one hundred and fifty. As to mules, there must be two hundred and fifty or three hundred, including those which came with the carts taken by the friars.

Asked in what manner the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, had established his camp, whether it was fortified or exposed, and how it was set up, the witness said that he had established it in one of the Indian pueblos, and that the Spaniards were living in the houses of the natives, except that they had built doors and windows in them in the Spanish custom. No other fortification had been erected. He was told that the governor wanted a town established, an alcalde named, and houses built, but that the Spaniards refused. This witness thought that the reason for this was their dissatisfaction at remaining and their desire to abandon the land because of the great privations they were suffering.

Asked how many people there were in the one hundred and twenty-five or one hundred thirty pueblos which they say were pacified and under the jurisdiction of Don Juan de Oñate, the witness said that he had often asked the Spaniards about this matter, and they told him that there were twelve thousand persons, not counting the women and children. Altogether, young and old, there must be thirty thousand souls. They are all so afraid of the Spaniards that, as this witness has seen, when the Spaniards go through their pueblos the Indians signal warnings to each other that Spaniards are coming and the natives flee to the sierra with their women and children. They take along their fowl but leave the other provisions. The reason that they take their birds rather than something else is that they raise them for feathers for making quilts to keep warm in winter. They do not eat them; they eat only the things that have already been mentioned.

Asked what information there was of other provinces and discoveries, the witness said that he did not know of other provinces, nor was there any other knowledge of them except

what was told by an Indian named Jusepillo. The latter affirms that among the buffalo there is a large settlement, nine or ten leagues long, in which there are many people. The governor was ready to go to this discovery with one hundred soldiers, and this witness believes that he must have left the camp already.

Asked whether the governor had levied any tribute or personal service on the friendly and peaceful Indians under his jurisdiction to work the fields, harvest the crops, or do other necessary labors in his camp, the witness said that all he knows is that every month the soldiers go out by order of the governor to all the pueblos to procure maize. The soldiers go in groups of two or three and come back with the maize for their own sustenance. The Indians part with it with much feeling and weeping and give it of necessity rather than of their own accord, as the soldiers themselves told this witness. If any kernels fall on the ground, the Indians follow and pick them up, one by one. This witness has seen this happen many times. Some of the Indians, men and women, who formerly lived at this pueblo where the camp now is, remained there and bring wood and water for the Spaniards, so that the latter would give them some maize. This witness has seen it himself. He was told that the Indians store their maize for three and four years to provide against the sterility of the land, for it rains very seldom, although there is much snow, which helps to moisten the ground so that they may harvest what they plant.

The tribute which the governor has levied on the Indians requires that each resident give a cotton blanket per year. Those who have no blankets give tanned deerskins and buffalo hides, dressed in their usual manner. The lack of blankets is due to the scarcity of cotton grown there. This witness has seen the cotton next to the maize fields of the Indians. He was assured that, in the pueblos where the soldiers went, if the natives said that they had no blankets to give, the soldiers took them from the backs of the Indian women and left them naked.

Asked whether silver or gold mines had been discovered since Governor Don Juan de Oñate came, the witness replied that he had heard it said that at a pueblo named San Marcos there were silver lodes, but of very low grade. However, this witness heard the governor make a statement at a meeting of the people at the

camp that there were many mines but that he did not wish to work them yet in order not to neglect the richer ones for what had already been discovered. This witness saw a small piece of mineral which the sargento mayor showed to the soldiers. To all appearances it was very rich. He heard a friar, to whom the sargento mayor had showed it, say that it was fine if it were from that country. To this the sargento mayor made no reply.

As for personal services, this witness does not know that they have been imposed on the natives, except that when there is need to repair a house the Spaniards ask the governor's permission to bring some Indian women to repair it, for, as he has stated, the women are the ones who do this. The Spaniards also employ Indians to help plant the vegetables and cultivate the soil. This witness has seen Spaniards plowing all by themselves, without the assistance of Indians. He has heard that wheat does very well, and that this is because at the camp there is water for irrigation, which is not found elsewhere, and so wheat is grown only there. He does not know nor has he heard that it is planted anywhere else.

Asked whether he had seen pearl shells or heard about them, the witness said that he had neither seen them nor heard that there were any.

Asked what priests or friars there were in the province, the witness said that there were six priests and three lay brothers of the order of Saint Francis. Three of the priests were old men. Four of them were assigned to places at a distance of three or four leagues from the camp; the others were at the camp.

Asked how many of the Indians had been baptized by the friars, the witness said that he knew of some children who had been baptized. He had also heard some of the friars say that certain Indians who had been baptized by Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, a close relative of the governor who died on his way back to New Spain, had moved away and that they had no information of them. For this reason they have not baptized many more, fearing the instability of the Indians and the doubtfulness of the Spaniards' remaining in the land. This witness has heard it said that the friars were going to be left alone there.

Further, they did not baptize more because of the diversity and difficulty of the languages, because none of the friars knew

any of them, except an oblate who is said to know a little of one language. This witness saw a Spanish boy, who, as the lad himself told him, grew up among the Indian boys. He knew the language of the Picuríes or Queres better than the Indians themselves, and they were astonished to hear him talk. The commissary kept this boy with him, hoping to gain some results from him.

Asked whether the Indians of those provinces were of such habits that they could be brought to our holy Catholic faith by the normal diligence of the friars, the witness said that the reason the Indians did not associate with the Spaniards was because they were afraid of them. This witness believes that if they were well treated and attracted, their conversion would be easy, because they are extremely quiet, gentle, and friendly, not known to possess any vices. This witness considers these people of better habits and nature than the people of New Spain.

Asked to explain how it was that the governor, Don Juan de Oñate, had not explored farther since coming to the province, if he knows or has heard about it, the witness said that he had heard different persons tell that several journeys had been made to discover the South sea and to explore various other places as much as one hundred fifty leagues distant, but that nothing worthwhile had been found. He believes that the governor must have set out by now on an exploration to verify the information furnished by the Indian Jusepe. This witness does not know of any other reason.

The witness was asked whether he believes, from what he saw of the land and its nature and from what he gathered from the captains and soldiers who remained there, that the settlers would be able to maintain themselves, and by what means, what he knows of the desires and contentment of the people, what he has learned that ought to be reported to his majesty in order that he, as king and lord, might come to the aid and protection of his vassals, whether these people, considering the present situation and future expectations, could remain in the said province, whether they were there willingly or were anxious to return to New Spain, and, if so, why; in reply the witness said that in the four months or thereabouts which he spent at the said camp, he noticed a general dissatisfaction among all the people and that

they despaired of finding any relief in all that country. Those who complained the most were those who had come with the last reinforcements. They complained that they had received reports, information, and letters telling of much greatness and riches, and that they had been defrauded. They claimed that they had consumed their estates and had been deprived of the tranquillity they had enjoyed in New Spain; they despaired of finding enough food to eat or clothing to cover their own nakedness and that of their wives, children, and relatives.

The situation had reached such a point that this witness heard them say that they would run any risk in order to return to New Spain and appear before his excellency, the viceroy, to ask for mercy for their women and children. The single men were eager and determined to flee. This witness tried hard to comfort them, explaining that his majesty would not force anyone to stay there against his will, as it was not a post in danger of being taken by an enemy. At the time when this witness and the other people returned to New Spain, those who remained displayed much feeling by weeping and complaining. The reason for this was the cold and harshness of the land, for the winter lasts eight months, and the cold is so intense that, as he has stated, the rivers freeze over and the Spaniards are always shivering by the fire. Moreover, there is a scarcity of firewood, which has to be brought six or eight leagues to the camp in wagons and carts. The wood is mostly cottonwood from the river valleys and it is so smoky that most of the women and children are in tears night and day, for they have nothing with which to provide light at night except these fires. This witness was told that when winter is over there follow four months of summer as intensely warm as the winter is cold. So the saying there is that there are "eight months of winter and four of hell."¹⁴ The people leave their houses to sleep in their small vegetable gardens in order to escape the unbearable plague of bedbugs. Furthermore, there are an infinite number of field mice, which breed a species of lice, the pain from whose sting lasts for almost twenty-four hours. The mice eat the chile and peppers so fast that if the latter are not harvested in time the mice do not leave anything; they do not eat cheese.

14. "Ocho meses American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org

The people are also troubled by the sterility of the land, so they will lack provisions for some time to come, and also because the Indians are few and the pueblos more than eighty leagues apart, including those that are said to have more people, as they are at that distance from the camp. For these reasons, this witness does not think that the people could be maintained without great cost to his majesty in provisions, clothing, and other things. Even if his majesty should incur much expense to help them, this witness believes that if the people were free to choose they would prefer to abandon the land and seek their livelihood around here. He never heard a single one say that he was there of his own will, but through force and compulsion. What his excellency, the viceroy of New Spain, should know and remedy is that the orders he transmits to those regions are neither obeyed nor carried out.

When this witness arrived there with the commission of auditor general and legal assessor, as he has stated, he was refused recognition by the governor, who said that the viceroy of New Spain had no authority to send judges to that land. The governor told this witness that he was going to take away the commissions from the captains who had received them from the viceroy, though he saw later that the governor did not do so. A friar named Fray Alonso de Lugo, now stationed in Zacatecas, told this witness that the governor had not included in the list of captains those who had received their appointments from the viceroy. The only consolation the people in those provinces have is their knowledge that their government is under the jurisdiction of New Spain, where their demands for justice will be heard, for, because of the enormous distance, they find it very difficult to petition the Council of the Indies, although they told this witness that they were going to do so because of certain violent events that had taken place.

So this witness considers the preservation of those provinces very difficult, for the reasons stated. All of this is the truth, under his oath; and he ratified his testimony. He said that he was twenty-five years old, more or less, and that the general questions of the law did not concern him. Signed, DON FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE MERCADO. LICENTIATE GINÉS HERRERA HORTA. Before me, MARCOS LEANDRO, royal notary.

IN the city of Mexico, July 31, 1601, the factor, Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, ordered Captain Juan de Ortega, who said that he was a resident of the city of Puebla de los Angeles, to testify. He took his oath in due legal manner and promised to tell the truth.

On being questioned, this witness testified that he left the city of Puebla de los Angeles two years ago, more or less, to go to the provinces of New Mexico, and went as captain of cavalry in the reinforcements sent to the governor, who is pacifying that country by order of the viceroy, Count of Monterrey. They reached those provinces at the Christmas season of last year, 1600, and he remained there until March 23 of this year, 1601. This was the time when the last group of the camp set out from the governor's headquarters at San Gabriel. This witness noticed that everything was calm and peaceful and that the natives of the district had rendered obedience to his majesty.

Asked whether he left those provinces and returned to this country with the permission of the governor, the witness replied that he did. The reason he asked to leave was that he found the land different from what had been reported in this city. According to the information that had been gathered, the country was not able to support fifty soldiers. Before he left this kingdom or accepted the leadership of the reinforcements, he stipulated that if, after seeing the country, he should decide not to remain there, he was to be given permission to come back, and the governor readily allowed him to do so in the name of his majesty.

Asked what he saw and where he traveled, from the first pueblo in the province to San Gabriel, where the governor had established his headquarters, the witness said that when they arrived at the Río del Norte, that is, where Don Juan de Oñate first took possession of the land in the name of his majesty, they continued their march until they came to the first pueblo, about forty leagues beyond, more or less. He saw very little pasture land, and the country was of little value or importance. From there to the said camp they traveled through settlements located three or four leagues apart, on both sides of the river. Of these pueblos, this witness thought that the largest must have two

hundred fifty houses; and the smallest, six or seven.¹⁵ The largest of these houses were three storeys high; the smallest, two. They were built of adobes and wood frame,¹⁶ with flat roofs that shed the water in the rainy season.

Each house is occupied by a dweller with his family, and in some there are two or three. Others are unoccupied. The reason for this, from what this witness learned, is that the Indians moved away because of their fear of the Spaniards, not due to any harm that they had caused them, but because the natives are timid by nature. If they had any reason for being so fearful, it must have been caused by the first soldiers who entered there. These were Umaña and Leiva, who, it is well known, took some Indian women.

During the time that this witness remained in these provinces he never saw as many as four hundred Indians at one time, for there were not that many at one place along the route from the pueblo of Qualacu to the one called Socorro. From there to the camp it was thirty-five leagues, all settled with houses. This witness could not learn how many people there were because they were scattered, for, as he has stated, many had fled to the hills, for the aforesaid reasons. He heard some people say that in all those pacified provinces there were twelve or thirteen thousand Indians.

Asked what kind of people inhabit the said pueblos, and what they look like, the witness replied that the Indians are of good stature, both men and women. The latter are of somewhat lighter complexion than the men and some of them are very good looking. The Indian women are clothed with only a blanket thrown over the shoulder and tied in a knot, with nothing else to cover the body, about which they showed no concern. These blankets are woven of cotton. Most of the men wear a tanned buffalo skin with the hair on the inside; others wear small pieces of cloth, also of cotton, and some wear dressed chamois or the skins of deer, coyotes, and wolves, which abound there. Some of these Indians wear shoes made of buffalo hides and buckskin. These shoes resemble sandals, sewed with sinews.

15. Cf. the "List of the Pueblos" drawn up by Martin de Pedrosa, in Hammond and Rey *The Rodríguez Expedition*, pp. 59-65.

16. "Y el edificio American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org tos de madera."

This witness saw that most of these Indians had fields for farming. Their tools are like maces and small native hoes,¹⁷ with which, this witness believes, they devote themselves to tilling their plots. From the maize, calabashes, melons, watermelons, and other fruits that he saw, he believes that they raise these products for their own sustenance. In addition, he saw places where they stored the maize, beans, and other things mentioned, which he understood they saved for times of need as long as two or three years, and to prevent the soldiers from taking them.

The reason for their care in storing their farm products and other things is that the land is short of water, even in summer, as it rains but little. The greatest relief from the lack of moisture comes from the snow, of which there is a great deal. It moistens the soil. At the time that this witness was there, which was before and during Christmas, he saw the snow, as he has stated. The cold was so severe that the river froze and they crossed it on horseback in one place. To protect themselves against this cold weather, the Indians stay in their estufas. There they spin and weave blankets, as this is their ordinary occupation during this season. The women remain in the houses, as they are the ones who build them, in the manner already described. Besides, it is their duty to prepare the food, which, for all of them, consists of cooked beans, maize, and calabashes. They also make tortillas of maize. In addition, they eat some greens that they gather in the country. These they keep for food, together with venison and hares, which they get by hunting. They also have meat of the buffalo cattle which they obtain from the Vaqueros in exchange for blankets and maize, which are the things they trade.

The Vaqueros come from the buffalo plains, which are located forty or fifty leagues from the camp. They come to the pueblos to trade meat, skins, tallow, and fat. They transport all this by loading it on dogs not much larger than water spaniels, which they have for this purpose and for carrying their tents. Most of the dogs are very white, others have black spots. The Indians pitch these tents, carried on the backs of the dogs, about three or four hundred paces from the pueblos, and the natives from the neighborhood come there to trade maize and blankets to the Vaquero Apaches, who on such occasions gather there to the

17. The Spanish reads: "a modo de macanas y con raqueñas de esta tierra." American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org

number of four or five hundred. This witness does not describe this trade because it was not held during the time he was there, nor has he heard it described, but he believes that it was ordinarily held at harvest time. The soil is productive; they grow an abundance of beans.

At some estuaries of the Río del Norte already referred to there are quantities of fish. This witness saw some Indians whom they called *Gorretes*, or *Pataragueles*,¹⁸ catching *bagres*, *agujas*, and *coteas*. As it was twenty leagues from the camp to this fishing place, neither the soldiers nor the others ever ate fish. For this reason, at the time that this witness was in the camp, which included Lent, the commissary issued dispensations to everyone to eat meat three days in the week, and on the other days they ate beans and chile grown by the Spaniards, for the Indians in that country do not have any. This will give an idea of the unsuitability of the country and the hardships endured by the people there, which may be gathered from what has been stated. This witness, having been there only a short time, has no other information.

Asked what form of government and organization the Indians had, and whose authority they obeyed, the witness said that he did not know that they followed any ruler, but all seemed to be equal. They are people who live in much conformity and harmony, without quarreling among themselves. Their houses are always open and have no doors or other protection, because the practice among them is never to take anything from each other or even from the Spaniards; indeed, this witness was told that they never steal. On the contrary, when one of the soldiers lost a jewel and an Indian found it and learned whose it was, he returned it of his own accord without compulsion. This is the common practice among all of these Indians. And so if disputes arise among the women, which for the most part originate in jealousy, the men do not try to restore peace among them but leave them alone until they do it by themselves, this being the practice among them.

When this witness and some of the soldiers were bringing

18. Cf. Luxán's *Patarabueyes*. Hammond and Rey, *The Espejo Expedition*, pp. 123-124; Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 1 American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org

the cattle, they asked the Indians, before reaching the camp, for tortillas and other food. Then an older Indian, called a captain by us and the Indians, would walk around the plaza of the pueblo shouting in their own language. At these calls some Indian men and women would come out with the tortillas. From this it is certain that this Indian is the majordomo or overseer. The witness knows that each pueblo, according to its size, has one or two such overseers. He does not know of any occasion, except the aforesaid, when they have given any indication of having someone to rule over them, or that they hold any assemblies or councils. At one time, however, he saw about one hundred Indians dancing according to their custom at a pueblo of Santo Domingo to celebrate the coming of the Spaniards.

The festivity was held at the request of the friar stationed there. On this occasion one of the Indians stood out above the others, as he wore earrings of precious stones and necklaces of these stones and small bones. He was heavily painted in colors different from the others and stood out above the rest at the dance, although there was no indication that any of them acknowledged him as their superior. When the dance was over, this Indian retired to his house as unnoticed as the rest, without being shown any distinction or respect.

If these Indians hold any assemblies or consultations, this witness thinks that it must be in connection with hunting. He noticed that once, at the request of the sargento mayor, Vicente de Zaldívar, two hundred Indians went out on a hunt. This witness thought that he could discern a leader among them, judging by his shouting and by the fact that the others answered him. This should not be interpreted to mean that he was superior to the others, for on this occasion the said Indian did not carry any equipment different from the rest. They hunted with small clubs; others used bows and arrows. They circled the place where the game was and then closed in, killing as much as they could. The game caught on this day was given to the sargento mayor for a celebration that he was holding. The most common time for such hunts is when it snows, because then the rabbits leave tracks and the Indians follow them. This game they kill to eat. There are also deer and a species of wild sheep with horns like the sheep in this land, although much

heavier. They have no wool but have hair like spotted deer. This witness does not know nor has he heard what method they use to distribute the game when two or more Indians go hunting, but he once saw in a silo of the type he has described, a string of rabbits in the maize, hung from a pole like wolves roasted in barbecue style. This witness thought that the Indians were keeping them to eat.

Asked whether the Indians have more than one wife, whether they have wedding ceremonies, and whether they live together for life, the witness said he heard some soldiers say that the Indians have as many wives as they can support, which would be about three or four, and that they keep them in the surrounding pueblos. Their marriage ceremony consists in the man giving the woman a blanket, whereby she becomes his wife as long as he is able to provide for her. When he fails, she is free to marry someone else. During this time the Indian does not abandon his wife, nor does he punish her or show any particular ill feeling if she offends him. This, he understands, is their custom.

Asked whether the Indians use a common language or many dialects, the witness says he is sure that they use many languages, because, although he did not understand them, he heard different tongues spoken during the time he remained in the said provinces. It was, moreover, a well-known fact among the soldiers. This witness thought that there might be seven, eight, or even more of these different languages.

Asked what kind of trade and barter the Indians carry on among themselves, the witness said that he did not observe any business or trade, or any place set aside for this purpose, other than what he has stated in a previous question, nor has he heard about it.

Asked what metals he saw or heard about among the Indians before the Spaniards came, the witness replied that he did not know nor had he heard it said that they had any gold, silver, copper, or any other metal. All he knows is that these Indians paint themselves, using some very fine sand resembling white pyrites and a kind of stone.¹⁹ They use these things only to paint themselves and their blankets.

19. The Spanish reads, "con arena muy menuda a modo de margasita y un género de piedra."

Asked what religion, idolatry, or rites and ceremonies the Indians practice, the witness said that many times he entered the houses and estufas of the Indians with some soldiers and there saw idols in the shape of animals like lizards, little dogs, and squirrels, and figures of persons, poorly drawn. This witness thought that there might have been eight or ten in all. Some were made of wood, others were painted on the walls of the room or estufa. These idols had markings showing what they represented, as this witness was told by a soldier. If it was a god of the fowl, it had some feathers tied to the head with a string; and, in the same manner, an ear of maize if it was a god of maize; and so on for all the others. In one of the estufas, this witness saw a sort of altar, decorated with branches, and having small steps. It was about half a yard wide and three-fourths high. On it they had a fire over which they cast perfume with a fragrance that was not displeasing to this witness. At one side of the fire there was a water jar from which an Indian took mouthfuls and sprinkled it over the altar. At one side of the estufa stood two naked young Indians about twenty to twenty-four years old. It seemed to this witness that they were doing penance, as they appeared to be very contrite. A Spanish boy who knew their language, as he had been raised among them, said that the Indians would not eat, drink, or speak until they saw the figure they were expecting. He believes that it must be the devil. So the said Indians were pale and thin. The witness also saw that they had traced a path twenty-four or twenty-five feet long from the foot of the altar to the outside of the estufa with white pyrites and with powder of various colors. They said that the one they were awaiting would come over that path and that when he came they would leave and go to their homes. This witness also heard an old soldier say that when the Indians wanted to ask something from their god, such as rain or something else, they would assemble, form a procession or circular group, and make their invocations. They take along a naked, robust youth, about twenty years old, of excellent figure and temperament, and flay him occasionally with reeds. It is a form of sacrifice, and the penitent neither groans nor flinches in the least; on the contrary, he undergoes the penance gladly.

Asked what good or bad experiences they had encountered, what resistance the Indians offered, and what form of offense and defense they had shown since the Spaniards entered the province and up to March 23 of this year when this witness and the others who are now in this city left the camp to return to New Spain, the witness replied that he did not know that the Indians had offered any resistance, as they are very peaceful and quiet. All he knows is what he heard, that at a pueblo named Acoma the Indians killed the maese de campo, Don Juan de Zaldívar, and eight or ten other men who were with him. He heard that the first time the Spaniards entered the pueblo the Indians gave them some things, and that they killed the maese de campo and the soldiers because of the abuse of an Indian woman by a soldier who took away her blanket or fowl. This resulted in the quarrel and death of the soldiers. This witness was further told that, at a pueblo named Los Jumanes, when the sargento mayor and four soldiers arrived and asked the Indians for food, they not only refused to give any but offered them stones instead. For this reason the governor went there and hanged two of them. The witness does not know that the Indians had committed any other offenses against the Spaniards since the time when the governor first entered those provinces.

Asked how many Spaniards there were in these provinces at the time he left, the witness replied that there were 150 or 160 men capable of bearing arms. This witness saw the list that had been made for the exploration to the north and about 113 or 114 had been enrolled to go there with Don Juan de Oñate, leaving forty or forty-five at the camp. These seemed to be the facts from what he saw and heard.

Asked what livestock there were in those provinces, including the camp, for the use and support of the people, the witness said he believed, although he could not say with certainty, that there were in and about the camp two thousand head of goats and sheep. He saw and heard it said that, because of the snow, ice, and poor pastures, many of these animals were dying, and that when he arrived with the reinforcements of cattle, which had been entrusted to him and which he brought with his own horses, the latter American Journeys - www.americanjourneys.org were not at the said

camp more than ten or twelve cows and four or six oxen for plowing. All of the rest they had eaten. This witness brought six hundred and thirty cows, steers, and some bulls. From the time he arrived until his departure the people must have eaten a little less than half of them, leaving about three hundred and fifty animals. At the rate they were slaughtering, this witness does not think that there will be any left by now. He believes that there might be between five hundred and six hundred horses and colts, and one hundred and fifty mules, counting those in possession of the friars and other persons.

Asked in what manner the governor had established his headquarters and whether it was fortified or in an exposed place, the witness answered that it was established in an Indian pueblo, which the Spaniards used as they found it, without building any fortifications. What they did was to cut a few doors and windows in the houses. He believes that they built no fortifications owing to the meekness of the natives and the confidence of the soldiers that the Indians would not harm them. Another reason was that the soldiers were very displeased and under the impression that the land would not be maintained.

Asked how many pacified people there might be in the pueblos that he saw and in the others under the jurisdiction of Don Juan de Oñate, the witness reaffirms what he has stated in a previous question, that he had heard the captains and soldiers say that there might be twelve or thirteen thousand Indians, not counting women and children. He does not remember how many there were of the latter.

Asked what additional information he had heard about the province besides what has already been mentioned, the witness said that he had not heard of anything of value except about the land in the north. Even this information was not important, nor was there any testimony to support it except that of a Mexican Indian named Jusepillo, who claimed that there was a pueblo extending for 10 or 12 leagues. This witness feels quite sure that this report was as highly exaggerated as the stories that he and the others who brought the reinforcements to these provinces were told in this city of Mexico, for there is as much difference between what they were told and reality as between night and day.

Asked whether the peaceful and domestic Indians under the jurisdiction of the governor had been assessed some tribute or personal service for working the land, harvesting the crops, or other necessary tasks for the maintenance of the camp, the witness said that all he knows is that every year armed soldiers and even the governor go in person from house to house to collect a blanket from each house or each Indian. Those who do not have one give a buckskin. The Indians, because of their poverty, part with these things with much feeling. Furthermore, every time the Spaniards need maize, they go after it and get it without payment or giving anything in trade. This is all he knows in regard to tribute. As for personal service, when they need to repair any houses or walls, they send for Indian women to do the work, as they are the plasterers and builders.

Asked whether gold or silver deposits or pearl fisheries had been found after the governor came to these provinces, or whether there were any reports about these matters, the witness replied that he had heard the governor, the sargento mayor, and a captain say that there were mines, but that he had not heard of this from the other captains and soldiers. On the contrary, he heard some of them say that the minerals found were of no value and that there were no mines; neither had he seen pearls, nor had they said that there were any, nor gold.

Asked how many friars or priests still remained in the province, the witness stated that there were six priests and three lay brothers, distributed in the camp and for four leagues around. Three of them were young and the others old. He heard some of them say that they were not going to baptize any souls. The reason for this was that they did not think they would stay in the country.

Asked how many Indians had been baptized since Don Juan de Oñate went to the said provinces, the witness testified that the most Indians had been baptized at the headquarters in San Gabriel, but he did not know how many.

Asked whether the Indians of that province, judging by their ways, could be converted to our holy Catholic faith with a fair amount of effort on the part of the friars, the witness said he was very sure that they could be, because they are a submissive people and they observe the natural law in their mode of life.

He believes that by a less costly and more friendly method the Indians could be converted to and preserved in our holy Catholic faith, and that this could be accomplished by sending thirty or forty soldiers under a captain. In this manner the Indians would be subdued and not vexed, and the friars working among them would feel sure that the natives would do them no harm or betray them. This could be done until the faith was well rooted. After that, considering their ways, he thinks that the friars would be safe and only a few soldiers would need to remain there to communicate with the friars. This, in his opinion, is the way to preserve the land, as the whole thing is now declining rapidly, for the reasons he has stated.

Asked to explain the reasons why the governor during the time that he has been in the province failed to explore beyond there, the witness stated that because of an exploration carried out by his *sargento mayor*, the governor did not have sufficient men to go ahead. Now that he had the men he was ready to set out for the north. This is the direction that this witness believes he should follow, and no other, for the people in the other regions are nomadic savages, living in miserable *rancherías* and lacking in food.

The witness was asked whether, from what he has seen of the land and its nature and what he has heard from the captains and soldiers who remained in the province, he thought that it could be maintained, and with what means, and what he knows of the pleasure and contentment of those who are there, and what he has heard that should be brought to the attention of his majesty for his information in order that, as king and lord, he might come to the protection and succor of his vassals, or that should be reported to his excellency, the viceroy, in order that, as his representative, he might remedy the situation in his name. He was asked further whether, considering the present situation and the hopes for the future, the people could continue in the province, and whether they remained there willingly or were anxious to return to New Spain, and why.

The witness replied that he felt quite sure that none of those who are now in those provinces with the governor desires to stay there. This is true because the country is sterile, the people few and scattered, and the climate severe, for the winters last

eight months. Everyone agrees that they are very extreme and that the four summer months, on account of the excessive heat, are still worse. This is because the North and South seas are so far away, for, although long trips have been made, there is no reliable information of these seas. It is also a land where the bedbugs, during the four summer months, are extremely numerous and irritating, and there are numerous field mice, which breed a species of lice whose bites are very painful. I have heard some soldiers say that even if they could gather gold in abundance, they would not remain in the land voluntarily. In general all were so displeased that, were it not for fear of severe punishment, they would have left. Thus, considering the present situation, they seriously fear the preservation of the province. This is his answer, and he adds that the needs of the soldiers and their wives are so great that they have nothing with which to cover their nakedness. He has even seen women dressed in skins such as buckskin.

This is what he knows and it is the truth, under his oath, and he ratified his testimony. He said that he was twenty-eight years old, more or less, and that the general questions of the law did not concern him. Signed, DON FRANCISCO DE VALVERDE MERCADO. JUAN DE ORTEGA. Before me, MARCOS LEANDRO, royal notary.

By order of the Count of Monterrey, viceroy of New Spain, I ordered a copy made of the above report and proceedings. It covers fifteen sheets. The original remains in the archive of his lordship. As a notary of his majesty, I sign it in testimony of truth. JAIME FERNÁNDEZ, royal notary. [Rubric]