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THE RODRIGUEZ EXPEDITION TO
NEW MEXICO, 1581-1582

GEORGE P. HAMMOND and AGAPITO REY

The *Gallegos Relation* of the Expedition made by Father Agustín Rodríguez and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado.*

INTRODUCTION

In following the Rodríguez expedition to New Mexico we must transport ourselves back several centuries, back to the time when adventurous Spaniards looked upon this region of the Southwest in which we live as concealing within its deserts, mountains and valleys, treasures equal to those taken by Cortés from the Aztecs in Mexico or by Pizarro from the Incas in Peru. A veil of mystery hung over the land which it took decades to push aside. To the Spaniard it was the Mystery of the North, where hundreds of noble lives were lost in successive efforts to penetrate its baffling secrets. The form of wealth which the Spaniards sought, however, was not found. He wandered amid regions abounding in fur-bearing animals, over lands of great fertility, but the richness of these resources was not appreciated. He sought the precious metals which had presumably been hoarded by native hands for ages past. Yet such conditions were not found north of Mexico.

It will be necessary for us, in studying the Rodríguez expedition, to think back to the time when English free-

*The introduction and the annotations are by Mr. Hammond. In other respects the paper is a joint work. In the translation we have adhered as closely as possible to the original Spanish. Proper names are spelled as they appear in the original. Added material has been indicated by brackets. The portion of the manuscript containing the account of the pueblos has been compared with photostat copies of the original in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.

booters sailed the Spanish Main and waylaid such treasure ships as came within their reach; to the time when English thoughts of colonizing America were born and began to take definite form. The two episodes, on widely separated and little known frontiers, transpired at the same time and afford an interesting illustration of the priority of Spanish colonization over English.

The expedition of Father Agustín Rodríguez and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado into New Mexico in 1581-1582, is of particular interest because it started that series of events which led directly to the permanent occupation of the Rio Grande country by the Spaniards. It is noteworthy because it parallels the first disastrous attempts of the English to plant colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. The bold sailor Sir Humphrey Gilbert, brought a colony to the bleak shores of Newfoundland in 1583, being one of the first to encourage such enterprises having as their goal the occupation of the mainland. . On a greater scale was the work of Sir Walter Raleigh who from 1584-1587, spent much ill-gotten treasure in seeking to plant an English colony at Roanoke Island, off the North Carolina coast. It was the most pretentious effort in that direction before the founding of Jamestown in 1607, but was a total failure.

The Rodríguez expedition was perhaps as venturesome as any undertaken by Gilbert or Raleigh. Not even the exploit of Sir Francis Drake in circumnavigating the globe puts it entirely in the dark. It is true that the sea held many terrors for those who sailed bravely forth in their cockle-shell boats, but the desert Indian country stretching from southern Chihuahua indefinitely northward, was equally exacting of those who ventured into its midst. Few indeed had attempted it before the period when Father Rodríguez and his little band marched off in 1581. There were only two, Coronado and Ibarra.

Francisco Vásquez Coronado, governor of New Galicia,

had invaded this red man's land in 1540.¹ His force was numbered by the hundred, and by dint of difficult marches and stiff fighting he was able to traverse Sinaloa and Sonora, to wander through Arizona, New Mexico and on to Quivira in Kansas. But though Coronado's feat looms large in the sphere of exploration and of romance, it was not productive of any worthwhile or permanent results, no more than was Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage when he was swallowed up by the hungry Atlantic in 1583.

Francisco de Ibarra, just a quarter century after Coronado's brave band had gone forth, set out from Sinaloa in 1565, to investigate the rumors which had reached him in New Vizcaya of the Pueblo region, but he got no farther than northern Sonora when he turned east into Chihuahua. His return journey was fraught with so many perils that the party had despaired of reaching civilized lands again before a way out of their difficulties was found.²

The fringe of settled society had meanwhile been creeping forward from Mexico northward. By the time our story opens it had reached southern Chihuahua. Mining settlements were found at scattered places, at Santa Bárbara, Indé, San Bartolomé, La Puana and elsewhere. To these frontier communities came at times rumors from the inland. Prospectors and slave hunters were always to be found at such points, and through these adventurers new reports of the Pueblo country had been received.³ This news led to results.

At San Bartolomé was stationed a friar, Agustín Rodríguez, who was stirred with missionary zeal by the tales of a settled native society in the interior. Others too were interested, and soon Father Rodríguez went to

1. See Winship, G. P. *The Coronado Expedition*. (Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th annual report, Part I, 1892-1893).

2. Baltasar de Obregón. *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España*, 1584. Published in Mexico in 1924 from the manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, with mutilated title. In the original it is entitled *Crónica, comentario y relación de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España y Nuevo Mexico*, 1584. Note the omission of the words *Nuevo Mexico* in the published work.

3. Bolton, Herbert E., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 137-138.

Mexico, 1580, to seek the viceroy's sanction for permission to investigate the reports of the new land. The request was granted. Other padres might also go, and as many as twenty soldiers, "to protect them and as company;" and "they might take some things for barter." Gallegos, in the document here presented in translation, states that the project had been discussed by the soldiers and the religious. Obregón, a contemporary chronicler, records the story that Father Rodríguez "was the author and principal agent of the said discovery. He solicited and obtained the grant and commission for the leader and the people who discovered it, (New Mexico) from Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza . . ." Again, "as he was the principal promoter of the said expedition, he asked for two friars . . ." etc.⁴ This evidence indicates the predominant part played by Father Rodríguez, which is of the same tenor as the viceroy's letter to the king reporting on the outcome of the expedition.⁵ Moreover Gallegos, in his account, does not claim the distinction of being the moving spirit in the organization of the expedition, either for himself or Chamuscado.

The reason that Father Rodríguez was sent to interview the viceroy was that the old conquering expeditions were taboo, and it was practically necessary for entradas to be made under missionary disguise. It was essentially a joint expedition, all parts thereof obvious, and so is that of the soldiers. They were to protect the former, but they were also allowed to trade. That opened great opportunities which they did not fail to appreciate.

The party consisted of three friars, Fathers Agustín Rodríguez, Francisco López, and Juan de Santa María. In addition there were nine soldiers, of whom Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado was the leader, and nineteen Indian servants. Six hundred head of stock, were taken along, ninety horses, provisions, and articles for barter.

On June 5, 1581, the party left Santa Bárbara and the

4. Obregón, *op. cit.*, Book II, prologue.

5. The letter is translated in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 158-160.

next day San Gregorio. They followed the San Gregorio river, the present Rio de Parral, to its junction with the Rio de Florido, then along the Florido for the short distance till it empties into the Conchos, and then along the course of the Conchos to its junction with the Rio Grande, and on up to the region of the pueblos.

Two different Indian nations were met with before coming to the Rio Grande. The first was the Conchos and a related tribe the Raya, who spoke the same language. Obregón calls them Pataros. Aside from that his account tallies with the one by Gallegos. They occupied a region extending about fifty leagues along the Conchos river. While among them the latitude was taken and was found to be 29 degrees. Gallegos has left us a description of these tribes. He characterizes them as lazy, dirty and lacking in clothing.

Leaving the Conchos nation the Spaniards entered the lands of the Cabri, called also Pazaguantes by later chroniclers. The Cabri were distinctly superior in customs to those previously encountered, being better looking, intelligent and energetic. These people feared the Spaniards and fled to the hills. They had had experience with the slave hunting parties and it was with some difficulty that they were persuaded of the friendly intentions of Father Rodríguez and his companions.

Proceeding onward through an inhospitable region the party approached still another tribe called *Amotomanco* by Gallegos, *Los Rayados* by Obregón, and *Otomaco* by Luxán who accompanied the Espejo expedition in 1583.⁶ They lived in substantial adobe houses, the first Indians along the route who occupied permanent dwellings. "They are brave, comely, handsome of countenance, noble and well disposed," says Obregón. They too were full of fear at the coming of the Spaniards, but were quieted when their good intentions were explained. This group of natives belonged to the Jumano family and occupied an extensive

6. Obregón, *op. cit.*, Book II, ch II; Luxán's "Entrada," in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 174.

area near the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande rivers.

From Santa Bárbara to the Rio Grande the explorers had marched "seventy or eighty leagues, rather more than less," says Gallegos. This reckoning corresponds very well with the facts.

The Jumanos delighted the Spaniards with stories of clothed people living in large houses farther on. They had reference to the Rio Grande valley which they called Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. To reach it they left the valley of the Conchos and struck across to the larger river a few leagues above their junction. They continued up the west bank of the Rio Grande till they reached the first towns. There is no record of their crossing the river before this.

Besides hearing of settled natives the Spaniards were excited by other things. Bits of copper, a piece of iron, white and colored coral were observed. And above all there were other Indians a distance of thirteen days up the river, who spun and wove cotton into blankets with which they covered their bodies, so ran the reports. The Spaniards were greatly encouraged.

Here among the Jumanos in the Rio Grande valley they obtained reports of Cabeza de Vaca who had wandered from Texas and reached Culiacán in 1536. "They affirmed that many years before there had passed through their lands and towns four bearded men, resembling them in their ways, speech and color." And Gallegos concludes: "By the descriptions they gave us we saw plainly and openly that it must have been Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, because according to his relation he had come by way of these people."

Continuing up the river for nine days they came to a place called the Valle de Carneros, because of the large rams' horns found there. Another nine days march brought them to the Valle de la Madalena, the end of Jumano terri-

7. Some hold that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions crossed farther north, above the international boundary, but this is not generally conceded by historians.

tory. Thus far the natives had accompanied them in large numbers, entertaining them with ceremonies which Gallegos describes for us. Before departing they explained that in five days more they would come to the region of cotton and permanent houses. But Gallegos was doubtful, and noted that "as they were Indians they might be lying, for they are Indians, people who are born liars and who are in the habit of always telling falsehoods."

His fears were soon realized. Two days later other Indians were met. They were the Caguates, so called by Luxán. They said the Pueblo country was seven days distant and protested they knew, for they had been there. This was done by signs as they had no interpreter for this nation. Three days later they came to an uninhabited swampy region which they named Valle de los Valientes. It was south of El Paso.

Now came a period of severe trial. For fifteen days they continued forward. The land was uninhabited and waste. All the Indians were evidently liars; the discouragement of the party was great. Gallegos reports they had marched seventy leagues since leaving human beings. All were about ready to turn back, but first they determined to make a reconnaissance and success crowned their efforts. Two settlements of astonished natives were found, but they fled to the mountains and a heavy shower precluded pursuit. Their object was attained, however, for on the return a lone Indian was captured. By signs he confirmed the reports of the Pueblo country. All thoughts of retreating were now given up. The march was resumed, and very shortly, on August 21, 1581, they came upon the first of the many pueblos soon to be seen. They called it San Felipe. It had forty-five houses of two and three stories. Here possession was taken of the land for the king of Spain. It was in the San Marcial region, more definitely near the site of Fort Craig. It was a Piro village.

A period of great expectation for the explorers dawned as they entered the settled region. Numerous pueblos were visited. Others were heard of which they did not

have time to investigate. Gallegos has left us a veritable census of New Mexico as it was in 1581. He mentions all the pueblos visited and gives the number of houses and their height. He also specifies on which side of the river they were situated. A fairly good idea of their location can be obtained with the aid of archaeological data.⁸

Only a general survey of the final movements of the Rodríguez party need be given here. The Piros pueblos extended as far as Sevilleta. The natives cultivated corn, beans, calabashes and cotton. The adobe houses were well planned, says our chronicler, and decorated. The people had much crockery "and of better quality than that of New Spain."

Among the Tiguas who were north of the Piros, similar though better conditions prevailed. These pueblos were numerous and shielded a large population. The pueblo called Puaray (Sandia) recurs most frequently in the subsequent movements of the Spaniards. By September 2, 1581, they reached the northern limits of Tigua territory and entered the lands of the Queres, visiting Santo Domingo, Cochití and other pueblos. Next they struck off from the Rio Grande and explored up the Santa Fé river, where were several pueblos, going from thence to the Galisteo valley. Here Father Juan de Santa María determined to return to Mexico and did so alone over the protests of the soldiers. *Malpartida* they called the pueblo from which he set out, for he met death three days later, as was subsequently ascertained. Returning to the Rio Grande valley the party continued up the river into Tewa territory, visiting the pueblos from San Ildefonso to Taos. From the description it seems probable that Taos was the northernmost pueblo explored.

Following this movement into the upper parts of the Rio Grande valley the Spaniards descended the river, carefully explored the Galisteo valley and made a march to the

8. Such a description is given in the notes accompanying the body of this paper, based on Dr. J. Lloyd Mecham's study of their location. See *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 265-291.

Pecos river and on to the headwaters of the Canadian in search of buffalo, which they called "las vacas." From this exploration they returned to explore the Jemez valley and shortly thereafter went west to Ácoma and Zuñi. They heard of the Moqui pueblos in northeastern Arizona but were unable to visit them due to a shortage of provisions.

From Zuñi the soldiers made their way back to Puaray over the same route as they had come, and then made still another jaunt, this time to the saline pueblos east of the Manzano mountains. A number of towns were explored, but they were unable to follow up all the reports given them. Accordingly it was now deemed best to return to Mexico to report to the viceroy, as a thorough exploration of the province had been made. But the two remaining friars would not go. They were intent on preaching the Gospel in the newfound land, and the soldiers, in spite of all remonstrances, were forced to leave without Fathers Rodríguez and López. The former departed January 31, 1582.

The return to New Spain was down the Rio Grande valley, over the route already familiar. On the way Captain Chamuscado, who was well up in years, became ill. When he was no longer able to ride his horse a litter, strung between two horses, was constructed for him, but his days were numbered. Perhaps life was shortened by the bleeding operations performed. He finally succumbed when about thirty leagues from Santa Bárbara.

Such in outline is the accomplishment of the Rodríguez expedition. Of much interest also are the accounts of the customs and ceremonials of the pueblo Indians. The Spaniards had no interpreter, but they communicated by signs and carefully observed the life of the natives. A full description is given of one of the ceremonies "which they perform to bring rain when there is a lack of water for their corn fields . . ." Both prayers sticks and snakes played a prominent part in the "dance." Gallegos also has something to say concerning their marriage rites, even telling

us the point of the speeches made. On the whole, however, he holds pretty closely to what was actually observed.

Regarding the census given by Gallegos a comment must be made. He describes a total of fifty-seven pueblos. They varied from two to seven stories, the majority being of two and three stories. If we can accept Gallegos' figures regarding the number of houses in each pueblo, there were slightly over 6,000 houses in these fifty-seven towns. At only one time does he indicate the number of rooms in each house, and that is when describing Zuñi. These he reported to contain as high as eight rooms or more per house. If these figures are worth anything at all they would indicate a larger population in the Pueblo region at the time of the coming of the Spaniards than has been commonly accepted. It is doubtful that any very definite conclusions can be drawn from Gallegos' figures, but they throw more light on the question of the native population than do other sources.

Thus had the Rodríguez expedition "discovered" a vast region in which the natives had attained an advanced stage of culture. The reports sent to Mexico were received with somewhat of the same enthusiasm as had the stories of Fray Marcos de Niza over forty years earlier. The "other Mexico" had at last been found, and the official machinery of the viceroyalty was soon set in motion to effect its subjugation. It was not till 1595, however, that Don Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas finally won the right to carry out the mission. The practical consequences of the Rodríguez expedition were thus to bring about the addition of a new province to the Spanish Empire in America.

RELATION¹ OF THE EXPEDITION AND EVENTS ACCOMPLISHED BY FRANCISCO SÁNCHEZ CHAMUSCADO WITH EIGHT SOLDIER-COMPANIONS IN THE DISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO AND NEW LANDS, ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON LORENZO SUÁREZ DE MENDOZA, COUNT OF CORUÑA, VICEROY, GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THIS NEW SPAIN, BY HERNÁN GALLEGOS, NOTARY AND DISCOVERER.²

Since I began serving his majesty in my youth in this New Spain in military matters, most excellent prince, in the new kingdom of Galicia and in that of Vizcaya in company with some captains, against the Chichimecos Indians - marauders - who have caused so much damage in these kingdoms, there has grown upon me constantly as the years have passed the particular desire to serve my king and lord in some important cause worthy of my desire. Since there was offered to Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado the expedition which he carried out in the discovery of New Mexico and the new land, which had been sought for so many years, and as he had communicated with me about it, I saw there was presented to me an opportunity commensurate with my purpose and ambition. After having pointed out and deliberated upon the inconveniences and difficulties that would be met in an undertaking of such magnitude we determined, together with seven other companions, with whom the enterprise [was discussed] to carry out the said expedition, having for its ultimate object the service of God our Lord, the preaching of His law and gospel to every being and the furtherance of the royal crown of Castile.

After discussing this with some religious of the Franciscan Order who in good spirit offered themselves for the said expedition, with the previous permission and authority of his excellency,³ we set out from the valley of San Gregorio of the jurisdiction and district of

1. *Relación y conculdio* in the original. A copy of the manuscript is in the Edward E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

2. The original manuscript is prefaced by the following paragraphs:

"Entry of New Mexico made by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado in June of (15)81. Certification of the treasurer Juan de Aranda, of a relation found among the papers of the archbishop of Mexico and president of the Council.

"I, Juan de Aranda, treasurer of his majesty in this New Spain, certify that in a book written by hand, left in my power with other books and papers by the death and will of Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, late archbishop of Mexico, governor and visitor in this New Spain and president of the Council of the Indies of which he was secretary and testamentary, was found this written account of the following tenor."

3. The viceroy of New Spain, Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza y Figueroa, count

the mines and town of Santa Bárbara in the kingdom of Vizcaya.⁴ [We were] three friars of the said order and nine soldier-companions with our own arms and horses and supported at our own cost.⁵ The justifiable fear of the dangers which were met we anticipated; dangers due to war, to the innumerable barbarous people found along the way, to the hardships resulting from lack of food, and to the privations and deserted lands that were feared on such a long journey due to the small number that made up the party. We left fortified with the hope of attaining temporal and eternal reward. Following the example of the nine men of fame⁶ we set out with a spirit of determination to die or to discover the desired land. We continued the said journey till we reached the land.

On this expedition I noted the important things and events in this discovery and in this province, and after I had helped to the best of my little strength it seemed to me that I was not even then doing all I should. I also wished to employ the little talent that God gave me in something that would be of service to God our Lord and his majesty, in order that there should not remain with me anything I could offer. Thus while doing my duty as a soldier, in the spare moments I had, I wrote in a brief treatise [the account of] the said discovery and expedition which we carried out, and the important events which took place in it, as well as some customs and rituals that we learned from the natives. I decided to divide it into chapters and to dedicate it to his excellency.⁷

Although it may seem boldness on my part, because I was born and brought up in humble surroundings, I was nevertheless encouraged by the case of the poor widow mentioned in the Gospel, who was praised by the Lord for the two coins which she offered in the temple. She was not belittled because she did not give much, but on the contrary was held in greater esteem.⁸ As a result of this reflection and finding myself in possession of two farthings capital, I offered them to his excellency and risked them in this undertaking. Mindful of the fact that I gave all I had and considering the good will with which I offered it [I hope] you will take it under your protection, because your excellency has such a great

of La Coruña. He ruled from October 4, 1580 to June, 1582. Priestly, *The Mexican Nation*, 88-89.

4. The party left San Gregorio on June 6, having departed from Santa Bárbara the day previous. See below, p. 4; and Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 145, 154.

5. For the names of those in the party, see below, p. 3.

6. The nine men of fame were: three Jews, Josne, David and Judas Macabec; three gentiles, Alexander, Hector and Julius Caesar; three Christians, King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon.

7. The viceroy.

8. See Mark, ch. 12, verse 42.

part in the enterprise under discussion, for by your support and during your time in office there has been discovered that which had been so greatly desired by our predecessors. This has not been accomplished without the special providence of God. May He protect your very excellent person for many happy years and prosper your state as your excellency deserves, and as I your humble servant desire.

[Chapter I] Account of the persons, who at their own expense, furnishing their own arms and horses, went forth seeking to discover New Mexico and other lands where God our Lord should be pleased to direct them, in order that His holy faith might be taught and His gospel spread throughout the lands which they as your loyal vassals might thus discover in His holy service and in the interest of the royal crown.

These people were: Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, leader of the expedition; Hernán Gallegos, your representative in the said expedition; Pedro de Bustamente; Felipe de Escalante; Pedro Herrera; Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida; Hernando Barrado; and Juan Sánchez.⁹ In order to carry out this said expedition and their good purpose of spreading the said Holy Gospel they took along Fray Francisco López, superior, Fray Juan de Santa María, preachers, and Fray Agustín,¹⁰ lay-brother, friars of the order of St. Francis of the monastery of New Spain in the city of Mexico. Starting on the said expedition all set out together from the valley of San Gregorio, district and jurisdiction of the mines of Santa Bárbara in New Vizcaya, on the sixth day of the month of June in the year of our Lord fifteen hundred and eighty-one.¹¹

Setting out on the said journey they marched down the river named San Gregorio until they came to the junction of this stream with the river called Conchas and the river Florido, which are twelve leagues more or less from Santa Bárbara and from the place where they began the said journey. Leaving the junction of these rivers they determined to follow the largest river which they might find, and thus they followed the river Conchas. Marching down stream of this said river there came to them many Indians, natives of the said Conchas [river region]. In a distance of over fifty leagues which they marched down this river they were well received by the said Indians. After leaving the Concha nation they came to the Raya, another nation of people who inhabit the same land and use the same language as the Conchas. In this territory

9. There were nine soldiers in the party altogether. The name of Pedro Sánchez de Chaves is here omitted. See below, pp. 19, 41. Dr. Mecham in his paper on "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," confuses the name Herrera to Heviera. *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 268.

10. Fray Agustín Rodríguez.

11. Cf. note 4 above.

of the Raya the latitude was taken and they found they were at twenty-nine degrees.¹² They always had [guides] who led them through these two nations. Numerous people, men as well as women, accompanied them. They came out to meet them with many presents of ground mesquite, as it is commonly called by the Spaniards, because it is a fruit which resembles the honey-mesquite, and quantities of honey-mesquite and calabashes. These people are poorly mannered. They go about naked like savages. They are lazy, capable of little work, and dirty. These people sustain themselves with quantities of calabashes, ground mesquite, mushrooms, prickly pears, and fish from the said river. These people call water "bod," corn "fonet," and they are named "Yoslli."

Chapter [II] Telling of their departure from the said Raya, of their penetration of the interior, and of the manner in which they were received by the Indians.

When they started out they marched down the aforesaid river.¹³ After they had traveled five leagues more or less, they were met by numerous Indians of the Cabris nation, who speak a different language than the previous Concha. The said Indians and people of the Cabris nation are very handsome, very spirited, very active and more intelligent than the people previously met. They are of large stature. Their faces, arms and bodies are striped with pleasing lines.¹⁴ These people are cleaner and more modest than the Concha. They cultivate quantities of calabashes and beans in the proper season. They go about naked liked those met before. They wear their hair in the shape of skullcaps. These Indians gave them large amounts of calabashes, ground mesquite, prickly pears, beans and mushrooms, which is what they have for their food all the year round.

They brought them these presents on account of the news they had received as to how the Spaniards were going to reconcile them with their enemies with whom they carried on war, and to make them friends of the Spaniards. For it seemed that the other people had fled into the sierra for fear of the Spaniards, because the latter had taken and carried off many of their people during the raids of

12. Dr. Meham says the explorers were among the Pazaguantes, or Cabri, when these observations were taken. This statement is unwarranted, for they were among the people called Raya by Gallegos, who were of the same stock as the Conchos and spoke the same language. *Op. cit.*, 269.

13. The Conchos river.

14. This was a Jumano characteristic and indicates that the Cabri were a division of the Jumanos rather than a distinct unit, as Dr. Meham seems to believe. He states that the Spaniards marched about forty miles through their lands, evidently basing his statement on Luxán's account of the Espejo expedition. Cf. p. 173 note 3 of Bolton, *Op. cit.*, Meham, *op. cit.*, 269.

the captains who had sallied forth by orders of Francisco and Diego de Ibarra.¹⁵ They had caused them much harm. In order to pacify the land and to reassure those people as well as the rest, they gave them to understand through the interpreter they brought along, that the men there present had not come for any other purpose than to restore friendship with their enemies and to help them in their wars and struggles; to lend them to protection and aid they should need against their foes. They were told not to fear the Spaniards because they would not cause them any further harm. This was the reason they had come there. In the future no Spaniards would come except to be their friends, provided they behaved well, for on the contrary they would kill them all. If they wanted to avenge the taking of their friends, relatives, children and women they should come forth quickly, come out into the open, for those eight men there present, who had come to see them, would avenge the other Spaniards.

This fearlessness shown by the said Spaniards toward the natives was primarily to intimidate them so that the news should spread. Many harquebuses were fired. The natives were very much frightened at the discharge of the harquebuses. They replied that they did not wish to have any quarrel with the Spaniards, but instead wanted to be their friends; that they preferred to be aided in their wars; and though they had been somewhat afraid of them they would not be so in the future, but on the other hand they would take pleasure in not offending them in any way, and that they, the Spaniards, should do likewise; that they did not wish to fight them because they soon became demoralized. God was pleased to instill this fear in these and the other natives, because the above-mentioned Spaniards knew very well they were not sufficient to withstand such a large number of people unless it was with the aid of the Lord. With this confidence they had started on the said expedition.

After all this conversation we told the said Indians, in order that they might know that the Spaniards were their friends and would not cause them any further harm or take away more of their people, that they would place a cross X in their rancherías, and that in case Spaniards came intending to harm or take away more of their people, that they would place a cross X. The said Indians were very much pleased by this and showed their appreciation in such a way that they embraced the Spaniards and promised not to remove the said cross X from their towns and rancherías. When the said Spaniards had placed a cross X in the said rancherías, when so placed, the

15. Slave hunting raids beyond the older settlements were one of the ever present evils of frontier society in the Spanish colonies. The practise began in the early days of the Spanish conquest, and persisted in spite of hostile legislation, notably the laws of 1573 regulating new conquests.

natives were much pleased. They raised their hands toward the sun because they had been told they were children of the sun.

The Spaniards asked them if there were clothed people beyond their nation, if there was corn and if there were settled people, because we wished to see them and wanted to send them notice that we were coming. They replied that farther on, very far from there, they had heard that there were many brave people with many houses and that there was much corn, beans and calabashes and that the people wore clothes like themselves. In view of the answer of the said Indians notice was sent throughout the land.

Chapter III. How we sent notice of our coming throughout the land.

We left that place¹⁶ after sending word through the land that we were coming to restore peace between them and those with whom they carried on war, for we understood they waged war with one another. Marching down the same river¹⁷ we entered and crossed many very dense ridges that were traversed only with great difficulty by our beasts of burden. It became necessary to lift up some of them, because some rolled down and others became exhausted and collapsed. This resulted from our not knowing the way. But God was pleased to give us patience and endurance to bear the hardship; and as these are things directed by His hand we offered our thanks to Him. When we had descended the said mountain we came to the river, which was reached only after crossing the ridge. This sierra must be about a league across, but the difficult part is short, only about an harquebus shot across. This includes climbing to the summit and descending.

Marching down the said river we met the messengers we had sent to notify the land [of our coming]. As soon as the messengers reached us we halted on the bank of the said river in order to find out first what the messengers had to say. A short time later there came to us many Indians, men and women; the men were very handsome and the women beautiful. We asked them what the name of their language was, because to us it seemed different from the one we had met before, although they understand one another.¹⁸ They answered that it was called "Amotomanco." They call water "abad;" corn "teoy;" and beans "ayaguat." They are striped people and very merry. They live in houses made of paling plastered with mud. However they go about naked like the people we met earlier. They cultivate very little corn, but calabashes and beans in quanti-

16. That is, the territory of the Cabri Indians.

17. The Conchos.

18. This indicates a relationship between the Cabri and the Amotomanco, as suggested above. Cf. note 14. The latter were the Jumanos. They occupied the region at the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande rivers, Mecham gives their name as Otomoacos, following Luxán's report. Mecham, *op. cit.*, 270.

ties. They live on these provisions, though their natural food is mushrooms. These people received us very well and gave us of the provisions they had, which were: calabashes, ground mesquite, beans, prickly pears and also mushrooms.

These people were disturbed and fearful of the Spaniards on account of what they had heard, and so they complained to us. We reassured and quieted them through the Indian interpreters that we brought along. We let them know that the Spaniards would not come to cause them any further harm, because we had been sent for that purpose by the great Lord. They were much pleased at this and became cheerful. They carry very fine weapons; Turkish bows and very good cowhide shields.

After this we had brought before us two old Indians who seemed to be caciques of that land, in order to inform ourselves concerning the land and people to be found farther on. We asked them in the tongue of the interpreter we took along what kind of people there were farther on in the land near their people. They replied that in their land were many people of their tongue; and from what they indicated that nation extended for over one hundred leagues; that many more people were to be found beyond their land; and that along a river which is three leagues distant from the mentioned Conchas river, going up this river toward the north, they had been told of many people who wore clothes like ourselves, and that there was much cotton and quantities of corn, beans and calabashes. In order to see the size of the river they had mentioned and to find out if it was as they had pictured it to us, we decided to go to it, although the route we determined to follow was not the one toward the north indicated to us by the Indians.

Through other questions that we put to them we were informed that in the interior there were many clothed people living in very large houses. They almost seemed to indicate to us that those people spoke the Mexican language, but being Indians we did not believe that concerning the language, but we did believe the rest. We were very much pleased by all these things, and we gave many thanks to God our Lord for the news and information which the natives of that land had given us in order that the Holy Gospel might be planted for the salvation of the souls in idolatry. From this river to that of San Gregorio, from which we left to undertake this expedition, there must be seventy or eighty leagues, rather more than less. The land is all wretched, dry and unproductive, the worst encountered on the whole trip, on account of ignorance of the land.

Chapter IV. How we obtained further details of the characteristics of the inland and its inhabitants, as well as of the cities and of the cattle.¹⁹

19. The cattle were of course the buffalo.

We continued marching in the direction the Indians had indicated to us on the day before, taking along guides who led and took us to the river of which they had informed us the previous day. This said river formed a valley, the best and most pleasing that was seen and explored on the trip. The said valley we named Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción.²⁰ In this river and valley we found many people of the same tongue we had passed the day before,²¹ and the houses in which they live. It was a permanent settlement and the people were very clean, handsome and warlike, the best featured we had encountered thus far. Standing on top of their houses they showed great merriment on seeing us. These houses resemble those of the Mexicans, except that they are made of paling. They build them square. They put up the bases and upon these they place timbers, the thickness of a man's thigh. Then they add the pales, and plaster them with mud. Close to them they have their granaries built of willow, after the fashion of the Mexicans, where they keep their provisions and their harvest of mesquite and other things. They brought us presents of the things they had, for they are people who cultivate and harvest like the people previously met.

In order to inform ourselves and get further details of the reports that had been given us before, it was necessary to stop in this said valley for almost a day. We sent for many people and they soon came; and like the people we had met before they had already been taught to kiss the hands of the missionaries that we brought with us. And, in order that they should do so, we first kissed their hands²² so that the natives would follow the example. The natives then kissed their hands and raised theirs to heaven and blew toward the sky, because we informed them that those fathers we brought with us were children of the sun, that they had come down from heaven, and that we were their children, and they believed it accordingly.

These people are very well disposed. To judge from the way they acted, the labor that might be expended in teaching them will bear fruit. They will be well inclined toward any good thing and will remain attached to it. However I think that as a naked and barbarous people they will be difficult to settle and congregate in towns, because they are savage people.²³

In this valley an Indian was found who seemed to be the cacique.

20. It was the Rio Grande. Different names were applied to it at different places.

21. Namely Jumanos.

22. The hands of the missionaries.

23. The Spaniards found it comparatively easy to conquer, exploit and civilize the Indians living in settled towns or communities as in Mexico. It was a different matter with the wild tribes farther north, for they must be subdued and congregated in towns before Christianization or exploitation was possible.

The others obeyed him to such an extent that they carried a seat that he could sit down. It consisted of a very large tanned cowhide. These people possess many hides and live in definite places. In this settlement we placed a cross X. This pueblo had eight large square houses inhabited by many people, over three hundred persons in number.

To reach this river we left the Conchos at our back on our right toward the south. This river is the largest to be found in the Indies. From the Vera Cruz river to this one, no other [river] was seen. It is lined with numerous trees. The valleys are fine for the cultivation of anything whatsoever, for grain, trees, for ranches or cattle raising.

Chapter V. How we were further informed in regard to the land by means of trinkets which the natives had with them.

In this said valley of Concepción²⁴ we saw a piece of copper which an Indian carried about his neck tied with some cotton threads.²⁵ Another carried a copper sleigh-bell. We asked them where they had obtained those things and they told us it was from the west and pointed in that direction. They call copper "porba."²⁶ We noticed likewise that some of the Indians who came to meet and see us carried white and colored coral, although not of fine quality, suspended from the nose; they also had turquoises. We further asked them where they had obtained it, and they replied by giving us to understand that it was from the sea, as they pointed that way.

We inquired from these and many other Indians whether they knew from observation or hearsay, what there was in the interior, if there was logwood, corn and many people. They told us that thirteen days from the Concepción river, marching up stream, were many clothed people who cultivated and gathered much corn, calabashes and beans, and much cotton which they spun, wove and made into blankets with which they covered and clothed themselves, the women as well as the men; they added that they wore shirts. They showed by signs how they cultivated the land. This pleased us very much. Asking them whether they had been there they replied they had not, but that they had heard about it long ago from the people who killed the cattle and that they considered it very certain.

In view of this we gave many thanks to God our Lord for such good information as they had given us there and for the news concerning the provisions of corn, which was the thing we most desired.

24. Rio Grande.

25. Copper was in general use among the Indians before the coming of the white men. Native copper was found in small quantities in Arizona and New Mexico and elsewhere, though probably not utilized to any considerable extent. Hodge, F. W. *Handbook of Indians North of Mexico*, I. 343-344.

26. Obregón has it "payla."

For as long as we did not lack corn and food we would march on until we came to the end of the land, till we saw all that was to be discovered and examined in it, [especially] the people with permanent houses, in order that the Holy Gospel should be planted and taught, for this was our main purpose when we set out on the said expedition. We were also influenced by the reports of the people given to us by the former and present Indians. As they were said to have very large high houses with stairways we thought they might have been the Mexican people, but we considered this false. [We were also influenced by] the accounts of those who had entered to discover, and who had written chronicles, which we had taken along,²⁷ and we were informed that the said settled people were very brave and very numerous, but that did not discourage us from going ahead.

While we were in this situation we saw another Indian who brought us an iron bar about three yards long²⁸ and shaped like those possessed by the Mexican Indians. On asking him where he had secured that valuable article they all pointed in the direction where they had said the clothed and settled people were located. We were very much pleased with this additional information.

We were followed and accompanied by many people, who approached our horses and rubbed their bodies against their haunches, raising their hands to heaven and blowing with their mouths toward the sky. They did this because they, as the others before, had been told that those whom we brought with us, that is, the friars, were children of God and that we were brothers and their children, and they believed it. We told them that we came only to visit them, to see how they were and to pass on. They were very pleased at what we told them and brought us many presents of prickly pears, ground mesquite and calabashes. They offered us of the things they had, feathers, tanned cowhides, deerskins and other things. They seemed to be happy.

We asked them if any men like us had passed that way, and they replied that long time ago four Christians had passed through there. By the descriptions they gave us we saw plainly and openly that it must have been Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, because according to his relation he had come by way of these people. However we now had additional information of very fine things and of great importance which Cabeza de Vaca did not have. Therefore

27. The reference is to Cabeza de Vaca's relation. Cf. Bustamente's Declaration, in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 144.

28. The Spanish reads, ". . . y nos trajo un hierro como de tres cuartas de medir."

we considered it an event directed by the hand of the Lord that so few men had dared to go among such a multitude of barbarous and idolatrous people. For there was not a day that we marched up the said Concepción river that we did not have with us upwards of three hundred souls day and night. But as these are things guided by the Lord we nourished great hopes of emerging victorious and of preaching the Gospel, for this was our aim.

Chapter VI. Concerning the land and valleys discovered and the information we gathered.

After marching nine days up the said river we came to a beautiful valley which we named Valle de los Carneros.²⁹ This valley is twelve leagues from that of Concepción. It was given this name because on passing through this valley we discovered an abandoned ranchería where we found many horns of rams which appeared to weigh upward of sixteen pounds each. It was marvelous, for these horns were larger than those of steers. Marching another nine days we came to another valley along the same river which we called [Valle] de la Madalena.³⁰ Here we were told of some mines and we went to examine them. They seemed of no importance. Nevertheless the people who accompanied us led us to them.

Many natives accompanied us as far as this valley. Here they definitely informed us of what was to be found and left us. They told us that farther on was another language, a nation of people who were their enemies, and that they did not dare to go there in order that the others should not think they were going to fight and harm them. Since we realized that they were right, and as we wanted to please them since they had done this for us, it was just to please them. Moreover they and their wives offered us their Turkish bows, arrows, feathers and other things they had, such as cowhides, deerskins and the provisions they possessed. This they offered and gave us so willingly that we felt like giving many thanks to God.

They accompanied us at night and performed dances for us. This nation has a rhythm in its dances, resembling the negroes' dances, which they bring about by beating some skins attached to a vessel in the fashion of a tambourine. On doing this they rise and perform their dances to the rhythm of the music like merry-andrews. They raise their hands toward the sun and sing a dance tune in their language, "ayia canima." They do this with much compass and harmony, in such a way that though there are three hundred men in a dance, it seems as if it were being sung and danced by one only, due to the good harmony and measure with which they do it.

29. It was the Rio Grande.

30. The Rio Grande again. It was the last region inhabited by the Jumanos, as is evident from the next few lines in Gallegos' report.

They went away from us much pleased. Before we parted from them we asked them where there was corn, clothed people and permanent houses, which was what we most desired. They answered that five days from there, up the aforesaid river, were those things about which we had inquired. It pleased us very much to see that the town for which we had inquired, and which they told us of, was so near. This cheered us greatly, but on the other hand we could not help being somewhat apprehensive that as they were Indians they might be lying, for they are Indians, people who are born liars and who are in the habit of always telling falsehoods. We asked them again and they re-affirmed what they had told us before. It was the truth. Seeing this we commended ourselves to God and went on.

After two days we came to another nation of well inclined people and fine men who received us well and offered us of what they possessed in the same manner as the others had done before.³¹ These people call the arrow "ocae," the name given to the bamboo by the Mexicans. Among the things presented they gave us two bonnets made of numerous macaw feathers. We asked them if they knew anything of the inland, if there were settled people who wore cotton blankets, like the one we brought along to show them, and if they ate corn, and other questions we had asked the people before. We asked them how many days distant those people were, warning them to tell us the truth, for otherwise we would tell the sun to become angry. They replied to what we had asked, saying they had heard and knew for sure that in the interior were many clothed and settled people who lived in large houses three and four stories high. They told us this by means of signs, because we did not have an interpreter for this nation.

[They added] that the said people cultivated large areas of land and harvested corn, . . . calabashes and beans of many kinds; that they had birds, and blankets of cotton which they wore, for they cultivated and gathered large quantities of it, indicating that the bolls were as large as one's fist. [They said] they wore shoes and that they made crockery from which they ate, and that the said pueblo was seven days distant. Since the previous people had told us it was five days off we asked them why they said seven. They answered that those who formerly told us about it, did not know and had lied. They did not know as much about it as they themselves did, because they had seen it. We were much relieved by this, as well as by the good news they had given. Moreover they told us that the people farther on, who were numerous, very brave

31. These were called Caguates, or Caguases, by Luxán. Neither Gallegos, Obregón nor Espejo give the name, as Mecham's paper would seem to indicate. See Luxán's *Entrada* A. G. I. 1-1-3/22; and Mecham, *op. cit.*, 271 and note 22.

and warlike, fought with them a great deal, for they were not of their nation; that for three days we would not see any people, but that at the end of the three days we would soon meet many clothed people, who gathered corn, beans, calabashes and cotton in abundance. In view of this we took leave of them.

On the next morning we left this place and marched down³² the river another three days without seeing any people, and came to a valley of swamps, which extends over eight leagues. This is a valley suitable for ranches and for the cultivation of anything that might be desired. We named it the Valle de los Valientes.³³ We found it uninhabited.

Chapter VII. Concerning the land which was traversed without meeting anyone, as it was uninhabited.

On leaving the Valle de los Valientes we marched another four days in order to see the settlement of which they had informed us. We did not locate it, so we thought the Indians had deceived us, but we did not lose courage on that account. We continued forward, going up the same river another five days to see if we could locate or find the place of which they had told us before. We found nothing after fifteen days of travel. We decided to assemble and express our views concerning the situation, as to whether we should return to the land of the Christians, for according to what the natives had told us we were lost. They had said [the settlements] were seven days away, others had said five, and we had marched for fifteen days through deserted land without seeing anyone. We had lost our way. We did not know where we were going and we were without a guide and without provisions to go farther, because since leaving human beings we had traveled over seventy leagues through uninhabited country.

We decided to make a sortie and follow a path we had found the day before. Those who left on this party were Father Fray Juan de Santa María, Hernán Gallegos, Pedro de Bustamente, Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida and Pedro Sánchez de Chaves. We left the camp and marched through a plain for over two leagues until we came to the end of it and reached a sierra. On entering it we saw and found an Indian and two inhabited ranches. Taking our horses and arms we went in that direction. We discovered many people who, seeing that we came after them, fled toward the mountains. While running after them such a heavy shower fell upon us that we were helpless and unable to make use of our horses. On this account we could not seize any Indian who might inform and un-

32. A mistake in the manuscript for "up the river."

33. This swampy region begins near Guadalupe and extends up the west side of the Rio Grande to near El Paso. See Mecham, *op cit.*, 272 note 23.

deceive us as to whether there existed that which we had been told of before and for which we were searching.

On the way back to the camp God was pleased that we should find an Indian about forty years of age. We thought this had occurred by the will of God because we had decided to turn back. And as the Lord is so merciful He remembered us so that our good purpose, for it was in His holy service, should not be stopped, but on the contrary should be furthered. He sent us the Indian who informed us of what there was in the interior, of the many houses, the numerous clothed people, the abundant corn, beans, calabashes, cotton and turkeys; that the people wore clothes and that the houses were three and four stories high. He gave us this good news by means of signs, for in no other way could we understand him. The report brought us great joy and we gave many thanks to God our Lord for so many favors and for bringing us succor in the moment of greatest need.

Chapter VIII. How we left, accompanied by the Indian, and went in search of the houses of corn.

When we had learned what there was farther on from the account given us by the Indian, we went on, taking this very Indian as guide. Up the same river we came to an abandoned pueblo that had been inhabited by large numbers of people, who must have been very advanced, judging by the buildings.³⁴ The discovery was of great importance if these people could be located, because the said pueblo was walled-in. The houses were of mud-walls and adobes and three stories high, as it appeared, because they had fallen down on account of the rains and seemed to have been abandoned for a long time. We halted here for the night. We asked the guide whom we took along where that which he had told us about was located. He indicated that it was about two leagues away and that he wanted to go there to notify the people so they would bring us corn and other things which they had. By agreement of all the said Indian was sent, but as he was of a different nation it seemed that he did not go to the pueblo he had mentioned.

On the following morning we left the abandoned pueblo and after marching the two leagues which the said Indian had told us of we came to a pueblo of many houses three stories high where we did not find any people.³⁵ They had left the night before because they had noticed us. We found in the houses many turkeys and

34. This pueblo, consisting of about 45 houses of two and three stories, was reached on August 21, 1581. It was called San Felipe. See below, p. 50. It was a Piro village in the region of San Marcial, Bandelier, Adolph F. A. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, II, 252. Dr. Meeham thinks it may have been near the site of Fort Craig. *Op. Cit.*, 273.

35. It was called San Miguel, though Gallegos later says it was a two story pueblo. See below, p. 50.

much cotton and corn. We did not find any people in the pueblo we found many fields of corn like that of Mexico, and also fields planted to beans, calabashes and cotton. We did not dare touch any of their property in order that they should understand we did not mean to harm them. We found the houses very well planned, square and built of mud-walls. [They were] whitewashed in the interior and decorated with many monsters and other animals and pictures of persons. [These people] showed more neatness and care in their houses than was observed by the Mexicans in theirs when they were conquered. They have much crockery, such as pots, large earthen jars and flat pans,³⁶ all painted and of better quality than that of New Spain.

We endeavored to locate the people in order to pacify and induce them to accept peace. This was done and they were appealed to by peaceful means, for otherwise we would have been unable to see their land. Nevertheless if they had attempted to prevent our coming we would have entered by force, in order to see their land and what it contained, because we had already endured many hardships. But God was pleased that some Indians should come to us. Then we sent them away peacefully, telling them to make the sign of the cross with their hands as an indication that we did not wish to harm them. The news that we were coming peacefully spread to such an extent that there was not a day that we were not surrounded and accompanied by over twelve thousand men.³⁷ Here we informed ourselves concerning the land and the Indians. They showed us that there were in their nation twenty odd pueblos and that farther on was another nation with which they were at war. In view of this we continued up the river, which we named the Guadalquivir river, as it was so large, full of water, very wide and swift.³⁸

After passing these pueblos of the first nation we come to a pueblo of many large houses three and four stories high. [They were] plastered on the inside and the windows were very square. All the houses were painted in many designs and colors. We marched through this nation for four days,³⁹ constantly passing many pueblos, for there were days when we passed two of them. [We went on] until we reached the frontier of another nation,⁴⁰ bordering on that pueblo. When we reached the said line and the other nation we halted two days in order to inform ourselves of what there was

36. The Spanish reads, *ollas, tinajas, comales*.

37. Our manuscript says twelve thousand. Mecham gives it as two thousand. *Op. cit.*, 273 .

38. A full list of the pueblos visited is given in this relation beging on p. 50.

39. They were still among the Piroos.

40. The Tiguas.

farther inland, that we might proceed with the journey. There we were further acquainted with what there was in the interior. We learned that there was a large population, at which we were much pleased. We gave many thanks to God because though only so few men had come He had been pleased to bring us such good tidings. For, before this time numerous Spaniards with ample commissions from viceroys of New Spain had entered the land in search of the said discovery and settlement, and they had not found it.⁴¹ Thus we understood that the project was directed by the hand of God in wishing us to meet so many people and such a settlement where the Holy Gospel might be planted in order that the natives there might come to the true knowledge. Thus we went ahead very happy and joyful.

These people support themselves by means of corn, beans and calabashes. They make tortillas and *catoles* with buffalo meat and turkeys, because they have large numbers of the latter. There is not an Indian who does not have his corral in which he keeps his turkeys. Each one holds a flock of one hundred birds. These people use campeche and cotton blankets, for they have large cotton fields. They raise large numbers of small shaggy dogs, which however are not like those owned by the Spaniards. They build underground huts for them in which they keep them.

Chapter IX. How we left the said frontier and entered another nation of people, and of the reception we were accorded.

After leaving this nation⁴² the Indians took us to a large pueblo of the other nation. They received us, making the sign of the cross with their hands as a sign of peace, as the people before had done. As the news spread, the procedure in this pueblo was followed in the others. We entered this pueblo and they gave us much corn. They showed us many pots and other earthenware containers very well painted. [They brought] quantities of calabashes and beans for us to eat. We took little of this now so that they should not think we were coming to eat a great deal and in order not to give them the impression that we did not want it. They make it a point among themselves that if one does not take what they give they consider it disparaging. One must take what they give, and after taking it may throw it away wherever desired. Should one throw it to the ground, and though it be a thing they can utilize, they will not pick it up. On the contrary they will sooner let it rot where it is discarded. This is the practise among them. Thus, as

41. Gallegos here refers to the expeditions of Coronado in 1540 and of Francisco de Ibarra in 1565. After Coronado's expedition the account of it was soon so thoroughly confused that he was not supposed to have reached New Mexico. See Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 70.

42. The party is now leaving the Piro country and entering the Tigua towns.

we understood their custom, we took something of what they gave us. Moreover we did this to get them into the habit of giving of their free will without being asked. Accordingly they all brought what they could. The food supply of tortillas of corn, *catoles*, calabashes and beans which they brought was such that enough was left over every day to feed five hundred men. Part of this [surplus] they carried for us. The women made tortillas similar to those of New Spain. They make them of beans also. There are likewise in these pueblos, houses of three and four stories similar to the ones we had seen before. But the farther one goes into the interior the larger are the pueblos and the houses, and the more numerous the people.

The way they build their houses, which are square, is as follows. They bake the clay; they build the walls narrow; they make adobes for the doorways. The lumber used is pine and willow. They use many timbers ten and twelve feet long. They provide them [the houses] with movable ladders by means of which they climb to their quarters. They are movable wooden ladders, for when they retire at night they lift them up, since they wage war with one another.

These people are clothed like the others. I wish to describe here their garments, because, for a barbarous people, it is the best attire that has been found among them. It is as follows. The men have their hair cut in the fashion of caps, so that they leave on their caps, I mean on the crown of their heads, a sort of skull cap formed by their own hair. Others wear their hair long, to the shoulders, as the Indians of New Spain formerly did. Some adorn themselves with painted cotton pieces of cloth three spans long and two thirds wide, with which they cover their privy parts. Over this they wear, fastened at the shoulders, a blanket of the same material, painted with many figures and colors. It reaches to their knees like the clothes of the Mexicans. Some, in fact most of them, wear cotton shirts, hand painted and embroidered, that are very charming. They wear shoes. Below the waist the women wear cotton skirts, colored and embroidered, and above, a blanket of the same material, painted and worked like those used by the men. They wear it after the fashion of the Jewish women. They girth themselves over it with cotton sashes adorned with tassels. They comb their hair, which is long.

These people are handsome and white. They are very industrious, for only the men attend to the work of their corn fields. The day hardly breaks before they go about with their hoes in their hands. The women busy themselves and work only in the preparation of food and in making and painting their crockery and their *chucubites*, in which they make their bread. These vessels are so good and fine that

it is worth seeing how these *chucubites* are made, as good, and even better, than the ones that are made in Portugal. They make their earthen jars in which they carry and keep their water. They are very large, and they cover them with lids of the same material. They have their milling stones on which they grind their corn and other things. These are similar to those in New Spain, except that they always keep them in the same place, and the women, if they have daughters, compel them to do the grinding. They are a very cleanly people. The men bear burdens and not the women. The manner of carrying burdens, sleeping eating and sitting down is the same as that of the Mexicans, both for men and women. However they carry the water in a different way. They make a palm knee-cushion similar to those of Old Castile, put it on the head, and on top of it they place and carry the water. It is all very interesting.

The women part their hair like the Spanish people. Some have light hair, which is surprising. The girls do not go outside of their rooms except when permitted by their parents. They are very obedient. They marry early, for from what we saw, the women are given husbands seventeen years of age. The men have one wife and no more. The women are the ones who spin, weave, decorate and paint. Some do it as well as the men. They bathe frequently. Their baths are as good as those of New Spain. In all the valleys and land that I have seen there are one hundred pueblos. It [this land] was named Provincia de San Felipe. Possession of it was taken in the name of his majesty by commission of his excellency Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, count of Coruña, viceroy, governor and captain-general of New Spain.

These people call corn "cunque;" water "pica;" the turkey "dire;" and women "ayu." When they want to drink they say "sesa." They call the cotton blanket . . . [there is a blank]. Their language is easily learned. They are the most domestic and industrious people, the best craftsmen found in New Spain. Accordingly had we brought along interpreters, some of them would have become Christians, because they are a very intelligent people and willing to serve.

Chapter X. How we were informed of the cattle and what distance there was from the province and settlement to the place and land where they were.

While we were at the pueblo which we named Malpartida,⁴³ a league from the discovery that was found and which was called San Mateo, we asked if there were many metals, showing them the

43. It was so named because Father Santa Maria set out from that place on his return to Mexico and met martyrdom a few days later. See below, p. 40 ff. It was the westernmost pueblo in the Galisteo valley. Mecham, *op. cit.*, map facing 272.

samples we brought for that purpose and asking them to take us where the metals were. They immediately brought us a large quantity of metals of different kinds. They brought samples of a copperish steel-like metal. This mineral was rich, as it appeared. It assayed about twenty *maravedis* per hundred-weight. The other metals assayed less. We asked them where-from they brought those metals. They gave us to understand that close by, near the province and pueblo, were many metals, and they thought that part of them came from there.⁴⁴ We went to see them, and mines of different metals were discovered. These Indians pointed out to us that the Indians in the region of the cattle gave them some of those metals.

Some of these people are striped. As they told us of the cattle we asked them what sort of people it was that lived in the region of the cattle, whether they had houses and cultivated corn; whether they wore clothes; and how many days the cattle were from that place, because we wanted to go and see them. [We told them] we would reconcile them with those people. They indicated to us that the people were not striped; that they live on game and eat nothing except meat of the cattle during the winter; that during the rainy season they go in search of prickly pears and dates; that they do not have houses, only huts of cattle-hides; that they move from place to place; that they were their enemies, but they also came to their pueblos with articles of barter, such as deerskins and cattle-hides, for making footwear, and with a large amount of meat in exchange for corn and blankets; that in this way, by conversing with one another, they came to understand their language.

When we heard this and the report of the cattle, we decided to find them, and to explore the land in which they are found. For we realized that a place where there were so many cattle, as they reported, must have good grazing. They had to live in a good country with many plains and plenty of water, according to the number of cattle the natives told us there were. Taking handfuls of dirt they said there were many and that there were many rivers, waterholes and swamps where the cattle roamed. Thus we were much pleased on account of the news they had given us. In reply to our questions they answered that the said cattle were two days from that place. We questioned them why they were so far from the said cattle. They replied that it was on account of the corn fields and cultivated lands, so the cattle would not eat them, for during certain seasons of the year the cattle came within eight leagues of the settlement. They said that the Indians who followed the cattle were very brave people that they used many arrows, and

44. This mineral discovery was in the Cerrillos district. Bandelier, *op. cit.*, II, 98-94.

that they would kill us. But God our Lord inspired us with such courage that we paid no attention to what they told us, and we decided to go and see the said cattle. We told them that inasmuch as the said cattle were so near, some of them should accompany us and that we would kill game for them. They answered that they did not want to, because the people were their enemies, that they were bad people and that they would kill each other and start trouble. As we were too few to force them to go with us, we did not dare do so, preferring to travel without a guide by the route they had indicated to us.

(To be concluded)