

New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 23 | Number 1

Article 2

1-1-1948

The Gallegos Relacion Reconsidered

Fray Angelico Chavez

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr>

Recommended Citation

Chavez, Fray Angelico. "The Gallegos Relacion Reconsidered." *New Mexico Historical Review* 23, 1 (1948).
<https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol23/iss1/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in New Mexico Historical Review by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact amywinter@unm.edu, lsloane@salud.unm.edu, sarahrk@unm.edu.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIII

JANUARY, 1948

No. 1

THE GALLEGOS RELACION RECONSIDERED

By FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ *

Introduction

FOR almost three centuries and a half, prior to the discovery and interpretation of Hernán Gallegos' *Relacion y concludio* of the 1581-1582 so-called Expedition, ancient as well as modern historians laid the blame for several sad occurrences on the soldiers who had accompanied the Franciscan friars Agustín Rodríguez, Francisco López, and Juan de Santa María. Depending on meager material extant in their day, and on the works of Mendieta, Salmerón, and others, men like Bancroft and Twitchell placed the responsibility for the death of the three friars on the "desertion" by Chamuscado and his eight soldiers.

A contrary view, which seems to have been unreservedly accepted in recent years, arose from the prominence given to Gallegos' *Relacion*, together with the *Cronica* of Obregon, and to two affidavits which Gallegos drew up, one after the departure of Fr. Juan de Santa María, the second when the other two friars later decided to stay in New Mexico.¹

* New Mexican poet and acting church archivist at the Cathedral, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

1. Gallegos, Hernán, *Relacion y concludio de el viage y subseco que Francisco Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus compañeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico en Junio de 1581*. (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 1-1-3/22). An English translation in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, II, 249-268; 334-362.

Obregón, Baltasar de, *Cronica comentario o relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de N. E. y del Nuevo Mexico, 1584*. (A. G. I., *ibid.*). Hammond and Rey, *Obregon's History* (Los Angeles, 1923); Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de Obregon* (Mexico, 1924).

As these are contemporary documents of an eye-witness, except Obregón's history, they hold priority over all other accounts, historically. The affidavits, it is claimed,

undoubtedly owe their existence to something more than the Spaniards' slavishness to red-tape. In them one detects a fear of the power of the Church, for the explorers knew that they would be criticised because of their leaving the friars alone among hostile natives. They sought, therefore, to protect themselves against possible accusations. But because of the great influence of the ecclesiastical historians, Mendieta and Torquemada, it appears that the soldiers were unsuccessful in clearing their names.²

In short, the verdict is that Fray Juan de Santa María left the Tanos pueblos without permission of his religious Superior in his bull-headed attempt to find a more direct route to New Spain and there report on the discoveries, while Fray Francisco López and Fray Agustín Rodríguez remained in Puaráy from a brave but foolhardy notion of converting the Indians all alone and possibly obtaining the crown of martyrdom.

I myself accepted this modern view, even after reading Father Engelhardt's objections to Dr. Mecham's conclusions and the latter's rebuttal.³ What led me to question this modern verdict, or rather its ancient sources, was not my affinity to the three frailes as a Franciscan, but one of those

The two affidavits are given by J. Lloyd Mecham, "Supplementary Documents Relating to The Chamuscado-Rodriguez Expedition," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 224-231.

2. It is unfortunate that Dr. Mecham, *op. cit.*, 225, makes this supposition in his otherwise admirable contributions in this matter. True, the explorers knew they would be criticised, and by others besides the Church, simply because they were far from innocent, as I will try to show from the *Relacion* itself and the affidavits.

Dr. Mecham's other valuable writings on the affair are: "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," *NMHR*, I, 265-291, and "The Martyrdom of Father Juan de Santa Maria," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI, 308-321. Also, his M. A. Thesis (University of California, 1917), *The Rodriguez Expedition into New Mexico*, which I have not seen.

Recently Fr. Marion Habig, O. F. M., kindly sent me photostats from Washington of a study by Fr. Otto Maas, in which the author ably reviews the controversy between Fr. Engelhardt and Dr. Mecham, the opinions of Hammond and others, concluding that it would be unjust to accuse the three friars of being light-headed and ill-advised in their conduct. But he contributes nothing new or original to the problem. "*Die Ersten Versuche einer Missionierung und Kolonisierung Neumexikos*," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* (Januar 1933), 362-363.

3. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, "El Yllustre Señor Chamuscado," *SHQ*, XXII, 296-309. Mecham's reply, *ibid.*, 299-300.

sudden hunches, unscientific perhaps in historical research, yet most helpful and, perhaps, psychologically lawful. Repeated and careful study of Gallegos in an attempt to synchronize his itinerary and the time element had stirred up something in me which burst out one night in this thought: "Gallegos is lying for his own ends." Then it was that I proceeded methodically to collate and compare all the available material on the Rodríguez Exploratory Mission, as I now choose to call it, and my conclusion is that he did lie and that contemporary documents like his, which have much greater value than others written later, can, by being false, lead historical research a-stray, especially when "first documents" are worshipped as such. In drawing up this re-survey it is not my intention to defy or berate professional historians, but to present a view which might throw more light on the question.

The Nature of the Mission and Its Leader

The supposition that Gallegos and the soldiers distorted the Mission's reason for being, flows from the tenor of both the *Relacion* and the affidavits, in which the author protests too much the leadership of Chamuscado, or better still, that of the author himself under the name and figurehead of the ter XI: "The *leader* and the *discoverers*." Chapter XII: Six times Chamuscado is referred to as "our leader" in exacting food from the Indians for the expedition. (As used in Chapter XIII, the word can be taken in the sense that Chamuscado was captain of the soldiers). Chapter XIV: "Said *leader* and the other soldiers *decided* to return" and "took leave of the friars who had decided to remain." "The *chief* ordered that testimony of all this should be drawn up." "Our *leader and magistrate* of the said expedition." (The italics here and in subsequent XVI-Century quotations are mine).

The first affidavit on Fr. Santa María's departure (curiously enough, not even mentioned in the *Relacion*), dated Sept. 10, 1581, immediately starts, written by Gallegos: "Yo, el Yllustre Sr. Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, con comission del visorrev. . .," and then proceeds to declare that the

soldiers were against the friar's departing because Chamailing old Captain. Hernán Gallegos is a common soldier of twenty-five, appointed (as he says in the second affidavit) *escribano* or clerk of the expedition by Chamuscado himself, but his "I-I-I" pervades through every sentence from start to finish and culminates in his later conduct in Mexico City and in Spain in his futile attempts to be named as the leader of a great new Entrada into New Mexico.

In the title of the *Relacion*, Chamuscado "accomplishes" the expedition and in the introduction he is the one to whom the expedition is offered (Gallegos does not say by whom); but the Franciscans "in good spirit offered themselves for the expedition." Chapter I: "Chamuscado, leader of the expedition"; "they took along" Friars López, Rodríguez, and Santa María. Chapter IV: the Indians kissed the hands "of the missionaries whom we brought with us." Chapter V: "Those whom we brought with us, that is, the friars." Chamuscado himself planned to make known the discovery. "The conquerors, colonizers, and discoverers were disturbed and angered" at his leaving. Chamuscado "assembled all of the discoverers and asked them if they did not regard him as their head and judge, and if they were aware that he had been commissioned by the viceroy to discover new lands," and the soldiers concurred. In the second affidavit, dated Feb. 13, 1582, Gallegos refers to Chamuscado as "judge, head, and discoverer for his Majesty of the said Province and Plains of the Cows." He again refers to the friars as those "whom he had brought in his company."

Now, the Viceroy himself expressly states in his Letter to the King⁴ that Fray Agustín Rodríguez had come to him with the proposition of exploring the northern country for

4. This letter, dated Nov. 1, 1582, at Mexico City, is given in Bolton's *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (New York, 1916), 158-160, as also the following soldiers' testimonies before the Viceroy which will be cited: Pedro de Bustamante, May 16, 1582, 142-150; Hernan Barrado, Oct. 20, 1582, 151-153; and the "Brief and True Account" of Escalante and Barrado, early in 1583, 154-157. Not given in Bolton is Gallegos' testimony given concurrently with Bustamante.

All are contained in *Documentos Ineditos del Archivo de Indias*, XV (Madrid 1871) pp. 97-100, 80-88, 95-97, 146-150, respectively. The testimony of Gallegos, *ibid.*, 88-95. These documents are short; hence, to avoid cluttering up the pages with additional footnotes, no reference to pages will be made.

evangelization, and that he had granted the friar permission, as well as to others of his confreres, "and as many as twenty men who might voluntarily wish to go with him *to protect them and as company.*" This is the only reason given for the soldiers' going. "And that they might take some things for barter." This does not necessarily apply to the soldiers, but even if it does, it certainly does not give them authority as official explorers and traders, much less as plunderers, but conforms with the ancient and modern practice of taking baubles along to get the good will of uncivilized peoples. I myself saw this practised in the Pacific islands during World War II. Escalante and Barrado tell how they gave the Piro cacique and his companions playing cards, hawk's bells, and other trinkets. "And the one *whom the friar should name* should go as leader (cabeza), whom the others" — the soldiers — "should obey, *that they might not cause disorder.*" Clearly, one of the soldiers is commissioned as Captain of the Guard and not as leader of an expedition. Benavides, surely, is not far from wrong fifty years later when he states that the Viceroy gave Brother Agustín a signed blank commission to fill in with the name of the soldier he chose as captain of the voluntary escort.⁵ "I did not give permission for more men to go because your Majesty had given instructions that *no entradas or new discoveries should be made* without express permission from your Majesty." In other words, the Viceroy could not give permission for a military expedition, but he was allowed by those same royal instructions⁶ to let missionaries go on exploratory missions; his sole reason for permitting a limited number of soldiers to go was simply to guard the friars, and the reason for commissioning one of them as a Captain was to keep them in line according to military discipline.

5. *Memorial of 1634*, his revised version of the *1630 Memorial*, edited by Hodge, Hammond and Rey, Coronado Historical Series (Albuquerque 1940), IV, Ch. XVI.

6. These Royal *Ordenanzas* of July 13, 1573, promulgated but a few years previously, must have been fresh in the minds of all concerned; they are to be found in the *Documentos Ineditos*, Vol. 16. For example: those in charge of the *Gobernacion de Yndias* should inform themselves of lands to be discovered and pacified, but without sending "*gente de guerra*" or others who might cause scandal; they should inform themselves as to the persons going on such missions (in this mission the Viceroy unfortunately depended on Fr. Rodriguez' not-so-good judgment of men); let them take vassal Indians as interpreters with things for barter and gifts. Pp. 143-144.

The theme is repeated in the testimonies of Gallegos and Bustamante, where the former sings a different tune in the presence of the Viceroy. Bustamante states that Viceroy Suárez de Mendoza had given permission to Fray Rodríguez and his confreres to discover lands beyond Santa Barbara and that "as many as twenty men" may go with them "for the safety of their persons, and in order that thereby they might be able to preach the Gospel. . . ." Gallegos now deposes that he went *with* the religious, and not vice versa as in the *Relacion*. Hernán Barrado declares that he went with Chamuscado *in company* of Fray Agustín and two other friars. Escalante and Barrado state that they went "*in company with three religious of the Order of St. Francis.*" And Obregón, who got his data from the *Relacion* and the other soldiers, puts down Fray Agustín as "the author and principal agent" who "solicited and obtained the grant and commission for the leader."^{6a} It is therefore difficult to see how Chamuscado could have been more than captain of the guard; on the contrary, it is easy to see how he and most of the soldiers, Gallegos in particular, assumed that leadership without any authority when they entered Puebloland. (See last part of note 14).

That the common soldier, Hernán Gallegos, was the moving spirit, and not so much the old and ailing captain, can be seen throughout the *Relacion* and the affidavits. The *Relacion* begins with "Since I began serving his Majesty in my youth" and throughout four long paragraphs of the introduction gives away the hypocritical and obsequious character of the chronicler. Thus:

"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 Sanchez Chamuscado the expedition which he carried out . . . and as he had communicated with me about it, I saw there was presented to me an opportunity commensurate with my purpose and ambition. . . . We left fortified with the hope of attaining temporal and eternal reward. Following the example of the nine men of fame, we set out. . . . On this expedition I noted the important things . . . and after I had helped

6a. Hammond and Rey, eds., *Obregon's History*, p. 268.

CODEX HALL AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS FOR \$7.50

Reorganization of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico as a result of merging the Laboratory of Anthropology with these two institutions makes it possible to offer publications like the *CODEX HALL* to a much wider public than heretofore. The merger permits the offer of membership in one or both of two organizations similar to the now absorbed Laboratory of Anthropology at low cost even during a period of rising prices—either the Archaeological Society of New Mexico or the Historical Society of New Mexico at \$3.00 per year, or both at \$6.00 per year. Besides receiving the official organs of the Societies, the monthly *El Palacio* or the quarterly *New Mexico Historical Review* respectively, or both if membership is taken in both Societies, members may take advantage of a 25 per cent discount on all publications of the three organizations retailing at one dollar or more.

Incidentally, persons wishing to take out membership in either of the Societies can receive a membership with its privileges and a copy of the *CODEX HALL* for little more than the price of the *CODEX HALL* alone — \$10.50.

Please send me . . . cop. . . of the *CODEX HALL, AN ANCIENT MEXICAN HIEROGLYPHIC PICTURE MANUSCRIPT*. I enclose my check or money order as follows:

- \$10.00 for *CODEX HALL* without membership discount.
- \$ 7.50 for *CODEX HALL* with membership discount. Please check which Society you are a member of:
- Archaeological Society of New Mexico
 - Historical Society of New Mexico
 - Laboratory of Anthropology
- \$10.50 for *CODEX HALL*, including membership in one of the Societies. Please check your preference:
- Archaeological Society of New Mexico
 - Historical Society of New Mexico
- \$13.50 for *CODEX HALL* including membership in both the Archaeological Society and the Historical Society.

Address and make checks to THE SCHOOL OF AMERICAN RESEARCH, P. O. BOX 1727,
Santa Fe, New Mexico

SCHOOL OF AMERICAN RESEARCH MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO SANTA FE

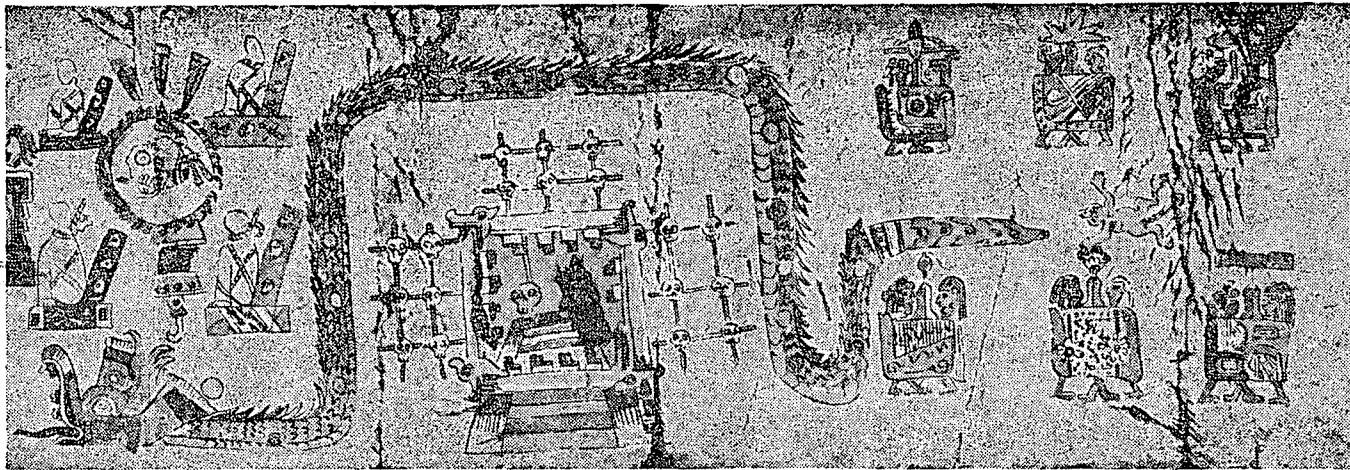
CODEX HALL, An Ancient Mexican Hieroglyphic Picture Manuscript. Commentary by Charles E. Dibble of the Department of Anthropology, University of Utah; silk screen facsimile reproductions of the Codex by Louie H. Ewing, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 17 plus v pp. \$10.00. Edition limited to 1500 copies.

In his introduction to Dr. Charles E. Dibble's commentary on the Codex, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley, Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, states:

"In closing, I may add, that in my opinion, the *Codex Hall* dates from the immediate post-Conquest period, and I should point out further, that many of our most important Mexican hieroglyphic manuscripts also date from precisely this same period."

Dr. Charles E. Dibble, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, analyzes and describes a previously unpublished codex dealing with ancient Aztec religious ritual. In it are pictured "The binding up of the Years," a ceremony to Tlaloc, the Rain God, an arrow sacrifice, a representation of fertility, and other Aztec religious ceremonies.

In addition to the seventeen text figures, the monograph is accompanied by actual-size, full-color, silk-screen reproductions,



CODEX HALL, PHOTOGRAPH OF FIRST PLATE

At the left are shown four human bodies, swathed in funeral bandages, the Aztec symbol denoting death. The thrones on which the "mummy bundles" are seated indicate the rank of the deceased as having been that of rulers or important warriors. The middle is devoted to a representation of a *tzompanili*, or rack of human skulls, where the skulls of sacrificial victims were preserved. At the extreme right appears a fertility ceremony.

The nature of silk screen painting is such that each resulting plate is a personal and individual product of the artist.

the work of Louie H. Ewing, of Santa Fe, New Mexico, who has become nationally known as an artist in this medium.

Mr. Manly P. Hall, Founder of the Philosophical Research Society and owner of the original Codex, says in his preface to the publication: "As far as can be learned, no reference to this Codex has ever appeared in the literature, and it is here reproduced and described for the first time."

SCHOOL OF AMERICAN RESEARCH
AND
MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

"These contemporaneous written records of ancient America," writes Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley in his introduction to Dr. Dibble's commentary, "were never common, probably far more rare than the papyri of ancient Egypt; indeed only three such manuscripts are known to have survived from the Maya Civilization, and although many more are known from the Aztec, Mixtec, Zapotec, and other peoples of the central Mexican plateau region, the discovery of a new codex, as these hieroglyphic picture manuscripts are called, is a matter of first importance to the students of aboriginal American epigraphy."

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 and his majesty, in order that there should not remain with me anything *I* could offer. . . . Although it may seem boldness on my part . . . *I* was nevertheless encouraged by the case of the poor widow in the Gospel . . . as a result of this reflection and finding myself in the possession of two farthings capital, I offered them to his excellency and risked them in this undertaking."

And so forth in this egotistic vein. This section alone makes one wonder how much, or how little, of the *Relacion* was written en route, as it should have been according to law ⁷ and as he himself boasts in his personal deposition before the Viceroy.

Throughout his journal we must give him credit for his sharp observations regarding manners and customs, but he does not do so well in his sense of time and space; for example, the chapter on the itinerary through the pueblos is a jumble which has caused historians many a headache, which could not have happened had he written as he went along or *por dias*; also the trip to the bison-country, in which they leave on September 28, travel on well-described terrain for four days, arriving at a certain place which they call San Miguel because they got there on the feast of St. Michael. (The Church had kept this feast, for centuries before Gallegos' time, on September 29). Where we must take particular issue is in Chapter 13, in which he relates Father Santa María's premature departure, and the following Chapter describing their hectic parting with the other two friars at Puaráy. But now we are concerned with his personal ambitions.

The affidavits drawn up on these two occasions, especially the second one, brings this out. "I, Hernán Gallegos, appointed scribe . . . by Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado. . . ." It is signed by Gallegos and three others "who were present" (Bustamante, Sánchez de Chavez, de Herrera). Chamuscado

7. Ordenanza: "hagan comentario e memoria por dias, de todo lo que vieren y hallaren y les aconteciere . . . e todo lo vayan asentando en un libro . . . y despues de asentado, se lea en publico cada dia firmandolo algunos de los principales. . . ." *Documentos Ineditos*, XVI, 149. Other sections show that they were not written *por dias*, and Gallegos alone signs it.

is too ill, even to sign his name. The four other soldiers are not present for the signing, though the little group of nine stuck close together on their hurried trip back. And it is two weeks since the event treated therein took place. From here on Gallegos has taken over completely. Back in Santa Barbara, with Chamuscado dead and buried on the way, Gallegos has trouble with the authorities there. He claims that they wanted his papers to beat him and his companions to the new land; this is true, but it also shows that the just as ambitious minions of Diego de Ibarra, his former barracks pals,⁸ knew that neither Chamuscado nor his men had a commission as explorers and colonizers, that they had gone merely as companions to the friars; and maybe they resented the fact, if they knew about twenty men being authorized, that only a clique of nine had gone.

And so Gallegos sneaks away to Mexico with two companions who had signed the second affidavit with him. There Gallegos and Bustamante present themselves to the Viceroy, who takes their depositions (in which they omit mention of Fray Santa María's departure and death); there Gallegos presents, as he says in that testimony, his famous *Relacion*—from its revealing introduction to a like boastful conclusion:

We brought great joy and happiness to this city of Mexico, and especially to his excellency . . . for having carried out in such a short time . . . an enterprise like the present one in which his majesty and his vassals have spent quantities of money in search of this discovery, but without success. Now nine men had dared to go among such a large number of people in the inhabited area and to penetrate the uninhabited land and to have discovered what they had. . . . Where five hundred men had failed to discover or explore the eight men had succeeded at their own cost and expense, without receiving any support or help from his majesty or any other person.⁹ This brought

8. "the jurisdiction of the discovery appears to belong to (N. Vizcaya) . . . and the soldiers who just went with the said religious were from the company of Governor Martin Lopez Ibarra, my deputy." *Letter of Diego de Ibarra to the King, Mexico, Nov. 10, 1582.* Bandelier-Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico* (Washington, D. C. 1923), I, 113-114.

9. As Hammond and Rey observe in a footnote to their translation and edition of the *Relacion*, *NMHR*, II, 363 note, Gallegos refers to the Coronado *Entrada* of 1540. We can also observe, regarding the boast of "at their own cost and expense," that the great amount of stock and provisions taken along, of which they undoubtedly partook of daily, were at the Viceroy's expense, as we shall see later.

great relief and enthusiasm to many people in New Spain. Hernan Gallegos, one of the explorers and the *escribano* of the expedition and discovery, decided to write this relation with the chapters and explanations here contained.

Months of lobbying at the viceregal court in Mexico City and at the royal palace in Spain bring forth no results for the ambitious scrivener.¹⁰ The just as wily Viceroy and King seem to know who Gallegos really is. Suárez de Mendoza reads his *Relacion* and makes all kinds of inquiries. Surely they cannot help but note the discrepancies thus far treated, and more that we shall examine when treating the cases of the individual friars.

Departure and Death of Fray Juan de Santa María

During the 1581 tour of the party, while they were somewhere in the Galisteo-Rio Grande area, Fr. Juan de Santa María left the group and took a route east of the "Sierra Morena" to avoid the tortuous winding of the Rio Grande and thus find a straighter road to New Spain. Some days later he was killed by Indians somewhere east of that sierra. Later Franciscan authors wrote that the friars had sent him. The contemporary *Relacion* and first affidavit of Gallegos (and Obregon who copies from him) reveal that he left on his own and against the command of his Superior.

First of all, let it be noted that these are the only strictly contemporary documents that mention his departure and death. The Viceroy does not refer to such an important event in his Report to the King, although he ought to have

10. In March, 1583, he addressed a petition to the King: "Very Powerful Lord: Captain Hernan Gallegos, discoverer of New Mexico, states that. . . ." Again, "I went with eight others. . . ." "Do me the favor to command that I be given the conquest and pacifying of that country. . . . I will undertake the said conquest at my expense and cost. . . ." A. G., Guadalajara 10.—A brief summary of the earlier petition betrays his desire for the "trading-rights and administration" of New Mexico, which is endorsed on March 14, 1583, and referred back to the Council of the Indies with: "This matter is already dealt with as is convenient" (better still, "as it deserves"), while a similar endorsement of the March 30 petition passes back the buck with: "*que acuda al Virrey.*" This matter is interestingly treated by the late Lansing B. Bloom in his "Who Discovered New Mexico?," *NMHR*, XV, 109-122.

known of it from the *Relacion* (provided the copy he got in May 8-16, 1582, has this section in it).¹¹

The testimonies of Gallegos himself and Bustamante before the Viceroy, May 16, 1582, do not mention the fact, nor does that of Barrado, Oct. 20, 1582, when the Viceroy calls him in to testify on learning of the later death of the other two friars, nor yet the "Brief and True Account" of Escalante and Barrado, early in 1583. In fact, the latter deposition has it: "We, the said nine companions and the three friars," discovered the bison-country to the east of the pueblos. And Fr. Santa María is supposed to have left before that specific trip. Perhaps this is a copyist's error. Anyway, the whole silence is very disturbing. Other notices of his death do not appear until the following year when Espejo visits the Saline pueblos behind the Sierra Morena, when Obregon writes his *Cronica* based on Gallegos, and in the later writings of Mendieta, Salmerón, and other old standard historians.

The point of Santa María's departure is not clear either. Mecham, and Hammond and Rey after him, deduce that he left from Malpartida, which they identify with the pueblo known later on as San Marcos. Nowhere does Gallegos say expressly that he left from Malpartida; Obregon is the only other writer who mentions the place, and again not as the point of departure. None of the other soldiers mentions Malpartida. One can deduce from the unchronological *Relacion* (Ch. 12-13) that the friar could have left from Piedra Hita,¹² later known as San Cristobal, or perhaps from Gal-

11. In his testimony of May 16, Gallegos declares that he has a book, written by his own hand, in which he relates all about the journey, "*el cual tiene entregado a Su Excelencia.*" The *Relacion* which comes to us is a copy of the one Gallegos apparently later revised and had copied, on July 8 of the same year.

12. Malpartida does mean "Bad Parting," but it can also mean "An Affidavit Concerning a Bad Event," a stretching of the point, true, but useful in showing how one cannot depend on the meaning of names without external facts to back one up. Likewise with Piedra Hita. *Hita*: adj., firm, fixed, importunate, according to Velasquez' Dictionary; And in Peñalver's: *Hito: Mojon o poste de piedra que se coloca en los caminos para marcar su direccion o para deslindar los territorios.* — I had hoped to find the original MS having either "*Piedreguita*" (little stone) or "*Piedragüita*" (stone plus little water), for what's left of San Cristobal is built of small flat stones, and a small stream flows near the concrete-like expanses of stone terrain.

isteco—and Zárate-Salmerón couldn't have been far from wrong forty years later.¹³

Now the question is: Did Fr. Santa María leave with or without permission of his Superior. Gallegos, surely, is not trustworthy (a) because of his and the soldiers' unwarranted assumption of authority, (b) his own suspect ambitions in the egotistic *Relacion*, (c) the strange silence among the other declarants who had been witnesses of such an important event, (d) the fact that he did not enter the event *por dias* as required, but a month later, and (e) the fact that the affidavit was dated three days after, is signed only by two other soldiers besides Chamuscado, and not by the *remaining friars*.¹³ Had young Santa María left without permission, I am certain as a Franciscan that Fr. López, his religious Superior, would have signed the protest also. If only we had the Chronicle which the friars undoubtedly kept faithfully (this I also know as a Franciscan). But it was lost, either when López and Rodríguez were later killed, or else *when Santa María was slain*.

This brings us to the supposition, born because of Gallegos' suspect testimony and bolstered by later writers, that Fr. López actually did send his theological classmate back to New Spain by the shortest route possible, to report, not only on the Pueblos discovered, but on the conduct of the soldiers who not only assumed authority but flouted other *Royal Ordenanzas* on several counts.¹⁴ And so Fr. Santa

13. Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition," *loc. cit.*, p. 79 note, says: "Zárate-Salmeron is in error on two points: (1) Santa María did not depart from Galisteo, and (2) He did not leave after the departure of the soldiers nor with the permission of his friar-companions." There is a possibility that (a) Zárate-Salmerón meant the Galisteo area or (b) that the name itself, or the inhabitants, shifted among the Tanos pueblos as with Puaráy among the Tiguas or (c) that Santa María did leave from the site now known as Galisteo, for from here the route south behind the sierras looks more inviting.

13. Ordenanzas: See note 7. Fr. López and Brother Rodríguez were surely "*algunos de los principales*." This omission, and the fact that Chamuscado, according to the affidavit itself, tried to impress the soldiers that he was head and judge of the expedition, is one proof of the grave division already existing between the friars and their escorts, and also points to the reason for Santa María's early departure.

14. Domestic pueblos had been discovered in great numbers and so the purpose of the Mission was accomplished; it was high time to report according to law: "*Y hagan discrecion de todo lo que se puede saber . . . y vayan imbiando siempre relacion al Gobernador, para que la imbie al Consejo.*" *Op. cit.*, p. 144. This the soldiers did not want to do — "to keep on sending notices always."

María, the astronomer and pathfinder in the party, was sent to report, particularly on the spiritual field white for the harvest. But Chamuscado and his men are looking for free gold and beef to report in person, so that they may return as official conquerors and *encomenderos* and lords of the land and its people; now they are insisting on going east to the bison-country where there are no pueblos ready for conversion like these. Santa María mounts his horse and sets out alone with his astrolabe.

Of course, the soldiers object, says the *Relacion* (Ch. 13), "because he was placing us in great danger" (how this could be is hard to figure out) "and because we had not yet examined the land" (for bison and mines, the real reason). Obregon puts it: The soldiers "had not explored the whole land nor *completely learned all its secrets and sources of profit.*" (*Op. Cit.*, 310). And so the extremely serious accusation is made (to be found only in the *Relacion*, and the *Cronica* which copies from it) that the young Padre left without the permission of his Superior. Then, three days after he left, the pompous affidavit was drawn up while nothing was said in the chronicle—until a month later. Gallegos says that the Friar departed on the Eve of Our Lady of September,¹⁵ which would be September 7, and that after three days of travel he was killed, but that "We heard of this when we returned from the cattle, for until then we knew nothing." Obregon writes that they heard of his death five days later. Might this have prompted the affidavit? When the Indians boasted that they had followed and killed him in the sierra, whether three or five days or even weeks

The law further stated that as soon as the discoverers' victuals were half-spent, they had to turn back (to forestall despoliation of the natives). P. 148. Also, "*Los descubrimientos no se den con titulos y nombre de conquista: puese habiendose de hacer con tanta paz y caridad . . . no queremos quel nombre. . .*" P. 152. The ignoring of these regulations, and others mentioned previously, were more than enough to cause a break, and at the same time prompt the friars to act accordingly.

Another though not conclusive instance of the soldier's early assumption of authority is hinted in the names given the pueblos from the moment they entered Puebloiland. It was the Franciscan custom to designate places with names of the Saints or else continue using the original native names. The *Relacion* goes on a spree of Spanish and Mexican place-names, including those that do commemorate a saint.

15. September 8 is the ancient Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, known when Merrie England was Catholic as "Little Lady Day."

later, "we pretended not to understand it," Gallegos says; that is to say, the soldiers feigned ignorance or indifference to discourage further Indian acts of aggression.¹⁶

The Padre was killed behind the Sierra Morena, which can be anywhere along the eastern slopes of the Ortiz, San Pedro, Sandia, and Manzano mountains which compose the range running north and south from the Galisteo basin down to the Salinas, for the name is applied by the party to the whole range as they come up through the Socorro district. Espejo, a year later,¹⁷ was told by the Indians of the northern Saline pueblos that Santa María had been killed in their district. Since the Indians "followed him" and the Tanos reported his death, it looks as if they did the killing, perhaps with the help of local Tiguas. That he was slain while sleeping suggests the idea that they dared not attack him while mounted; that he went on horseback can be inferred from the fact that the party, including the friars, had come from New Spain on horseback with ninety pack and saddle horses, which were the property, not of the soldiers, but furnished to Brother Agustín by the Viceroy. The exact locale of his martyrdom depends very much on the pueblo from which he left, and this has been the cause of much speculation.¹⁸

16. And Friars López and Rodríguez? The supposition is not far-fetched that they did not believe the Indian boast, but expected Fr. Santa María to return within a few weeks with more missionaries to begin the evangelization of the pueblos on a large scale.

17. "Relacion que yo Antonio Espejo con catorce soldados y un religioso de el orden de San Francisco a las Provincias y poblaciones de la Nueva Mexico." *Doc. Ined.* XV, 101-126. Translated in H. E. Bolton, ed., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916), pp. 168-192.

18. Adolph Bandelier, finding no Tigua Pueblo of the Salines with the title of San Pablo, wrote: "Zarate Salmeron places Santa Maria's death some place east of the Sierra de Sandia and three day's journey south of Galisteo, or at San Pablo. Niel changes the name to San Pedro. This is the old San Pedro of today. Three days' journey south of Galisteo would bring one to San Pedro or between San Pedro and Chilibi." *Final Report*, II, 113. — This San Pedro is Paako, a ruin behind the Sandia range proper, which had a church dedicated to San Pedro. Cf. "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos," Part III, *NMHR*, V, 351. Archeological evidence shows that the pueblo was Tano, but no church ruins have been found.

The *Relacion* states that he left on Sept. 7, but on the 6th the party had taken possession of the pueblos in the valley they called Atotonilco, believed to be the Santa Fe river valley around Cienega and La Bajada. Did he leave from here? Then the ravine where Paako stood would be the logical "direct route." Or did the party go back to Puaray, which the friars had designated as their future headquarters, and from where Santa María skirted the north and east sides of the Sandia through Paako

My unscientific suppositions so far, from taking Gallegos with a barrel of salt, coincide with what the later Franciscan writers have to say. Aware of the dangers inherent in the use of internal evidence alone, I have recourse to these sources. The friars down in New Spain were not idle when Gallegos and his men were making their depositions. An interesting and telling episode is the finding by Barrado in the *Franciscan convento* at Santa Barbara of one of the Indian servants, Francisco by name, who had witnessed the martyrdom of Fr. López. What he told the Fathers there might well be part of the information used by Fray Gerónimo Mendieta, then gathering historical material by special command of the head of the Franciscan Order, in 1571, for a history of the Order's activities in the Indies. His *Historia Eclesiastica Indiana* was not completed until 1596, but the events recorded therein of 1581-1582 are certainly *contemporary*, and, if taken from the Indian servants and perhaps one of the soldiers who did not sign either affidavit, also *eye-witness testimony*. (Barrado also came across his own servant, Gerónimo, who had fled with Francisco from Puaráy; both went to Mexico City from Zacatecas to talk with the Viceroy, which was the occasion for, and gist of, Barrado's testimony).

Fray Gerónimo Zárate-Salmerón served in the Jemez and Queres pueblos from 1621 to 1626, during which time he translated the catechism into the Jemez tongue and gathered historical data. Such a student undoubtedly made personal investigations about the friar-martyrs, and from eye-witnesses, for it was only some forty years after their deaths

and on to Chilili and Tajique? I venture this question because Obregón seems to identify the mysterious word *Porne* with his Malpartida and Mal Puerto, *op. cit.*, p. 279, and Cuevas writes it down as the pueblo "*que nombraron Porue (Sic).*" *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

With regard to the Tanos Pueblos of the Galisteo basin, if one stands on the site of any one of them and, looking southwest, figures on the most direct route to the Paso region by eschewing the great curves of the Río Grande, then the east slope of the Sandia proper and Paako lie too far west and close to the Río, even from San Marcos, the westernmost pueblo of the Tanos. Therefore, whether he left from San Marcos in the west, or Piedra Hita on the east, or especially from Galisteo in the middle, it seems as if he would have chosen a straight line east of the Cerro Pelon, the Ortiz and San Pedro mountains, to the Salinas area, and that on the third day of travel by horse he would have reached the Tigua pueblos of that region, the area which Espejo mentions.

when he worked in the central area of New Mexico. His details about the death of Father Juan de Santa María cannot, therefore, be dismissed as guesses or a version of Mendieta. He wrote:

Arriving at Galisteo, and seeing the docility of the Indians, the three friars (having been deserted by the soldiers)¹⁹ agreed that one of them should return to inform the prelates what had been seen [see footnote 14], and to ask for more priests. Father Juan de Santa María offered himself for this journey, he who was an accomplished astronomer, and looking over the lay of the land, found by his reckoning where the route ran shortest and straight, and thus went out by the Sierra of Puray, to cross through the salines, and from there cut straight to the crossing of the Rio del Norte . . . however, his good intent did not come to full measure. For on the third day after he bade farewell to his brother companions, having come to rest under a tree, the Tigua Indians of the pueblo now called San Pablo killed him, and burned his bones.²⁰

Fr. Mendieta's account is very much the same (*Op. cit.*, p. 763): Santa María left "on finding themselves alone," and the Indians killed him by dropping a very large block of stone while he slept. Torquemada and Vetancurt copy almost literally from him, but Salmerón's words ring like something heard from persons who knew at first hand.

The Martyrdom of Friars López and Rodríguez

After Chamuscado and his Gallegos-styled "conquerors, colonizers, and discoverers," had seen all they could, even as far west as Ácoma and the Zuñi pueblos, their saddlebags

19. Perhaps deserted temporarily, while out on forays in search of mines; Santa María could have left while the soldiers were absent, which might explain the affidavit three days later on their return. Certainly, the soldiers had deserted the friars in spirit by denial of Rodríguez' leadership and doing things on their own contrary to the purpose of the Mission.

20. "Relacion de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido así por mar como por tierra desde el año 1538 hasta el de 1626." *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3rd Series, IV (Mexico, 1856.) There is an English translation in *Land of Sunshine*, XI. Also cited by Bandelier, "Documentary History, etc.," *loc. cit.*, who says that "His affirmations have the same importance as ocular testimony." P. 353 footnote.

Concerning the burning of his body, Bandelier makes some interesting observations: That because of his reading of the stars the savages considered him a sorcerer, and it was their custom to burn witches. He refers to Mota Padilla's description of a regular cremation among the Tiguas (*Historia de Nueva Galicia*, Mexico, 1870, p. 160). P. 354.

crammed with mineral specimens, they decided it was high time to return. They also were running out of horseshoes. But now that they were ready to go back in their own good time, the two friars were set on remaining in Puaráy. This should have caused them no surprise, as this decision had been made long before, a fact which again points to their sending Fr. Santa María to report on the pueblos and get more missionaries. That is why one cannot help but conclude that López and Rodríguez were confident, or almost so, that their brother in St. Francis had reached the Viceroy and was at that moment setting out with more priests and better representatives of the Crown than these ruffians from the frontier mines of Santa Barbara. Otherwise, how explain the decision of the soldiers' own servants to cast their lot with the friars, and even some of the soldiers until they were persuaded to change their minds by their companions? (*Relacion*, Ch. XIV). We might even allow the friars to gloat on the thought that, while Chamuscado was now promising the happy Indians of Puaráy that he would return personally with many more Christians and their women, a new *Entrada* was setting out which he would meet on the way.

Nor can it be said that the friars were doing something untoward by staying. One of the Royal *Ordenanzas* read: "If they saw that the people were domestic, and that a religious might safely stay among them . . . let them leave him, promising to return for him within a year or sooner. . . ." (*Op. cit.*, p. 148).

Gallegos relates how Chamuscado remonstrated strongly with the friars, but that is neither here nor there; almost in the same breath he tells how happy the Puaráy Tiguas were, and in other instances he shows how other Indians took to the men of God. Then Gallegos points to the generosity with which they left the other Indian servants, the large stock of sheep and goats, the axes and other implements, even the surgical instruments, with the friars. There was no other course, for Fray Agustín was the head of the Mission, and all these persons and things had been furnished

at the Viceroy's expense. They hurried off posthaste on Jan. 31, 1582, not so much to "keep the promise we had given to both the friars," but because their own resources were running low, the sick old captain was failing fast, and they must stake their claims at the viceregal court before their former barracks companions and rivals of New Vizcaya stole a beat on them. For it is possible that the nine soldiers, seeing the friars' enthusiasm, doubted Santa María's death, too; or perhaps they always had, hence the exclusion of his newsworthy departure from the *Relacion* until a much later date—maybe in July when Gallegos had been two months in Mexico City. (See note 11).

As for the affidavit fixed up on this occasion, it took Gallegos two weeks to decide. By this time they must have reached the Paso del Norte district, when he dated it Feb. 13, 1582, with the very general place-designation of "Province of San Felipe." The absurd claim is made here that the friars had threatened the soldiers with excommunication if they forced them to return, and Fr. López is called the "guardian."²¹ This document, which is all Gallegos in ego and tune, is signed by him and three other soldiers "who were present." Was Chamuscado so ill that he could not even sign his name? Why didn't the others, particularly Escalante and Barrado who in their famous "Brief and True Account" say nothing about these difficulties with the friars, although by this time (1583) their deaths were known?

Gallegos and Bustamante reached Mexico City on May 8, 1582, made their depositions before the Viceroy on May 16, in which both of them omit, not only the departure of Santa María, but also the purported arguments between them and the friars when parting at Puaráy. Bustamante simply states that they returned from the Salinas to Puaráy, "where they had left the religious, the horses, and the rest of the things which they possessed, and from this pueblo they returned by the same route they had gone. In the said

21. Fray Francisco López had been appointed religious Superior, the correct generic term, because Fray Agustín Rodríguez was not a priest but a lay-brother. "Guardian" is the official and exclusively Franciscan term for the superior of an established *convento* only. Neither guardians nor simple superiors, nor priests as such, are empowered to excommunicate.

pueblo the religious remained with the Indian servants whom they had taken, among them being a half-breed." Later in October, news had arrived about the deaths of the two friars. Barrado and his servant Gerónimo were summoned for a hearing on October 20, and Barrado tells how he had first encountered Francisco three months previously in the friary at Santa Barbara. Three Indian servants, Francisco, Gerónimo, and Andres, had fled from Puaráy when Fr. López was martyred. Andres had been killed by hostile Conchos in the Chihuahua region on their way down. Barrado later met Gerónimo when being brought by other soldiers to Zacatecas, and from there the whole party came to Mexico City, where the Indian talked with the Viceroy. Concerning Gerónimo, Barrado's testimony ends with a strange note: "A few days ago he disappeared . . . (Barrado) understands that he has returned to his own country."

In the meantime the Franciscans at the Convent of San Francisco in Mexico City were undoubtedly culling evidence according to the Order's practice in such cases, evidence for the "ecclesiastical historians, Mendieta and Torquemada" because of whose "great influence . . . it appears that the soldiers were unsuccessful in clearing their names."

And Fr. Zárate-Salmerón, back on the actual scenes of martyrdom not forty years after, talks with Indians who remember in the shadow of the Sierra Morena. He writes in 1626:

As the devoted Fr. Francisco Lopez was praying, about a harquebus' shot away from the pueblo, an Indian killed him with two blows of a club on the temples²² as the marks on his skull can be seen,²³ and

22. The servant Francisco, according to Barrado's testimony, said that they killed Fr. López and that he had seen him buried. When he told Fray Agustín about it, the servants became excited, and so with two of them he fled, hearing as they left "many outcries and a tumult in the pueblo, wherefore he believed that they had killed the rest of the religious and the Indian boys. . . ." — Fr. Benavides, in New Mexico before Fr. Zárate-Salmerón left for New Spain, says that Fr. López went out into the open praying, saw a group of Indians seated, who were at the moment scheming; at his first words, one of them smashed his head with a *macana* while the rest shot him with arrows. *Op. cit.*, Ch. XIX. (Hodge thinks the source of information is the same for all friar-writers — i.e., Mendieta — and that Benavides cannot be regarded as an authority! *Ibid.* 160.)

23. Zárate-Salmerón: "The body of the holy fray Juan López lay hidden for more than 33 years, at the end of which an Indian of Puaray pueblo, an eye-witness

the Indians of that pueblo acknowledge it, because there are yet *many Indians witnesses of his death*, and they revealed where his corpse was buried. . . . Fray Agustín Ruiz enshrouded him, and buried him according to our manner inside the pueblo. . . . The chieftain of the pueblo showed his sentiments of sympathy . . . and in order that the same might not befall the lay-brother . . . he took him to the pueblo called Santiago,²⁴ a league and a half up the river . . . and being caught unawares²⁵ they did the same thing and killed him also, and threw his body in the Rio which was in flood.²⁶

After comparing all the accounts, with due allowance for the changes in a story when passed down for many years, we can venture the following reconstruction: Friars López and Rodríguez were happy in Puaráy learning the language and sharing their goods with their own servants and their hosts, when the Tanos or the Saline Tiguas, or both (and even some of the Puaráy Tiguas with them), who had previously killed Fr. Santa María, now came to demand the death of the two remaining friars. As this typically Indian consultation was going on outside the pueblo, Fr. López came by. Then and there the plotters fell upon him—first a blow on either temple and then a burst of arrows for good measure. On seeing this the chief of Puaráy hid Fr. Rodríguez who was on the other side of the village until the enemy left. While the latter were seeking him with their war-cries, the three Mexican servants fled. Later the lay-brother buried his confrere. But since the enemy was still in the vicinity, or even among some of the inhabitants of Puaráy, the chief thought it best to abscond the friar to a safer place, the pueblo of Santiago. But finally the foe traced him there and,

of his death and burial, revealed it to Father Fray Estevan de Perea, he being Commissary of those provinces and a grand minister among those natives, which body, or to put it better, bones, were taken with all devotion and respect, the religious in vestments and on foot, until they were placed in the church of Sandia, a good and lengthy league. . . ." (*Relacion, op. cit.*, p. 11.) Benavides (Ch. XX) adds that they found him with the cloth still tied about the club-marks on his head, and that the Indians honored his new burial place with a chapel on the spot where he was martyred and painted his picture on it.

24. Bandelier placed Santiago five and a half miles north of Bernalillo on the Mesa del Canjilon. *Final Reports*, II, 227.

25. *En descuidandose*. Either Fr. Agustín, or the friendly chief, or the other friendly Indians, or all together.

26. *Relacion de todas cosas, etc., Doc. Hist. Mex.*, p. 10.

when he and his protectors were not watching, slew him also and threw his body in the flooded Rio Grande.

Conclusion

May I repeat that this paper was not meant to criticize my betters, whose historical spade-work I not only admire but depend on; rather, I want to show how the author of the contemporary documents in question cannot be trusted implicitly in all he writes. (1) His distortion of the prime purpose of the Mission and its real leadership, as well as the role he gives his own unimportant self throughout, with his untoward motives clearly showing through, are in direct contradiction to the Viceroy's report and the depositions of the soldiers, that of Gallegos included. Furthermore, he violates all the Royal Ordinances regarding all kinds of forays and expeditions. All of which explains his failure at the courts of Mexico and Spain. (2) His leaving out of the chronicle, until a month later (or even altogether in the copy given to the Viceroy) of such an important happening as the "unlawful" departure and subsequent death of Fr. Santa María, also of the affidavit drawn up, belies his statement that everything set down is true and "written while he was passing through the land." (3) Glaring chronological lapses, like those cited, not only throw doubt on his writing things en route, but also call other dates into question. (4) Old authors, contemporaries who spoke with other ocular witnesses of the events, agree with him in certain time and space facts, but do not support him in the reason for the expedition or for the conduct of all three Franciscans.

All this gives us the right to reconsider, at least in part, the statements of Fr. Mendieta, who was in New Spain gathering material as official American Historian of the Order when Francisco and Gerónimo, and perhaps one or the other of the soldiers, were giving their own ocular versions in the convents, and of Fr. Zárate-Salmerón who thirty-nine years later was in New Mexico interviewing eye-witnesses. Nor can we lightly dismiss the writings of Fr. Alonso Benavides

in this matter just because he is glaringly wrong about events that happened a century before his time.

Undoubtedly, the exploratory Mission of Fray Agustín Rodríguez and his priest-companions into Puebloland 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."²⁷ But it is of more than particular interest. It not only started that series of events which led to permanent colonization, it also began and foreshadowed, in the conduct and writings of Gallegos, that series of failures in the complete evangelization of the pueblos and the tragic deaths of so many Franciscans, from the precarious beginnings of Oñate and Peralta (1595-1614) through the troublous times of men like de la Rosas and Peñalosa (1610-1680) down to the era of Mexican Independence and the secularization of the Missions — more than two centuries of blood and tears and constant failure, because of unscrupulous little "conquerors, colonizers, and discoverers," and "*escribanos*."

27. Hammond and Rey, "The Rodriguez Exp.," *loc. cit.*, 240.