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Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico

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THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO

(continued)

Chapter V.

The Final Inspection

The Religious Motive of the Expedition. On the completion of the inspection conducted by Ulloa and Esquivel early in 1597, satisfactory though it was, the soldiers in the army could do nothing save wait for good news from the king. And though a favorable decision was soon made the summer of 1597 waned before the report could be carried to the frontier of Nueva Vizcaya.

In the meantime it is necessary to follow another and very important phase of the conquest of New Mexico, the story of the missionaries. The religious object of conquering expeditions was always a leading motive in their organization.²⁶⁹ The Spanish monarchs were not only interested in reaping a great harvest of gold and silver; they also wanted to save souls. Thus friars invariably accompanied the military tours to preach the gospel and to baptize the willing natives. Oñate's expedition was no exception. Practically every appeal which he or his friends made to the king pretended that the proposed conquest was undertaken solely for the conversion of the natives.²⁷⁰ When Oñate received the news of the order of suspension he bemoaned the success of the devil to prevent and delay that which was to have been done by this expedition for a multitude of souls — who are under his dominion but who are longing

269. See Merriman, R. B. *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New*, III, 621-2, 631 and 652, regarding missionary activity and the search for riches.

270. Oñate to the king, December 16, 1596 A. G. I., 58--3-15; Oñate's petition and contract, September 21, 1595, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 227; order of the king, March 4, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

for the bread of the divine gospel — by bringing them to the knowledge of our sacred faith.²⁷¹

The reason for placing so much emphasis on this point was that expeditions for the discovery and conquest of new regions could only be carried out under the guise of religious conquests. The New Laws of 1542-1543, better known for the attempt to check the encomienda system, prohibited the former marauding campaigns which had wiped out thousands of Indians, thereby arousing eternal hostility in the hearts of the survivors against the Spaniards. These laws attempted to regulate some of the worst features of the Spanish colonial system, and though they were not immediately successful it was a step forward. The crown definitely laid down the policy that our chief intention and will has always been and is the preservation and increase of the Indians, and that they be instructed and taught in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and be well treated as free persons and our vassals, as they are.²⁷²

The Council of the Indies was charged with the duty of continually guarding the welfare of the natives. One or two missionaries must accompany every expedition to care for their spiritual welfare. No excesses would be tolerated either by governors or by private persons. Moreover discoverers could not bring away Indians from their province except three or four interpreters. The penalty for violation of the law was death.²⁷³

Additional regulations of a like nature were provided in 1573, but with particular reference to new discoveries. The religious purpose of new pacifications, for the word "conquests" should not be used, was again stressed and the missionaries were to be given preference in pacifying new lands, if there were any priests who desired to go.²⁷⁴

The First Band of Franciscans. The redemption of

271. Ofiate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 353; cf. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in *ibid.*, 373.

272. Stevens, Henry and Lucas, Fred W., *The New Laws of the Indies*, VII.

273. *Ibid.*, XVIII.

274. "Ordenances de su Magestad, . . . 1573," in *Col. Doc. Ind.*, XVI, 151-152.

souls was thus a prominent end to be achieved by the conquest undertaken by Oñate. Consequently as soon as the early controversy over the limitation of the contract had been settled he asked Father Pila, Franciscan commissary-general of New Spain, for missionaries. The latter responded by naming Fray Rodrigo Durán apostolic-commissary of the band, which was to consist of five friars and one lay brother, according to Oñate's contract. In the group were Fray Baltasar, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, Oñate's cousin, characterized as "eminent in letters," Fray Diego Márquez, the representative of the Inquisition, called "the good" by Villagrà,²⁷⁵ and Fray Francisco de San Miguel.²⁷⁶ They were on the point of leaving Mexico for Zacatecas on May 11, 1596,²⁷⁷ while preparations for an early departure for New Mexico were rapidly being concluded by the army.

Dispute over Jurisdiction. The appointment of these Franciscans was the occasion for a dispute between the church and the regular clergy in regard to jurisdiction over New Mexico.²⁷⁸ The bishop of Guadalajara in this case insisted that the province was within the confines of his bishopric and that he could exclude all friars pretending to administer the sacraments. Monterey feared that some serious scandal might result if both parties, independent of one another, were allowed to send laborers into the new field. The old rivalry of the secular forces would break out and the salvation of souls be forgotten. For that reason he submitted the question to theologians and to the audiencia for their opinion.²⁷⁹ There is nothing to indicate that the bishop's demands were granted. It is likely that he became less enthusiastic when the region failed to bring forth the wealth in minerals which had been expected. For

275. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 34; cf. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 671.

276. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 1, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

277. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, May 11, 1596, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

278. The jealousy of the church and the orders was very bitter in the Indies. Tithes, tribute and the right of administering the sacraments being the chief causes of conflict. See Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 663-674.

279. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, May 11, 1596.

many years New Mexico was to remain a missionary field of the Franciscan Order.²⁸⁰

Recall of Fray Márquez. In regard to the good Fray Márquez some further trouble arose. Monterey was very much displeased that he had been named the agent of the Inquisition, which had been done without his knowledge. In the first place Márquez had been born in New Spain and was an intimate friend of Oñate, and in the second place Monterey questioned the right of the Inquisition to extend its authority over the province.²⁸¹ He therefore warned the Holy Office that its claim could probably not be maintained, at least not without a special order. The two objections were effectively argued with the result that the Inquisition agreed to permit his recall and to refrain from naming another in his place. There were of course, but comparatively few Spaniards in Oñate's army, and as the activity of the tribunal could not be extended to the Indians it was evident that there would be little need for Márquez's presence.²⁸² Monterey explained the situation to the commissary-general, who required Márquez to return to Mexico. He took leave of the army in 1598. Oñate was loath to see him go, and in view of the close relations between them his feelings can readily be appreciated.²⁸³

Father Durán Withdraws. It was while these events were in the initial stage that Oñate received the royal cédula suspending his enterprise, in which state it was to remain a whole year without any sign of relief. Fray Durán became thoroughly discouraged and determined to return to Mexico. The disappointed governor begged him to remain but his requests were of no avail. The friar departed with some of his companions, leaving Father San Miguel

280. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 177-178; see the famous Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630, translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer and annotated by F. W. Hodge and C. F. Lummis.

281. *Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, May 11, 1596. The Inquisition had been established in New Spain in 1571. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 112; Bancroft, *Mexico*, II, 675 ff.

282. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 1, 1598; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 44.

283. For the departure of Márquez see below.

in his place.²⁸⁴ Not all of the missionaries left, however. Father Salazar, Oñate's cousin, did not leave, nor did Márquez, not till he was compelled to somewhat later.

The Friars Seek Additional Favors. There has come down to us an interesting memorial dealing with the proposed conversion of New Mexico. It was probably composed by the Franciscan friars while they were preparing to go to New Mexico. The petition was sent to the commissary-general of the order who approved practically all of its provisions, whereupon it was directed to the viceroy in the hope of securing official sanction. As the king was to pay the expense of the missionaries royal consent was necessary before any increase of missionary force, as asked in the petition, could be made.²⁸⁵

The memorial sought to delimit the activities of the religious and temporal authorities. It is obvious that in such a frontier community there would be many opportunities for conflict between the soldiers, bent on wealth and glory, and the friars, ambitious to augment the kingdom of God, and the purpose of the memorial was the elimination of the former.

The petitioners requested the viceroy to increase the number of missionaries going to New Mexico from six to twelve; to prohibit the governor and royal officials from interfering with the establishment of churches or schools wherever the friars might desire to locate them; to have the governor assemble the Indians in towns that they might be more easily reached by the fathers; to permit trips into the interior by the padres without military escort. This last request was frowned upon by the commissary-general, for some of the friars might go on such missions merely to court martyrdom. The memorial further sought to reserve to the religious freedom of communication with the viceroy

284. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 1, 1598; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 44.

285. *Memorial para el yllustrisimo señor visorrey en lo perteneciente a la doctrina y ministros del Nuevo Mexico*, undated, A. G. I., 58-3-15. It was sent to Spain by Martín López de Gauna, the *secretario de gobernación*.

286. This point had also been emphasized in Oñate's instructions.

and their superiors; to guarantee the natives freedom from serving the Spaniards in order not to incite their hostility;²⁸⁷ to insure the governor's leniency in making a census of the province which was to be used in apportioning tribute; to secure as interpreter, an Indian woman who had been brought from New Mexico, and some orphan boys in New Spain who would be taught the language of the natives of New Mexico; and to safeguard the new land from devastation by pardoning Leyva and Humaña of their misdeed in entering the land without authority. It was evidently in response to this appeal that Father Martínez early in 1598 was able to lead nine other padres to New Mexico.²⁸⁷

The Army Leaves Casco. It is now necessary to return to the thread of the story. We left Oñate and his followers encamped at the Casco mines, where most of them had been stationed since November 1, 1596. By February, 1597, the inspection had been satisfactorily completed, but the army was not permitted to march. On August 1 of the same year it was set in motion, evidently to bring the Casco division to Santa Bárbara. This occurred on August 19, and here at the farthest outpost of civilization camp was pitched to await the final inspection.²⁸⁸

The Royal Cédula of April 2, 1597. Meantime the Count of Monterey received the royal cédula of April 2, 1597 with the fleet.²⁸⁹ The decree was found to release Oñate from the ban of suspension and authorized him to continue the expedition, provided the men and supplies required by the contract were still held in readiness.²⁹⁰ When the viceroy forwarded this order to Oñate he urged him to declare frankly that the expedition was hopelessly ruined,

287. See chapter VI, note 346. The interpreter mentioned was Doña Ynes who had been brought from New Mexico by Castaño in 1591. She never learned her native tongue again. See "Ytinerario," in *Col. Doc. Ind.*, XVI, 258.

288. "Ytinerario," in *ibid.*, XVI, 231.

289. Ordinarily it arrived in August or September. In 1591 it came September 23-29; in 1595 on September 18.

290. Royal cédula, April 2, 1597, in Hackett *Hist. Docs.*, 345.

if such should be the case, in order that the conquest should not be put off any longer. Delay, he argued, would merely increase his loss and cause his friends and relatives greater suffering. But Oñate replied with great confidence that he was able to carry out the expedition at once. Monterey was so impressed with the "extreme earnestness" of this letter that he determined to send an officer at once to inspect the army.²⁹¹

Salazar Sent to Inspect the Army. On September 18, 1597, Monterey commissioned Juan de Frias Salazar to perform the required inspection.²⁹² Salazar was a native of the Burgos mountains and an inhabitant and miner of Pachuca. According to Monterey his choice was generally considered excellent. Salazar was rich, well up in years and possessed the character and intelligence required for the task. He was experienced in military affairs, having served in Flanders for several years. Moreover he was said to be entirely reliable and free from any personal or political ties which might hinder him in performing his duty thoroughly and conscientiously.

Nearly a year had passed since Ulloa's inspection and it was therefore probable that many of Oñate's soldiers and his stock of provisions would have dwindled considerably. This led Monterey to demand a thorough inspection in order that there might be no question as to his right to carry on the conquest of New Mexico.²⁹³ Salazar was given absolute power to carry it out. Oñate and all his captains and soldiers were ordered to render obedience to him. In

291. Monterey to the king, November 26, 1597, A. G. I., 58-3-12; cf. order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *Traslado autorizado en virtud de poder que para ello el señor virrey Conde de Monterey para enviar á S. M., y á su Real Consejo de las indias acerca de la visita de la jornada del Nuevo Mexico que hizo en comisión don Juan de Frias Salazar*, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter cited as *Salazar visita*.

292. Order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, cf. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 197.

293. Monterey to the king, November 26, 1597, A. G. I., 58-3-12. Captain Luis Guerrero was named Salazar's assistant and Jaime Fernández was made notary. Salazar received a salary of three hundred pesos per month, Guerrero four pesos per day, Fernández three, the constable two and one-half and the interpreter two. The cost was to be met by the *real hacienda* as expenses of war. Order of Monterey, September 18, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

case of any disturbance the inspector was to mete out justice strictly. Salazar was thus serving in a dual capacity, both as *visitador* and *juez superior*.²⁹⁴

The instructions which Salazar carried for the performance of this inspection are known only in part. We know that he was required to take minute account of all the things Oñate had agreed to bring, as stated in his contract, and also of all other things taken along. If it was shown that Oñate had fully complied with his obligations he was to proceed with God's blessing. But if there were deficiencies it was left to Salazar to determine what should be done. A lack of as much as one-eight part of the required amount might be excused, but that was the maximum. If any such insufficiency existed security had to be given so that the supplies could be forwarded to New Mexico.²⁹⁵

Salazar's Arrival at Santa Bárbara. When Salazar reached Zacatecas about the middle of October, 1597, some of Oñate's colonists were still there. These he ordered to leave within three days, directing them to go by way of Fresnillo, eight leagues distant, where he would join them in order to make regulations for the march.²⁹⁶ By November 16 he had reached Santa Bárbara,²⁹⁷ where his arrival was the occasion for a great demonstration. The governor and his officers appeared in full military regalia and fired a salute to honor their official guest. When Oñate and Salazar met they embraced, further military ceremonies were staged and all marched to the camp where a

294. *Ibid.*

295. *Copia de un capitulo de la comunicacion que llevo Juan de Frias Salazar quando fue a visitar el campo de Don Juan de Oñate antes de entrar en el Nuevo Mexico.* A. G. I., 58-3-13 undated.

296. Order of Salazar, undated, in *Salazar visita*. Since it required about three weeks to go from Mexico to Zacatecas and approximately an equal length of time to Santa Bárbara the order was probably given about the middle of October.

297. Salazar to Oñate, November 16, 1597, in *ibid.* This notification is the first indication we have of his arrival at Santa Bárbara.

298. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 46. Villagrà vividly depicts these scenes and the change in the *esprit de corps* of the army. In their joy, he states, the soldiers strutted about like peacocks.

second salute was given. The inspector's arrival had a remarkable effect on the army. Hope in the future was high.²⁹⁸

The enthusiasm exhibited in this ostentatious manner soon turned to bitterness. Immediately after his arrival, for instance, Salazar advised Oñate that faithful obedience to all instructions would be necessary if the outcome of the inspection was expected to be successful. Then he ordered that the entire camp be put in immediate marching order.²⁹⁹ This was on November 16. At the same time he required Oñate to furnish a list of all the officers and men in the army and ordered every member of the expedition to appear personally before him.³⁰⁰ Oñate received this order with disappointment. The ruin of the enterprise seemed imminent, according to Villagr , for many days would be needed to prepare and load the carts and wagons.³⁰¹ Nevertheless immediate compliance with the order was promised, though it was accompanied by a mild remonstrance, since the army was comfortably established and prepared to undergo the visitation in that locality.³⁰²

Salazar soon made provision for protecting the inhabitants in the neighborhood of the camp. Captain Juan de Gordejuela, the alcalde of the province, was authorized to protect them and to redress all wrongs whether inflicted on Spaniards or Indians by soldiers or colonists from the army. Members of the expedition were prohibited from taking anything which did not belong to them. For the first offense the guilty one must pay for the stolen goods at the rate of four times its value and receive six lashes. A second offense would necessitate more rigorous punishment. The order was publicly proclaimed.³⁰³

The Army Forced to Leave Santa B rbara. Six days had now passed since the inspector first required Oñate to

299. *Ibid.*

300. *Aviso*, November 16, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

301. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 46.

302. *Aviso*, November 17, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

303. Orders of Salazar, November 21, 1597, in *ibid.*

have the army in marching order and it was still at Santa Bárbara. A second notice was given and a warning sounded. Again the governor promised to comply, but a louder protest was made. All his supplies were stored in Santa Bárbara warehouses and he contended that the inspection ought to be held there. In spite of this situation he claimed to be exercising all the diligence and haste possible. On the same day Salazar forbade anyone, either within or without the army, to loan Oñate anything in order to help him pass the inspection. If this had been done immediate notification had to be made thereof.³⁰⁴

Notwithstanding the above orders the army remained in camp, and as a result a third notice came.³⁰⁵ The governor was now ordered to break camp and to set out toward the frontier, continuing till a suitable place for holding the *visita* should be found. Salazar maintained that it could not be done satisfactorily at Santa Bárbara. On December 5 there came a fourth order of like tenor, which also requested him to account for his failure to obey. Oñate was warned that this delay was at his own risk.³⁰⁶ This elicited a vigorous response from the aggrieved governor. Great injury was being done him, he insisted. According to his contract the inspection should be held at Santa Bárbara where the army was then stationed, as that was the last settlement. Nevertheless neither he nor any of his men had been inactive. Their preparations were so far along that the march could be undertaken within a week.³⁰⁷

Though Oñate was so very indignant because Salazar would not hold the inspection at Santa Bárbara it is clear that the latter's orders were not all unfavorable to him. Thus he prohibited the soldiers from scattering while on the march. No one might turn back. The damage already inflicted on the country was bad enough, and returning

304. See reports under date of November 23, 1597, in *ibid.*

305. *Tercero apercibimiento*, November 30, 1597, in *ibid.*

306. *Quarto apercibimiento*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

307. *Notificación*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

bands of soldiers would probably be in more desperate circumstances and cause further trouble. This order was occasioned by the departure of some soldiers on December 4. Oñate was notified that if these deserters did not return as ordered the matter would be placed in the viceroy's hands.³⁰⁸ In his reply the governor agreed to cooperate with Salazar. He promised that the army should march without being divided. He expressed pleasure that no one would be allowed to depart, for that was exactly what he desired. Regarding the soldiers who had left the day previous he could only say that they had gone without permission to round up some cattle. Such was the story told in Santa Bárbara. In compliance with Salazar's order he forbade them to take part in the enterprise.³⁰⁹

Final Arrangements for the Inspection. Plans for the inspection were meanwhile being formulated and enforced by stern discipline. By one order every member of the expedition had been required to declare personally what he was bringing, whether it was provisions or munitions, horses or cattle, or anything else. This order had been issued November 16.³¹⁰ Now it was decreed that this had to be done within four days or the goods would be subject to confiscation.³¹¹ The order was generally observed, though a few stragglers appeared later in December. Those at Todos Santos gave their declarations between January 4 and 6, 1598. Salazar wanted to secure a record of what each man possessed in order to distinguish their goods from what Oñate was bringing.³¹² A short time later it was decreed that no one might leave for New Mexico without the inspector's approval under penalty of death; nor could any live stock be taken along unless first seen by the inspecting officers.³¹³

308. *Auto*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

309. *Notificación*, December 5, 1597, in *ibid.*

310. See above.

311. *Bando*, December 5, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

312. *Manifestación*, in *ibid.*

313. *Bando*, December 9, 1597, in *ibid.*

After oft repeated orders Oñate finally set the army in motion on December 18, 1597.³¹⁴ The next two days were spent rounding up the cattle and crossing the San Bartolomé river. Two and one-half leagues farther on a halt was ordered at the San Gerónimo river where the inspection was ordered to be held.³¹⁵ This aroused Villagrà's ire, for it was a barren spot. Some relief was afforded, however, when a few small springs furnishing an ample water supply were found near by. The faithful poet ascribed this discovery to the mercy of God.³¹⁶

Without further delay Salazar made the final arrangements for the inspection. Two experienced stockmen were named to assist in inspecting the animals.³¹⁷ Then notice was served that the inspection would actually begin on December 22 at the San Gerónimo river, one league from the mines of Todos Santos.³¹⁸ The governor was required to take oath that all the things in his possession were his own and that nothing had been furnished him secretly. This he did in the inspector's presence.³¹⁹

In the neighborhood of Santa Bárbara lived several men who possessed large holdings and great herds of cattle. Salazar feared that Oñate might have made corrupt arrangements with them to help him pass the inspection. He required these men, Bartolomé Delgado, Pedro Sánchez de Chaves and Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida, to give sworn statement of the cattle they had given, sold or loaned him. Only Pedro Sánchez de Chaves had aided Oñate, having sold him several hundred head of stock. As it was a legitimate sale no objections were made.³²⁰

314. *Fee*, December 19, 1597, in *ibid.* The "Ytinerario" gives the date when the start was made as the 17. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 231.

315. This was December 20, *ibid.*

316. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 46.

317. They were Bartolomé Delgado of Nombre de Dios and Juan Sánchez de Ulloa of Todos Santos. *Auto*, December 20, 1597, in *Salazar visita*.

318. *Auto*, December 21, 1597, in *ibid.*

319. *Auto*, and Oñate's reply, December 22, 1597, in *ibid.* At the same time Oñate chose the *contador* Alonso Sánchez to represent him during the *visita*.

320. Order of Salazar and reply, December 21, 1597, in *ibid.* Pedro de la Cruz also appears as one of the prominent inhabitants of this locality.

Before actually beginning the inspection Salazar ordered that no one would be allowed to leave the camp or the *cuartel de armas* for any reason whatsoever, except by his express order.³²¹ This proclamation filled the army with dismay. It caused the soldiers who were guarding the stock to come into camp, for instance, leaving the latter to stray and to cause further confusion.³²² But the *visita* was begun on December 22 as had been decreed.

While the inspection was under way it became evident to Salazar that injuries were being done the ranchers of the neighborhood by the soldiers. Perhaps the stringent measures adopted fostered a spirit of rebellion. At any rate cattle were disappearing from the vicinity without any more reasonable explanation than that they were stolen and slaughtered by the soldiers. So it was ordered that cattle should not be killed outside of the *cuartel*, and that slaughtering should occur on only one day during the week, Oñate being privileged to designate the day. Both he and Salazar then chose a representative who were to inspect the cattle on the stated day. They had to note the brand and report to the inspector.³²³

The Outcome of the Inspection. From December 22, 1597, to January 8, the inspection was in progress. Salazar gave it his personal attention, for it was not to be a mere formality, according to the viceroy's instructions. The inspector obeyed literally, if the poet is to be trusted. The cattle were first listed, one kind at the time. It was never known till the day previous what particular kind would be inspected in the morning. This compelled the men to go out at night to round up the scattered animals. If more should later be found Salazar refused to enter it in his record.³²⁴ Oñate did fall short of his obligations in some respects, but whether Villagrà's excuses are the right ones is

321. Order of Salazar, December 21, 1597, in *ibid.*; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 47.

322. *Ibid.*

323. Order of Salazar, January 4, in *Salazar visita*.

324. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 47.

another story. It is obvious that Salazar had his own difficulties in carrying out his task. A brief table will illustrate Oñate's chief deficits.

Name	Required	Deficit
goats	1000 head	284 head
sheep for wool	3000 head	483 head
sheep for mutton	1000 head	617 head
quicksilver	150 head	54 head
powder	150 head	49 head
leads ³²⁵	500 pesos	125 pesos
frieze & sackcloth	500 pesos	500 pesos
gifts to Indians	600 pesos	37 pesos
medicine	500 pesos	375 pesos
iron for tools	500 pesos	144 pesos
jerked beef	500 pesos	331 pesos
wheat	100 quintals	22 quintals
mares	30 quintals	4 quintals
colts	10 quintals	5 quintals

There was, on the other hand, a surplus in some divisions, notably in the footgear, flour and iron tools. Oñate also brought some things not stipulated in the contract.³²⁶ These surplus materials were substituted for some of the less important deficiencies.³²⁷ Nevertheless the final count showed that he was short over two thousand three hundred pesos.³²⁸

When the inspection of the cattle, supplies and provisions was completed the final review was ordered to be held at the mines of Todos Santos on January 8, 1598. Indians, mulattos or mestizos were barred from the review unless they made declaration of their status. If anyone proposed to enlist with the intention of remaining behind after hav-

325. Oñate offered twenty quintals of greda as a substitute for the lead. However when Salazar passed San Gerónimo on the way to Mexico city he found two Indians with a cart and oxen digging up the said greda. They said that Oñate had sold it to Pedro de la Cruz, one of the residents of that region. Reports of Salazar and Negrete, February 6, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

326. *Visita*, in *ibid*.

327. *Montcrey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I. 58-3-13.

328. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento" in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 197.

ing helped the governor through the muster Salazar threatened the death penalty. They were given a free chance to leave, as were those who might have been persuaded to join the army.³²⁹

On the eve of the review Salazar had learned that a number of soldiers were dependent on Oñate for their equipment and he requested him to declare the truth under oath. He named twenty-two men and desired to know what each was to receive. From this statement can be inferred how great a struggle Oñate was putting forth to fulfill the terms of the contract. Only in this way could he get soldiers to remain through the long delays. In his reply only twenty men were named as dependent upon him and he specified what each was to receive. With slight exceptions this included two horses, helmet, visor, coat of mail, cuishes, harquebus and horse armor.³³⁰ It is significant to note, however, that of the twenty only eleven appeared in the final review. What had become of the others? Villagr a says that many took advantage of Salazar's offer permitting the return of those who wanted to do so.³³¹ Evidently the faint-hearted took advantage of that opportunity and deserted the friends who had striven so hard to keep the expedition at its full number.

The review at Todos Santos was held as ordered, the performance taking place within the church. It was conducted in the following manner. As each appeared his name was recorded, together with his birthplace and his father's name. His personal appearance was briefly described, and he had to present the arms with which he was provided. When the task was completed at the end of the day one hundred and twenty-nine had appeared before the inspector, seventy-one less than the required number.³³²

329. Orders of Salazar, January 7, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

330. *Auto*, and Oñate's reply, January 7, 1598, in *ibid*.

331. Villagr a, *Historia*, I, 47-48.

332. *Muestra y lista de la gente*, January 8, 1598, in *Salazar visita; Monterey   S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-13. The "Memorial" says there were one hundred and thirty men. *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 198. Besides these Oñate had other

With that the inspection was over except in so far as Oñate's personal equipment was concerned. It was listed the next day and found to contain more than had been agreed upon.³³³

As Salazar's instructions had authorized the continuance of the expedition provided bond was given for making good any deficiencies which might appear, Oñate was forced to avail himself of that opportunity. Again he sought aid from his cousin Juan Guerra, the wealthy miner of Aviño. The appeal was promptly answered. Juan Guerra and his wife, Doña Ana de Zaldívar y Mendoza, bonded themselves to pay for whatever deficits the inspection had revealed. The guarantee was drawn up at Aviño January 21, 1598. Presenting the inspector with this security Oñate requested permission to proceed. This was not given, however, till he had certified that this should cover the expenses of eighty soldiers, of everything that would be required for their journey to New Mexico, of all damages that might be committed on the march and of the cost of an inspection of such reinforcements.³³⁴ With this new indebtedness on his hands Oñate at last directed his force toward New Mexico.

soldiers, but they did not dare to enlist. They had evidently committed offenses and incurred Salazar's displeasure. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598.

333. *Para la persona*, January 9, 1598, in *Salazar visita*.

334. *Escritura otorgado en favor de la real hacienda por Don Juan de Oñate*, January 27, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-12; *Monterey á S. M.*, May 4, 1598.

Chapter VI.

The Establishment of the Colony

The Army Leaves Santa Bárbara. With the ordeal of the Salazar inspection over the final preparations for the march to the north began. These were soon completed, and on January 26, 1598, the expedition began moving out of San Gerónimo,³³⁵ where it had been stationed since December 20, 1597.

When the Conchos river was reached on January 30 a week's halt was made in order to review the army and formally finish the inspection. Spanish travellers in America never encamped on the near side of a river, but always made haste to cross and camp on the farther shore.³³⁶ The scene that now took place when Oñate's army reached the Conchos is vividly portrayed by Villagrà. One hundred and twenty-nine soldiers, eighty-three wagons and seven thousand head of stock had to cross the river.³³⁷ No one dared tempt the rushing stream. Seeing the fainthearted soldiers lag Oñate mounted a charger and made a stirring challenge to his men. Then he spurred his horse into the river and soon gained the opposite bank. Returning to the army he took the lead in goading the stock across the stream.³³⁸

One incident in this scene called forth a novel plan.

335. "Ytinerario," January 26, 1598, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 232. The "Ytinerario" will hereafter be cited by date entry only.

336. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124.

337. "Ytinerario," April 1-2, 1598; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 35,49. When the Ulloa inspection took place only forty three carts were listed, nineteen of which belonged to various captains and soldiers. In the Salazar inspection only the twenty four carts Oñate possessed were noted. On the other hand the "Ytinerario" states specifically that eighty-three wagons were taken to New Mexico, twenty-one being deserted by the wayside as they were emptied of provisions. See below. The latter figure is undoubtedly correct as the personal possessions of the soldiers were not all listed.

338. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 50-51.

When the sheep were driven into the water, many sank as the wool became water soaked. To remedy this tragic situation the governor ordered his astonished followers to construct a bridge. It was a primitive pontoon structure. Two dozen cart wheels were placed in the stream some distance apart and secured by ropes. Trees were felled, stripped of branches and placed on top of the wheels. A layer of brush and sticks was added, then a covering of earth, and the bridge was completed. The sheep crossed dry-shod, and the structure was quickly destroyed as night settled on the scene.³³⁹

Departure of the Visitor. The following morning the people assembled to witness the departure of the visitor.³⁴⁰ All expected an encouraging message of farewell while the governor hoped to receive authority to continue the expedition. He was deeply disappointed. After mass had been said Salazar informed him that he might proceed with the conquest, and without further ado turned his eyes toward Mexico city.³⁴¹

The reason for the inspector's action is clear. Oñate had not been able to meet his obligations, and Salazar refused to declare the contract fulfilled without consulting the viceroy. The permission to enter New Mexico was thus really conditional, as Monterey informed the king. If Oñate did not prove satisfactory it would still be possible to take different action.³⁴²

With the visitor out of the way the expedition was soon ready for the march. On February 7, 1598, the camp at the Conchos river was deserted. But instead of following the course of that stream to the Rio Grande as previous expeditions had done, Oñate struck out directly toward the

339. Villagr , *Historia*, I. 52.

340. This was perhaps February 2. Salazar's last order from the Conchos was made at that time when he ordered the death penalty for anyone turning back. Order of Salazar, in *Salazar visita*.

341. Villagr , *Historia*, 53.

342. *Monterey   S. M.*, May 4, 1598, A. G. I., 58-3-18.

north, opening a new trail to the river.³⁴³ In the first three days march the colonists went eleven leagues to the San Pedro river. Here a month was spent awaiting the arrival of a new body of Franciscans.³⁴⁴

It is of interest to note that about this time Fray Diego Márquez, whom Villagr  calls the only confessor in the army, returned to Mexico. The governor implored him to remain, all to no avail. As he remained obdurate O ate ordered a guard to accompany him, Captain Farf n in command. It departed as the army approached the San Pedro river on February 10.³⁴⁵ In less than a month, March 3, Farf n returned escorting the Franciscans on the final stretch of their journey to join the expedition. Fray Alonso Mart nez was the new commissary of the group. Their arrival was celebrated with ceremonies befitting the occasion.³⁴⁶

Zald var Explores the Road. Meanwhile on February 14, the governor sent out a party of seventeen men, led by the *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zald var, to find a wagon road to the Rio del Norte.³⁴⁷ Many difficulties were encountered by this force. Their guides proved a sorry lot. Water was hard to find, at one time three days being spent without any. Provisions, also, were running low. Then Zald var sent a part of his force back to the camp, giving them strict orders not to utter a word regarding the hunger and thirst they had experienced.³⁴⁸ With his remaining

343. See below.

344. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598.

345. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 55-56. Bancroft leaves the impression that Fray M rquez left the expedition at the same time as the visitor, which took place about February 2, 1598. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 124.

346. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598; the Franciscans were: Alonso Mart nez, Francisco de Zamora, Juan de Rosas, Francisco de San Miguel, Juan Claros, Alonso de Lugo, Crist bal de Salazar, Andr s Corchado, and two lay brothers, Pedro de Vergara and Juan de San Buenaventura. Three brothers are also named, Mart n, Francisco and Juan de Dios.

347. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598. O ate says that Zald var had sixteen men. O ate to the king, Rio de las Conchos, March 15, 1598, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 597.

348. On the contrary they were to dissimulate by announcing good news. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 56-58.

companions the *sargento mayor* reached the Rio del Norte on February 28, after innumerable hardships. From the Conchos to the Rio Grande they had traveled about seventy leagues.³⁴⁹ Their purpose having been fulfilled they rejoined the camp on March 10, three days after the return of the first group.³⁵⁰

From the San Pedro to the Rio Grande. The entire expedition, including the missionaries, being now united, camp was broken the very day of Zaldívar's return.³⁵¹ Two days later, from the Nombre de Dios river, Captain Landin was sent to Mexico city with letters.³⁵²

Gradually the little caravan crawled forward with little of importance to record. March 20 was a day of rest which was spent in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. A little chapel was built, and the missionaries spent the night in penitence and prayer, petitioning the Lord to guide them on their march as he had formerly led the children of Israel out of Egypt.³⁵³

As it was Easter time the Spaniards gave every object or stopping place a name befitting the season. These names have not been retained, so it is difficult to map out Oñate's precise route. In a general way it followed the line of the Mexican Central Railway.

On March 30 a short rest was taken in the Valle de San Martín, the latitude being exactly thirty degrees.³⁵⁴ The governor frequently found it difficult to find water for

349. On this trip they heard of the pueblos which were said to be sixteen or twenty leagues beyond the Rio Grande. The scouting party had left the hostile Pataragneyes forty leagues to the right. These were the Jumanos near the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande. Oñate to the king, March 15, 1598, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397.

350. "Ytinerario," February 10, 1598; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 58.

351. "Ytinerario," March 10, 1598.

352. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1598; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 58. One of these letters was from Oñate to the king. Again he told the story of his troubles in order to convince the crown that the contract, as confirmed by Velasco, ought to be restored. It was dated March 15, 1598. See Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397.

353. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 58-59; "Ytinerario," March 20, 1598. Villagrà says that in a secret spot known only to himself, Oñate spent part of the day on his knees, lacerating his shoulders and asking divine guidance in carrying out his mission as leader of the expedition. Many others did the same. *Historia*, I, 59.

354. "Ytinerario," March 27-30, 1598.

both men and beasts. On April 1 this deficiency was somewhat miraculously supplied. That day all had been compelled to march without water, but an extraordinarily heavy rain left the water standing in large pools, so that the entire herd of seven thousand animals drank their fill. Two days later the dry bed of a river was discovered. Nearby was a marsh formed by some hot springs. This was in latitude thirty and one-half degrees.³⁵⁵

On April 9 the army approached the region of the sand dunes. This was in approximately thirty-one degrees, for on the next day camp was pitched in precisely that latitude.³⁵⁶ Some days were now spent in avoiding the sand dunes and finding a route not destitute of water. For this reason the expedition marched within reach of the Rio Grande, in order that the cattle might go to the river for water. On April 20 the main part of the caravan reached the great river about twenty-five miles south of El Paso, at a place where the stream was very sluggish and the bed soft and muddy. Here nearly a week was spent until the entire expedition could unite. It had been forced to march in separate detachments in order to secure water.³⁵⁷

Taking Possession of the Land. Having reached the Rio Grande its course was followed till April 30, the day of the Ascension of the Lord, when the governor planned to take official possession of the land. A campsite particularly appropriate for that purpose was selected, and everyone in the expedition was ordered to don his finest clothes to make a splendid show on the festive day.³⁵⁸ Thereupon the customary elaborate ceremony of taking possession was observed. Not only New Mexico was claimed for God, King Philip and himself, but all the adjoining provinces as well.³⁵⁹

355. *Ibid.*, April 1 and 4, 1598. See also Villagr a *Historia*, I, 75.

356. "Ytinerario," April 9-10, 1598.

357. *Ibid.*, April 12-20, 1598; cf. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 172.

358. "Ytinerario," April 30, 1598; *Carta de Don Lu s de Velasco   S. M.*, March 22, 1601, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

359. The curious document which tells of this ceremony is given in full by Villagr a. It was witnessed by Juan P rez de Donis, the royal notary, by all the friars and also by the officers and soldiers of the army. *Historia*, I, 77-81.

As part of the festivities Fray Alonso Martínez preached a learned sermon. But it was also a time for rejoicing and merry making, the "otro" Mexico was not far distant. In the afternoon the royal standard was blessed and placed in charge of the royal ensign, Francisco de Sosa y Peñalosa.³⁶⁰ The day ended with the presentation of an original comedy written by Captain Farfán. Its theme dealt with the reception which the church would receive in New Mexico.³⁶¹

El Paso del Norte. Following these events the march continued up stream. May 3 the first Indians from the river region were brought to camp. These were kindly treated, clothed and sent to bring their companions. The next day the army was shown a convenient ford, *el paso*, to which the natives came for leagues around when going inland. It is interesting to note that the ford by which Oñate crossed the Rio Grande is the modern El Paso, a name that has been retained from his day till our own. Here about forty natives appeared, armed with bows and gayly decorated with paint. Presents were generously distributed among them, in return for which they aided the Spaniards in getting the sheep across the river. They told the Europeans, by signs, that the settlements were only eight days' march ahead.³⁶²

Reconnoitering the First Pueblos. The expedition was now on soil which had already been traversed by Spanish feet. The tracks left by Castaño's wagons when he was led captive from New Mexico in 1591, were seen on May

360. Writing to the king three years later Don Luis de Velasco charged Oñate with irregularities in handling the royal standard during the performance. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. This was also one of the charges later brought against Oñate by the fiscal of the audiencia of Mexico. *Testimonio de las sentencias*, May 16, 1614, A. G. I., 58-3-17.

361. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 76; "Ytinerario," April 30, 1598.

362. *Ibid.*, May 3-4, 1598; Villagrà also refers to these events but only in a general way. *Historia*, I, 76. On April 30 the army reached the Rio Grande exactly in latitude thirty-one and one-half degrees. On May 4 it was at El Paso in latitude thirty-one precisely. About eight and one-half leagues had been traversed, and though the march was upstream half a degree had been lost. Such is the record given in the "Ytinerario". It is true that there is a bend in the river, but not enough to account for this discrepancy.

4. At other places stories of Castaño's escapade were heard. The march continued, and on May 12 Oñate sent Captain Aguilar with six soldiers to reconnoitre. He had orders not to enter any of the native settlements under penalty of death.³⁶³ This nearly proved his undoing, for when he returned on the 20, he had visited the first of the New Mexico pueblos. For disobeying in this manner the governor was on the point of garroting him, but relented when the captains and soldiers interceded in his behalf. Fearing that the Indians would now become frightened and hide their maize Oñate set out for the pueblos two days later with a picked body of men. He was also on the lookout for Humaña and Leyva, for it was not yet known that they were dead. The rest of the colonists were left to follow more slowly with the wagons.³⁶⁴ The point from which Oñate here set out was fifteen and one-half leagues from El Paso.³⁶⁵

The governor's small force moved along under great hardships. The road was new and extremely difficult and water always scarce. It was the famous "Jornada del Muerto" which was being crossed. May 25, when the trail again followed the river, greater progress was made, and in two days, after an additional twenty-two leagues had been traversed, the soldiers reached "la cienega de la mesilla de guinea," a distinctive mesa of black rock.³⁶⁶ This conspicuous landmark, according to Bandelier, corresponds with the present San Marcial.³⁶⁷ The next day the first

363. "Ytinerario," May 4-12, 1598.

364. *Ibid.*, May 20 and 22, 1598. With Oñate were Fathers Martínez and Salazar, the *sargento mayor* and the *maestre de campo*. Villagrà says there were fifty men in the group. *Historia*, I, 82. Oñate gives the number as sixty. See his letter of March 22, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 213.

365. See "Ytinerario," for dates up to May 22, 1598.

366. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1598.

367. Bandelier, A. F. A. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, carried on mainly in the years from 1880 to 1885*, I, 130-131, 131 note1. This is further substantiated by the detailed account of the pueblos given by the Chamuscado Rodríguez expedition. Hernan Gallegos, *Relación y concudio de el viaje y subseco que Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados sus compañeros hizo en el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico . . . 1581-1582*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. A copy of this document is in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

pueblos were seen after a march of four leagues. Here camp was pitched near the second one, called Qualacú. The Indians, excited and suspicious at the approach of the strangers, deserted their homes. Generous gifts of trinkets quieted them somewhat, and the soldiers remained camped near the river for some time in order not to unduly arouse them. Meanwhile provisions were sent back for the soldiers who were following.³⁶⁸

About a fortnight later the march was resumed by the advance party. June 14 the men marched three leagues and halted in front of Teipana, or Socorro, as the Spaniards called it, because there they found a much needed supply of maize. This stop seems to have been in the vicinity of the present Socorro.³⁶⁹ Another seven leagues beyond Socorro was the pueblo of New Seville, which may correspond with the old pueblo of Sevilleta, near La Joya.³⁷⁰ At that place the Spanish soldiers dallied five days. Then they went to the new pueblo of San Juan Baptista, four leagues to the north.³⁷¹ It, too, had been quickly abandoned. From this time numerous pueblos were seen on either side of the river, though they were generally deserted by the frightened natives.

In the meantime Oñate had heard of two Mexican Indians, Thomas and Cristóbal, when they sent a spy to visit him at San Juan Baptista. These two had remained in New Mexico since the time of Castaño's entrada, and would be invaluable as interpreters and guides. So the governor set out for Puaray, sixteen leagues beyond San Juan Pap-

368. "Ytinerario," May 22-28, 1598. The itinerary states that they remained encamped by the river a month. This is contradicted a little later when it says they left after a stay of two weeks.

369. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 129. The total distance from El Paso is given as forty-one and one-half leagues and is an aid in arriving at this conclusion, as are the subsequent marches of the soldiers.

370. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 238.

371. "Ytinerario," June 12-16, 1598. So called because it was reached on Saint John's day. It should not be confused with San Juan de los Caballeros. Perhaps the ruins at Sabinal indicate the location of San Juan Baptista. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 238.

tista, in order to find them. He reached it on June 21.³⁷² In this period, as Hackett has demonstrated in his study of the reconquest after the great revolt in 1680, Puaray was situated one league above Alameda, or about nine leagues above Isleta.³⁷³ This is further substantiated by the "census" made by the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition in 1581.³⁷⁴

At Puaray Oñate was told that the two Indians in question were at Santo Domingo, six leagues distant. Accompanied by his *maestre de campo* he immediately set out to secure the two men, and on the following day took them unawares and brought them back to Puaray. Now all prepared to go to Santa Domingo, but before doing so the two Zaldívars and Father Salazar visited the pueblo which they called Tria, perhaps Sia.³⁷⁵ Then the party moved on to San Felipe, almost three leagues, and on June 30 the soldiers reached Santa Domingo, four leagues more.³⁷⁶ At that time the pueblo stood very near the present Santo Domingo.³⁷⁷

Santo Domingo Renders Obedience. Here Oñate remained approximately a week in order to bring the Indians of the surrounding country under his authority. Various chiefs were summoned, and on July 7 there was held the first council of seven chiefs in response to the governor's call.³⁷⁸ Many other native leaders were pres-

372. "Ytinerario," June 24-27, 1598; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 84. The natives of Puaray received Oñate very hospitably. The friars were lodged in a newly painted room. When the paint had dried they saw pictures of Fathers Rodríguez and López, which the Indians had tried to conceal. These two friars had remained in New Mexico in 1581. Both had suffered martyrdom.

373. Hackett, "The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia in 1681," in *Old Santa Fe*, II, 381-391.

374. Hernan Gallegos, *Relación y concudio*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

375. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 562.

376. "Ytinerario," June 28 and 30, 1598; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 85. As Bancroft says "not much importance can be attached to exact distances in these records. Clearly San Felipe and Santo Domingo correspond with those still so called, though it is not certain that the sites were not slightly changed in the next century." *Arizona and New Mexico*, 130 note 5. For a discussion of the Spanish league see Bandelier, *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos*, 8-9.

377. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 185 note 1.

378. "Ytinerario," July 7, 1598.

ent for the occasion, as well as the Spanish officers and missionaries. All gathered in the great *estufa* of the pueblo. The interpreters were sworn in, and Oñate explained to the assembled chiefs the purpose of his coming. He had been sent by the most powerful monarch in the world, King Philip of Spain, who wished that they should be his subjects. If they submitted they would be protected from their enemies. But he was especially eager for the salvation of their souls. Oñate explained the doctrine of salvation and the fate awaiting those who did not accept baptism. After having listened to these new ideas the chiefs willingly agreed to accept the God and king of the Spaniards, and as a sign of their submission kneeled and kissed the hands of the father commissary and the governor.³⁷⁹ Whether or not Oñate's speech on conversion and vassalage was understood, it was a necessary affair, and the Indians accepted the new position, perhaps as Bancroft says, because "present disaster and future damnation" seemed "inseparably connected with refusal."³⁸⁰

The Capital Established at San Juan. After having received the submission of these tribal chieftains at Santo Domingo Oñate soon set out on further explorations. He evidently went to Bove, renamed San Ildefonso,³⁸¹ as soon as the ceremony at Santo Domingo was over, (the distance was eight leagues), for on July 10 he left that place and

379. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los Indios de Santo Domingo" in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 101-108.

380. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 130-131.

381. The "Ytinerario" says nothing of the trip from Santo Domingo to Bove. It states: "Patrimos de Bove, que llamamos Sant Ildefonso. . . ay casi ocho leguas y algun mal camino. . ." It does not state where they came to at the end of the eight leagues, but continues: "A honce, andabimos dos leguas, al pueblo de Caypa, que llamamos Sant Joan . . ." There is clearly an error in this account. Instead of leaving Bove they must have gone to Bove, a distance of nearly eight leagues, and reached it on the 10th. Then on the 11th two leagues to San Juan. This explanation corresponds with the actual distances and also makes possible the detour of the carts by way of San Marcos. Bancroft moved San Ildefonso farther south in an effort to make it agree with the "Ytinerario". But that is incorrect, for San Ildefonso, according to another source, was three leagues from San Juan. Testimony of Jusepe Brondate in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 28, 1601. A. G. I., 58-3-15. Compare Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 131.

went two leagues to Caypa which he reached the next day. The carts were compelled to make a detour of an additional six leagues by way of San Marcos because the direct road was not fit for wagons. Here at Caypa Oñate established his capital. It was christened San Juan,³⁸² the name by which it has ever since been known. In Oñate's time it was frequently called San Juan de los Caballeros, but the origin of the name is obscure.³⁸³ The Spaniards maintained their headquarters here till the establishment of San Gabriel west of the Rio Grande.³⁸⁴ Just when the change was made is uncertain, but at the time the relief expedition arrived at Christmas, 1600, the capital had been changed to that place.³⁸⁵

Hasty Exploration of the Land. This period of the preliminary exploration of New Mexico by Oñate and his friends was a period of great hopes. Might not any mo-

382. "Ytinerario," July 9-11, 1598. Twitchell holds that the carts on their detour passed near the present site of the city of Santa Fé. *Leading Facts*, 319 note 325. That they may have passed near the site of the city is quite possible, but Twitchell has the carts going south to reach San Juan! He is misled by the "Ytinerario" and has the carts set out from San Ildefonso, going up the present Pojoaque river by way of the pueblo of Tesuque, thence over a divide of two leagues to the Rio Santa Fé to San Marcos. A careful study of the "Ytinerario" shows clearly that the party went from *Santo Domingo* to San Ildefonso, the carts perhaps going over the route suggested by Twitchell, but in the reverse order. They were going north, not south.

383. Villigrá says it was so named in order to commemorate the fame of those who first raised the banner of Christ in those regions. *Historia*, I, 87. Because of a story, also told by Villagrá, of how the padres produced some much needed rain, Bancroft infers that the name was due to the courtesy of the Spaniards. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 131. Twitchell holds that it was so named because of the friendliness with which the Indians of San Juan received Oñate. *Leading Facts*, I, 315.

384. There is a controversy regarding the location of San Gabriel. Professor Bolton, relying on a contemporary map, places it on the right bank of the Chama, while Twitchell insists it was on the left bank of that stream, holding that the map is in error. He bases his contention on ruins found there and on traditions of the Indians. He quotes a document of 1710 to support his view. But it should be noted that the map referred to has a pueblo on the left bank of the Chama and tradition may readily have confused the two as regards the location of Oñate's headquarters during those first years in New Mexico. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 203, and map facing 212; Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, 17, 22.

385. "Entrásemos en el real y pueblo de San Gabriel donde hallamos á Don Juan de Oñate y la demas gente. . . ." Testimony of Fray Lope Izuierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo*, September 7, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15. The capital was still at San Juan as late as March, 1599. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 203 note 1.

ment reward their search with the discovery of untold wealth? Consequently we find the governor on the road again on July 13, going in the direction of Picuries, six leagues from San Juan, which stands on nearly the same spot today as it did then.³⁸⁶ On the way some one found a bit of ore which had accumulated in the riffles of a creek, but that was the sole extent of the precious metals discovered. Thence Oñate proceeded to Taos, another six leagues. Its location has changed a few hundred yards, the former site being farther toward the northeast. This was the northern limit of exploration at that time.³⁸⁷

By July 19 the governor was back in San Juan, but not to stay. The next day he started a tour which went through San Ildefonso, San Marcos, San Cristóbal, Galisteo and Pecos.³⁸⁸ Returning at once he reached Santo Domingo on July 27, where the *maestre de campo* Zaldívar had arrived with the carts and the main body of the troops on his way to San Juan.³⁸⁹ One can perhaps imagine the eagerness with which the newcomers listened to the stories of their friends who had already seen much of the "otro" Mexico, though not much of the looked for treasure.

Continuing the tour on August 2, the governor's party visited Tria on the way to Emmes. Here was a whole group of pueblos, eleven in number. This was the Jemez group, but modern archaeologists have not been able to determine the number or location of the various pueblos.³⁹⁰ The Spaniards were astonished at their almost inaccessible location.

386. "Ytinerario," July 13, 1598; Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 123.

387. "Ytinerario," July 13, 1598; Hodge *Handbook*, II, 688.

388. San Ildefonso was reached the 20, San Marcos, five leagues distant, the 21, San Cristóbal the 22, Galisteo the 24, and Pecos the 25. On the 26 the party returned to San Marcos, a distance of five leagues, where ores were extracted from some mines, and on the 27 to Santo Domingo. See "Ytinerario," for dates mentioned.

San Marcos was near Callaite, famed for its "turquoise mines." Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 92-93. San Cristóbal was five miles east of Galisteo. *Ibid.*, 103-105. Galisteo was near its present location. *Ibid.*, 100-101, and Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 481. Pecos was on an upper branch of the Pecos river. *Ibid.*, II, 220. See also Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 127ff; II, 125ff.

389. See "Ytinerario" for dates mentioned.

390. *Ibid.*, August 2-5 1598; Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 204-207, Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 629.

With this trip over they returned as far as San Ildefonso, which they reached on the 9, and undoubtedly to San Juan the next day.³⁹¹ Nowhere had Oñate found the things which were primarily sought. It was obvious that he would have to go farther afield in his search, and the next few years were spent chasing numerous, but ever elusive, hopes.

The Arrival of the Carts. Meantime the carts and wagons had experienced even greater difficulties than Oñate's advance party, as it took them over a month to traverse the distance to the first pueblos covered by the governor in less than a week. June 26 the eighty-three wagons, now reduced to sixty-one, approached the first settlements. Santo Domingo was reached on July 27. The twenty-two carts not accounted for had been deserted as they were emptied of provisions.³⁹² The soldiers and colonists bringing the carts were discontented, largely because of a lack of provisions. As a result there was difficulty in maintaining discipline.³⁹³ To avoid trouble and hurry them along Oñate sent his *maestre de campo* to be their leader. Finally on August 18 they reached the capital which had been established at San Juan. From San Bartolomé they had traveled one hundred and sixty-one weary leagues.³⁹⁴

The First Church is Built. Shortly after this a church was added to the little Spanish settlement in New Mexico. It was San Juan Baptista, begun on August 23 and so far completed in fifteen days that the dedicatory exercises

391. "Ytinerario," August 9, 1598. This document only tells of Oñate's progress as far as San Ildefonso, but it is safe to assume that he went on to San Juan where the construction of an irrigation ditch was begun on the 11. This canal was for the "city of San Francisco." Fifteen hundred Indians gathered to assist in building it. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1598.

392. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1598.

393. When Oñate went ahead "to pacify" the land he had sent Zubia back with a supply of maize. Oñate also found it necessary to return to the army, but went forward again into New Mexico and reached his advance party on June 12. "Ytinerario," June 12, 1598. Captain Velasco said that they were out of provisions while still fifty leagues from the first settlements. He further states that they were in such extremity of hunger that it was difficult for the governor to go ahead and bring back the maize. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. But it should be observed that he wrote at a time when great efforts were being put forth to discredit the entire enterprise.

394. "Ytinerario," July 4, 1598; August 18, 1598.

could be observed September 8. It was finished in the early part of October.³⁹⁵ The occasion was a festive one, and in their amusement the Spanish gallants demonstrated how much of the crusading spirit still coursed in their veins. To honor the event what else was appropriate but a sham battle, the soldiers being divided into opposing groups labeled Moors and Christians. The latter fought on horseback with lances and shields, while the former were on foot and used muskets.³⁹⁶ The spectacle must indeed have been a novel one for the Indians.

A part of the ceremony of the day included the Indians who had been assembled from far and near for the event. Oñate met them in the kiva, accompanied by his officers and the missionaries, and there he expounded the same ideas as already presented to their brothers at Santo Domingo. They must swear obedience to Father Martínez and Oñate, the representatives of God and King Philip, and obey the new superiors. Thus their souls would be saved and earthly happiness insured. All agreed to these conditions with the customary ceremony.³⁹⁷

During the observances at San Juan Baptista the missionaries were assigned to their various fields of labor.³⁹⁸ Fray Francisco de Zamora was to have the provinces of Picuries and Taos and Father San Miguel went to Pecos. Both had been accompanied to their pueblos by the father commissary. Father Rosas was established in the province of the Queres, called Hores, to minister to San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochití and others. Father Lugo was placed at Jemez, Father Corchado at Sia, with authority over the pueblos to the west, Ácoma, Zuñi and Moqui, and Father Claros was sent to the province of the Teguas. At San Juan there remained Father Cristóbal de Salazar, together

395. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1598; Oñate to Monterey, March 22, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 215.

396. "Ytinerario," September 8, 1598.

397. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 108-117; "Ytinerario," September 9, 1598.

398. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1598; Account of how the padres of San Francisco took charge of the provinces discovered in New Mexico, September 8, 1598. Bolton MS.

with two lay brothers, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura and Fray Pedro. The father commissary also stayed at the capital when not with Oñate or on excursions to other pueblos.³⁹⁹

Dissension in the Camp. At no time had Oñate found it an easy task to maintain discipline among his adventurous followers, nor did his burden prove any lighter in New Mexico itself. In the latter part of August, 1598, a serious disturbance was discovered when forty-five captains and soldiers, about a third of the force, formed a plan of escaping to New Spain. Oñate reported that the rebellious soldiers and colonists were disgusted with the whole enterprise because they had not immediately found quantities of silver on the ground and because they had not been allowed to maltreat the natives or despoil them of their possessions. It was a bad situation. Two captains and a soldier, among them Captain Aguilar, said to be the guilty plotters, were arrested, but the army and missionaries were able to persuade Oñate that the matter should be dealt with leniently. They were accordingly released. To minimize the gravity of the affair it was said that they were not traitors, but had merely been planning a plundering expedition.⁴⁰⁰

Just a few days after this episode another of the same kind was discovered. It is evident that the fires of dissatisfaction were still smoldering, for they now burst into flame once more. Four soldiers fled from the camp with a large number of horses in violation of numerous proclamations. Immediately Captains Villagr a and M rquez with some companions were sent in pursuit with orders to overtake and punish them.⁴⁰¹ This proved a difficult task, and it was not till two weeks later that two of the fleeing horse thieves were caught near Santa B rbara.

399. "Ytinerario," September 15-23, 1598; Villagr a, *Historia*, I, 96; Obediencia y vasallaje   su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 113-115.

400. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214; "Ytinerario," August 20-21, 1598; Villagr a, *Historia*, I, 88.

401. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214-215; Villagr a, *Historia*, I, 88-89.

They were promptly hanged. The others narrowly escaped capture. The severe punishment inflicted on these men was one of the charges on which Oñate and the captains concerned were later brought to trial.⁴⁰² Having fulfilled their duty, Villagr a and his companions visited Santa B arbara before setting out on the return journey. There they wrote to the viceroy of what had occurred.⁴⁰³

402. *Ibid.*, 89; *Testimonio de las sentencias*. . . May 16, 1614, A. G. I., 58-3-17.

403. Villagr a, *Historia*, I, 89; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 214-215.