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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 VII

The Destruction of Acoma

Exploration Renewed; the Buffalo Plains. The results of Oñate's preliminary exploration of New Mexico had netted small returns in comparison with the expectations of his gold-thirsty soldiers. But only a small region had been seen and preparations were soon renewed for more extended investigations. In the middle of September, 1598,⁴⁰⁴ he sent the *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar with a company of about sixty men to visit the region of the "cattle herds." Many rumors had been heard of these ever since the time when Cabeza de Vaca crossed the plains of Texas on his way to Culiacán.⁴⁰⁵ When this force reached Pecos Father San Miguel and the lay brother Juan de Dios, whom they had been escorting, remained to take up their duties among the natives.⁴⁰⁶

A few leagues beyond the Pecos the Spaniards met four native vaqueros who were won over by presents of food and other gifts. They supplied Zaldívar with a guide to the buffalo plains, which they reached early in October. They were on the Canadian river, near the eastern border of New Mexico.⁴⁰⁷

404. September 15. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 223. The "Ytinerario" gives the date as September 16; see entry of that date.

405. These herds of cattle were of course the buffalo. Cabeza De Vaca has given us the first description of the American bison. See Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 1513-1561, 200, or Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 34.

406. Juan de Dios knew the language of the Pecos. He had learned it from Don Pedro Orez, a native, whom Castaño had probably taken to Mexico. "Ytinerario," July 25, 1598.

407. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 225, and 226 note 1.

The Attempt to Corral the Buffalo. The Spaniards were anxious to capture some of the sluggish looking cattle and very soon set to work to build a corral for that purpose.⁴⁰⁸ When finished the wings of the enclosure were so long that it was estimated it would hold 10,000 buffalo. They felt certain of being able to capture the beasts, for these ran in a very peculiar manner, as though fettered, explained the chronicler. With the big corral completed the Spaniards sallied forth to round up the animals. A large herd was soon spied and here is what happened in the words of the chronicler.

The cattle started very nicely towards the corral, but soon they turned back in a stampede towards the men, and, rushing through them in a mass, it was impossible to stop them. . . . For several days they tried a thousand ways of shutting them in or of surrounding them, but in no manner was it possible to do so. This was not due to fear, for they are remarkably savage and ferocious, so much so that they killed three of our horses and badly wounded forty.⁴⁰⁹

Zaldívar and his companions still refused to acknowledge defeat. If the full grown buffalo could not be captured they would be satisfied with taking the calves. The effort was made and some were captured, "but they became so enraged that out of the many which were being brought, some dragged by ropes and others upon the horses, not one got a league toward the camp, for they all died within about an hour." Balked in their attempt to capture the buffalo alive they finally contented themselves with killing some and taking a quantity of meat and suet back to the camp. They returned on November 8, 1598, a distance of seventy leagues, after having been gone nearly two months.⁴¹⁰

408. It was made of poplar trees. The work was begun on October 9, 1598, and took three days.

409. Discovery of the buffalo, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 228; cf. Villagrà *Historia*, I, 93.

410. "Ytinerario," November 8, 1598; Discovery of the buffalo in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 228-230.

Oñate Visits the Salines. Meantime Oñate remained at San Juan long enough to supervise the preliminary work of establishing the town. After the church was finished and the missionaries had assumed their duty of Christianizing and civilizing the natives, he prepared to resume the exploration of the country in person.⁴¹¹ Accordingly he left San Juan on October 6. The first place visited was the region of the saline pueblos, or Gallinas, twenty-seven leagues from San Juan, by the route followed via Santa Cruz, San Marcos and Tuerto.⁴¹² Here he remained three days to visit the salines situated about five or six leagues to the east. These were very large, about seven or eight leagues in circumference, according to the governor's estimate, and of very good quality. From there he went to the Abó and the three Xumana pueblos. All rendered obedience to the king of Spain.⁴¹³

The Visit to Ácoma and Zuñi. Oñate now determined to go to the sea. Thus he began retracing his steps, going by way of Abó and Gallinas. He reached Puaray where Father Claros was posted, on October 21, where he stopped two days. Then he continued west on October 23,⁴¹⁴ and approached Ácoma, which he reported to contain five hundred houses. It is a huge white rock, towering three hundred and fifty-seven feet toward the sky with the pueblo on top. Oñate realized it was almost impregnable, for the path to the top consisted of small holes hewn in the very rock.⁴¹⁵ If the Spaniards were astonished at the sight of the towering city the Ácomas were no less impressed with the spectacle of the armored horses, which were put through a few special capers for their benefit. The governor was respectfully received. The natives provided food and water and rendered obedience to the king. But there was treach-

411. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 215

412. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in *ibid.*, 233.

413. *Ibid.*, 234; "Ytinerario," October 6, 1598.

414. The "Ytinerario" states that Oñate left Puaray on October 23, and from another source, Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration* 233-234, we learn the exact route followed.

415. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 10.

ery afoot. When Oñate climbed to the top of the rock with a part of his men he was soon invited to see something remarkable guarded in an *estufa*. Unkown to him it contained twelve armed traitors. Peering into the dark chamber he declined with thanks, suggesting it was first necessary for him to arrange some matters below.⁴¹⁶

After a day's rest at the rock of Ácoma the next objective of Oñate and his men was Zuñi. On the way a severe snowstorm was encountered at Agua de la Peña. The horses stampeded and some were not recovered. On November 1 the first inhabited Zuñi pueblo was reached. They had passed the ruins of three on the way. Again the Indians met them with a liberal supply of food. They did the same at the next pueblo, Cíbola, where each house added a blanket to the other things given them.⁴¹⁷ Oñate found here the descendants of some Mexican Indians left by Coronado nearly sixty years before. All of these pueblos rendered obedience to his majesty with equally meaningless motions.⁴¹⁸

Oñate's little force remained at Cíbola from November 3 to 8, 1598. Meanwhile four of the men, led by Captain Farfán, were sent to investigate the rumor of a saline said to be about nine leagues to the west. Only three days were consumed in this visit, when the soldiers returned with the report that it was the best salt spring in the world.⁴¹⁹

Villagrà's Escapade near Ácoma. In this same interval three soldiers had been sent out to round up the horses scattered during the snow storm at Agua de la Peña. Instead of finding the horses, they got a more valuable prize, Captain Villagrà. He was found about half dead, without horse or arms, and without having tasted food for several days.⁴²⁰ He was returning from New Spain and

416. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 99-100. This plot was not learned of till much later.

417. The pueblo of Hawikuh; Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 235.

418. *Ibid.*

419. *Ibid.* See also Account of the discovery of the salines of Zuñi, Bolton, Ms., and Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 102.

420. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 236.

had stopped at Puaray where he heard that Oñate had departed from there the day previously. So he immediately set out in pursuit, expecting to overtake him shortly. When he reached Ácoma the actions of the Indians aroused his suspicions. Chief Zutacapan, a bitter opponent of the Spaniards, asked him to dismount, but he feigned haste with as cheerful a smile as he could muster, and quickly withdrew to a safe distance. Evening was approaching when this occurred and Villagr  hastened forward. Having gone some distance he lay down to rest, but arose in the middle of the night and continued the journey. It was snowing and bitterly cold. He did not go very far, for like a flash of lightning his progress was stopped. Horse and man had unsuspectingly plunged into a deep pit, carefully concealed in the road. It was the work of Zutacapan and his allies. The fall killed the horse. To save himself Villagr  set out on foot, without armor or weapons and with his boots on backward to confuse pursuers. For several days he groped about amid great suffering till he was at length rescued by Oñate's soldiers.⁴²¹

Oñate Visits Moqui. When these scouting parties had rejoined the camp on November 8, Oñate set out to visit the Moqui pueblos.⁴²² Everywhere he was received as a friend, and all rendered the required obedience. Meantime the Spaniards had heard rumors of rich mines in the vicinity. To test these reports the governor delegated Farf n with eight companions.⁴²³ They left November 17. While they were engaged in that exploration Oñate led the rest of his men back to Zu i and there awaited the return of Farf n's

421. *Ibid.* Villagr , *Historia*, I, 103-104. The "Ytinerario" states that it was Captain M rquez who set out from Puaray after Oñate, and that it was he who fell into the trap. This is clearly an error, for it calls him procurator-general. We know that Villagr  held this office. "Nombramiento de Procurador General del campo y Ejercito del Nuevo Mexico   favor del Captain Gaspar P rez de Villagr ." *Ibid.*, II, 14-15. The same document in manuscript form is found in A. G. I., 58-6-36.

422. There were five pueblos in Oñate's time. Awatobi, Walpi, Shongopovi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 560-561.

423. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 236-237. Villagr  names all but two of the Spaniards in the party. Besides Farf n and Quesada he mentions Don Juan Escarramad, Antonio Conde, Marcos Garc a Damiero, and Hern n Martin, *Historia*, I, 102.

party. This occurred on December 11, but only Farfán and Quesada came. They had left their seven companions in Moqui because the horses were worn out.⁴²⁴

Farfán's Expedition into Arizona. Farfán's expedition in search of mining prospects probably visited some point in Yavapai county, Arizona. Travelling westward through a desert and treeless area it came upon a northward flowing river, the Little Colorado, after having gone about nine leagues. The stream was of moderate width and carried considerable water. Its banks were lined with cottonwoods, but there was little pasture.

From there on identification of the route becomes more difficult. A march of three leagues brought the party to the slope of a mountain range; two leagues more to a grove of small pines and a very deep pool; and then the explorers proceeded for two leagues along the snow covered mountain range. Here they found several rancherías of Jumana Indians. Now they travelled along this mountain range for six leagues. The snow was knee deep. The region abounded in large pine trees. At the end of this trip they came to a snow-free valley, and after going another two leagues, approached the "Rancheria de los Cruzados."⁴²⁵ The Indians had powdered ores of different colors. Continuing on their way three leagues they passed through a land of pine groves, "with the finest of pastures, many cattle, very good prickly pears, and many and large maguey patches, where they saw Castilian partridges, a great many deer, hares, and rabbits." Here was another rancheria on the bank of a river of "fair width and much water." They now proceeded four leagues to another and larger river "which flowed almost from the north." Cross-

424. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 237. Oñate says they returned twenty-one days later, which would be December 8, but Farfán's testimony was given on the day of his return, December 11. Discovery of mines, in *ibid.*, 239-249.

425. Bandelier identified the "Cruzados" with the Yavapai. *Final Report*, I, 109. At the end of the nineteenth century they occupied the Rio Verde valley, but in earlier times went much farther west, over to the Colorado river, according to Hodge. *Handbook*, II, 994.

ing this stream they came to a much larger river two leagues distant which also came from the north. This stream they crossed and a league beyond reached the mines where the Indians got their ore. Numerous claims were staked out, and then the party returned and joined Oñate at Zuñi as mentioned.⁴²⁶

Juan de Zaldívar at Ácoma. Before setting out on this trip to Zuñi and Moqui Oñate had given orders that the *maestre de campo* Juan de Zaldívar, should reinforce him with thirty men in order to make the contemplated journey to the South Sea. Since he failed to come by the time of Farfán's return from Arizona, December 11, it was decided to go back to San Juan to celebrate Christmas. After the holiday season Oñate might then visit the sea with as large a force as was required. The return from Zuñi began December 12, the seven men at Moqui remaining there for the time being. The next day the governor was met by Captain Bernabé de las Casas with six companions at Agua de la Peña, the scene of former events in this narrative. He had come to warn Oñate and to report that the *maestre de campo* and twelve companions had been attacked and killed at Ácoma on their way to join him.⁴²⁷

The ill-fated Juan de Zaldívar did not depart from the camp at San Juan till November 18, 1598, ten days after his brother Vicente had returned from the buffalo hunt.⁴²⁸ On the way he stopped at Ácoma in order to procure a sup-

426. Discovery of mines, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 239-249. The "Ytinerario" gives some details not mentioned in the above document. Professor Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (1916) locates the mines visited by Farfán on the Big Sandy or the Spenser. They were, he thinks, in either the Aquarius or Hualpai ranges. In his *Spanish Borderlands* (1921) he places them "in the region of Prescott." This is more nearly in accord with Bancroft's view, though he located them farther north, in the vicinity of Bill Williams Mountain.

427. Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 237-238; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in *ibid.*, 215; "Ytinerario," December 4 and 7, 1598.

428. *Proceso que se hizo contra los yndios del pueblo de Ácoma por aver muerto alebosamente á don Juan de Zaldívar Oñate maese de campo general y á dos capitanes y ocho soldados y dos mozos y otros delitos*, February 15, 1599. Cited hereafter as *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*. It is found in A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

ply of blankets and provisions for the journey to the sea.⁴²⁹ Meanwhile a significant change had taken place at the White Rock since last visited by the Spaniards. One party led by the belligerent Zutacapan was determined not to give the white men any more supplies. His son Zutancalpo and the aged Chumpo were bent on keeping the peace. Many angry speeches were made on both sides, which did not end till the two pacifists deserted the pueblo with their followers, leaving Zutacapan to wreak his vengeance on the Europeans.⁴³⁰

When Zaldívar arrived on December 1, there was nothing to indicate the treachery contemplated by the Acomas. Food was needed by the visitors, and they promised the natives hatchets and other tools in exchange for what they desired. But no sign of compliance appeared, and thus Captain Márquez was sent up to the pueblo with six soldiers. He secured some food, but not enough to satisfy the needs of the Spaniards. The Indians claimed that no corn was ground and that if they returned in the morning more would be available. Accordingly the Spaniards went into camp about two leagues from the pueblo near an arroyo where water and wood could be obtained. Returning on December 4, Zaldívar visited the pueblo with eighteen men. In their search for provisions they were led from place to place by the Indians, but very little flour was collected. By that time it was getting late and Captain Diego Nuñez de Chaves and six men were detailed to follow the Indians elsewhere. The Spaniards were thus divided. Moreover they were in a very narrow place near the cliffs, according to the survivors. It was at that moment that the Ácomas, realizing the opportune moment for attack had come,

429. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601; cf. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 112, 116.

430. *Ibid.*, 113-116. Villagrà gives many of the speeches of these Indian chiefs. Perhaps they are the fruit of the poet's imagination, or he may have learned of the arguments from the Indians after the battle, as Bancroft suggests.

raised a great cry and fell furiously on the foe. The battle was on.⁴³¹

In the course of this struggle numerous feats of heroism were performed on both sides and Villagr  fairly revels in recounting these bloody tales.⁴³² In the end the Spaniards were defeated with heavy loss. Zald var fell at the hand of Zutacapan after a terrific struggle, if we may credit our poet. The situation of the others was soon desperate. But rather than be hacked to bits by the Indians they leaped off the cliff onto the rocks below. Seven did so and survived. We have their testimony taken under oath a few weeks later at San Juan.⁴³³

The catastrophe at  coma was a severe blow to the small Spanish force in New Mexico. Eleven soldiers and two servants had been killed. Three of the dead were officers: Juan de Zald var *maestre de campo*, Diego Nu ez de Chaves and Felipe de Escalante, captains. The others included the ensign Marcos Pereyra, Lu s de Arauxo, Juan Camacho, Mart n Ramirez, Juan de Segura, Pedro Robledo, Mart n de Riveros, Sebastian Rodr guez, a mulatto and an

431. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. Some accounts state that the Spaniards tried to take supplies by force. Such is the testimony of Herrera Orta and Juan de Ortega, in *Copia de una informaci n que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 16, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15. Herrera Orta testified that Father Escalona secretly called him to his cell and there gave him this information. Captain Velasco wrote that the fight commenced when the Indians refused to provide any blankets on the pretext that they had none. *Carta de Don Lu s de Velasco   S. M.*, March 22, 1601. The treasurer Alonso S nchez says that in this second visit to procure food the Spaniards took some turkeys, whereupon a few of the natives, concealed on a height, killed a soldier named Bibero. *Carta escrita por Alonso S nchez   Rodrigo de R o de Losa*, February 28, 1599, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. This story is also told in the *Proceso*. Bibero is not given in the list of the dead in the "Ytinerario," but the name Riveros is found. They are doubtless identical, though in my list of O ate's colonists compiled from the Salazar inspection no such name appears. See appendix A.

432. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 119-123.

433. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*. Those who jumped and lived to tell the story were: Gaspar L pez de Tabora, Juan Olague, Juan de Le n, Juan Velasquez de Cabanillas, Alonso Gonzalez, a half-breed, Antonio de Sari ana, and Francisco Robledo. His brother Pedro was killed in making the leap. Villagr  says that five jumped, four of these landing safely. *Historia*, 124-125.

Indian.⁴³⁴ The survivors immediately planned to warn their comrades of the rebellion, and the next day they sent the alguacil Tabora with three men to inform the governor. These, however, lost their way and soon returned. Then the ensign Bernabé de las Casas was dispatched on December 6, accompanied by six soldiers. As we have seen he was successful. Oñate was then on his way to Ácoma, and they met one another about thirty miles west thereof on December 13, 1598.⁴³⁵

Though stricken by this sad news the governor did not neglect to provide for the future. The interpreter Thomas was sent back with a warning for the seven soldiers who had remained at Moqui to avoid Ácoma and proceed directly to the capital. Captains Farfán and Quesada were sent on ahead to San Juan, while Oñate and the soldiers followed, arriving in seven days, December 21. As they approached the camp a small group, including Oñate's young son Don Cristóbal came out to meet them. The missionaries gave thanks to God with a *te deum* for their safe arrival.⁴³⁶

For Oñate this stroke of misfortune was doubly grievous. Not only was Juan de Zaldívar his nephew and intimate friend, but the loss of so many men with rebellion rife in the province meant a complete change of plans. Instead of being able to develop the mining prospects just discovered in Arizona or of making further explorations toward the South Sea, he had to concentrate his diminished forces to prosecute an unwished-for war.⁴³⁷ Villagrà gives eloquent descriptions of the grief cast over the en-

434. "Ytinerario," December 4, 1598; Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 218; Oñate to Villagrà, January 11, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36. Some of the names of the murdered men do not appear in the list of Oñate's colonists as given in the Salazar inspection documents. There is no Marcos Pereyra or Martín de Riveros. There is an Hernando de Segura, but no Juan. There appears to be no mistake in their names, and if that is true then they must have gone to New Mexico after the Salazar inspection.

435. "Ytinerario," December 5 and 7, 1598; Villagrà *Historia*, I, 125-126; Discovery of the salines and the sea, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 238.

436. *Ibid.* Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 129-130; "Ytinerario," December 21, 1598.

437. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 216.

tire colony, how Oñate, Vicente de Zaldívar and the widows of the soldiers mourned their loss.⁴³⁸

What Constitutes a Just War. Without any loss of time Oñate now took steps to punish Ácoma. Court martial proceedings were instituted against the rebellious pueblo, under Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, appointed alcalde for that purpose. Before pronouncing sentence the governor asked the religious to give an opinion as to what constituted a just cause for making war; and, granted that the war was justified, what disposition the conqueror might make of the victims and their possessions.⁴³⁹

The reply of the missionaries left sufficient leeway for a war against Ácoma. The aggressor must have the sanction of a power which recognized no superior temporal authority. The immediate cause might be one of four: defending the innocent, restoring goods unjustly seized, punishing culprits who violated the laws, or the preservation of the peace, "which is the principal end for which war is ordained." The second query presented by Oñate was answered just as broadly. The conquered would be at the mercy of the conqueror. If the war was waged to defend the innocent, restore property or punish trespassers, the proper restitution should be made. But if the cause of the conflict was to preserve the peace all obstructions hindering its attainment might be destroyed. After peace had been gained, however, the war was no longer justified and must cease.⁴⁴⁰

The Expedition against Ácoma. Judging by this criterion there was ample cause for war and Oñate proclaimed that it be carried on by fire and sword. His nephew and *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, brother of the

438. Villagr  Historia, I, 125-128.

439. "Caso que puso el Governador, para que sobre el, diessen su parecer los Padres Religiosos." Given in full in Villagr , I, 131.

440. "Respuesta del Comissario, y Religiosos." Given in full in Villagr , I, 131-132, and in the *Proceso*. "Y finalmente si la causa de la guerra es, la paz universal, o de su Reyno, y Republica, puede muy mas justamente hazer la sobredicha guerra, y destruir todos los incombinientes, que estorvaren la sobredicha paz, hasta conseguirla con efecto, . . ."

slain *maestre de campo*, was appointed lieutenant-governor and commander of the seventy men sent to avenge the dead.⁴⁴¹ With him went a council of war consisting of Alonso Sánchez, Zubia, Aguilar, Farfán, Márquez and Villagrà. Father Martinez also accompanied the expedition. The poet notes that mass was said and all the soldiers confessed before going into battle.⁴⁴²

The governor's instructions to Zaldívar ordered the punishment of those responsible for the slaying of the eleven Spaniards in the recent uprising. Full opportunity, however, should be given the Ácomas to atone for their disobedience before the ordeal of arms was resorted to. The guilty were to be surrendered, the bodies and arms of the dead returned, the sky pueblo given up, and a new home built on the plain, where only the missionaries should be allowed to come. Thus read the ultimatum of the Spaniards. If it should be spurned by the haughty foe then no mercy was to be shown. The punishment of Ácoma was to be a horrible example of what disobedience to the new master meant.⁴⁴³

It was not till January 12, 1599, that the *sargento mayor* set out for Ácoma at the head of his soldiers. Captain Villagrà was sent by way of Sia to secure provisions sufficient for a fortnight. When the Ácomas saw the small force approach on January 21, they set up a derisive howl.⁴⁴⁴ Surely the Spaniards were crazy to think of conquering the White Rock with such a mere handful of men. Already the Indians, men and women, could be seen dancing their defiant war dances. As the army came nearer arrows and insults rained down from the rock, but Zaldívar bore it all in silence. Calling the interpreter Thomas to his side he

441. "Ytinerario," January 12, 1599. The treasurer Sánchez says Zaldívar was accompanied by seventy-two soldiers. *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Río de Losa*, February 28, 1599.

442. *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 134, 156; "Ytinerario," January 21, 1599.

443. Zaldívar's instructions are given in full in the *Proceso*; cf. Villagrà, I, 133-134.

444. *Ibid.*, I, 141; "Ytinerario," January 12 and 21, 1599.

required the Ácomas to come down from their pueblo and account for the murders they had committed. Defiant boasts were the only answer to his summons. The natives had already gone so far that they could not retreat.⁴⁴⁵

The Plan of Attack. The towering pile on which the pueblo of Ácoma was built consisted of two parts. Villagr  says the two portions of the mass were about three hundred steps apart, but that they were connected by a dangerous and narrow path of precipitous cliffs.⁴⁴⁶ This situation did not escape the attention of the *sargento mayor* as he laid his plan of attack. A stratagem was planned. With the main part of the army he proposed to attack the pueblo in force on the side of the main approach. It was thus hoped to concentrate the enemy's strength at that place, and other points of the summit would be left undefended. Meanwhile twelve chosen men led by Zaldivar, unobserved by the enemy, would be posted in a concealed spot at another point at the base of the cliff with orders to seize the top when the opportunity offered. Zaldivar's council of war concurred in these plans, and then the Spanish camp rested in preparation for the morrow's struggle. The Ácomas, on the contrary, spent the night in wild revelry.⁴⁴⁷

The Attack. The evidence introduced in the *Proceso*

445. *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma*; Villagr , *Historia*, I, 141-142. The poet records that chief Zutacapan wanted to send away the women and children, but this counsel was not taken. And he devotes a whole canto to the efforts of Gicombo, a chief who had been absent when Zaldivar was slain, to give up the war. His rival Zutacapan, however, was able to completely discomfit the pacifists. *Ibid.*, 135-139.

446. "Y assi marchando en orden nos llegamos,
Al poderoso fuerte, el qual constaua,
De dos grandes pe oles leuantados,
Mas de trecientos passos deuididos,
Los terribles assientos no domados,
Y estaua un passaman del uno al otro,
De riscos tan soberuios que ygualauan,
Con las disformes cumbres nunca vistas." *Ibid.*, 141.

Bancroft doubted the identity of the present pueblo of Ácoma with that existing in O ate's time, but his view has not been accepted by others. See his *Arizona and New Mexico*, 125 note 24.

447. Villagr , *Historia*, I, 145-149; see also the *Proceso*.

shows that the Indians began the attack by killing two horses while they were being watered. It was evident to all that the Acomas were not only irreconcilable but determined to fight. From that time on there was no hesitation in the Spanish program. On the afternoon of January 22, their plans had all been formulated and the feigned attack was made about three o'clock.⁴⁴⁸ When the natives saw what appeared to be the entire Spanish force attacking at one point the warriors rushed to meet the onslaught. At once Zaldívar and his squad of eleven scaled the deserted side of the peñol and gained a foothold on the summit near the houses of the pueblo. Here they were halted, however, before it was possible to gain the main portion of the rock, but they were able to hold the point the rest of that afternoon and during the night. To watch the crag till morning a guard was posted and placed in charge of Captain Pablo de Aguilar and others.⁴⁴⁹

The point they held was separated from the rock on which the Indians were fighting by two deep gorges. That night a beam was prepared to be used in bridging these spaces, and the next morning it was carried to the top. But the natives had also been active. They were now led by chief Gicombo who had a surprise in store for the Spaniards. Nor far from the two gorges he had stationed a great many warriors entirely hidden from view. When Zaldívar's men should attempt to cross the narrow passageway the concealed fighters would emerge from the ambushade and overcome the foe.⁴⁵⁰

448. According to the "Ytinerario" and the *Proceso* it was on Friday, January 22. Alonso Sánchez reported that it occurred on Thursday afternoon the 21. *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Río de Losa*, February 28, 1599. Bancroft thought that an error had crept into the "Ytinerario" and that the battle began on Friday morning. There seems to be no reason for accepting this change. See *Arizona and New Mexico*, 144, 145 note 24.

449. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*; "Ytinerario," January 21, 1599; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 149-150. The names of the twelve are recorded by Villagrà. Vicente de Zaidívar, León de Isasti, Marcos Cortés, Lorenzo de Munuera, Antonio Hernández, Juan Velarde, Cristóbal Sánchez, Cristóbal López, Hernán Martín, Francisco Hernández Cordero, Pablo de Aguilar, and Villagrà.

450. Villagrà is our sole authority for this story. *Historia*, I. 152.

Villagrà's Leap. Meantime the soldiers ascended the cliff after the father-commissary had administered the sacrament. As they scanned the pueblo it appeared to be deserted, and without further consideration thirteen men crossed the two gorges in the passageway by means of the beam and occupied the other side. Swarming from their place of concealment the natives suddenly attacked the small group. The men were in a serious predicament. It was impossible to succor them since they had the beam. At that point Villagrà, if we may believe the story, undertook to rescue the others from their peril. Throwing aside his shield he prepared to jump across the first abyss, though his friends feared he would be dashed to bits. But he succeeded. Then he placed the plank over the gorge and others were able to reinforce the few who were so sorely pressed.⁴⁵¹

The Destruction of Ácoma. Throughout the second day of the battle the Ácomas were forced back step by step with terrific slaughter. This was partly due to the fact that Zaldivar succeeded in getting two pieces of artillery up the rock and bringing these into action.⁴⁵² At four o'clock in the afternoon the Spaniards ceased fighting in order to give the natives an opportunity to surrender. But they were resolute, and the bloodshed was renewed and continued for another hour or so, and then the Ácomas sued for peace.⁴⁵³ Fate was obviously against them, for they saw an apparition of Saint James or Saint Paul riding a white horse and using a terrible sword fighting for the Christians.⁴⁵⁴

The number of casualties in the Ácoma camp seems to have been between six and eight hundred.⁴⁵⁵ About seventy or eighty warriors were captured, in addition to about

451. *Ibid.*, 156-157.

452. "Ytinerario," January 23, 1599.

453. *Proceso contra los yndios de Ácoma.*

454. "Ytinerario," January 23, 1599; Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 178; *Carta escrita por Alonso Sánchez á Rodrigo de Río de Losa*, February 28, 1599.

455. Captain Velasco gives the dead as 600, while Alonso Sánchez says that 800 were killed. *Ibid.*, and *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

five hundred women and children.⁴⁵⁶ The Spanish force seems to have suffered very little. "It was miraculous that so great a number of the enemy were killed without the loss of any of ours," says the "Ytinerario." When evening came Ácoma was ready to surrender, but Zaldívar waited till the following morning before taking possession of the pueblo.⁴⁵⁷

Villagr  informs us that at the end of the day's fighting Zutacapan asked for Zald var's terms of peace. But the latter still insisted on the surrender of those responsible for the death of the Spaniards, of whom Zutacapan was the leader, and the terms were refused.⁴⁵⁸ Quite another story is told by Captain Don Lu s de Velasco, one of O ate's critics. He says that the Indians surrendered after the war had lasted some time, and that they then gave corn, blankets and turkeys as had been demanded by the Spaniards they had slain. But the *sargento mayor* would not accept their offering, and confined many of the natives in the *estufas* as prisoners. From there they were taken out one by one, murdered, and thrown over the edge of the rock, a negro and some soldiers acting as the butchering squad.⁴⁵⁹ These events took place on the third day of hostilities, January 24.⁴⁶⁰

This is practically the story as given in the *Proceso*. From it we learn that Zald var would not now accept the gifts of the natives, for he had come to punish those guilty of killing the Spaniards. Accordingly he seized some of the  comas and confined them in the *estufas* where they fortified themselves and defied the conqueror once more!

456. *Proceso contra los yndios de  coma*.

457. *Ibid.* "Ytinerario," January 24, 1599; Villagr  devotes the last four cantos of his poem to the final stages of the battle. It is a gory legend in which we learn of the death of many of the prominent  coma chieftains. *Historia*, I, 159-181.

458. *Ibid.*, 161-162.

459. *Carta de Don Lu s de Velasco   S. M.*, March 22, 1601; testimony of Herrera Orta in *Copia de una informaci n que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*, June 16, 1601.

460. *Proceso contra los yndios de  coma*; "Ytinerario," January 24, 1599. Some of the sources limit the battle to two days, but this evidently does not include the killing and burning which took place on the 24th.

But the god of war was not thus to be deprived of his spoils. When the Spaniards saw what had happened they set fire to the pueblo, as Oñate had authorized. The victims tried to escape through the underground passages, but were not able to get away.⁴⁶¹ Some killed one another rather than fall into the hands of the enemy;⁴⁶² others surrendered, or were destroyed by fire or by the sword. The pueblo of Ácoma was completely laid waste and burned. As already indicated about five or six hundred remained to be carried into captivity.⁴⁶³

Punishment of the Ácomas. The captives taken at Ácoma were brought to trial at the pueblo of Santo Domingo early in February, 1599, where Governor Oñate heard the evidence presented for and against them. They were accused of killing eleven Spaniards and two servants and of failure to submit peacefully when Vicente de Zaldívar came to punish them. Some of the natives who appeared to testify at the trial pleaded absence from the pueblo at the time the murders were committed. They were away tilling the fields. Others cast the blame on the Spaniards for starting the trouble. As for their resistance to Vicente de Zaldívar, they had by that time agreed to oppose the Spaniards.⁴⁶⁴

Sentence was pronounced on February 12, 1599. Oñate ordered that all males over twenty-five years of age be condemned to have one foot cut off and to give twenty years of personal service. The men between twelve and twenty-five years escaped with twenty years of service.

461. *Ibid.*, and *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*.

462. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

463. Villagrà, *Historia*, I, 177; *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*. The statements we have of the population of Ácoma in 1598 are probably exaggerated. Oñate put it at 3000. See his letter to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 218. Captain Velasco says over 600 were killed and 600 more taken captive. Sánchez says 800 were killed, 500 women and children captured and 80 punished. See Velasco's letter to the king, March 22, 1601, and that of Sánchez to Rodrigo del Río, February 28, 1599. Either of these totals are more reliable than the figures Oñate and others sent to Spain. They exaggerated the numbers in order to convince the king of the importance of the province. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 324-5; and Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 135-136.

464. *Proceso contra los yndios de Acoma*.

All the women above twelve years of age were likewise doomed to twenty years of servitude. Two Moqui natives captured at Ácoma were condemned to lose the right hand and to be sent home as a warning to others. The boys and girls below twelve years escaped punishment, but they were to be subject to the Spaniards, the girls being made the special charges of Father Martinez and the boys of Vicente de Zaldívar. The sentence was executed as decreed.⁴⁶⁵ "Fue gran lastima," says the indignant Captain Velasco.

With the infliction of this spectacular and exemplary punishment the province of New Mexico was cowed into obedience. No other revolt of equal significance occurred till the pueblo revolt of 1680. The natives were beginning to feel the weight of the hand of their new master.

Chapter VIII

Reinforcements, and the Expedition to Quivira

Oñate Reports to the Viceroy. Shortly after the Ácoma revolt had been quelled Oñate gave an interesting if exaggerated report on New Mexico, dated March 2, 1599. In glowing terms he painted the wonders of the land, emphasizing particularly the richness of certain unexplored regions regarding which reports had been received from the natives. So remarkable was this new possession that "none other held by his Majesty in these Indies excels it," and the governor claimed to be judging solely by what he had seen and learned from reliable reports. The vast settlements in the west, in Arizona, and the certainty of finding great wealth in pearls in the South Sea, were described. He told of a great pueblo in the buffalo country nine leagues in length and two in width which had been visited

^{465.} *Ibid.* Captain Velasco states that twenty-four were mutilated by having a foot cut off. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601

by an Indian in his camp. This native, Jusepe, had been with Humaña's fatal party, but managed to escape and make his way back to New Mexico where he regaled Oñate with wonderful accounts of the country to the east.⁴⁶⁶

His Request for Aid. In order to explore and conquer these new regions Oñate needed more soldiers. That was his most pressing need. He appealed to the viceroy, sending several agents to represent him in Mexico. Father Martínez, "the most meritorious person with whom I have had any dealings," was sent to tell of the opportunity for saving souls and to secure more friars for that purpose. He was accompanied by Father Salazar, Oñate's cousin, who, however, died on the way.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps Father Vergara accompanied them.⁴⁶⁸ To tell of the wealth of the province in material things, there were delegated among others Villagrà, captain and procurator-general of the expedition, Farfán captain of the guard, and Juan Pinero, also captain.⁴⁶⁹ Villagrà was put in command of the party and authorized to enlist troops. On reaching New Spain he would be subordinate to Juan Guerra de Resa, whom Oñate had named lieutenant-governor and captain-general for this second expedition. Before attempting to enlist troops, Villagrà was instructed to secure the viceroy's sanction,⁴⁷⁰ in accordance with the modification which had been made in the contract.⁴⁷¹

Of especial interest, in view of later developments, is a document drawn up in the capital two days after Oñate had written his letter of March 2. It was a vote of con-

466. Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 212-222. See also *Relación que dió un indio de la salida que hicieron Umaña y Leyba del Nuevo Mexico*, MS in Bolton collection.

467. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 673.

468. *Ibid.*, I, 672. Torquemada is the only source which includes his name. Two contemporary documents fail to make any mention of him. They are, Alonso Sánchez to Rodrigo del Río de Losa, February 28, 1599; and Oñate to Monterey, March 2, 1599, *op. cit.*, 221-222.

469. *Ibid.*

470. Order of Don Juan de Oñate, Santo Domingo, March 16, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

471. Monterey had stipulated that if reinforcements were needed by Oñate, special permission must be sought from the viceroy. See chapter II of this study.

fidence in the governor by the captains and soldiers of the army as well as an appeal for aid. Nineteen officials signed the paper. Besides vouching for Oñate "as one of the most faithful and useful servants of the many your majesty has" and comparing him with the Duke of Alva and the Marquis of the Valley⁴⁷² among others, they suggested that the king ought to know of their own noble sacrifices. Their fortunes had been spent, their lives had frequently been endangered in the royal service, and their wives and children had shared these adventures.⁴⁷³

News from Oñate Reaches Mexico. It required a long time before these reports on New Mexico reached the viceroy or the king. On June 8, 1599, the Count of Monterey reported that news from Oñate was still lacking.⁴⁷⁴ Immediately after this was written, however, word did come, for three days later Santiago del Riego wrote that good news had been received,⁴⁷⁵ and soon the viceroy dispatched a like account inclosing Oñate's letters.⁴⁷⁶

Monterey's reports on Oñate's success in New Mexico were all complimentary at this time. He went so far as to defend him from the responsibility for the cruel punishment of the Acoma Indians by pointing out that Oñate was not present. That episode was considered of such importance in Mexico that the audiencia took the matter under advisement. But it decided to drop the subject in

472. Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico.

473. *Carta de los oficiales mayores y menores del ejercito real del Nuevo Mexico*, March 4, 1599, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. Among the papers sent to Mexico at this time was a brief optimistic note to the viceroy, asking for half a dozen royal brands for marking the silver from New Mexico. *Copia de carta de Don Juan de Oñate al Conde de Monterey*, March 5, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

474. *Monterey á S. M.*, June 8, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13. Cf. *Santiago del Riego á S. M.*, June 9, 1599, A. G. I., 58-5-12. Reigo had always been interested in the expedition and was not pleased with Oñate's failure to keep his friends informed of his success in New Mexico.

475. *Santiago del Riego á S. M.*, June 11, 1599, A. G. I. 1-1-3/22.

476. *El Conde de Monterey á S. M.*, June 22, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13. The viceroy stated that he was not forwarding all of Oñate's reports then as they were too voluminous for copies to be made before the sailing of the fleet. What they dealt with is not indicated.

order not to discourage the whole New Mexico enterprise which appeared so full of promise at that moment.⁴⁷⁷

When the Council of the Indies finally received a full account of these early experiences of the army in New Mexico approximately a year had elapsed, a good example of how difficult it was to administer a province so far away. The Council read the reports with much gratification and informed the king that the conquest had begun favorably.⁴⁷⁸ Monterey was accordingly instructed to encourage Oñate and to assist him as his discovery seemed to be important.⁴⁷⁹

Monterey Orders Reinforcements. Meanwhile the representatives Oñate sent to Mexico won some measure of success. They indicated that the province was a rich possession, and that smoothed their way. The viceroy granted them permission to recruit reinforcements.⁴⁸⁰ This was, in fact, necessary either to maintain the little settlement at San Juan or to extend the territory already conquered.⁴⁸¹ Monterey commissioned a number of captains for this purpose, each of whom was authorized to enlist a following. Villagr  was one of these, and by September, 1599, was busy enlisting men.⁴⁸²

The fact that additional soldiers were going to New Mexico required an official inspection. For this reason Monterey, on October 1, 1599, appointed Captain Juan de Gordejuela to inspect the reinforcements at Santa B rbara. He was to make a report before a notary of all who went on the expedition and of everything taken along.⁴⁸³ As commissary of this relief force the viceroy selected

477. *Monterey   S. M.*, October 4, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

478. *El Consejo de Indias*, April 8, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

479. This was May 31, 1600. See "Discurso y Proposici n," in *Col. Doc. In d.*, XVI, 38.

480. Before August 20, 1599. *El Conde de Monterey*, August 20, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

481. *Santiago del Riego   S. M.*, September 28, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-12.

482. *El Conde de Monterey*, August 20, 1599; certification of the notary, September 27, 1599, A. G. I., 58-6-36.

483. *El Conde de Monterey*, October 1, 1599, in *Muestra cala y cata que tomaron Juan de Gordejuela y Juan de Sotelo de la gente, armas y municiones que llev  Juan de O ate   las minas de San Bartolom *, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter referred to as *Gordejuela visita*.

Captain Juan de Sotelo y Cisneros, who had served the king in a military capacity in many countries. He was to follow the troops to Santa Bárbara in order to make arrangements for securing supplies for men and beasts while on the journey. It was his duty, moreover, to see that no offenses against the Indians were committed. If such did occur he had full power to mete out the punishment required. At Santa Bárbara he was to assist Captain Gordejuela in carrying out the inspection.⁴⁸⁴

Immediate Succor Sent North. The captains who were enlisting troops in the fall of 1599, found that their work progressed slowly. At the same time the viceroy seemed anxious that their departure should take place by November, 1599, though he also noted that they might await further news from Oñate. That is probably what happened, for the assembly at Santa Bárbara of all those who were expected did not take place till August, 1600.⁴⁸⁵ The missionaries were chosen in March of the same year, and probably departed about the same time.⁴⁸⁶ Juan Guerra, however, did not reach Santa Bárbara till the early part of August.⁴⁸⁷

At that time a part of the soldiers had already been sent to New Mexico. The reason for this was that an Indian, called Lorenzo, had fled from Oñate's camp and reached San Bartolomé, where notice of his arrival came to the attention of Captain Gordejuela. Lorenzo told of the great need among Oñate's followers for food and cattle and how anxiously they were awaiting relief.⁴⁸⁸ In view of the delay in the assembly of the soldiers Gordejuela determined to send a small party forward at once. Seven men were chosen to make up this advance group, a man

484. *El Conde de Monterey*, December 30, 1599, in *ibid.*

485. *Monterey á S. M.*, October 4, 1599, A. G. I., 58-3-13.

486. Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo, San Gabriel*, September 7, 1601, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

487. Order of Sotelo y Gordejuela, August 22, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

488. Certification of Juan de Gordejuela, September 5, in *ibid.*

named Robledo acting as leader.⁴⁸⁹ All of them had been enlisted by Juan Guerra. He furnished the food-supplies, horses, arms, powder, and other things which they brought. Their departure took place on June 2, 1600. Father Fray Alonso de la Oliva accompanied them as he was very anxious to reach New Mexico.⁴⁹⁰

Aid Furnished by Juan Guerra. The reinforcements thus being assembled at Santa Bárbara were practically all provided at the expense of Juan Guerra de Resa. The Salazar inspection had shown that Oñate was far short of his obligations in some respects. Those deficiencies had to be made up, and Juan Guerra had agreed to foot the bill whenever the viceroy ordered the reinforcements sent.⁴⁹¹ Nearly every article now provided, aside from the personal possessions of the soldiers, was thus paid for by the rich lieutenant-governor.⁴⁹² It cost him over one hundred thousand pesos, if we may believe Luís Nuñez Pérez, and Don Cristóbal de Oñate something less than that.⁴⁹³

When the required number of soldiers at length reached Santa Bárbara and the necessary cattle and supplies had been purchased the inspection was soon arranged. Juan Guerra requested the inspectors to make a separate inventory of the things supplied by him and to place an account of it at the head of their report.⁴⁹⁴ To this no objections were raised and the request was complied with.⁴⁹⁵

The Inspection. The inspection began on August 23 when Juan Guerra presented a detailed list of the things he had furnished.⁴⁹⁶ Carts, oxen, powder, artillery, muskets, blankets, various kinds of cloth including both Dutch and Rouen linen, shoes of many varieties, wine, and innumer-

489. Robledo's companions were: Juan Hurtado, Simón García, Alvaro García, Juan Gregorio, Pedro Pérez, and Juan Fernández.

490. Petition of Juan Guerra de Resa, September 5, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

491. See chapter V of this study.

492. The entire record of the inspection reveals this fact. See also the certification of thirteen captains and soldiers, September 1, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

493. *Traslado de un capitulo de carta de Luís Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600.

494. Petition of Juan Guerra de Resa, August 22, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

495. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 22, 1600, in *ibid.*

496. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 23, 1600, in *ibid.*

able other items all duly attested, made up his portion of the succor being sent to Oñate.⁴⁹⁷ The inspection of these things occupied two days. Then on the 25th it was decreed that other captains and soldiers must present themselves with their goods on that or the following day. The order was publicly proclaimed.⁴⁹⁸ Captain Bernabé de las Casas was the first to observe the order. The others followed. Altogether there were eleven captains in the force, though they were not all leaders of companies. Bernabé de las Casas, Villagrà, and Ortega appear to have had such commands. Eight bore the rank of ensign, and five were sergeants. The soldiers numbered forty-eight, making a total of seventy-three in the entire expedition.⁴⁹⁹ It should, however, be remembered that seven men with Father Oliva had preceded the main force to New Mexico by three months.⁵⁰⁰

Finally everything seemed ready for the march and the commissaries decreed that the departure for New Mexico should take place August 30. But it was evidently impossible for all to be ready at the stated time, and on September 2 the order was repeated, requiring all to leave that same day. Guerra, nevertheless, asked for a little more time and presented another list of materials to be taken to New Mexico, and it was accepted. On September 4, two soldiers straggled into Santa Bárbara, too late for the inspection. They were, however, allowed to join the army. On that same day the inspectors ordered every captain and soldier to depart at once under severe penalties, and on the next day the last soldiers left the city.⁵⁰¹

497. *Memoria de las cosas, armas, vinos, ropa de toda suerte y conservas y otras cosas que Juan Guerra de Resa embia al socorro y provincias de la Nueva Mexico*, August 23 and 24, 1600, in *ibid.*

498. Order of Sotelo and Gordejuela, August 25, 1600, in *ibid.*

499. At the final review which was held on August 28-30, 1600, there were only seventy-one men, including Juan Guerra. This is the number given in the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento." See *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 198. However, two men arrived on September 4, and they were allowed to enroll with the others, thus bringing the number up to seventy-three.

500. See above.

501. Transactions of August 29 to September 5, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*.

The lists were closed, and the San Bartolomé valley was left to relapse into its former humdrum existence.

Oñate's Activity in the Interim. On Christmas eve, 1600, the relief expedition reached Oñate's camp at San Gabriel, where it was received with great rejoicing. The new band of Franciscans, of which Father Fray Juan de Escalona was apostolic-commissary, accompanied it.⁵⁰² The names of these missionaries have not been preserved.

Two years had now passed since the death of Juan de Zaldivar and his companions at Ácoma. What had the governor done in the long interval? As we have seen, Villagrà had soon been sent to Mexico for reinforcements. Without these it was impossible to undertake any extensive exploration or conquest due to the weakness of his force. But aside from that we know very little of what transpired in those long months of waiting. It is reported, for instance, by two Indians who fled from New Mexico June 29, 1600, that the governor and all the people were *muy buena*, and that the natives were peaceful, many of whom had already accepted Christianity. They also related how on St. John's day⁵⁰³ a celebration was held in honor of a great discovery of mines.⁵⁰⁴ This story is substantiated by two other sources which state that silver veins had been discovered at San Marcos and elsewhere.⁵⁰⁵ This indicates that Oñate was not entirely idle, but major operations, on the whole, had to be postponed.

Zaldivar's Expedition Toward the South Sea 1599. Nevertheless one extensive expedition toward the South Sea

502. Testimony of Fray Lope Izquierdo, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*; and *Relación verdadera sacada de las cartas, testimonios y recaudas que Don Juan de Oñate . . . envia con carta de veinte y dos de marzo desde año de mil seiscientos uno á sus hermanos y deudos*. MS in Bolton collection.

503. May 6.

504. *Traslado de un capitulo de carta de Luis Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

505. Testimony of Brondate and Herrera Orta, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*. San Marcos was six leagues from San Gabriel, according to these witnesses. It was near Callaite. Bandelier, *Final Report*, II, 93.

was attempted before the coming of the relief force. No diary or other full account of such an exploration has yet been found, but we have other testimony which indicates something of what happened. Ever since Farfán's expedition into the present Arizona in December, 1598, reports of the sea were current in New Mexico. About the middle of the following year⁵⁰⁶ Vicente de Zaldívar was sent with a party of twenty-five or thirty men to verify these rumors. On the way he passed near the province of the Jumanos,⁵⁰⁷ where he tried to secure some provisions. But instead of giving food the natives brought him stones. Such impudence could not go unpunished, and preparations were made to correct it.

With a force of fifty men Oñate went to the Jumano country, both to demand tribute and to punish those who had failed to respond to Zaldívar's request. When he asked for *mantas*, about a dozen were provided. The Jumanos claimed no more could be spared. Then Oñate proceeded to punish the disobedient. A part of the pueblo was burned "so tactfully and gently . . . that the fire would cause no unnecessary damage beyond that which was intended," half a dozen natives were killed by a volley from the muskets, and two of the most belligerent Jumanos were hanged. On top of this it was discovered that the interpreter was not rendering a faithful account of what was told him so he also was hanged.⁵⁰⁸ With this chastisement the Jumanos were allowed to escape on that occasion.

Meanwhile Zaldívar passed on toward the South Sea.

506. *Relación verdadera*; Luís Nuñez Pérez in a letter to the king reported that Zaldívar had gone to explore the South Sea. *Traslado de un capítulo de carta de Luís Nuñez Pérez*, November 30, 1600.

507. Expeditions going westward by way of Ácoma and Zuñi from San Juan went south to Isleta to go through the pass. Vetancourt, *Crónica*, IV, 99. Moreover we know that in Oñate's time there were some Jumano villages near the salines, east of the Rio Grande. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 636. It must have been here that provisions were sought by Zaldívar and Oñate.

508. Such is the story as gleaned from the *Relación verdadera*, and the testimony of Herrera Orta, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*. Captain Velasco also tells of a pueblo which refused to give supplies. He says that Oñate killed the Indian who gave the answer of refusal and then burned part of the village. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

For about three months the party wandered on in a futile attempt to reach the coast, going one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues in their wanderings. Numerous Indian settlements were visited, but there were no pueblos, nothing but rancherías. Like Espejo he found some Indians who had crosses and who used them like Catholics.⁵⁰⁹ But he finally had to return because of the mountainous country and hostile Indians at a point only three days' march from the sea, according to the information gathered.⁵¹⁰

After this unsuccessful expedition no further attempts were made in that direction for some years. Not enough men could be spared for the march. After the coming of the reinforcements, however, Oñate prepared to carry it out. The plans were made, men, munitions, and carts outfitted, and the start set for April, 1601.⁵¹¹ For some reason which is not known Oñate changed his mind after having held an assembly of the entire army, and went east instead. Perhaps Jusepe's glowing accounts of the country to the east seemed to offer better prospects than the discovery of the South Sea, which Zaldívar had already attempted.

Foraging Excursions. While Oñate thus had big plans which, if successful, would have swept away all petty opposition, it was also necessary to care for the daily needs of starving colonists. If enormous wealth should be discovered some oppression of the Indians would naturally be overlooked, but failing in that, severe criticism was certain to be heaped upon him, and that is practically what happened. In the early days of the conquest food was obtained when the frightened Indians fled from their pue-

509. *Relación verdadera*; testimony of Captain Espinosa, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*; cf. the account of Espejo's expedition in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 187.

510. *Relación verdadera*; see also "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," ed. by Bolton, in *Catholic Historical Review*, V, 21; and "Breve Relación," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 49, 60.

511. *Relación verdadera*.

blos, giving the Spaniards a free chance to take all the maize desired.⁵¹² Getting provisions in that way became more and more difficult, however, because of the hostility aroused. Soon the hidalgos had to raise wheat and other products, which they did, but clearly only in small quantities, as starvation seemed to be ever a near visitor. To keep the wolf away from the door periodic foraging excursions were therefore undertaken, compelling the Indians to furnish maize and other food which they had stored up for their own use. The clamor and opposition of the natives on such occasions was extremely violent,⁵¹³ but even the missionaries admitted that it was necessary. The Indians might be dying of starvation, but the Spaniards had to live.⁵¹⁴

Murder of Aguilar and Sosa. As sustained prospecting failed to disclose riches in New Mexico the discontent of the soldiers and colonists steadily increased. Poverty, starvation, and rags, without compensation of any kind, shook their confidence in the province and in their leader, and the number of those who wanted to go back grew proportionally. This was fatal to Oñate's hopes and could not be tolerated for a moment. For that reason dissatisfaction rose with every new act of repression. Immediately after the colonists reached New Mexico outbreaks had occurred among them. On one of these occasions Villagr   headed a party which captured and hanged two deserters.⁵¹⁵ Equally severe penalties were inflicted on some others, as when Captain Pablo de Aguilar was dastardly killed, and

512. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco    S. M.*, March 22, 1601; "Ytinerario," in *Col. Doc. In  d.*, XVI. 250, 252.

513. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco    S. M.*, March 22, 1601. It is stated that by the early part of 1601 the Spaniards had secured as tribute two thousand *mantas* and five hundred tanned buckskins. As to the quantity of maize and beans received the amounts differ, one placing it at five or six thousand and another at two thousand *fanegas*. (The *fanega* measures one and six tenths bushels). Testimony of Brondate and Espinosa, in *Copia de un informaci  n que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*.

514. Testimony of Fray Francisco de San Miguel, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo M  xico*.

515. See chapter VI of this study.

at Oñate's instigation according to Captain Velasco. The reasons for this brutal deed are obscure,⁵¹⁶ but such action, coupled with the disappointment over the sterility of the land, made the governor an unpopular man.

A similar thing happened when Captain Alonso de Sosa Albornoze asked leave to return to New Spain with his family. He was already ruined in fortune, he stated, and was now unable to support his family. Seemingly his request was granted.⁵¹⁷ Then an order was issued by the governor requiring all captains and soldiers to round up the horses at a certain time. Captain Sosa accompanied the others, but was attacked and killed by a squad of soldiers headed by Zaldívar, and his body covered so that it should not be found. This group of men had been concealed in a ravine about two leagues from San Gabriel. It was drastic action on the part of the governor if the story is true, but it probably accomplished the purpose intended, as no further requests for going to New Spain were heard. However it left the capital apprehensive and suspicious. As Captain Velasco says all were downcast and went about expecting death at any moment. The colonists could not comprehend how the desire to return to Mexico in order

516. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601, Oñate had experienced difficulty with Captain Aguilar several times. It was he who entered the first pueblos against express orders. He was one of the forty-five who planned to desert just after the establishment of the capital. On both occasions he had been saved by the entreaties of the colony. There is no explanation of what he had done to warrant the attack described by Velasco, but he was apparently an insubordinate character who had to be put out of the way. Velasco's story of his death is as follows. One day the governor sent for Aguilar, greeted him cheerfully, and asked him to enter a certain room, where he had already posted a negro and an Indian armed with butcher knives, and other servants armed with short swords. On entering the place "and in the presence of myself and many others who were there they seized his arms. The said governor gave him a push, causing him to stumble, and there they stabbed him. The governor himself ran a sword through his body, although the poor man cried out, saying he was married and asking confession as he was a sinner."

517. Oñate promised Sosa that within eight days he would be given permission to return with all his relatives. In that interval an *auto* was issued that he should be prepared to leave whenever it was ordered. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. Though Velasco is our only authority for these events, there is clearly some foundation for them as Oñate was convicted of these charges. *Testimonio de las sentencias*, 1614, A. G. I., 58-3-17.

to register their complaints with the viceroy could be called treason and punishable by death.⁵¹⁸

It seems thus that Oñate was becoming willful and headstrong. Perhaps that was necessary to control his turbulent followers. For example, when the auditor-general, the licentiate Gines de Herrera Orta, who had come with the relief expedition in 1600,⁵¹⁹ arrived in San Gabriel, he was not allowed to exercise the duties of his office. Nor was this all. It was said that Oñate permitted his nephew to call him "majesty" in the presence of the religious and others. "If some of these things could only come to the attention of the viceroy of New Spain," wrote Velasco, "he would be moved by compassion and grief to redeem our oppression." Velasco sent that letter secretly and at great personal danger,⁵²⁰ and though it bore no immediate result it was of significance in Oñate's trial.

The Expedition to Quivira. The settlement at San Gabriel was thus teeming with discontent long before the expedition to the east was undertaken. But though Oñate probably realized the dissatisfaction among his settlers he went on with the preparations to visit Quivira, hoping that there would be found the wealth which New Mexico had thus far failed to produce. Reports of a great province to the east had been given by the Indians, and particularly by Jusepe, the Indian who had been with Humaña. Oñate was determined to investigate.

Between seventy and a hundred men⁵²¹ and a large baggage train made up the expedition which began its

518. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

519. *El licenciado Gines de Herrera Orta*, September 3, 1600, in *Gordejuela visita*. He soon returned to New Spain.

520. *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601. The letter was sent when Oñate and Father Martínez sent Joseph de Coronda and Fray Luis Maíronos to Mexico with reports.

521. The "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," says seventy. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 251; the "Breve Relación" eighty. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 198; the "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento" one hundred. *Ibid.*, XVI, 221; while ninety-four is the figure given in *Información y papeles que envió la gente que allá quedó haciendo cargos á la que así venía*. San Gabriel, October 2, 1601, A. G. I., 53-3-15.

long journey on June 23, 1601. Gathering his men at Galisteo four days later Oñate led them eastward through the Galisteo Pass to the Pecos.⁵²² They continued in an easterly direction to the Magdalena river, the Canadian, "which was reached just below the sharp turn to the east." The country was described as pleasant and fruitful. Following the river for some distance a rough region was passed before they approached the plains again. From that time on the country was level and greater progress was made. Although it was the region frequented by the Apaches no trouble of any kind was experienced. The other hardships incident to the journey were alleviated by fish from the river and by fruit from the plum trees and grapes vines growing along its banks. In the early days of August the first buffalo were spied and some killed. But about that time the fertile valley of the Canadian gave place to sand dunes. Then the expedition turned toward the north, just east of the Antelope Hills.⁵²³

The route followed now led northward to Beaver Creek and the Cimmaron river, which were followed for a time. Soon a huge ranchería was found, said to contain over five thousand inhabitants. The houses of these Indians were merely tents made from buffalo hides, and their villages temporary structures. They were roving Indians who followed the buffalo which furnished them with both food and clothing. They told the Spaniards of another nation eight leagues away. With these they were at war, so they accompanied Oñate who would vanquish their enemies. But their action was no doubt partly due to the fact that Humaña had been killed in the vicinity and they wished to throw the responsibility on their foes.⁵²⁴

Acting as guides they now led the expedition to a large eastward flowing river, apparently the Arkansas, where

522. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," *op. cit.*, 251-252. Professor Bolton has carefully identified Oñate's route toward the east, and his conclusions are followed in this summary.

523. *Ibid.*, 254-255.

524. *Ibid.*, 256-257.

they quickly built their ranchería anew, much to the astonishment of the visitors. There they were content to remain while Oñate proceeded to visit their foes.⁵²⁵ The following day about four leagues distant the Spaniards saw other natives, some hostile and some friendly. Precautions were taken against a surprise attack during the night, but it passed without incident. In the morning, however, the hostile tribe was awaiting a chance to attack, boasting that they had murdered Humaña's party and burned them all. In order to avoid a conflict Oñate tried to capture their chief and succeeded in doing so.⁵²⁶ Continuing forward a short distance another settlement, said to contain 1,200 houses, was discovered. The "houses" were covered with dry grass on the outside and within contained elevated platforms which were used as beds.⁵²⁷ The settlement was deserted, and the Indians accompanying Oñate wanted to pillage and burn it. This he prevented, however, and ordered them back to their ranchería.⁵²⁸

In order to learn something of the country in which he was sojourning and what lay beyond the governor questioned the captive chief closely. The information was not at all pleasing. Numerous settlements, it would appear, existed both toward the north and east, but the prisoner advised the Spaniards not to go forward. The Indians who had withdrawn from the Spanish camp were assembling their friends, according to the captive, and would soon be so numerous that it would be possible to wipe out the small foreign force. In spite of such information Oñate continued a few leagues more, and then decided to return after his men had presented a petition summarizing the reasons

525. *Ibid.*, 258.

526. *Ibid.*, 259-260. According to Zárate-Salmerón, as Bolton points out, the Indians rescued him in a feint attack, carrying him away irons and all. *Spanish Exploration*, 260 note 1.

527. The description fits the Wichita grass lodges; see "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," in *Ibid.*, 260 and note 4; and Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 949.

528. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," *op. cit.*, 260 261 note 1.

why that should be done. As the report of the journey read, "that his Majesty . . . right issue the orders necessary to the royal service and to the acceleration of the salvation of these souls." From New Mexico the soldiers had now traveled two hundred and twenty leagues and reached the vicinity of Wichita, Kansas.⁵²⁹

On the return journey Oñate learned that the Quiviras, the first settlement found in that region, were prepared for war, and though he attempted to avoid a clash the Indians were evidently determined not to let him escape. In the course of the battle which followed most of the Spaniards were wounded, and finally a retreat was ordered. The soldiers were compelled to give up all the prisoners taken with one exception. One man, Miguel, was retained in order that a link might be established to communicate with his nation in case of future expeditions into that country. Without further mishap the force then set out for San Gabriel, reaching it on November 24, 1601, after an absence of exactly five months.⁵³⁰

529. *Ibid.*, 262-263, 260 note 2.

530. *Ibid.*, 264-265.