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DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE  
PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

Part II—1542 to 1581

BY ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

For thirty-eight years after Coronado's expedition had left the banks of the Rio Grande, the history of its Pueblo Indians is virtually a blank, as far as documentary information is concerned; with the exception of the residence among the Tiguas (perhaps) and certainly among the Pecos, of the monk or monks, of whom I have treated at the end of the first part. The stay of these missionaries or (missionary) in New Mexico, however, probably did not last long. While there are no positive data at hand, contemporaneous authorities seem to have been convinced that speedy death, at the hands of the natives, cut short their (or his) labors. The year 1542 may already have been the last of their earthly career, as seems to have been the case at Quivira with Fray Juan de Padilla, of whose martyrdom there exist the reports of eyewitnesses.<sup>1</sup>

It may be looked upon as superfluous to treat of a period during which no evidence of direct contact with the Pueblos is, so far, known to exist. It will be seen further on, that *indirect* information, especially on the Rio Grande Indians, turned up in the course of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century, information that throws a scanty light also on times somewhat anterior. While, therefore, this part cannot offer more than incidental hints on the Indians themselves, it covers much material for the history of Spanish colonization. That colonization, going on south of the Rio Grande Pueblo range, stands in relation to subsequent

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1. This is asserted by Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, p. 317; Castañada, *Cíbola*, p. 457. The witnesses were the Portugese and some Indians, also a negro or mulatto.

occurrences that proved decisive for the fate of the sedentary aborigines of New Mexico in general; hence, it is proper to consider it, if only in a cursory manner. The four decades included in this part of my investigations, were a period of *preparation* for what afterwards happened to the Pueblos, and as such, the brief glance to be cast at them will not be useless.

Notwithstanding the egregious failure of Coronado's enterprise and the resulting discredit of New Mexico as a colonizable region, there are indications that, during the term of administration of Mendoza's successor, Don Luís de Velasco,<sup>2</sup> renewed attempts in the direction of the North American Southwest were under consideration in Spain and Mexico. Juan Jaramillo states at the close of his Report: "And, having given information of this, (a shorter route by the Atlantic slope) to Gonzalo Solis de Meras and Isidoro de Meras, since it appeared to me important for what I am told and have understood, that His Majesty ordered Your Lordship to ascertain and discover some road (way) for connecting that country with this (New Spain, while the

2. This is asserted, by Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 207. Referring to the appointment of the first *alcalde mayor* for the mines of San Martín in New Galicia in 1562, he adds: "Poco despues D. Francisco de Ibarra, en virtud de comisión del señor virey D. Luis de Velasco, salió en busca de la gran laguna de Copalá, y en la instrucción que se le dió, se le dice que entre Poniente y Norte, estaba la provincia de Tzibola, que anduvo Francisco Vazquez Coronado, que no pasase ni al Sur, ni costas del mar. Mandósele que luego entrase solo a las tierras que habia entre Oriente y Norte; estas son las tierras que el indio turco le dijo a Francisco Vazquez Coronado . . ." This statement by Mota Padilla strikes me as perhaps doubtful, for reasons hereafter given. Yet there are two documents, referring to a "second expedition" of Ybarra. The first is dated May 3d, 1563; and by Francisco de Ybarra himself. It is directed to the Viceroy D. Luís de Velasco and distinctly says: "A esta hora acavo de llegar de un descubrimiento que fui a hacer"—*Relacion de lo que descubrió Diego de Ibarra en la provincia de Copalá, llamada Topiame: describiendo muy por menor, su viaje y Descubrimiento etc.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 14, p. 559.) The second is the letter from Diego de Ibarra to the viceroy, May 9th, 1563, (*ibid.*, pp. 555-561) including the above mentioned document by Francisco de Ybarra and interesting for its mention of the name of "Nuevo Mexico." Finally there is a letter by the viceroy to the Emperor, dated May 26th, 1563. This refers to a second expedition by Ybarra, though not in search of the Northeast. The name New Mexico distinctly applies to the region of Topia or Topiame, and has nothing to do with the territory occupied, in part, by the Pueblos.

other is Quivira) . . . ”<sup>3</sup> The royal decree here mentioned I have not yet been able to obtain. Had it been susceptible of execution at the time it would probably have led into the Rio Grande valley again. The royal command hinted at by Jaramillo must have been given to Velasco in or after the year 1550. There was considerable trouble in northern Mexico (generally speaking) about the year 1554,<sup>4</sup> but it does not appear to have furnished occasion for executing the orders to explore further in the direction of New Mexico.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems that Velasco made at least an attempt, at the fulfillment of the imperial (and royal) orders. In 1552, Francisco de Ybarra, governor of the then recently created province of New Biscay, received orders from Velasco to explore the northern country, not to the northwest whither Coronado had gone, but to the northeast. Instead of following this route, Ybarra was, by the season and the Indians, turned off to the west and had to terminate his expedition in Sinaloa.<sup>6</sup> The Pacific coast route was not considered any more since the failure of Coronado; in fact, it was not New Mexico but Kansas and Nebraska of today that were the goal to be reached. But the discoveries of rich silver deposits in northern Mexico attracted the attention of

3. *Relación hecha*, p. 317.

4. Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de Mexico*, p. 110; Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general*, Dec. VIII, Lib. X. cap. XXI and XXII, pp. 244, 245 and 246.

5. *Relación de los Descubrimientos Conquistas y Poblaciones hechas por el Gobernador Francisco de ybarra en las Provincias de Copalá, Nueva Vizcaya y Chiatmela* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 14, p. 468): “usando de una cedula de Su Magestad que para ello el dicho Visorrey tenia, proveyeron al dicho Francisco de Ybarra, por gobernador de toda la tierra adentro de las dichas minas de San Martín en adelante, para que entrase con la gente que pareciese a descubrir tierras nuevas y poblaciones de indios. . . .” The document states also, that Ybarra was appointed governor in 1542, which strikes me as doubtful. It is more likely 1552. In the title, the document from which I quote is made to bear the date of 1554 and the departure of Ybarra on his expedition is fixed in the same year: “salió el dicho gobernador de las minas de los Zacatecas, el año de mil y quinientos y cincuenta y cuatro, para entrar la tierra adentro.” There is no connection, at least apparently, between the royal decree mentioned and the uprising of the Indians in the same year.

6. See note above. Also Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y Descripción universal de las Indias* (1571 to 1574, published in 1894), p. 269 *et sequens*: *Relación de los Descubrimientos Conquistas y Poblaciones . . . por el Gobernador Francisco de Ybarra*, pp. 463 to 484.

explorers and caused the settlement of those regions, somewhat to the detriment of adventurous attempts to penetrate—*plus ultra*. Individual prospecting continued, of course, and eventually led to enterprises which drew the Rio Grande region again into the domain of documentary history.<sup>7</sup>

Not only had the route along the Pacific coast become unpopular through Coronado's failure, there also lay a serious obstacle in its path. That obstacle was the two powerful and warlike tribes of the Mayo and Yaqui Indians. Even the latter, although located in southern Sonora, had been grazed, at least, by Nuño de Guzmán.<sup>8</sup> Coronado seems prudently to have avoided contact with them.<sup>9</sup> The Yaquis were brought to terms much later, through the persistent efforts of Martín de Hurdaide.<sup>10</sup> Both of these tribes, but chiefly the Yaquis, were too powerful for small exploring parties. Hence progress of the Spaniards became temporarily de-

7. There is considerable resemblance between modern prospecting in the Southwest (and everywhere) and the numerous individual efforts made, especially in the sixteenth century, to discover mines. The official documents contain occasional references to modest personal efforts of the kind, and to the sometimes important results. As an example, I refer to the testimony or testimonies given in the inquiry into the motives for the dash by Francisco Chamuscado in 1581, which I shall mention further on.

8. Nuño de Guzmán reached the Mayo and Yaqui rivers which, in the documents of the time, are also called "Mayomo" and "Yaquimi" in the summer of the year 1533. *Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Nuño de Guzmán y los Adelantados Soto y Alvarado, sobre el descubrimiento de la Tierra nueva*, 1540-1541. (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15, p. 329 and 333.) The report is made by Diego de Guzmán. *Relación de lo que yo Diego de Guzmán he descubierto en la costa de la mar del Sur, Por Su Magestad y por el ilustre señor Nuño de Guzmán, Gobernador de la Nueva Galicia*. (*Idem*, p. 325.) According to the *Segunda Relación anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzmán* (no date, but certainly by an eyewitness, *Doc. para la Historia de Mexico*, Ycazbalceta, vol. II, p. 304 and 305.) it would have been in 1530. Herrera, *Historia general* (*Doc. V, Lib. I, p. 16, etc.*) places it in 1532. All agree upon the warlike and hostile attitude of the Yaqui Indians.

9. Coronado, *Letter to Mendoza* (p. 553) merely alludes to the river "Lachimi." Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, (p. 305) "Yaquemi." No mention is made of a contact with the natives. Castáneda, *Cíbola*, p. 424: "el general y su gente atrabesaron la tierra sin contraste."

10. P. Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los Triumphos de nuestra Santa Fe entre Gentes las mas Bárbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe; conseguidos por los Soldados de la Milicia de la Compañía de Jesús en las Misiones de la Prouincia de Nueva España*, (Madrid, 1645) devotes much attention to the indeed remarkable deeds of this most energetic man during his reduction of the Yaquis. I refer to it without quoting, as it would be too long.

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flected to the east, into Zacatecas, Durango and, finally, southern Chihuahua.<sup>11</sup> What lay north of the region about Parral was not very enticing. Towards the New Mexican frontier of today the country was little else than a desert, where the absence of water presented a serious impediment and where the Indian tribes were either weak in numbers or hostile, a part of the Conchos excepted.<sup>12</sup> So colonization, rather than conquest began to predominate. Cities like Zacatecas and Durango sprang up<sup>13</sup> which became, in course of time, centers of activity and wealth, and thus relieved the mother country, as well as central Mexico, of the onerous duty of originating and supporting costly explorations, the outcome of which, necessarily, was always doubtful.

Until 1580 knowledge about the North American Southwest remained exceedingly imperfect. The sixteen fac-simile maps so judiciously published by Mr. Winship in his work on Coronado, maps drawn between the years 1542 and 1608,<sup>14</sup> show how little real progress in geographical knowledge was made in regard to the Pueblo country, during the sixty six years which they cover. They are scarcely anything else than a repeat of original misconceptions. Descriptions, written between 1542 and 1580 are, in the first place, not numerous, and they become more brief and incomplete the nearer they approach to the beginning of the ninth decade of the sixteenth century. Gomara, in 1553, is yet reasonably instructive although incorrect statements

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11. Ribas. *Historia de los Triumphos*, lib. IV, cap. I, p. 237: the Mayos had "ocho o diez mil Indios de pelea, y eran como treinta mil personas las que lo poblauan." Of the Hiaquis (Yaquis) he states (lib. V, cap. I, p. 284): "Quando los Hiaquis en su Gentilidad poblauan este rio, era en forma de rancherias tendidas por sus riberas y junto a sus sementeras, y el número destas rancherias sería de ochenta, en que auia treinta mil almas." He adds, p. 285; "La nación Hiaqui era tenuta por las mas valiente, alentada, y belicosa de todas las de la provincia."

12. The Conchos were known at an early date. It is not impossible that Cabeza de Vaca saw them, but his statements are, from the conditions under which he had to travel, exceedingly brief and vague.

13. Zacatecas was founded in 1546; Durango in 1554, about.

14. *Report of Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-1893, part I.

abound;<sup>15</sup> Suárez Peralta only indulges in general deprecations of New Mexico.<sup>16</sup> The "Description of the Archbishopric of Mexico from 1570"<sup>17</sup> is very unsatisfactory, and Juan López de Velasco (1571 and 1574) is little else than an abridgment of Gomara, even lacking the historical details given (often incorrectly) by the latter.<sup>18</sup> All agree, however, upon the poverty and the unsatisfactory climate of New Mexico proper, while they extoll the advantages presented by Quivira.

If the opening of the Southwest had depended exclusively upon the initiative of laymen it is not impossible that it would have been longer delayed. There was no incentive for practical enterprise in the descriptions which eyewitnesses, both in writing and orally, gave of the region. Quivira, which appeared far better, was also far more difficult of access, and could not be thought of at the time. An element, which has always been of primary force in matters of early Spanish exploration and colonization, came, however, into play. This was the *religious* element. The Catholic missionaries, especially the Regulars, had always before them the prospect of conversion as a sacred duty, to which every personal consideration was subordinate. Free from the ties and responsibilities of the family they were obliged to devote themselves unconditionally to what Religion taught them to be for the good of mankind, irrespective of origin and condition, and regardless of hardships or death.<sup>19</sup> The Franciscans had already discovered the Pueblo Indians, some of their number had been the first to suffer martyrdom in that land. *The Franciscans* also were to open the new road to the Rio Grande.

The ecclesiastic organization of New Spain had two

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15. *Historia*, p. 288 etc.

16. *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias etc.*

17. *Descripción del Arzobispado de Mexico* (1570).

18. *Geografía y descripción universal* (1571-1574, published 1894), pp. 278-280.

19. This is, of course, the case everywhere, where regular orders are not prohibited, but I must refer to New Spain in a special manner.

branches. The secular branch was superior insofar as the heads of the church, the archbishop of Mexico and under him the bishops in their respective dioceses, had the right (and duty) of supervision and administration. Like the curates, these functionaries are secular priests, which, however, does not preclude the possibility of the member of any order, a so-called regular, being appointed a prelate. The regulars, (monks and nuns) were autonomous (and are still) as far as their *interior* affairs are concerned, but there is an appeal to the prelates in case a serious matter troubles the state of any fraternity. If desirable or necessary, the pope as "pontifex maximus," supreme head of the church, can be applied to, and his decisions are final; there is no appeal from them.<sup>20</sup> The regular orders cannot establish themselves in any diocese and remain, without permission of the head of that ecclesiastic precinct. At the time we treat of, the church in Mexico was in process of formation so-to-say. There was a slow but persistent expansion going on, that gradually required the establishment of new dioceses. This work of aggrandizement was in the hands of missionaries and these were uniformly regulars that is, monks: "friars," as they are mostly called in common parlance. There were no Jesuits yet established in America; that comparatively modern order appeared in Mexico, with a view to permanence, in 1572.<sup>21</sup>

In a vast country, absolutely virgin, only individual efforts could be made in the beginning. A missionary depending from the convent (house) where he had been established, hence from the provincial authority of that district, had first to obtain permission to leave it in order to undertake a mission. Once that faculty had been obtained, his actions were to be guided by duty and by circumstances, un-

20. See, about the relative position of the pope and councils, the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. IV, pp. 426 and 435. Not even a council could prevail against a papal decision.

21. P. Francisco Florencia, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compania de Jesus de Nueva España*, lib. III, cap. I, p. 101.

less he had received special instructions from his superiors. He was, of course, expected to return and report, but the possibility of death in yet unknown lands, either from natural causes or at the hands of men, were not only taken into account but even looked upon as probable and any personal sacrifice, of health or life, was even regarded as of advantage to the general work. Missionaries enjoyed, for the sake of their exceptional duties and position, sometimes exceptional faculties. The secular clergy, even the highest, meddled but little with their doings.

In the year 1581 there was only one diocese north of Michoacán, in northern Mexico: the bishopric of Guadalajara, founded 1544,<sup>22</sup> and the first candidate for the incumbency presented was a Franciscan, Father Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, one of the first twelve missionaries of New Spain, and who was, in 1538, provincial of the order when Fray Marcos of Nizza was sent to explore the unknown north. He refused, however, the nomination and it was only three years after that a bishop of Guadalajara could be consecrated in the person of Don Pedro Gómez Maraver, a secular priest.<sup>23</sup> According to the report of the ecclesiastic "Cabildo" of Guadalajara to King Philip II, dated 1570, there were in that year, twenty-eight (secular) curacies in the diocese, the most northerly of which was in southern Chihuahua (Indehe).<sup>24</sup> At the same time there were at least sixteen Franciscans in the diocese, the mines of San Martín or rather, the settlement of Nombre de Dios to the north of it, being their farthest permanent residence.<sup>25</sup>

The report says of these stationary friars: "but it seems to us that God would be better served if the said religious men were to live religiously and in regular condition in their convents, and that the monasteries were five

22. Mota Padilla, *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, cap XXXIX, p. 198.

23. *Ibidem*.

24. *Informe al Rey por el Cabildo eclesiástico de Guadalajara* (Doc. para la *Hist. de Mexico*, Ycazbalceta, vol. II, p. 494.)

25. *Idem*, p. 499.

leagues apart, or six, and not that one friar be the sole keeper (guardian) principally if he is young."<sup>26</sup> These stationary monks could not do extensive missionary work, for the compass assigned to their daily activity was in itself very comprehensive. Hence itinerant friars, wandering missionaries, were those who promoted the expansion of christianization. The abodes of the stationary Franciscans or, where there were none, those of secular priests, afforded them a basis of operation. The residences of the former are, in documents, called by the rather pompous name of "monasteries" or "convents" and even today, the people of the country use the latter name for the modest residence of the secular priest. In the sixteenth century, the "convents" in northern Mexico were, if possible, much more modest even than those of today.

The Dominican order impinged but lightly upon the territory which the Franciscans had occupied. The Dominicans, although missionary work was also (and most ably) performed by them in other parts of the Spanish-American possessions, were above all: "Ordi Divini Predicadores." In the second *concile* of the Mexican Dominicans (of the year 1555) it was made the obligation of those who performed the duties of priors at the convents, to keep a special book in which, daily if possible, entries were to be made recording anything that was ascertained about the Indians, their customs, rites and traditions. Few of these manuscripts if any, are still in existence.<sup>27</sup>

The Company of Jesus appeared in New Spain comparatively late, they found most of northern Mexico already

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26. The idea of the Cabildo (see note above) was good, but at the time, of difficult execution. The clergy was not numerous enough in New Spain, the settlements were at a long distance from each other, and the Spanish settlers comparatively few. Santa Barbara, for instance, was forty leagues north of San Martín. In the mines of that name and those of Ranchos, Chalchuites, Sombrerete and Las Nieves, there were, in 1570, altogether 150 Spaniards and at Santa Barbara and Indehe together not more than thirty. *Informe*, pp. 494 and 499.

27. I have been unable, whenever I was in Mexico, to learn of the existence of any.

controlled by the Franciscans, and turned their attention to the regions bordering upon the Pacific Ocean.

The crown of Spain was very solicitous of securing as much reliable information as possible on its domain and the inhabitants thereof, to have it properly recorded and preserved,—hence the office of royal chronicler or cosmographer. Juan López de Velasco held that position from 1571 to the year 1581,<sup>28</sup> and the meagre information on the Mexican North imparted by him is significant. But, while thus positive knowledge made very little progress officially, in regard to that region, the crown prepared constantly for exploration as well as for colonization.

Descriptions of New Spain for official purposes were made, by superior orders, as early as 1532<sup>29</sup> and continued to be collected, whether general or local, during the sixteenth century. The desire to become thus reliably informed led to the splendid royal ordinances of 1571 and 1572, in which the duties of the royal cosmographer are minutely defined, and especially the methods of discovery and occupancy of unexplored or unoccupied lands are prescribed.<sup>30</sup> These highly important dispositions were followed, in 1577, by a royal “Decree, Instruction and Memorial”<sup>31</sup> for the “Formation of Descriptions of the Indian settlements.” From the introductory ordinance of 1573 it would seem that any and every personal initiative for exploration is cut off: “No person, of whatever rank or condition he may be, shall, by his own authority, make new discoveries by land or by sea . . . without license and faculty from us or from whoever is

28. See *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, vol. I, *Antecedentes*, p. LXXI and LXXIV.

29. *Idem*, p. XXXIV. The “description” was made by order of Bishop Ramirez de Fuenleal.

30. *Relaciones geográficas*, *Antecedentes*, p. 83. The date of the first is September 24th, 1571. The second and, for my purpose, the more important is published in *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16. I shall have to refer to it frequently hereafter. The title of the first is: *Código de Leyes y ordenanzas nuevamente hechas por su Magestad para la Governación de las Yndias y buen Tratamiento y conseruación de los Yndios etc.* (*Doc de Indias*, vol. 16 also.)

31. *Relaciones*, *Antecedentes*, p. 22, etc.

empowered by us to give it, under pain of death and the loss of all his property for the benefit of our Treasury."<sup>32</sup>

In view of the enormous distances that sometimes separated the confines of frontier settlements from the administrative centres, this clause may appear practically prohibitory, but the objection is removed in the fourth clause: "From the settlement established on the confines (frontier) by way of commerce and barter, there shall penetrate Indian vassals, acquainted with the language, to discover the country, also Spaniards and ecclesiastics, with presents and objects for exchange, and peaceably. They shall endeavor to know and understand everything, the substance and qualities of the country, of the nations of people inhabiting it and the chiefs governing them; and of this they will inform and make note, always sending reports of it to the governor, for transmission to the council." This left a loophole for personal enterprise.<sup>33</sup>

I quote these clauses purposely. They apply especially to the case of the subsequent rediscovery of New Mexico in 1581, which might have been delayed considerably but for the reserve in favor of individual exploration. Later on, when the expeditions of Humaña and Castaño will have to be treated, it will be seen how strictly the first clause was observed by the superior authorities. By these royal dispositions, the Pueblos were, therefore, always exposed, to a *reconnaissance at least*. A conquest, however, might become

32. *Ordenanzas de Su Magestad para los nuevos Descubrimientos Conquistas y Pacificaciones*. July 13th, 1573, in vol. 16 of *Doc. de Indias*, p. 143: "Ninguna persona de cualquier estado y condición que sea, haga por su propia autoridad nuevo descubrimiento por mar ni por tierra, ni entrada, nueva población, ni rancheria en lo que estobiere descubierto, o se descubriere, sin licencia y provisión Nuestra o de quien tobiere nuestro poder para la dar, so pena de muerte y de perdimiento de todas sus bienes para nuestra Camara, etc. etc."

33. *Ibidem*, p. 144: "Desde el pueblo que estobiere poblado en los confines por via de comercio y rescate, entren indios vasallos, lenguas, a descubrir la tierra y religiosos y españoles, con rescate y con dadas, y de paz; procurando saber y entender el sujeto, substancia y calidades de la tierra y las naciones de gentes que las habitan, y los señores que las gobiernan; y hagan discreción de todo lo que se pudiese saber y entender, y vayan imbiando siempre relación al Gobernador, para que la imbie al Consejo."

indefinitely postponed, as it was for the supreme authority or its highest representatives to decide whether it would be advisable to attempt it. The term "conquest" was even officially abrogated. "The discoveries shall not bear the name and title of conquests since, as they shall be made with all the peacefulness and charity we desire, we do not want the name to give occasion or pretext for violence and damage to the Indians."<sup>34</sup> The following clauses deserve particular attention: "The discoverers, by land and sea, shall not engage in war nor in any conquest, nor assist any Indians against others, nor enter into questions nor contests with those of the country, for any cause or reason, nor do them any damage, or take any of their belongings against their will, only by barter and with the (owners') free consent."<sup>35</sup>

"Having made the discovery or voyage, the discoverers shall come back, to render account to the audiencias and governors by whom they were sent out."<sup>36</sup>

"If they should see that the people are domesticated and that some ecclesiastic can remain among them with security, and there should be one willing to remain in order to teach them and put them in good polity, he may be left there, promising to come back for him in a year, or before if possible."<sup>37</sup> After determining the conditions of the country and of the settlers it is further disposed: "The region, province, district, and land determined upon by expert explor-

34. *Ordenanzas de Su Magestad*, p. 152: "Los descubrimientos no se den con títulos y nombre de conquista, pues habiéndose de hacer con tanta paz y caridad como deseamos, no queremos quel nombre, de ocasión ni color para que se pueda hacer fuerza ni agravio a los indios."

35. *Ibidem*, p. 149: "Los descubridores por mar o tierra no se empachen en guerra ni conquista en ninguna manera, ni ayudar a unos indios contra otros, ni se revuelvan en quistiones ni contiendas con los de la tierra, por ninguna causa ni razon que sea, ni les hagan daño ni mal alguno, ni les tomen contra su voluntad cosa suya si no fuere por rescate, dándosela ellos de su voluntad."

36. *Ibidem*: "Habiendo hecho el descubrimiento o viage, los descubridores vuelvan a dar cuenta a las Audiencias y Gobernadores que los hobieren despachado."

37. *Ibidem*, p. 148: "Si vieran que la gente es doméstica y que con seguridad puede quedar algun religioso entrellos, y hobiere alguno que huelgue de quedar para los doctrinar y Ponner en buena pulicia, lo dejen, prometiéndole de volver por el, dentro de un año y antes, si antes pódieren."

ers, when the sites for establishing settlements, capital and minor places, shall be selected without prejudice to the Indians, being vacant, and with the free will of the natives."<sup>38</sup>

"As workingmen and artesans, Indians may go to a new settlement of their own free will, provided they are not themselves settled and have houses and lands, in order the country may not become depopulated, nor shall Indians from repartimientos go, that the holder of that trust be not injured, except, if in some repartimiento there should be Indians without work and such Indians might wish to go, they may do so with the consent of the owner of the trust."<sup>39</sup>

✓ The instructions imparted for the "pacifications" (the term then newly applied to what was previously called "conquests") are not less interesting, but to transcribe them in full would be too long. Every possible precaution is taken, in the Ordinances, to prohibit discoverers and settlers (especially the latter) from doing prejudice to the Indians in any form and from provoking them to hostility. To prevent conflict contact of the whites with the natives is limited to what is the most necessary,<sup>40</sup> and where: "the teachers of the Evangel are sufficient to pacify the Indians, convert them and render them peaceable; it shall not be permitted to persons who might impede their conversion and pacification to enter."<sup>41</sup>

38. *Ibidem*, p. 154: "Elexida la Region, Provincia, Comarcana y Tierra por los descubridores espertos, elixanse los sitios para fundar los pueblos cabaceras y subgetos, sin perjuicio de los indios, por no los tener ocupados, o por quellos lo consientan de su voluntad."

39. *Ibidem*, p. 158: "Para labradores y oficiales de nueva poblacion. puedan ir indios de su voluntad con que no sean de los que estan poblados y tienen casa y tierras por que no se despuebla lo poblado; ni indios de repartimiento, porque no se haga agravio al encomendero, eceto sea de los que sobconsentimiento del encomendero." I have used the term "trust" for *repartimiento*. The Indians of these conditional grants were not slaves. They were in fact "entrusted" (encomendados) to the party to whom the land had been granted.

40. *Ibidem*, p. 152, 180, 181, 182 etc.

41. *Ibidem*, p. 186: "En las partes que bastaren los predicadores del Evangelio para pacificar los indios y convertirlos y traerlos de paz, no se consienta que entran otras personas que puedan estorvar la conversión y pacificación."

A tribute, "of the products of the land in moderate quantity" is imposed but: "If, for the easier pacification of the natives, it is necessary to concede them immunity from tribute for some time, it shall be done, and other exemptions and privileges given to them, and what is promised them, shall be complied with."<sup>42</sup>

These and analogous stipulations contained in the Ordinances, constituted the basis on which the rediscovery of New Mexico and subsequent incorporation of the Pueblo Indians in the Spanish domain were ultimately accomplished. Further reference to the text of these royal ordinances from July 13th, 1573, will become necessary. They applied to Spanish America in general—were to be carried out everywhere. Their tenor had already been foreshadowed in 1571. In all these royal dispositions special stress is also placed on the urgency of numerous and careful descriptions (and maps) of the Spanish-American dominions. Of the maps, little if anything is known beyond a few local ones.<sup>43</sup> Concerning northern Mexico and the regions beyond there are, as already stated, very meagre and unsatisfactory descriptions. López de Velasco and the "Sumario de las Yndias tocante a la Geografía" (brought to light in 1580)<sup>44</sup> are a good example of the dearth of information concerning them. In the "Sumario" a reason is assigned for this disregard for the northern countries, and a quite characteristic one: "The provinces of Cíbola and Quivira are the last ones

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42. *Ibidem*: "Si para que mejor se pacifiquen los naturales, fuere menester concederles inmünidad de que no paguen tributos por alguno tiempo, se les conceda, y otros privilegios y exenciones; y lo que se les prometiere, se les cumpla."

43. *Relaciones geográficas, Antecedentes*. It is to the late distinguished, most erudite, and highly practical Spanish scholar, Marcos Jimenez de la Espada that I owe many if not most of these details, but he also complains that comparatively few maps from that time were to be found.

44. *Relaciones, Antecedentes* XCIV. Señor de la Espada identifies a book in manuscript, of the title given in the text, with an anonymous document "*Demarcación y División de las Indias*" published in vol. 15 of the *Documentos de Indias*, pp. 409 to 539, and the text from the latter quoted in the note that follows shows, that the manuscript certainly belongs to the period between the years 1542 to 1581, of which I treat.

(1) that have been reached from the Kingdom of Galicia. Cibola, thirty leagues from Culiacán towards the North and Quivira two hundred from Cíbola to the east. Although of this there is little certainty, nor about the qualities of the country, except, that it is cold for being in a high latitude, and therefore poor."<sup>45</sup> This impression, due to the reports on Coronado's expedition, prevails in every document of the time.

In fact details of any kind relative to that expedition seem to have been very imperfectly known, where known at all. Reference to it is, however, found in the papers concerning the offer made, in 1584,<sup>46</sup> by Francisco Díaz de Vargas, to explore and settle New Mexico, but not a word is breathed by Juan Bautista Lomas de Colmenares in 1589.<sup>47</sup> The documents touching the agreement with Juan de Oñate allude briefly to Cíbola, Quivira and, in one place, to Tiguex, placing the beginning of Coronado's expedition in the year 1538.<sup>48</sup> Oñate's companion, the captain Gaspar Pérez de Villagrán (1610) refers to Coronado with more so-called poetry than information,<sup>49</sup> and in 1619 the "royal historiographer" Luís de Cabrera of Córdoba gravely informs us, that in 1544

45. *Demarcación y División de las Indias*, p. 461. See preceding note.

46. The title to this collection of documents is misplaced in Volume 15 of the "*Documentos de Indias*. It should be on page 126 instead of on page 151. It reads: *Expediente sobre el ofrecimiento que hace Francisco Díaz de Vargas, de ir al Nuevo Mexico, y refiere la Historia de este Documento*. After page 150 there is no more allusion to Vargas, only to Espejo, his explorations and proposals for settlement of New Mexico. The references to Coronado are found on pp. 128, 131, 138, 144 and 145. Quivira is named "Cuybira" and the Piros villages near San Marcial on the Rio Grande are identified with Zuñi, showing how carelessly the documents from Coronado's time had been read, or that Vargas wrote about it from hearsay.

47. *Asiento y Capitulación que el Virey de la Nueva España, Marqués de Villamanrique, hizo con Joan Bautista de Lomas Colmenares, sobre el Descubrimiento y Población de las Provincias del Nuevo Mexico*, (1589, *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15.) In 1583, Cristobal Martín from the city of Mexico also applied to the viceroy for a concession to discover, pacify and settle New Mexico. This was after the return of Espejo. *Asiento con Cristobal Martín por el que se ofrece ir en persona al Descubrimiento, Pacificación y Población del Nuevo Mexico*. (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16.) Further reference will be made to these documents. Martín is silent about Coronado.

48. See *Documentos de Indias*, vol. 16. Further reference shall be made to these data.

49. *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Canto Tercero and Canto Quarto.

Coronado penetrated to the north but soon returned, whereas Fray Marcos of Niza continued on and was killed by the Indians.<sup>50</sup> Even Antonio de Herrera, the laborious historian of the Indies, who besides enjoyed the efficient cooperation of Andrés García de Cespedes, calls Tiguex "Huex" and states that the Spaniards spent two winters at Pecos (which he calls Cicuique) instead of on the Rio Grande. Many features in his voluminous work seem to indicate that he was largely guided by the report of Jaramillo, and yet he commits such flagrant errors.<sup>51</sup> This was because the subject was regarded as unimportant, hence undeserving of a critical examination requiring painstaking labor.

Hence, it need not surprise us if the rediscovery of New Mexico, at the beginning of the ninth decade of the sixteenth century, had to be made from another geographical basis than that of Coronado and if, in course of time, that rediscovery appeared to the public (as far as that term went) as the original discovery.<sup>52</sup> Only those who either were survivors of the earliest enterprises or who had access to, and took an interest in, the original sources, could know better. The work of Gómara was the only printed source at the time containing somewhat precise information.<sup>53</sup> That book was virtually prohibited in 1553.<sup>54</sup> The prohibition lasted until 1727, although the work was reprinted various times in the sixteenth century and was also translated into foreign languages.

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50. "Extrait de l'Histoire de Philippe II, Roi Despagne," vol. 10, p. 432, in the translation by Ternaux Compans, *Voyages, Relations et Memoires originaux pour servir a l'Histoire de la Decouverte de l'Amerique* (1838).

51. *Historia general*, Dec. VI, lib. IX, cap. XI and XII, pp. 205-207.

52. *Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia* etc., p. 288. Gómara of course refers to Coronado in the proper manner, and the principal Spanish historians following, also, but in minor publications the attribution of the discovery to Espejo is often found. That authors not of Spanish origin, should repeat the error is not surprising. So in the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*.

53. *Primera y Segunda Parte*, p. 288. The reference is always to Volume I of the reprint by Enrique de Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*.

54. That prohibition was on account of Gómara's relation to Cortés, at least ostensibly.

Until 1581, the most northerly Spanish settlement in New Spain (Saint Augustine in Florida excepted) were the mines of Santa Barbara or Barbola, in southern Chihuahua.<sup>55</sup> North of the latter there was territory that may be called unknown though not completely untouched or unexplored. Prospectors were sporadically pushing northward, as yet only to recoil upon their basis, near where now is Allende.<sup>56</sup> There was a curacy at the mines of Indehe, in that neighborhood, and itinerant Franciscan friars visited the places, with a view also of penetrating further in their work of conversion and civilization. The Spaniards at work in the mines in 1575 amounted to thirty men.<sup>57</sup> There were not many Indians about the mines of Santa Barbara,<sup>58</sup> but not far from it ran the river Conchos<sup>59</sup> where the Indian tribe of that name roamed and also Indians called "Tatarabueyes" which word may have been a "Concho" name for the "Jumanos."<sup>60</sup> There were hostilities going on in that region,

55. Santa Barbola is usually mentioned together with the mines of Indehe, and the two establishments, not strictly contiguous, were the most northerly Spanish settlements. They belonged to the Province of Nueva Vizcaya. *Informe al Rey del Cabildo de Guadalajara* (1570), p. 494. Joan de Miranda, *Relación hecha por . . . clerigo, al Doctor Orozco, Presidente de la Audiencia de Guadalajara; sobre la Tierra y Población que hay desde las Minas de San Martín a las de Santa Barbara, que esto uñtimo entonces estaba poblado.* (1575, *Documentos de Indias*, vol. 16, pp. 563 and 565) "Ocho leguas mas adelante estan las minas de Santa Barbara, ques lo postrero que hay poblado de españoles;" López de Velasco, *Geografía y Descripción*, p. 277. *Demarcación y Descripción de las Indias* (ut supra, p. 460.)

56. In southern Chihuahua.

57. *Informe al Rey del Cabildo*, p. 494. Joan de Miranda, *Relación*, p. 565: "habrá en ellas treinta vecinos."

58. Miranda, *Relación*, p. 564: "dexase de sacar mucha plata por la poca gente que hay de indios que las labren y estar tan apartadas de donde se pueden haber."

59. *Idem*, p. 566: "A diez y a doce leguas de las minas de Santa Barbara. al Norueste, está un rio muy grande que corre hacia Labante; llamanle el rio de las Conchas y Pesta causa llaman a los Indios que enel hay, de las Conchas, hay grandísima cantidad de indios"

60. *Testimonio dado en Mexico sobre el Descubrimiento de doscientas leguas adelante de las minas de Santa Barbola, Gobernación de Diego de Ibarra.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15, p. 497.) Hernando Barrado, one of the men who went with Chamuscado and the priests in 1581 testifies, October 20th, 1582: "y que el uno de sus compañeros, llamado Andrés, lo habían muerto ciertos indios en una población que toparon entre los de la nación concho y los Tatarabueyes;" Antonio de Espejo, *Relación del viage* (also vol. 15, p. 105) identifies the Jumanos with the "Patarabueyes" but remarks: "los Jumanos, que por otro nombre, los llaman los españoles, los

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probably among the Indians themselves as well as between them and the whites,<sup>61</sup> and occasional depredations calling forth reprisals that led to forays to the northward.<sup>62</sup>

There was at Santa Barbara, in the year 1581, and had been for some time before, a Franciscan monk who had joined the order upon coming to Mexico.<sup>63</sup> Obtaining permission to undertake peregrinations for purposes of conversion, he proceeded first to Zacatecas and thence slowly to Santa Barbara where, it is said, he heard of sedentary Indians that lived in the distant north.<sup>64</sup> When, in 1581 the soldiers (or miners) who accompanied him to New Mexico returned to Santa Barbara, the usual inquiry into their undertaking was initiated and official interrogatories ensued. Those of the participants in the reconnoissance headed by

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patarabueyes." It is needless to observe that "patarabuey" or "tatarabuey" is not a Spanish term. But Espejo did not meet the Jumanos contiguous to the Conchos; there were still, between them, the Pazaguates and the Tobosos (he writes "Jobosos").

61. Miranda, *Relación*, p. 566: "e por la mucha guerra que hay, no osan ir a ellas."

62. Of Indehe, in the vicinity of Santa Barbara he states: "tiene alrededor, por muchas partes, muchos indios de guerra muy cursados en ella, por los continuos daños e muertes que han hecho." Miranda, *Relación*, p. 565.) In *Testimonio dado en Mexico*, p. 489, Hernando Gallegos testifies: "que este Declarante abia hecho muchas jornadas, la tierra dentro, adelante de Santa Barbara, en seguimiento de indios salteadores, con los caudillos y capitanes que nombraban para el efeto."

63. This is asserted by Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, lib. XXI, cap. IX, p. 626. Agustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 412, copies the statement. Rodriguez was a Spaniard and he is also called, by Francisco Díaz de Vargas, "Fray Agustín de Ayamonte" probably from his birthplace. (*Expediente*, p. 130.) Mendieta, (*Historia ecclesiástica Indiana*, Lib. V, Part II, p. 761) says of him: "lego, natural del condado de Niebla, tomó el hábito de religión en esta provincia del Santo Evangelio, donde sirvió a sus hermanos muchos años en el oficio de lego, con singular ejemplo de su persona y con estremada caridad para con todos, asi enfermos como sanos." It is by no means impossible that Father Mendieta might have known or at least seen him.

64. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 762: "Siendo ya viejo, en edad, moviolo el espíritu y celo de la salvación de las almas a que pidiese licencia a sus prelados para ir a morar a la custodia de Zacatecas . . . y llegado a Zacatecas anduvo ultimamente, ~~teniendo su~~ por entre aquellos barbaros . . . (p. 763) . . . hasta que ultimamente, teniendo su asiento y morada en un valle que llaman de San Bartolomé, ciertos indios . . . le dieron relación de unas grandes poblaciones que habia lejos de allí, que por ser de tanta gente, despues las llamaron el Nuevo Mexico." Mendieta is the source whence Torquemada, Vetancurt, and perhaps the Martyrologies, derived their information,—of course, with exception of the Martyrologies anterior to 1587. Gonzaga, in 1587, mentions Father Rodríguez in his, *De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis Franciscanæ*, Part I, fol. 107.

Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado in 1581, came to the City of Mexico the year after and were interrogated by order of the viceroy, the Count of Coruña.<sup>65</sup> The first witness examined, Pedro de Bustamante, a soldier, when asked why, if for more than two years he had contemplated the Journey to New Mexico, he regarded it as a fruitful enterprise, answered: "because an Indian told him that beyond the district governed by Diego de Ibarra, there was a certain settlement of Indians who had cotton and made mantles with which they covered themselves; and that the book written by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had also contributed to encourage him."<sup>66</sup> The next witness was Hernando Gallegos, who replied to the same query in the following terms: "that the witness had made many trips in pursuit of Indian highwaymen; beyond Santa Barbara, with the captains and leaders therefor appointed, and through one of the Indians captured on these pursuits he learned that, beyond the Government of Francisco and Diego de Ibarra and very far from it, there were very large Indian settlements, which had cotton and made mantles in which they dressed; and that they lived from maize and fowl of the land, and beans, squash, and the meat of cows, and that this created in him and the others the desire to go inland."<sup>67</sup> He also mentioned the book of Cabeza de Vaca. A third witness, Hernando Barrado, con-

65. *Testimonio dado*, p. 81. The viceroy, Conde de Coruña, declares: "y ayer, quinze del presente, vinieron a esta ciudad, dos hombres de los que fueron en compañía de los dichos religiosos, y dan noticia de aber hallado y descubierto doscientas leguas, adelante, de las dichas minas de Santa Barbola, . . . y para saber lo que en esto pasea, mando se tome la declaración con juramento de los dichos dos hombres . . ."

66. *Testimonio dado*, p. 82.

67. *Testimonio*, p. 89: "y por la relación que le dió un indio de los que prendieron en las dichas entradas, supo que adelante de la dicha Gobernación de Francisco y Diego de Ibarra, muy lejos della, abia muy grandes poblaciones de indios; que tenian algodón e hacian mantas, de que se vestian; e que se sustentaban de maix, e gallinas de la tierra, y frijoles y calabazas, y carne de vaca." The "government" of the Ybarras was New Biscay that is, it included southern Chihuahua, thus lying due south of the New Mexican Rio Grande region, and the sedentary Indians alluded to can have been only the Rio Grande Pueblos. The mention of buffalo meat used by them as food may, possibly, apply to the Pecos.

firms the above testimonies insofar as he declared himself to have been present at everything and to have made the journey with the others.<sup>68</sup>

Hence some of the Indians who roamed through northern and central Chihuahua had knowledge of the Pueblos of the Rio Grande, at least before the year 1580.<sup>69</sup> These Indians may have been Conchos, but the Jumanos may also have been consulted, since they were neighbors of the former.<sup>70</sup> The depositions were taken respectively on May 16th, and October 20th of the year 1582. It is not unlikely that the information given by these men to Father Rodríguez while at Santa Barbara induced him to extend his travels to the distant north, for Pedro Bustamante declares also that nobody animated him to undertake the journey but that, "desirous of serving God and his Majesty" it was more than two years that he and Father Agustín Rodríguez were thinking of the matter, hence already previous to 1580.<sup>71</sup>

Fray Agustín Rodríguez (he is also mentioned under the abbreviation of "Ruiz"); was already aged.<sup>72</sup> He obtained authorization from his provincial and the viceroy but two more Franciscans associated themselves with him. One was Fray Francisco López, an Andalusian and a native of Sevilla. The other was Fray Juan de Santa María, by origin

68. *Idem*, p. 96. He does not, however, say that he had heard of the report before, through any other source than his companions.

69. The witnesses, Bustamante (p. 82) and Gallegos (p. 89), both assert that for more than two years previous to 1582 they had been considering and planning the journey, therefore previous to 1580.

70. This is indicated by the statement of Barrado (p. 97.) Besides, the Jumanos lived in the vicinity of the Concho river at the time. They appear to have been less shy or hostile than other perhaps more roaming tribes.

71. *Testimonio dado*, p. 82: "y que lo que principalmente le movió a hacer la dicha jornada i acompañar a los dichos religiosos fue principalmente de servir a Dios Nuestro Señor y a Su Magestad; y que ninguna persona le persuadió a ello, antes con el deseo que tenia dicho, el y el dicho religioso abia mas de dos años que trataban de ir la dicha jornada; y el procuró atraer a los demás que fueron, para que la hiciesen."

72. *Mendieta, Historia*, p. 762: "Siendo ya viejo en edad." I attach importance to his statements as already stated; he was a contemporary, was at Mexico again after 1573, and might easily have known Father Rodríguez personally.

a Catalunian.<sup>73</sup> The latter two, although young, were ordained priests, whereas Rodríguez was a laybrother only.<sup>74</sup> Some ecclesiastical authors state that Rodríguez, before starting on the great journey, made a reconnoissance as far as the Pueblo country, but, here again, we meet with a contradiction between the eyewitnesses and posterior sources. No mention is made of such a preliminary attempt by the laybrother, nor by the companions of Chamuscado nor by Antonio de Espejo who followed their steps in 1582 and 1583, and the viceroy, while recounting that Fray Agustín Rodríguez, in appealing to him for the authorization stipulated as essential in the Ordinances of 1573, does not mention any previous attempts at probing—*de visu*—the reports on which the friar based his plans. The head of the trio of ecclesiastics became Fray Francisco López, as the most prominent one of the three.<sup>75</sup>

73. In the preamble to *Testimonio dado*, p. 80, the Viceroy Count of Coruña declares "que por quanto por relación que le dieron Fray Agustín Rodríguez de la orden de San Francisco, con otros religiosos de la Dicha orden, de que pretendian ir a predicar el Santo Evangelio, adelante de las minas de Santa Barbola y de la Gobernación de Diego de Ibarra, a cierta tierra nueva que tendrán noticia." In his letter to the king, dated Mexico, November 1st, 1582, the viceroy writes (p. 98): "Por Noviembre del año pasado de ochenta, vino a mi, un Frayle que se decia Fray Agustín Rodríguez de la orden de San Francisco, y me dijo que queria entrar a predicar el Santo Evangelio, adelante de las minas de Santa Barbola, ques en la Nueva Vizcaya; y viendo su buen zelo, . . . le di licencia para que lo hiciese, llevando consigo otros religiosos." It appears, therefore, that Father Rodríguez returned from Santa Barbara to the city of Mexico, previous to November, 1580, and obtained the requisite authorization through personal application to the viceroy. The permission from the ecclesiastic authorities he must have secured already previously. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 763: "dió la vuelta para Mexico y pidió religiosos para la conversión de aquella nueva gente. El prelado le dió dos sacerdotes por entónces, que se ofrecieron para aquella jornada, hasta recibir aviso de lo que mas conviniese. Llamábase el uno (que fue por superior de los compañeros) Fray Francisco López, venido de la provincia del Andalucia, y el otro Fr. Juan de Santa María, de nación catalán ambos mancebos virtuosos y teólogos, que actualmente salían del estudio." I limit myself on these points to quoting Mendieta. The other ecclesiastic sources are mostly copied from his work, or confirm his statements. Even Gonzaga, although his book appeared eleven years previous to that of Mendieta, may, as I have already indicated in the first part, have drawn his information on Mexican topics from Mendieta.

74. This is so absolutely proven, that I need not refer to any of the very numerous sources.

75. I quote Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 763: "Y para certificarse si esto era verdad, netiose la tierra adentro por la parte que le señalaron hacia el norte, y halló buenas poblaciones y tuvo noticia de otras mayores;" but none of those who were in inti-

The monks had asked the viceroy for permission to take along an escort of not more than twenty men. This was conceded, but the friars selected but eight<sup>76</sup> and the leader, who was Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. Of him, hardly anything is known beyond the fact that he proved to be sagacious, prudent, energetic and mild. But he did not live to see the end of the expedition. Together with a dozen Indian servants the twelve left Santa Barbara or Barbola, on the fifth day of June fifteen hundred and eighty-one.<sup>77</sup>

mate relations with Father Rodríguez make any mention of such a reconnoissance. The soldiers that escorted him state that his information was obtained *from them*, orally. The viceroy (*Testimonio*, p. 80) only states that the monks had information about the countries they wished to visit: "a cierta tierra que tendrán noticia," and in his letter of November 1st, 1582: "y que se tenia noticia que por el rio de las Conchas habia gente donde se podia conseguir este buen intento." Antonio de Espejo, whose celebrated exploration was beginning at the time when the last deposition of the eyewitnesses was taken (November, 1582) says (*Relación del Viage*, p. 101): "teniendo noticia un frayle de la orden de San Francisco, que se llamaba Fray Agustín Ruiz, que recidia en el Valle de San Bartolomé, y por ciertos indios conchas, que se comunicaban con los pazaguates, que hacia la parte del Norte Había ciertas poblaciones no descubiertas." There seems a possibility that Fray Agustín may have gone to a preliminary reconnoissance previous to his going to the City of Mexico, and may have visited the Conchos with the view of obtaining information directly from them or some neighboring tribe, but it is as good as impossible that he could have reached New Mexico, alone as he would have been. On this occasion I must call attention to a statement by Francisco Díaz de Vargas (*Testimonio dado*, p. 130): "y despues de todo esto, por la noticia que algunos religiosos, . . . los que volvieron de entre ellos que entraron hacia la parte de Pranuco y Florida, dijeron, habęa sabido y entendido de la gente rrayada y otras naciones desnudas, que por aquella derezera hacia el Poniente había muchas jentes y poblaciones desnudas, casas de dos y tres altos, y que usaban vestidos, por lo cual, habiéndosele dado noticia dello al Virrey Conde de Coruña, imbió a Fray Agustín de Ayamonte y otros dos religiosos, y por caudillo a Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado y otros ocho soldados y otras gentes de su servicio." The interest about this statement lies first in the fact that, not three years after the expedition which Father Rodríguez initiated, the first origin of it could be so utterly distorted as to confound it to some extent with Florida. And Díaz de Vargas was a high official in Mexico at the time, being "alguazil mayor" of the city of Puebla de los Angeles!

Second: in the mention of "tattooed Indians" (rrayados) as having conveyed the information. The tattooed Indians were the Jumanos. That Father López, although a young man, was the superior of the three is asserted by Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 763, and is reiterated (copied) by Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, Lib. XXI, Cap. IX, p. 626. Vetancurt (*Menologio franciscano*, p. 404) alludes to him briefly, without mentioning his position as superior.

76. *Testimonio*, Preamble, p. 81. The statement is from the viceroy directly and is abundantly confirmed.

77. For the number of the escort I adopt the statement of the eyewitnesses in the so often quoted *Testimonio*, given under the heading of *Relación breve y verdadera del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico, que descubrimos nueve compañeros que*

Barrado  
 him given  
 (v. Oct. 7, p. 10)

Thus the rediscovery of the Rio Grande Pueblos was begun. It had been called forth through vague information casually obtained by energetic frontiersmen; but initiated and organized by the efforts of a simple lay-brother, an humble member of the church, and carried out, finally, under the auspices of, and according to, the Ordinances of July, 1573. Great is the contrast between this modest enterprise and the display that attended the commencement of Coronado's march. The latter was intended to initiate forthwith a settlement of the country to be discovered and explored; the former was a precautionary reconnoissance with the view to christianizing the natives and investigating their country.

(End of Part II)

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*salimos de Santa Balbola, en compañía de tres religiosos de la orden de San Francisco, p. 146: "todos los nueve compañeros." The viceroy (p. 81) states: "fueron los dichos religiosos, y ocho de los dichos hombres:" The eyewitnesses also mention only eight men in their separate depositions (pp. 82, 88 and 96). But in his letter to the king, Nov. 1st, 1582, the Conde de Coruña also says: "y que alque dellos, el Frayle señalase, fuese por caudillo, a quien los otros obedeciesen, por que no isiesen desorden, los cuales entraron con hasta ocho hombres que con ellos quisieron ir" (p. 98). The date I also take from the *Relación breve*, p. 146: "salimos a cinco de Junio de mil e quinientos e ochenta e un años." In their separate declarations the witnesses Bustamante and Gallegos say the fifth.*