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COLONEL DON FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA  
DIARY, 1788

*Edited by ADLAI FEATHER*

*Historical Background*

**D**ON Fernando de la Concha succeeded Lieut.-Col. Juan Bautista de Anza as governor on November 10, 1787. The wise policy of his predecessor, both military and political, had given the province greater security against the hostile tribes than any which it had previously enjoyed. The Utes and Comanches were at peace with each other and with the Spaniards. The eastern Apaches were kept from the borders by the intervention of the Comanches, to whom the governor had given arms and horses. The Navajos were kept in a state of truce, if not absolute friendliness, by a policy which included bribery, cajolery, threats and flattery. Under the circumstances, with no danger threatening from other quarters, Concha was able to get together one of the most formidable expeditions ever led against the Gila and Mimbres Apaches.

These Indians were by far the most formidable enemies which the Spaniards had encountered. The northern advance of the frontiers of Mexico had brought contact before the middle of the eighteenth century. At first, the superiority of Spanish arms had given them some advantage but the techniques of the Apaches soon improved sufficiently to nullify the superiority which the use of firearms and horses had previously afforded. The situation worsened each year and between 1748 and 1772, more than four thousand individuals had died at the hands of the Indians who drove off thousands of horses and mules from the settlements and destroyed millions of pesos worth of property. In 1776, an inspection of the Spanish defenses was ordered by the king and resulted in strong measures being taken to curb the menace. The best military men available were placed in command on the frontier. A line of garrisoned fortresses was placed at strategic locations. The northern provinces, including New Mexico, were formed into a Commandance-General administered directly from Madrid. At intervals, strong expeditions were

sent out to harass the Indians on their own terrain. A general war of attrition along the entire frontier caused the Indians some loss in personnel but failed to result in anything approaching subjugation.

The general plan of these expeditions was one of extreme caution. The main body of the forces and the supply train moved as rapidly as possible, keeping to the open country as far as possible. Detachments were sent ahead to scour the foothills of the mountains in an attempt to surprise small groups or rancherias and destroy them before they could seek refuge in the rough canyons. It was not considered advisable to penetrate deeply into the mountains since the Apaches were experts in the arts of concealment and ambush. This mode of warfare was continued by the Spaniards as long as they were in command of the frontier and guided Concha in his plan of action. His determination to cross the Gila Mountains may have been preconceived but was probably decided on the spot in view of the meagre success of his expedition on the northern side of the range. It was then obvious that the Apaches were well aware of the expedition well in advance and had taken refuge in the rough country. The greater part of the pay of both friendly Indians and settlers was to consist in spoils taken in battle and sale of prisoners. The danger of the mountains was probably preferable to the debacle of a return empty-handed.

The interest which Governor Concha showed in the location of the San Francisco River was one which was shared by officials and citizens of New Mexico. The fabulous placers San Ildefonso de la Cieneguilla had been discovered in 1779. These were situated in Western Sonora at no great distance south of the present Arizona border. As soon as the news had spread, numerous New Mexican settlers left the province without seeking the necessary permission and hastened to join the thousands of gold-seekers already assembled. Those who had no intention of deserting the state saw an improved market for their goods and labor. Governor Anza had attempted to form a combined military and trading caravan to Sonora by way of the San Francisco river but found conditions unfavorable. The only Spaniards who had led expeditions by that

route were Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco who went from Zuñi to the Gila in 1747. This journey was made before the hostility of the Apaches had become solidified. Both reported finding sedentary Indians who cultivated maize in the vicinity of the present day towns of Alma and Pleasanton. Their statements that the river bed formed a short and easy road to Sonora was highly optimistic. It would have shortened the distance by almost half but later exploration showed that no road through the region could be called easy.

Concha had no guide available and apparently made no special effort to locate the San Francisco river, otherwise he would have proceeded to a point much nearer Zuñi. His conjecture that he may have stumbled upon it by accident was wrong; at no time was he even within its drainage basin.

#### *The Expedition*

The number of men whom Concha had in his command is nowhere stated. Ninety men left Santa Fe with him but no accounting is made of the numbers who joined him en route and at Laguna. There he selected twenty Navajos from among numerous volunteers. Later in his narrative he mentions the presence of Indians from Taos, Zia, Santa Ana and Jemez. There may have been natives from other Pueblos also.

Anza had been advised, eight years before, not to attempt the trip with less than five hundred persons. Judging from the numbers of men whom he was able to detach his command, he had not less than that number and more than twice that many horses.

The settlers were obliged to furnish horses for themselves and their servants. The Santa Fe garrison also possessed their own. The King's herd was destined to furnish mounts for the Indian allies, as had previously been done for the Comanches in their war against the Jicarilla Apaches. A herd of this size was undoubtedly unwieldy in rough or timbered country. When the train was sent to await the Governor at Fra Cristobal, the escort may have been small or so encumbered by the animals that they were able only to defend themselves from the Indians who harassed them without feeling capable of taking the offensive.

*The Route*

His route is easy to trace even though there are many obvious errors in his distances and the direction of his marches. The stopping places mentioned on his way from Santa Fe to Acoma are still well known and the distances correct. From that Pueblo, his first day's journey took him to Cebolla Spring, still so-called, thirty-one miles away near the foot of Cebolleta Mesa. His next stop was made in the open plain where he found water. Evidently the season had been one of normal rain or more since he never encountered difficulty in finding sufficient water for his horse herd. His third stop was near the site known at present as Tres Lagunas. The name of San Bartolome by which he designates the place is not to be found on maps of any period and is not used in the locality. The alternate name of El Presidio probably owes its origin to the appearance of a nearby peak, westernmost of the Sawtooth Range. Its vertical sides and flat top resemble a fortress, even from near at hand. He encamped at the lake a short distance to the northwest.

He was now traveling through piñon and juniper country which made a more or less circuitous route necessary because of the low-growing branches. Since these grow densely on the ridges and sparsely or not at all in the heavier soil of the valleys, it is likely that he rounded the west end of the Sawtooth Mountains and followed two opposite valleys, one of which leads downward into the flat land and opens into another which ascends toward the foot of Allegros Mountain where he made camp.

On the next day, he crossed the mountain range, passing east of Allegros Peak, through Greens Gap and to the west of Horse Mountain, stopping at Horse Springs. The broad plain of San Agustin was crossed at a rapid pace, fifteen leagues in a single day. His progress on the following day is doubtless in error. Setting out at one in the afternoon and stopping at five, he could not have covered the fourteen leagues given in his diary. He probably advanced less than a half of that distance.

Here he sent back his supply train and horse herd. Pro-

ceeding six miles over rocky terrain, he came to a river which he thought might be the San Francisco. It was the East Fork of the Gila. Surprising an Indian rancheria, he had his first and greatest success, killing eighteen and taking four prisoners.

A long and difficult journey of sixteen leagues in a single day took him across the mountains to a point not far from Pinos Altos. He then entered the Mimbres Valley and followed the stream to the Cienega del Rio Mimbres and two leagues beyond. Turning back to the northeast, he followed the low ridges of the Mimbres Mountains and crossed over a short distance north of Sawyers Peak. Descending the South Fork of the Percha, he camped at a spring near Hillsboro, then turned north to the marsh of the upper Animas Creek. Here he captured an Indian girl and proceeded north, crossing the Seco and Palomas Creeks, and camped on Cuchillo Negro Creek.

Finding that his supply train was not at Fra Cristobal, he crossed the Rio Grande and followed the east bank of the river and the Camino Real to Santa Fe.

### *Diary*

Diary of the expedition against the Gila and Mimbres Apaches begun on the 22nd day of August, 1788, organized by the Governor of New Mexico who had previously given the necessary orders that the settlers and Indians of the Province should assemble in the Pueblo of Laguna.

#### The 22nd

I left the town of Santa Fe with seventy-four soldiers, eight Comanches, eight Jicarilla Apaches and the horse herds of the garrison and of the king and made camp for the night at the plains of Santo Domingo. Leagues 10

#### The 23rd

We left the Plains of Santo Domingo and made camp at Alameda for the night. On this day, two soldiers who were ill were sent back to Santa Fe. 10

### The 24th

We traveled from this point to the plains of Isleta where we made camp. 8

### The 25th

At this Pueblo, I dispatched a detachment to the Sierra de la Magdalena by way of the Sierra de los Ladrones, commanded by Sergeant Pablo Sandoval and composed of twenty soldiers and twenty selected civilians. I gave orders that they should reconnoiter both ranges, following any tracks which they might find in order to discover whether there were any enemies in these places and to punish them if they found them there. They were to rejoin me at the town of Laguna where they would find me making necessary arrangements for the general campaign.

With this in mind, I left Isleta and came to the Rio Puerco at midnight, examining all the places from which the Apaches frequently make their raids. 8

### The 26th

From the Rio Puerco, I went to the Pueblo of Laguna, making reconnaissance as before. 10

### The 27th

I halted in order to assign all my forces, supply our allies and organize the divisions. Out of the royal treasury I bought cattle and sheep for the maintenance of the Comanches, Jicarillas, and Navajos. Of the last-named nation no less than fifty-three had joined me on the previous day; but realizing the great expense which it would cause the treasury to furnish them with food for two months, as well as the wearing down of the king's horses which would result, I dismissed a part of them, thanking them for their good will and presenting them with gifts. I kept the well-known Antonio el Pinto<sup>1</sup>

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1. Antonio el Pinto was a Navajo well known to the Spaniards. He had formerly been seen among Indian raiders in Sonora. In 1786, he came to Santa Fe with others of his tribe and declared his allegiance to the Spaniards. Later, he was reported to have been seen at an Apache council at the Picacho; an accusation which he denied.

His friends and relatives were among the Apaches who lived on the Mimbres which accounts for the zeal with which he fought a strange tribe on the upper Gila and his reluctance to lead the army farther south.

and nineteen of his family group which is composed of some of the most vigorous individuals and best acquainted with the territory to which we are proceeding.

On the same day, I completed the organization of four divisions under the command of First Lieutenant Don Manuel Delgado, Ensign Don Antonio Guerrero and Sergeants Pablo Sandoval and Don Clieto Miera. Each of these four divisions I further divided into another four to avoid confusion. These were placed under the command of military officers and sergeants.

#### The 28th

A review was made of the troops and their arms and general orders were given concerning the stations of each one under all circumstances.

#### The 29th

Ammunition was distributed according to need. Sergeant Pablo Sandoval joined me with his party, after reconnoitering the Sierra de la Magdalena and the Sierra de los Ladrones, and reported no fresh tracks nor any new occurrences.

#### The 30th

After Mass, we started out for the Pueblo of Acoma, having arranged the return to the Villa (Santa Fe) of two soldiers and four militia who were ill and having proclaimed an edict upon the procedure of each man when we succeeded in attacking the enemy. 6

#### The 31st

The whole group set out for a place which is called La Cebolla under the command of First Lieutenant D Manuel Delgado and I remained at Laguna suffering from a severe pain. I ordered them to wait for me there for three or four days, during which time I hoped to recover enough to make the journey. I also bled myself twice which served to alleviate the pain.

#### September 1st

I began to feel some relief.



**The 2nd**

I left Acoma with an escort of eight men whom I had retained and at sunset I arrived at La Cebolla where the troops, who had arrived that same day, received me with great demonstrations of joy. Delgado reported that nothing had happened during my absence. 12

**The 3rd**

We left the place called La Cebolla at four in the afternoon, traveled southwest and stopped at eight at night on a plain where we found water. 6

**The 4th**

We left this place at dawn and traveled south-southwest as far as a marsh with plenty of water which is called El Presidio by some and by others La Cienaga de San Bartolome. We stopped at two in the afternoon. 10

**The 5th**

At dawn today, I sent out forty eight men as spies guided by the Navajo, Antonio el Pinto, who is acquainted with the country.

At one o'clock we all started out toward the south a quarter southeast in search of a spring of water which Antonio himself told us would be found at the foot of some mountains. Another Navajo who had been left with us for this purpose by Antonio guided us to this place. We arrived at 5:30 and found abundant grass and plenty of good water. This place was named Ojo del Oso because a bear was found here.

This place is about 85 leagues from the Villa, 50 from Zuñi and 70 from El Paso. The Gila and Mimbres Apaches, on their frequent raids into the Province, and especially into the part called the Rio Abajo, pass by here and it is the most suitable place to establish or place a garrison to punish them or hold them in check. The amount of wood as well as the location of the place are exceptional. 12

**The 6th**

We started out from here at dawn and entered a wide canyon running in the direction of south and a quarter southwest

and about half way through the mountains it ended. We followed another, after climbing a slope, and traveled south southeast until we reached a plain which is called the Plain of San Agustin<sup>2</sup> where we made camp at two in the afternoon with plenty of permanent water and good grass.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Antonio el Navajo and his scouting party rejoined me and reported that no more than four old trails of the enemy had been found. 10

#### The 7th

At dawn, another party of forty eight men started out on a scouting trip, led by the same Navajo and by the interpreter of this same nation, Francisco Garcia, leaving another Navajo and the Acoma Indian named Casimiro to guide us to the place which he had designated.

At eight o'clock, after having heard Mass, I started out with the entire expedition and we traveled toward the south-southeast until 12 o'clock. Then, crossing a plain, we descended into a canyon which ran southwest which direction we followed until 9 at night when we stopped to make camp near a spring with little water which we called Ojo de los Alamos since there were cottonwood trees in the vicinity.

A short time afterward, the scouts arrived saying that they had come across only two trails of Apache hunters. However, I had ordered them followed previously since I had found them too. 15

#### The 8th

Those who had been following the Indian trails returned and advised me that they had gone into the mountains.

At nine in the morning, I sent some men out on foot to find out whether there were any tracks on the route which we were to follow.

At 12, I started out in the direction of some rough mountains toward the southwest which, according to Antonio, was the Sierra de la Gila.

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2. The San Agustin Plains were well known to the Navajos since the abundance of antelope furnished excellent hunting. After firearms began to be used, the numbers decreased and were practically exterminated by the heavy snows of 1888.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we found two fresh tracks of men on foot. I detached Lieut. Don Manuel Delgado to follow them with thirty men and at 4 o'clock I sent Pablo Sandoval with thirty more to aid the first named in case he should come upon the rancheria toward which the tracks were headed. At 5 o'clock, I found them together behind a hill where they had remained out of sight of the enemy. They assured me that the enemy was in a canyon nearby, which they pointed out. Since there was abundant water and grass, I halted and made a guarded camp and detached seventy men on foot and 24 cavalrymen whom I turned over to the same Delgado and Sandoval to reconnoiter and attack the place mentioned. At nightfall they left for this purpose.

At exactly the same time, I sent the soldier Baltasar Rivera in the opposite direction to cut sign and then advise me of any new developments. 14

#### The 9th

At dawn, I sent out spies to look for tracks not only in the direction which we were to take but also in other directions being ready to start out as soon as the detachment should return.

At seven the soldier Rivera returned with his party and advised me that they had gone five leagues without finding any tracks.

During morning prayers, Delgado's party arrived and informed me that they had followed the canyon which showed signs of enemy occupancy, that the latter had fled from the corn fields and camps and that they had followed their trail until it became lost in impenetrable canyons.

After all my forces were together, I had Antonio el Navajo called in and asked him what hour he considered the best to start out on our march. He had the greatest objections to crossing the mountains and assured me that I would lose the supply train and horse herd; however, he was willing to lead me.

#### The 10th

At dawn, I separated half of the force with two horses each and the other half, along with the train and horse herd,

I sent to the place called Fray Cristobal under the command of Don Clieto Miera to await my arrival there. At 11 o'clock, after they had gone, I started out on my way guided by the same Navajo without any encumbrance. He led us south-southwest through canyons which were not too rough until we came to a valley of considerable width in which was a river which, since it ran west-southwest, could well have been the San Francisco. There he told me that I could halt. Before we could unsaddle, our spies reported that there was an Indian camp in the vicinity. Immediately a Comanche and a Navajo appeared saying that the Apaches were very near and would escape if we delayed.

Under the circumstances, in spite of the fact that it was five in the afternoon, I decided to attack the enemy immediately, detaching one party to the right and another to the left to cut off the retreat of the enemy and charging up the center with the remainder. I left the camp and horses well defended under the orders of Sergeant Pablo Sandoval and with the officers, troops, civilians and loyal Indians, I advanced at a moderate pace but after a short time I was unable to restrain the enthusiasm of the people who charged headlong upon the enemy who took to flight up a narrow canyon. In spite of the rough terrain, the enemy was overtaken and beaten to such an extent that we counted eighteen dead warriors and four were taken prisoners; unfortunately the non-combatants, who naturally would accompany them, escaped because of the darkness and the rough ground and we were not able to follow their trail as the battle did not end till after vespers.

All of the officers, troops, civilians and Indians conducted themselves with valor and the soldier Juan Antonio Benavides distinguished himself extraordinarily. 6

### The 11th

Considering that it would be futile to hunt for the families, both on account of the time which had elapsed and because of the innumerable number of canyons which there were in the vicinity, impassable even to men on foot, I decided to continue my original idea of crossing the range to emerge

on the other side. But when I called Antonio el Navajo to discuss this purpose, he made excuses to me, saying that he did not feel at all well because of a blow which he had received as he was killing a Gila Apache on the previous night. I explained to him what an honor it would be for him to guide us just that one day and offered him rewards in order to win him over but it was not possible. In view of his determination, I became equally determined to take him by force if he would not go willingly and for this purpose I charged Delgado and the Navajo interpreter to take him aside to advise him to reconsider such a grave error. These managed to convince him to go willingly and I set out at six in the morning. We traveled southeast until 10 and having climbed a very steep slope, we came upon a level mesa about half a league long which extended toward the east-southeast. We then entered several exceedingly rough canyons and finally into one from which we emerged by climbing a very steep slope up which we had to travel in single file since the defile is extremely narrow and the sides incredibly steep and heavily wooded. It is about a league and a half long before arriving at the top of the slope. We then followed a wide ridge and a short distance ahead of us saw a very long range which no one recognized. We continued descending and shortly thereafter discovered a peak to the east which Delgado assured me to be that of the Mimbres and thereafter recognized all the ranges which came into view as parts of the Mimbres. We came out of the Gila Range opposite the shoulder of the one called the Sierra del Cobre.<sup>3</sup> Also we discovered to the east and behind the Mimbres, the Sierra de la Florida. We descended by way of a short, flat ridge which separates the Gila range from the Mimbres and stopped at a river with but little water. At this point, I asked one of the Apache prisoners how far we were from the Gila River and he told me that across the foothills it was only a day's journey. I wanted to investigate that place but as we had only two horses each and since

3. The Sierra de Cobre is now called the Santa Rita Mountains, now the site of the open pit operations of the Kennecott Copper Co. The existence of copper at that place was known long before the reputed discovery of the mines in 1804. Originally, pure copper in sheets lay on the surface. There is reason to believe that both gold and silver were mined there before copper was worked.

the march of the day had been especially long and over very rocky canyons, they were very footsore and it was impossible to undertake it. 16

### The 12th

At 7 o'clock I started out and shortly thereafter I entered the Mimbres Mountains through a wide, level valley which has no rocks and which runs to the east for a distance of about one league. We encountered the beginnings of a stream which soon becomes a river and further down a cornfield of the enemy which they had abandoned. It was already half matured and I had the green ears pulled off the stalks and trampled by the horses before the eyes of three Apaches who were on top of the mountain. We traveled the length of the valley which is very fertile and contains many walnut trees, crossing the river seven times until we came to another cornfield which was in the same condition as the one before and which received the same treatment. I continued my march with the expectation of halting one league below this last cornfield but when I came to that point I discovered that it had become a swamp<sup>4</sup> and that there was no way of watering the horses because of the mire; thus it was necessary to go back as far as the last cornfield where the swamp begins to form and this is where I stopped at two o'clock in the afternoon.

On this day, several Apaches appeared on the hilltops and one of them recognized Antonio el Navajo and spoke to him, although at a considerable distance, complaining that he had shown us their territory and saying that all the Apaches were in the gravest consternation on that account; ending by challenging him and uttering threats.

These circumstances are advantageous, as much because of the fear which our knowledge of the area inspires in them as because of the hatred against the Navajos which it has produced.

Today, as on all previous days, I dispatched spies to all

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4. This swamp is the Cienega del Mimbres. Expeditions from garrison towns in Mexico had penetrated this far into the mountains from the south but never ventured further. It was near the present town of Dwyer.

likely places to look for tracks and examine the terrain but nothing new occurred and the effort had no results. 6

#### The 13th

At 7 in the morning, we started traveling to the east on the north side of the swamp and at a distance of two leagues we again saw the river running in the direction southwest of the Picacho.<sup>5</sup> From this point onward, I took a northeast direction through several barren valleys in order to examine tracks in the Sierra de los Mimbres, keeping the Sierra de los Pinones<sup>6</sup> on my left and intending to proceed to examine the Tecolote and San Mateo Mountains. This same Navajo led me to a spring of water which rises from one of the valleys and runs in the same direction which we were following at a distance of five leagues from the Rio de los Mimbres. Here we stopped at 2 o'clock in the afternoon without any special occurrence.

I sent out spies but found no tracks.

7

#### The 14th

We started out in the same northeast direction through a very narrow canyon which is the same one in which we found the water and of which the very narrow part, with innumerable rocks of extraordinary height on the sides, is three leagues in length. After this distance, it opens into a valley for about a league and then into another with a spring of water which runs to the east. We stopped at this point and my spies, who were on foot, reported that they had come upon no tracks.

4

#### The 15th

At dawn we left this camp and traveled among bare hills and, in places, over level ground following a northerly direc-

5. The Picacho is now called Cooke's Peak, highest point of Cookes Range which was once considered the southern end of the Mimbres mountains. This granite monolith is visible for many miles in every direction. The lower ridges of the range still show widespread vestiges of the ashes from former Apache signal fires.

He could not have been going east. He was traveling downstream and to the southwest.

6. No one in the vicinity of Santa Rita has heard the name of Pinon applied to a mountain. He probably refers to Mimbres Peak which is not in the Mimbres Mountains but on the opposite side of the river. It was once heavily wooded with juniper and pinon until the trees were cut to supply firewood for Santa Rita and other nearby towns.

tion until we came to a wide and very watery marsh where we stopped. Shortly thereafter the scouts arrived, advising me that they had found no fresh tracks. An Acoma Indian named Casimiro, who had been a captive for many years, guided me along this route.

About an hour after we halted, one of the sentinels on the mountain top sent word that he had seen an Apache on horseback. I ordered the location examined for tracks; I was informed that some fresh ones led toward a canyon. I immediately sent out a detachment under Sergeant Pablo Sandoval, composed of twenty horsemen and twenty on foot, to follow them. They informed me that they were following the trail which was fresh; I sent out another party of twenty four men on horses with Corporal Juan de Dios Pena who caught up with the Sergeant who had lost the trail but when they were about to return, they found the tracks of the Taos Indians who had separated from the first detachment and were following the enemy. After having gone a short distance, they met the Taos Indians who were returning with a saddled horse and a captive girl and who reported that the Apaches had disappeared into some very rugged country.

As soon as they arrived in camp, the War Captain of the Taos Indians turned over to me the captive girl and the two horses of two Apache warriors which they had caught up, having also taken the horse of another who had abandoned it as he scrambled up the mountain. 6

### The 16th

Sending the regular spies ahead, I left this place guided by the same Acoma Indian and traveling in the same northerly direction through a plain with a few hills which were occasionally quite high and across very deep canyons. About three leagues from the starting place, we found a small river with permanent water. I afterwards saw four more. We found another of the same description but with more water and four leagues beyond this one still another with plenty of water and there we stopped. On this day, as well as the last, we were constantly traveling through the foothills of the Mimbres Mountains.



From this base, we examined very carefully the Sierras del Tecolote, San Mateo, and Cavallo<sup>7</sup> and over the top of this last one, the Sierra de los Organos and the Sierra Blanca. After becoming well acquainted with everything, I decided to send back to the encampment all of the footsore horses with a detachment of fifty men commanded by the Sergeant Sandoval along with the Navajos who were impatient to return home. He had orders to return with fresh horses immediately in order to march to the Tecolote; he also took the five prisoners and other equipment necessary for the security of the train and horseherd. 10

#### The 17th

I sent spies in various directions and they returned without having found any tracks, although they had found and destroyed a cornfield in the direction of the Tecolote.

#### The 18th

I stayed in the same place awaiting the fresh horses which the detachment was to bring me from the herd. I sent out spies in various directions but they found no tracks.

At twelve, midnight, Sergeant Sandoval arrived and reported that he had not found either the camp or the horseherd at the place at Fray Cristobal which I had designated to the commander; nor did he find them at the Bosque del Apache<sup>8</sup> which is one day's journey up the river. From the latter place he had sent back the Navajos in company with the Indians from Cia, Santa Ana and Jemez since my detachment had gone off for this purpose, along with the lieutenant from these Pueblos. He also sent off the five prisoners, returning with the rest of his party and the lame horses.

This incident broke up all of my plans, not only because of the bad condition of the horses but also because my men were without provisions and obliged me to decide to march

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7. The San Mateo and Caballo Mountains still have the same names. The Tecolote Mountains are frequently mentioned in early New Mexico archives, usually with reference to the Indians who lived there. Little can be found to establish a location. It was probably the range now called Cuchillo Negro since it was near Salsipuedes.

8. The Bosque del Apache is south of San Antonio on the Rio Grande. Now a Wildlife Preserve, the original cottonwoods have been largely replaced by salt cedars.

with the whole expedition on the following morning to look for the supply train.

#### The 19th

I started out in search of the Rio Grande, traveling very slowly in order not to leave tired horses behind and nevertheless it was necessary to kill one which could not keep up.

We traveled over the broken ground of various canyons from which the Picacho de las Mimbres was always in sight to the south. We came to the river and stopped there close to a mesa of the Sierra de Fray Cristobal. 8

#### The 20th

Before dawn we began our march, traveling northwest toward Fray Cristobal where we assumed the supply train and horseherd would be according to the report which the Navajos had given. But upon arriving there we found nothing. In spite of the bad condition of my horses it was necessary that, after three hours of rest which we gave them, to set out again since my men had nothing to eat and we had lost hope of finding the supply train before reaching the Province.

At this place, a tired horse was killed so that the Jicarilla Apaches and the Pueblo Indians would have something to eat. 12

At three in the Afternoon we left Fray Cristobal, traveling toward the Province and at eight at night we stopped at San Pascual. 8

At ten o'clock that night a party of thirty men arrived, sent by the commander of the supply train and horseherd to inform me that he was at the place called Casa Colorada and that he had not been able to go to Fray Cristobal, as he had been ordered, since ever since he had left me the Apaches had alarmed the camp every night so that he had not seen fit to proceed to that place and that nothing had happened except the straying of two horses.

#### The 21st

Since the party which had arrived had not brought any help, I prepared to set out before dawn toward the camp

which was thirty leagues away. I traveled until eleven in the morning and stopped a short distance above Luis Lopez. At two I started out again and at eight I halted at Hoya de Valencia<sup>9</sup> without having found any Apache tracks that day. 20

The 22nd

I left this place and marched to Casa Colorado<sup>9a</sup> where I arrived at 11 o'clock and joined the supply train and horse-herd which gave me no more news than that which I had already heard. 10

The 23rd

I selected one hundred and fifty men and despatched them under the command of Don Antonio Guerrero to reconnoiter the Sierra de San Mateo and other places in the vicinity.

The 24th

At sunset today, I detached First Corporal Juan de Dios Pena with seventy four men to reconnoiter the Sierra Obscuro.

The 25th

No new occurrences.

The 26th

No new occurrences.

The 27th

I left Casa Colorada and came to a halt at the place which is called La Bolsa without any new occurrences.

The 28th

Nothing new.

The 29th

Idem.

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9. This was not the present town of Valencia but La Joya de Sevilleta, now shortened to La Joya. It was repopulated after the reconquest by a group of Spaniards and Indians but the depredations of the Apaches forced its abandonment before 1738.

9a. Casa Colorada. The house which gave this place its name was near the present town of Turn. The vicinity was execrated by early drivers on the Camino Real since a steep and sandy hill forced them to double their teams to reach the top.

### The 30th

At ten o'clock in the morning Corporal Cavo returned, reporting that no incident had occurred. He informed me that he had traveled over the whole Sierra Obscura, examining the places where the enemy usually live and that all the tracks were very old. 65

### October 1st

No new occurrence.

### The 2nd

At nine o'clock in the morning Ensign Guerrero returned, reporting that he had gone over the Sierra de San Mateo, the Hot Springs<sup>10</sup> and the place which is called Salsipuedes.<sup>11</sup> In the vicinity of this place he saw three Apaches who, when they caught sight of the party, fled into the rough part of the mountains so that they could not be caught.

He carefully examined the place called Salsipuedes and went into the depths of the canyon which has been considered inaccessible until now. There he found signs that the enemy had abandoned it, perhaps through fear at the time that my detachment was traveling through the foothills. I am sure that they have always lived there.

He found only old tracks in the other places which he passed over and he caught one of the king's horses and a mule belonging to a soldier; animals which had wandered away from my detachment. From his, he lost two of the king's horses, two belonging to settlers and one belonging to a soldier.

He traveled ninety leagues; deducting sixty-five traveled by Corporal Pena there remain 25

### The 3rd

I broke camp and prepared to march to the Capitol. I arrived at the plains of Isleta at noon.

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10. The Hot Springs, usually called Warm Springs since the water is merely tepid, was the site of an Indian agency and proposed reservation until 1878, when it was abandoned. A town at the site called Cherryville was a postoffice from 1881-1886. At present, there are no traces of habitation except a few of the adobe walls of the fort.

11. Salsipuedes Canyon (Get-out-if-you-can) was a former name for Alamosa Canyon. Narrow between high cliffs, it extends from Warm Springs to the present town of Monticello which was formerly called Alamosa.

**The 4th**

I left this place and made camp at Alameda.

**The 5th**

From Alameda, I made camp at Las Vocas.

**The 6th**

From Las Vocas, I set out at daybreak and entered the Villa at ten o'clock.

This is a copy of the original which remains in the archive of this government, Santa Fe, November 15, 1788. Fernando de la Concha.

This is a copy of the original which I certify. Valle de San Bartolome, January 12, 1789.