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The 1785 Juan Martínez de Montoya Document

Samuel Temkin

In mid-March of 1785 Bernardino López, holding an old document, appeared before a Crown officer in Madrid and asked him to order two certified copies. The document López presented to the officer was a copy of another, apparently written on 6 March 1609 in Mexico City at the request of Capt. Juan Martínez de Montoya, who had served the Spanish Crown in various capacities in the province of Nuevo México between 1600 and 1608. Fifty years later, in 1835 a genealogy completed in Spain seemed to show that Martínez de Montoya was an ancestor of López. Prepared at that time, a single document included both the copy of the 1609 document prepared in 1785 and the genealogy.¹ Its last page contains the date when it was completed: 26 May 1835.

Although the provenance of the 1835 document is unknown, it came into the possession of an antiquarian book dealer in London, where historian France V. Scholes read it. In an article published in the *New Mexico Historical Review* in 1944, he wrote about the life and actions of Martínez de Montoya.² Using the 1785 document as a source, Scholes concluded, “But the most interesting data recorded for the year 1607–1608 are brief references to a place called Santa Fe, and statements indicating that some sort of post or settlement was

Dr. Temkin, a past contributor to the *New Mexico Historical Review*, is Professor Emeritus, Rutgers University. Among his recent works is *Luis de Carvajal: The Origins of Nuevo Reino de León*, published by Sunstone Press in 2011. The author is indebted to the referees for their very helpful and careful review of this work, and for pointing out several examples of certain Spanish expressions that were in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He is also grateful to Mr. José García and to Drs. Rick Hendricks, Elizabeth S. Pease, and Joseph P. Sánchez for their comments and suggestions.

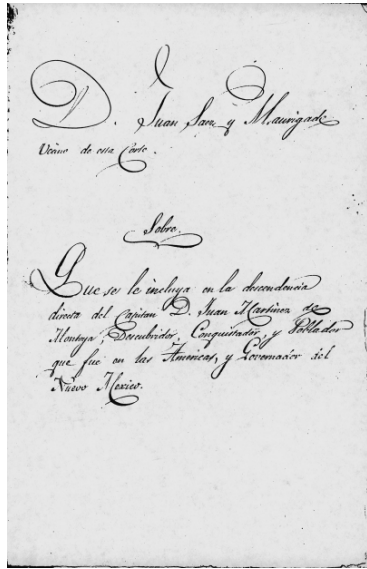


FIG. 1. COVER PAGE OF THE 1835 MARTÍNEZ DE MONTOYA DOCUMENT

(Courtesy of the Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, New Mexico History Museum)

being established there.” Consequently, it is no surprise that the Martínez de Montoya document has acquired a special importance in New Mexico historiography, for it seems to indicate that the founding of Santa Fe may have taken place before 1610, the year most historians have considered to be the year of its establishment.

Although Scholes did not propose that Martínez de Montoya founded Santa Fe, his article was largely responsible for the purchase of the document by the Museum of New Mexico in the 1990s. By then the historical community apparently had accepted the notion that it was Martínez de Montoya who founded Santa Fe. In a short article that appeared in *El Palacio* in 1994, the magazine’s publisher, Beverly Becker, described the events that led to the purchase of the document and added that the document is “a personal chronicle of the sojourn from 1600 to 1608 of Señor Juan Martínez de Montoya in which

he described in detail several of his escapades, including the founding of Santa Fe.”³ A few years later, similar but less definite accounts about the beginnings of Santa Fe appeared in *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, and California* by historian John L. Kessell.⁴

The interest in the Martínez de Montoya document recently increased as a result of the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Santa Fe.⁵ Several articles included in an anthology prepared for the occasion demonstrate that the Martínez de Montoya document has spawned several ideas about the origins of Santa Fe. Some of these ideas suggest that Martínez de Montoya founded the villa.

This work examines the 1785 Martínez de Montoya document in detail. The object is (1) to assess the authenticity of the earlier documents it contains, and (2) to analyze how they relate to Santa Fe. In short, the earlier components of the 1785 document are authentic. However, the evidence appearing in the document fails to establish that Martínez de Montoya was the actual, or even the de facto, founder of Santa Fe. In addition, this work examines the origins of Martínez de Montoya and concludes that he was not the man in the genealogy part of the 1835 document.

The 1609 Document

The 1835 document contains sixty-one folios. The first twenty-two contain the 1785 copy of a copy of a *presumed* 1609 original, and the remaining portions of the manuscript deal with the genealogy. The following discussion largely ignores the genealogy and focuses on the 1609 document and its contents. Figure 2 shows a schematic tree of the main components of the 1835 document.

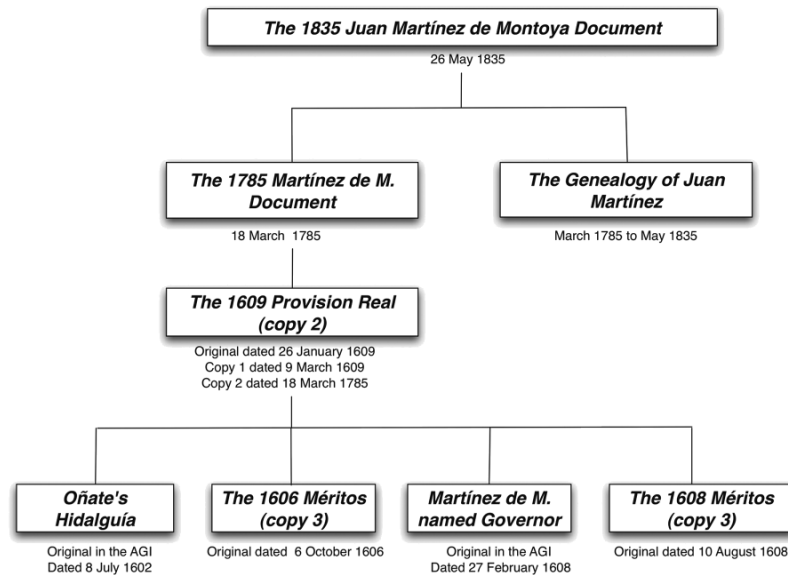


FIG. 2. SCHEMATIC TREE SHOWING THE CONTENTS OF THE 1835 MARTÍNEZ DE MONTOYA DOCUMENT

(Figure by and courtesy Samuel Temkin)

The 1609 document purports to be a copy of an original *provisión real* (royal order) dated 26 January 1609. That royal document was issued by the *Real Audiencia de México* in the name of the Spanish king. A few weeks later, on 6 March 1609 the *provisión* was given to Martínez de Montoya in Mexico City. Three days later, he requested don García López de Espina, a *corregidor* (magistrate) in Mexico City, to make two certified copies of an original he presented. López de Espina ordered the drafting of two copies, which were given to Martínez de Montoya together with the original. Thus, the document that Bernardino López presented in Madrid in March 1785 may have been one of those two copies of the 1609 original, which was returned to Martínez de Montoya. Yet the copy of the *provisión real* now available for research was made in 1785 and is signed Bernardino López. Thus, the 1609 document included in the Martínez de Montoya document of 1785 is, at best, a copy of a

copy made 176 years after the original document was written in Mexico City. For simplicity this essay refers to this part of the 1785 document as the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2), the name with which it appears in figure 2.

Given that the original of the 1609 document has not been found and that the provenance of the existing copy is unknown, it is pertinent to ask whether the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2) is authentic. For this purpose it is useful to consider the provisión real separately from the *traslados*, or copies, of some older documents that it contains. Those *traslados* include two important documents, one dated 1606 and the other dated 1608, both of which will be considered later.

Regarding the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2), several factors show that it is an authentic copy of the original given to Martínez de Montoya in 1609. First, what Martínez de Montoya presented to the magistrate was, as he stated, “not torn, amended, or suspect in any manner.”⁶ Second, it contains copies of documents that do exist in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI).⁷ Third, the individuals who signed the document as viceroy, *oidores* (judges), chancellor, and *escribano de cámara* (head scribe), did occupy those positions in 1609, as a separate document attests.⁸ Of course, the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2), being a copy of a copy, does not contain the actual signatures of those individuals; only their names appear. Thus, their names might have been inserted in one of the copies prepared afterwards. However, the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 1) was made less than two months after the original was supposedly signed by the viceroy and the *oidores* in the audiencia. The signatures of these Crown officers were well known to the scribes who verified that the document was indeed signed by the royal scribe who made the copy. Any signatures appearing in copy 1 of the Provisión Real were unlikely forged. These facts

strongly suggest that an original existed and that the copy made

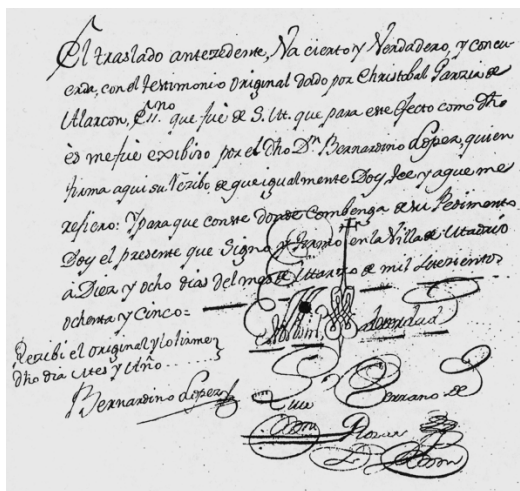


FIG. 3. BOTTOM PART OF FOLIO 22 RECTO OF THE 1785 DOCUMENT

Luis Serrano certifies on March of 1785 the accuracy of the copy of a document made for Bernardino López, who acknowledges receiving the original.

(Courtesy of the Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, New Mexico History Museum)

in March 1609 and presented before a court officer in Madrid in 1785 was authentic. Similarly, the copy made in 1785 in Madrid was certified by a Crown officer who compared it with the 1609 copy. I must emphasize, however, that this conclusion refers only to the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2) and does not necessarily apply to the traslados that appear in it.

Purpose of the 1609 Document

The provisión real mentions an earlier document dated 27 February 1608.⁹ On that day, Viceroy Luis de Velasco II, or rather the audiencia, accepted the resignation of don Juan de Oñate as governor of Nuevo México and named Juan Martínez de Montoya to replace him. The appointment is notable because Velasco had never met Martínez de Montoya, Martínez de Montoya had never asked to be named to that position, and Martínez de Montoya was not in Mexico City at the time.¹⁰ In any case, the February 1608 document related solely to the government of that Spanish province, but the 1609 Provisión Real (orig.) had little to do with the government of Nuevo México and was issued at Martínez de Montoya's request. His intention was personal: he wanted the audiencia to certify that he was an *hidalgo* (the lowest rank of Spanish nobility). To prove it, he presented several other documents including one issued by Governor Oñate in Nuevo México in 1606. Oñate certified that Martínez de Montoya had already earned his *hidalguía* (nobility) as a result of his merits and his many years of exemplary service to the Crown in the "conquest, pacification and conversion" of Nuevo México.¹¹

The merits and services of Martínez de Montoya mentioned in Oñate's statement appear in a document dated 6 October 1606.¹² It is difficult to ascertain why Martínez de Montoya wished to be named an *hidalgo* at this time. A possible explanation for his request is that Governor Oñate had expressed a desire to resign. Thus, thinking that the colony's end was near, Martínez de Montoya probably believed that he should obtain the desired certification while Oñate was still governor. In any event, his reasons must have been important enough for him to seek the title of *hidalgo* in earnest. Not only did he petition Governor Oñate to certify his merits in 1606, but two years later he appeared before Cristóbal de Oñate to request the certification of some additional merits. Cristóbal complied on 10 August 1608. The document listing those merits also appears in the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2). For simplicity the October 1606 and the August 1608 documents, which are copies made in 1785 of presumed original documents included in the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2), will be here referred to as the 1606 Méritos (copy 3), and the 1608 Méritos (copy 3), respectively.¹³ They appear in figure 2 with these names.

Although Martínez de Montoya's pursuit of the title of hidalgo is tangential to this inquiry, the 1609 Provisión Real is relevant to the history of Nuevo México mainly because of the copies of the 1606 Méritos (copy 3) and the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) included in it. Although both these items are important, only the latter mentions a place called Santa Fe. Historians believe that this mention in the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) refers to the nascent settlement that would become the modern city of Santa Fe, New Mexico. If authentic, the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) would be the earliest known mention of Santa Fe in any document. Of course, it and the 1606 Méritos (copy 3) are of historical interest for other reasons as well.

Authenticity of the Méritos Documents

This article must consider the authenticity of both Méritos documents for several reasons. First, neither has been found in the AGI or in any other official archive. Second, both appear as copies within a copy of a copy prepared more than 175 years after the events it describes. Third, given that their provenance is unknown, it is possible they were added to the 1609 Provisión Real (orig.) without due certification. Nevertheless, documentary evidence shows that the 1606 Méritos (copy 3) is authentic. Both the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) and the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2) contain most of the claims made in the 1606 Méritos (copy 3). Clearly, this could not be unless the 1606 Méritos (orig.) existed in its present form at the time that the 1609 Provisión Real (orig.) was created. Yet none of the claims stated in the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) are quoted in the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2).¹⁴ This does not prove that the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) is a forgery; the oidores of the audiencia possibly deemed those merits superfluous. Of course, even if an original document existed in 1608, intended or accidental changes might have been made to it before the document was introduced in the 1609 Provisión Real.

Resolving the issue of authenticity is impossible without additional evidence. However, if the document is not authentic, there must have been some reason to forge it. In this context, it should be remembered that the purpose of the document was to confirm the hidalguía that Governor Oñate had granted to Martínez de Montoya in 1606. What was to be gained by Martínez de Montoya in 1609 or by his descendants in 1785 to alter or fabricate the 1608 Méritos (orig.)? In this regard, it would appear that except for the issue of hidalguía, which had already been decided in 1606, *none* of the events or claims appearing in the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) would benefit Martínez de Montoya or his descendants. The 1608 Méritos (copy 3) appearing in the 1609 document can be considered an authentic copy of an original issued in August 1608.

Santa Fe

Since the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) is most likely authentic, the mention of a place called Santa Fe in Nuevo México must be examined. It is doubtful that between October 1606 and August 1608, the dates cited in the 1608 Méritos, two places called Santa Fe existed in Nuevo México at the same time. The appearance of Santa Fe in an official document dated 1608 is significant as first pointed out by Scholes, since the mention shows that Santa Fe existed before 1610, the generally accepted year of its founding by Gov. Pedro de Peralta, and that the settlement was known at the highest levels of Spanish colonial government in Mexico City. This would also imply that the founder of Santa Fe was someone other than Peralta, who did not arrive in Nuevo México until late 1609 or early 1610.¹⁵ Based on these dates and other information in the document some scholars believe that the Martínez de Montoya document implies that he built a plaza in Santa Fe. Others state that a grant had been given to him to found the town and that he was the de facto founder of Santa Fe.¹⁶ These assertions make it necessary to examine those portions of the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) that relate to Santa Fe.

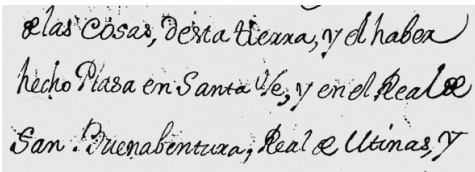
First, the 1606 Méritos (copy 3) mentions a grant given by Oñate to Martínez de Montoya, but that grant refers to a pueblo called Santiago in the “Enez Altos.”¹⁷ The name *Santa Fe* appears nowhere in that document. In fact, Oñate did not even credit Martínez de Montoya with any service as a settler (see note 11). On the other hand, the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) mentions Santa Fe in two places. The second mention, which is easier to interpret, says, in part, “y poblé en Santa Fe.”¹⁸ The preposition *en* makes it clear that the correct translation into English is either “I settled in Santa Fe” or “I was a settler in Santa Fe.” That assertion shows that a place by that name already existed in Nuevo México by August 1608. Was that place in the same location as present-day Santa Fe?¹⁹ If the location was different, it was unlikely far from the modern day location of Santa Fe. It is also likely that the settlement was initially only a military post because it is inconceivable that a Spanish settlement could have been started anywhere in Nuevo México at that time without military protection or the involvement of soldiers. However, Martínez de Montoya stated that he settled in Santa Fe. This means that his Santa Fe was not just a temporary military station but an incipient village. This small village possibly included several Spanish families who had come to Nuevo México with Oñate and had been living in San Gabriel since their arrival.

It should be emphasized that Martínez de Montoya did not claim he settled or that he ordered a place called Santa Fe to be settled. Such an action would have been regarded as highly meritorious and he would have

certainly stated it in his Méritos. Instead, he asserted his rights as a *poblador* (settler) of a new place. Although not as meritorious as having settled Santa Fe, being a *poblador* was also important because it gave additional support to his desire to be named *hidalgo*.²⁰ However, the *audiencia* did not need to cite that additional fact for in 1606 Oñate had already certified that Martínez de Montoya had fulfilled all of the *hidalguía* requirements.

The name *Santa Fe* first appears in a long sentence in the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) where Martínez de Montoya listed his service to the king. The sentence reads:

he hecho mas servicios a S.M. . . . como es **haber ido** . . . contra los apaches salteadores . . . y el **haber hecho plaza** en Santa Fe, y en el Real de San Buenaventura, Real de Minas, y sido en ayuda a descubrirlas . . . y antes de esto asimismo poblé en la villa de San Gabriel, y hice casa siendo en ella alcalde ordinario este año de 1608.²¹



Las cosas, desta tierra, y el haber
hecho plaza en Santa Fe, y en el Real de
San Buenaventura, Real de Minas, y

FIG. 4. PORTION OF THE RECTO SIDE OF FOLIO 18 SHOWING A REFERENCE TO SANTA FE IN THE MARTÍNEZ DE MONTOYA DOCUMENT (Courtesy of the Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, New Mexico History Museum)

It is useful to break the sentence into several parts. The beginning part means: “I have performed more services for H.M. . . . such as having gone . . . against the thieving Apaches.” The middle part of the sentence refers to an action he claimed to have performed in *two different* places, as implied by the comma separating Santa Fe from San Buenaventura. The sentence makes clear that he executed the same action in *both* places. Martínez de Montoya obviously believed that what he did in those places was sufficiently important as a service to the king. But what specific service did he perform? As the sentence shows, he claimed to have done something in Santa Fe (and also in San Buenaventura). According to some historians, that sentence implies that Martínez de Montoya was the *de facto* founder of Santa Fe. Possibly he was, but neither the 1606 or the 1608 Méritos documents say so, nor can the above statement be construed to mean that he founded Santa Fe. The several components together explain that after discovering certain mines, Martínez de Montoya also settled in San Gabriel where, in 1608 he

had been an *alcalde ordinario* (magistrate in command of a small town, or second in command of a larger town or province).

To try to understand the meaning of the sentence in question, it is useful to examine its grammatical components in the context of the Spanish spoken by someone born around 1560, as Martínez de Montoya supposedly was.²² First, the object in the idiomatic expression “haber hecho plaza” is clearly “plaza.” In the context of the document that word can signify either one of the following acceptations:

1. A central space in a town or city, as in “Nos dijo Cortés que sería bien ir a la plaza mayor,” (Cortez told us that it would be a good idea to go to the main plaza) or “Ninguno se quizo bajar a las plazas,” (Nobody wanted to get down to the plazas) or “La plaza mayor, donde se ha de comenzar la población . . . en medio de la población” (The main plaza, where the settlement should begin . . . in the middle of the settlement).²³ Another use is *plaza de armas* (space in a settlement used for military ceremonies and exercises).²⁴ This last place is not the same as a place fortified with walls for defensive purposes. Such places housed both soldiers and civilians and were called either *fuertes* or *presidios*.

2. A position in government as in “Merezcan ser proveidos . . . en las plazas de sus Audiencias Reales” (they deserved to be given . . . the positions of their Royal Audiencias).²⁵ Both uses were common in the sixteenth century and would have been part of Martínez de Montoya’s vocabulary.

In view of the first acceptation, the assertion “haber hecho plaza” has been interpreted to mean that he built or had built the plaza in Santa Fe. This interpretation is not correct because it is unlikely that a plaza was “built.” At best, an area was cleared to serve some purpose such as a military post. As for the second acceptation, it is tempting to conclude that Martínez de Montoya occupied a Crown position in Santa Fe, but this proposition is also doubtful. If he had served in some official capacity there, he would have stated the name of the office, as he did with regard to San Gabriel. In addition, he would have said “haber *tenido* plaza en Santa Fe” (having had a position in Santa Fe). Therefore Martínez de Montoya’s assertion must mean something else.

The remaining component of the assertion, namely the compound expression “haber hecho,” is similar to “haber ido,” which appears in the first part of the quoted sentence. In both cases the verb *haber* specifies the present perfect tense of the acting verbs *ir* (to go) and *hacer* (to make), respectively. Rather than dealing with that tense of “haber hecho plaza,” it is simpler to deal with “hacer plaza” (to make plaza), its present tense.

Regrettably, the expression “hacer plaza” does not appear in the *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, published in 1611.²⁶ This omission does not necessarily

indicate that the expression was not, or had not been in use by that time. As the author of the *Tesoro* stated, there were an infinite number of uses of the verb *hacer* which he chose not to include in his work.²⁷ Another source is the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, published by the Real Academia Española.²⁸ This work lists several meanings for the idiomatic expression *hacer plaza*:²⁹

1. (fr.) *Vender ciertas cosas al por menor públicamente* [Retail selling of certain items in a public place].
2. *Hacer lugar; despejar un sitio por violencia y mandato* [Make space, clear a site by force or order].

An earlier version of the *Diccionario* adds another acceptance:³⁰

3. *Manifestar o publicar lo que estaba oculto o escondido* [Manifest publicly something that was hidden].³¹

The *Diccionario* contains other possibilities such as to forcibly make space so that the king or other dignitaries could pass, obviously a subset of the second entry.

The first and the third definitions have narrow meanings that cannot apply to Martínez de Montoya's situation. According to the Real Academia, the first meaning is of French origin. If so, it must have entered Spanish quite early for several examples of its use can be found dating back to the early 1700s, which means it was in use during Martínez de Montoya's times. In any event, he was a man of arms, not a retail businessman. Thus, the first interpretation is inapplicable.

The third possibility does not apply for it refers to a man bragging publicly about his wealth. However, Martínez de Montoya was not a rich man. His assets were limited to horses, cattle, and the like. He had no hidden riches to brag about.

The first definition in the second acceptance, "hacer lugar," does seem to provide a logical interpretation for "hacer plaza." If correct, it would imply that Martínez de Montoya's service in Santa Fe was to help clear, or direct the clearing of, an area in a place called Santa Fe. The cleared space might also have become a plaza de armas, and at a much later time, that same space might have become known as the Plaza in Santa Fe.

La Villa de Santa Fe

It is perhaps appropriate to consider the date when the formal establishment of Santa Fe took place. In his instructions to Gov. Pedro de Peralta, Viceroy Luis de Velasco II told him "Y llegado que sea a las dichas provincias . . . procurando que ante todo se ponga en ejecución la fundación y población

de la villa que se pretende.” (And having arrived to said provinces . . . he will, first of all, found and settle the villa that is desired.)³² Although the order was given on 30 March 1609, not until later that year did Peralta and his people start their long trek to Nuevo México, possibly arriving there at the end of 1609 or at the beginning 1610 (see note 15). Either way, winter conditions would have prevented the immediate execution of the viceroy’s order.

Regrettably, the deed of foundation, which must have been drawn up at the time, has not been found. The question then is: What is the earliest known reference to the villa de Santa Fe? In his introduction to *All Trails Lead to Santa Fe* historian Joseph Sánchez cites a work by Hubert Howe Bancroft that states, apparently without archival citation, “the first definite mention (of Santa Fe) is in 1617 on January 3rd of which year the *cabildo* of Santa Fe petition the king to aid the ‘nueva población.’”³³

There is, however, at least one document where “villa de Santa Fe” appears at an earlier date.³⁴ The document describes the confrontation between Governor Peralta and Fray Isidro Ordóñez that brought down the governor. The earliest dated mention of Santa Fe occurs in paragraph number 17 in the document, an excerpt of which is shown below.

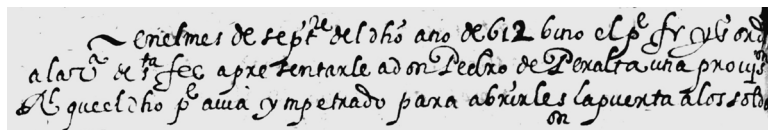


FIG. 5. EARLIEST KNOWN WRITTEN REFERENCE TO THE VILLA DE SANTA FE (Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Nación)

The first lines of this excerpt state, “En el mes de septiembre del dicho año de 612 vino el Padre Fray Ysidro Ordóñez a la villa de Santa Fe a presentarle a don Pedro de Peralta una Provisión Real” (In the month of September of [1]612, Fray Ysidro de Ordóñez came to the Villa de Santa Fe to present don Pedro de Peralta a Provisión Real). By that time, according to the same document, Santa Fe already had *Casas Reales*, or buildings that housed the *Caja Real* (Royal Treasure Chest), which normally included quarters for some military personnel, a jail, and offices where official business was conducted; numerous houses; and, most likely, a church, although not until 1613 in the narrative is a church explicitly mentioned in the document.

Other statements in the same document seem to indicate that the villa de Santa Fe had already been founded by 1611, but they do not declare a specific date. In any event, the 1612 statement quoted above brackets the date of the founding of Santa Fe within a period beginning sometime in 1610 and ending no later than September of 1612. However, given the nature of Velasco’s order

to Governor Peralta, the villa was likely founded in 1610, the date assumed by most historians. Also likely is that the villa was founded in the same place that Juan Martínez de Montoya *hizo plaza* between 1606 and 1608.

Juan Martínez de Montoya

I conclude this work with a brief note on Juan Martínez de Montoya and his descendants, beginning with his origins. From the 1606 Méritos (copy 3) two basic facts are known about him. First, he was born in Navalagamella, near El Escorial in Spain. The second is that he was born around 1556.

The genealogy part of the 1835 document seems to offer additional information. That genealogy was initiated in 1785, when don Bernardino López presented the authorities with some earlier church documents related to some baptisms and marriages in Navalagamella.³⁵ The first record referred to the marriage between a Juan Martínez and an Ana Pasquala del Mesón in 1584, whom López claimed were his ancestors.³⁶ Later he additionally claimed that this Juan Martínez was the Juan Martínez de Montoya who appeared in the copy of the copy of the 1609 document that was certified in March 1785. He based his claim as an hidalgo on this ancestry.³⁷

To my knowledge, the claim that Juan Martínez was the historical Juan Martínez de Montoya has never been questioned. Yet, I offer below that they were not the same person and conclude that the genealogy contained in the 1835 document has nothing to do with the Juan Martínez de Montoya who appears in the history of Nuevo México.

Consider first Juan Martínez. According to the 1835 genealogy he was married in 1584. That genealogy also contains, on the margin of folio 28, a 1674 church certificate of the death of his daughter. These two entries in the genealogy are the only ones that explicitly mention Juan Martínez before 1785. Note that the surname Montoya does not appear in either one.

The Archivo General de Indias contains at least three documents that mention two persons named Joan (or Juan) Martínez de Montoya, both of whom were born in Navalagamella in the sixteenth century. Two of those documents refer to a man who already had a daughter and two sons by 1585. The third document refers to one of his sons, born well before 1600.

In March of 1585, a Juan Martínez de Montoya appeared before Crown officers to ask permission to go to New Spain with his wife (Inés Sánchez), two sons, a daughter, and a servant.³⁸ The reason, he said, was that he was poor and in need, and that his father-in-law, García Sánchez de Bañares, a wealthy man who lived in the mines of Pachuca in New Spain, had asked him to go there with his family. In support of his petition he presented a

letter from his father-in-law, written in Pachuca on 4 April 1584.

Two years later, on 16 March 1587, the same man appeared before the Crown officers and stated that his wife, Inés Sánchez, had died soon after the 1585 permit had been issued, and that he had to postpone his voyage. This time he asked that he be permitted to travel to New Spain alone, without his two sons and his daughter, a request that was granted.³⁹

It is evident that this Juan Martínez de Montoya went to the mines of Pachuca in New Spain in 1587, for thirteen years later, on 22 April 1600 a witness in an official inquiry mentioned that fact.⁴⁰ The document is a petition by two “mozos solteros y por casar” (young, single men near marriage age) named García Sánchez de Montoya and Juan Martínez de Montoya, to go to New Spain to live with their father, Juan Martínez de Montoya, in the mines of Pachuca. Incidentally, another document shows that García Sánchez de Montoya was in Pachuca in 1606.⁴¹

These documents clearly show that Juan Martínez, the man who married in 1584, and Juan Martínez de Montoya, the man who requested permission to travel to New Spain in 1585 and 1587, were different persons. The first was married to Ana Pasquala and the wife of the second was Inés Sánchez. Furthermore, the first had, at most, one child, whereas the second had three children by 1585.

Of course, none of these documents state who was the Martínez de Montoya who appears in the historical records of New Mexico. We can, however, eliminate from contention Juan Martínez de Montoya’s son of the same name who in 1600 was requesting permission to go to New Spain because the historical one was already in that province.

Let us now consider the remaining two contenders. One was the Juan Martínez of the genealogy; the other was the man who left Spain in 1587, Juan Martínez de Montoya. As already stated, it is evident that the first of these two could not be the historical Juan Martínez de Montoya. Two additional reasons attest to this. First, the genealogy referred to him as Juan Martínez, not as Juan Martínez de Montoya. Second, he was significantly younger than the historical Juan Martínez de Montoya. Thus, according to folio 26 of the genealogy, Juan Martínez was born in 1561 so that by 1606 he would have been forty-five years old. On the other hand the historical Juan Martínez de Montoya was, according to Juan de Oñate, about fifty years old. Thus, Juan

FIG. 6. SIGNATURE OF JUAN MARTÍNEZ DE MONTOYA IN 1587 (Courtesy of the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo General de Indias)

Martínez, the ancestor of Bernardino López was not the man who *hizo plaza* in Santa Fe.

We are thus left with the man who immigrated to New Spain in 1587, whose name was identical to that of the historical figure. Were they the same person? The available contemporary evidence indicates that they were. First, the likelihood of finding two men with identical *extended* names, who were born in the same place, and who immigrated to New Spain at about the same time is exceedingly small. Another reason is the estimated birthdate of the man who immigrated to New Spain in 1587. Based on the ages of his sons, I estimate that this man was born between 1553 and 1558.⁴² Thus, in 1606, when Oñate stated that Martínez de Montoya was about fifty years old, this man would be between forty-eight and fifty-three years old, an age that fits Oñate's estimate. Taken together these facts lead me to conclude that the person who was named governor of Nuevo México by Viceroy Luis de Velasco II was the same Juan Martínez de Montoya who immigrated to New Spain in 1587.

Conclusions

This work has examined the Juan Martínez de Montoya document, giving special attention to the 1785 document and to its contents, the presumed copies of a Provisión Real (copy 2) and the third copies of 1606 and 1608 Méritos documents. Two particular issues were considered in some detail: (1) the authenticity of the documents, and (2) the actions that Juan Martínez de Montoya claimed to have performed in Nuevo México, particularly in a place called Santa Fe. With regard to the first, this analysis concludes that the copies of the 1606, 1608, and 1609 documents are probably authentic. Second, with respect to the services that Martínez de Montoya claimed to have performed in Santa Fe, he probably helped clear, or directed the clearing of, a space for a military post in Santa Fe. Oñate did not give Martínez de Montoya a grant to settle Santa Fe, and the founding of Santa Fe was done neither directly nor indirectly by Martínez de Montoya. Also, as pointed out earlier by several investigators, the documents clearly show that an incipient settlement existed at the current site of Santa Fe (or at some nearby point) before 1610. In addition, given that the 1606 document does not mention Santa Fe, Martínez de Montoya apparently *hizo plaza* there between October of 1606 and August of 1608. Therefore the settlement that is now called Santa Fe probably had its beginnings sometime within this two year interval. Finally, the genealogy part of the document, written in 1835, has nothing to do with the man who hizo plaza in Santa Fe.

Appendix. Transcription and Translation of the 1785 Juan Martínez de Montoya Document

Content and Folio No.

Bernardino López requests that certified copies be made of a document.
Madrid, 18 March 1785

1r

Petition by Juan Martínez de Montoya. Mexico City, 9 March 1609

1r-2r

Head of a *provisión real* about Juan Martínez de Montoya's *Hidalguía*. Mexico City, 26 January 1609

2r-4r

Chapter 100 of the *Ordenanzas para los nuevos descubrimientos*. Segovia, 13 July 1573

4v-5r

Juan de Oñate's *Hidalguía*. Madrid, 8 July 1602

5r-6r

Document about Juan de Oñate's resignation. Mexico City, 18 January 1608

6v-8r

Document naming Juan Martínez de Montoya Governor of Nuevo México, 27 February 1608

8r-10v

Juan de Oñate's certification of Juan Martínez de Montoya's *Méritos y Servicios*, 6 October 1606

11r-17v

Cristobal de Oñate's certification of Juan Martínez de Montoya's *Méritos y Servicios*, 10 August 1608

17v-19r

The Audiencia de México reaffirms the *Hidalguía* of Juan Martínez de Montoya, 11 December 1608

19r-21r

Juan Martínez de Montoya obtains copy of the *Provisión Real* about his *Hidalguía*, 9 March 1609

21v

Royal scribe Cristóbal de Alarcón certifies the copy of the *Provisión Real*, 9 March, 1609

21v

Royal scribe Luis Serrano certifies the 1785 copy of the 1609 copy of the *Provisión Real*, 1785

22r

Bernardino López receives his copy of the 1609 Provisión Real. End of the 1785 document

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n.b. The notation [^] appearing several times in the transcription indicates the beginning of folio xx. *Verso* folios are indicated with the letter v. Line breaks are inserted in both the transcription and the translations to denote different components of the document. Brackets are used to indicate material not contained in the original document, whereas parentheses are intended to clarify some statements. Some Spanish words that appear repeatedly in the transcription or in the translation are explained in the Glossary. The spelling of many archaic words in the manuscript have been modernized. Examples are *ansí* and the conjunction *e*, which are replaced, respectively, by *así* and, when admissible, by *y*. Finally, dates appearing in the translation have been modernized to make them stand out from the text.

/Yo Luis Serrano de Rozas, escribano del Rey nuestro señor, del colegio de esta corte y residente en su corte y provincia, doy fe que hoy, día de la fecha, por Don Bernardino López, teniente veterano del Batallón de Voluntarios Blancos de Valencia, provincia de Caracas, residente al presente en esta corte, se exhibió ante mi un testimonio dado por Cristóbal Garzía de Alarcón, escribano que fue de S.M. (Su Majestad), su fecha en la ciudad de México a seis de marzo de mil seiscientos y nueve años, que su tenor y el de una comprobación que se halla a su final a la letra, son a saber:

En la ciudad de México a seis días del mes de marzo de mil y seiscientos y nueve años ante Don Garzía López del Espinar, Corregidor de esta ciudad, la presentó el contenido: El capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya digo que a mi derecho conviene sacar

I, Luis Serrano de Rozas, scribe of the king our lord, of the college [of scribes] of this court and resident in his court and province, certify that today, the day of the date [of this document], Don Bernardino López, retired lieutenant of the Battalion of the White Volunteers of Valencia, province of Caracas, presently residing in this court, exhibited before me a written testimony by Cristóbal Garzía de Alarcón, who was a scribe of H.M. (His Majesty), prepared in Mexico City on 6 March 1609, which together with a certification found at the end of the document is as follows:

In Mexico City on 6 March 1609, before Don Garzía López del Espinar, *corregidor* in this city, was presented the following: I, Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, say that it is within my rights to obtain copies of a *provisión real* obtained

traslados de una provisión real ganada de los señores presidente y oidores de la Audiencia y Chancillería Real de esta ciudad de México, y refrendada de Martín Osorio de Agurto, escribano de cámara de esta Real Audiencia, por la cual dicha provisión real consta de los servicios que hice a S.M. en la conquista y pacificación del Nuevo México, por tanto: A vuestra merced pido y suplico que atento que la dicha provisión real está sana y no rota ni raída, ni en parte ninguna sospechosa, mande al presente escribano me de, de ella, los traslados que pidiere, signados y en manera que hagan fe, en los cuales interponga vuestra merced su autoridad y decreto judicial y pido justicia. Otrosí, pido y suplico a vuestra merced mande al presente escribano me vuelva la dicha provisión real pues es justicia, la cual pido. Juan Martínez de Montoya.

El corregidor mandó que se le de un traslado, dos y más de la dicha Real Provisión, autorizados en pública forma, y en manera que haga fe, en los cuales, y en cada uno de ellos interpone su autoridad y decreto judicial cuanto puede de derecho ha lugar, y se le vuelva el original. Don Garzía. Ante mi: Christóbal de Alarcón, escribano público. En cumplimiento de lo cual, yo Cristóbal Garzía de Alarcón escribano del Rey nuestro señor, y público en esta ciudad de México, de una Real Provisión firmada de los señores presidente y oidores de la Real Audiencia que reside en esta ciudad de México, y refrendada de Martín

from the president and *oidores* of the *Audiencia* and Royal Chancellery in this city of Mexico, and countersigned by Martín Osorio de Agurto, *escribano de cámara*, of this *Real Audiencia*, by which are verified the services I performed for H.M. in the conquest and pacification of *Nuevo México*, because of which I ask and beg your honor to order the present scribe, that since the said provisión real is intact and not torn or worn, or suspect in any of its parts, to give me the copies that I might request, signed so that it will be certified to others, in which your honor exercises his authority and judicial decree, and I ask justice. In addition, I ask and beg that your honor orders the present scribe to return to me the provisión real, because that is what justice requires, which I ask. Juan Martínez de Montoya.

The corregidor ordered to give him one, two, or more copies in public form and in a manner that will be certified to others, on which and on every one of them he imposes his authority and judicial decree in whatever form he can and judicial right allows, and that the original be returned. Don Garzía. Before me, Cristóbal de Alarcón, public scribe. In fulfillment of which I, Cristóbal Garzía de Alarcón, scribe of the king, our lord, and public [scribe] in this city of Mexico, ordered that a certified copy of said provisión real be made, signed by the president and *oidores* of the Real Audiencia that resides in this city of Mexico, and

Osorio de Agurto, escribano de cámara de la dicha Real Audiencia, dada en favor del Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, que refiere su petición, hice sacar un traslado de ella de mandamiento del dicho corregidor, que es de pedimento del dicho Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, que su tenor es como se sigue:

Don Phelipe, por la gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla, de León, de Aragón, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalén, de Portugal, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega,^{2v} de Murcia, de Jaén, de los Algarves, de Algecira, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Canaria, de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano, Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgoña, Brabante, y Milán, Conde de Habsburgo, de Flandes, y de Tirol, y de Barcelona, Señor de Vizcaya y de Molina, *etcétera*: A los del mi Consejo, Presidente y oidores, alcaldes de mi corte, y chancillerías, y a los mis gobernadores, corregidores, alcaldes mayores y ordinarios y otros cualesquier mis jueces y justicias que al presente sois, y adelante fuerdes de todas las ciudades, villas y lugares de los mis reinos y señoríos, y a cada uno y cualquier de vos en vuestras jurisdicciones, ante quien esta mi carta y su traslado sacado con autoridad de juez en manera que haga fe, fuere presentada:

Sabed que ante el presidente y oidores de mi Real Audiencia que reside

countersigned by Martín Osorio de Agurto, *escribano de cámara* of said Real Audiencia, given in favor of Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, as his petition states, I ordered that a copy be made as commanded by said corregidor and as requested by said Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, whose contents are as follows:

Don Phelipe, by the grace of God king of Castile, León, Aragón, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarra, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Seville, Cerdeña, Córdoba, Corsica, Murcia, Jaén, the Algarves, Algecira, Gibraltar, Islas Canarias, Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano (Atlantic Ocean); Archduke of Austria, Duke of Borgoña, Brabante, and Milan; Count of Habsburg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona; Lord of Vizcaya and Molina, etc. To the [members] of my *Consejo*, President, *oidores*, *alcaldes* of my court and chancelleries, and to my governors, magistrates, *alcaldes mayores* and *alcaldes ordinarios* and any other of my judges and justices that at present, and in the future, would be of all cities, villages and places in my kingdoms and dominions, and to each one of you and any of you in your jurisdictions before whom this my letter, or its copy obtained with a judge's authority in a manner that it is verified, may be presented:

Be informed that before the president and oidores of my Real Audiencia

en la ciudad de México de la Nueva España, pareció el capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, y por petición me hizo relación diciendo que el había ido a ser^virme nombrado por capitán para la conquista del Nuevo México con la gente que yo le había enviado de socorro en la segunda jornada, al principio del año de seiscientos, y había estado sirviendo por su persona, armas y caballos y criados actualmente en todas las ocasiones de Guerra y de Paz, que por el dicho Don Juan de Oñate, mi gobernador y capitán general le había sido ordenado, tiempo de ocho años, poco mas o menos, hasta ahora que con licencia de Don Christóbal de Oñate, hijo del dicho gobernador a quien el cabildo del dicho Nuevo México había nombrado para se la dar, venía del dicho Nuevo México, había gastado en la dicha conquista de su hacienda mas de cinco mil pesos. Y por constarme de los dichos servicios, había sido servido de nombrarle por gobernador de la dicha conquista del Nuevo México, en lugar del dicho Don Juan de Oñate, por haber el susodicho hecho dejación del dicho cargo, como parecía por^v mi provisión real del dicho nombramiento. Y para el recaudo necesario de los dichos sus servicios, y de las franquezas y libertades que yo había sido servido de concederle, conforme a mi Real Provisión, firmada de mi Real mano que estaba presentada y mandada guardar, me suplicó le mandase dar mi carta, en que fuesen insertas la de hidalguía

that resides in Mexico City, in New Spain, Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya appeared, and through a petition, he made a report saying that he had gone to serve me, named as captain for the conquest of Nuevo México, with the people that I had sent him in aid, in the second expedition, at the beginning of [1]600, and had personally served with his arms, horses, and servants in all the occasions of war and peace, which he had been ordered to by Don Juan de Oñate, my governor and general captain, for a length of eight years, approximately, until now when with permission of Don Cristóbal de Oñate, son of said governor, whom the *cabildo* of said Nuevo México had named, to grant it to him, was coming from said Nuevo México, having spent in said conquest more than five thousand pesos from his assets. And because I was certain of the said services, it pleased me to name him governor of said conquest of Nuevo México in place of said Don Juan de Oñate, because he had resigned said office, as it appeared from my provisión real of said office, as it appeared from my provisión real of said appointment. And for the necessary evidence of his said services, and of the privileges, and liberties that I had conceded him, in agreement with my provisión real, signed by my royal hand, which was presented and ordered kept, he begged me to order to be given my letter in which should be inserted

que en el dicho Nuevo México había ganado, y la del dicho nombramiento de tal gobernador en lugar del dicho Don Juan de Oñate, de que hacía presentación sin los autos y respuesta que había dado el dicho cabildo, y la dicha mi carta firmada del dicho mi Real nombre en que había concedido las dichas preeminencias e hidalguía a los que sirviesen cinco años en la dicha conquista, los cuales el había servido, y mas tiempo, como por ello constaba para tenerlo todo en un cuerpo en guarda de su derecho y gozar de las mercedes, franquezas, exenciones y libertades de la dicha hidalguía, y pidió⁴ justicia, y porque yo tengo librada una mi carta que está asentada en el libro de asientos de cédulas de la dicha mi Audiencia en razón de lo tocante, a los que me sirviesen en la dicha jornada del Nuevo México, que su tenor con su obediencia y de los recaudos que el dicho capitán presenta es como se sigue:

Don Phelipe, por la gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla, de León, de Aragón, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalén, de Portugal, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega, de Murcia, de Jaén, de los Algarves, de Algecira, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Canaria, de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano, Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgoña, Brabante, y Milán, Conde

that of his *hidalguía* which he had earned in said Nuevo México, and of the said appointment as governor of said Don Juan de Oñate, which he was presenting without the *autos* and the answer that was given by said *cabildo*, and my aforesaid letter, signed by my royal name, in which I had conceded said privileges and hidalguía to those who would serve five years in said conquest, which he had served, and more time, which by those documents was ascertained, keeping together all evidence in protection of his rights and enjoyment of the privileges and exemptions and freedoms of said hidalguía, and he begged justice. And because I have released one of my letters, which is entered in the book of agreements and cédulas of my *Audiencia*, which relates to this issue, to those who would serve me in said expedition to Nuevo México, which with the evidence of having been obeyed and the documents that said captain presents, is as follows:

Don Felipe, by the grace of God king of Castile, León, Aragón, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarra, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Seville, Cerdeña, Córdoba, Corsica, Murcia, Jaén, the Algarves, Algecira, Gibraltar, Islas Canarias, Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Borgoña, Brabante, and Milan; Count of Habsburg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona; Lord

de Habsburgo, de Flandes, y de Tirol, y de Barcelona, Señor de Vizcaya y de Molina, *etcétera*: Por cuanto el Virrey Don Luis de Velasco, en virtud de una cédula del Rey mi señor, que sea^h en gloria, tomó asiento y capitulación con Don Juan de Oñate sobre el descubrimiento, pacificación y población de las provincias del Nuevo México, que es en la Nueva España. Y entre otras cosas le concedió lo contenido en uno de los capítulos de la instrucción de nuevos descubrimientos y poblaciones de las Indias, que es del tenor siguiente:

A los que se obligaren de hacer la dicha población, y la hubieren poblado y cumplido con su asiento, por honrar sus personas y [las] de sus descendientes, y que de ellos como de primeros pobladores quede memoria loable, les hacemos hijosdalgo de solar conocido, a ellos y a sus descendientes legítimos, para que en el pueblo que poblaren, y en otras cualesquier partes de las Indias sean hijosdalgo, y personas nobles de linaje y solar conocido, y por tales sean habidos y tenidos y gocen de todas las honras y preeminencias, y puedan hacer todas las cosas que todos los hombres hijosdalgo y ca/balleros de los reinos de Castilla, según fueros, leyes, y costumbres de España, pueden y deben gozar y hacer. Y por parte del dicho Don Juan de Oñate me ha sido suplicado le hiciese merced de mandarlo aprobar sin embargo de la moderación que el Conde de Monterrey hizo [a]cerca de ella. Y

of Vizcaya and Molina, etc. Given that Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, by virtue of an order of the king, my lord, may he be in Glory, made an agreement and *capitulación* with Don Juan de Oñate about the discovery, pacification, and settlement of the province of Nuevo México, which is in New Spain. Among other things, he granted him that which is contained in one of the chapters of the instructions concerning new discoveries and settlements in the Indies, which is as follows:

To those who obligated themselves to make said settlement, and have settled it and have fulfilled their contracts, and in order to honor them and their descendants, and that they may remain in laudable memory as first settlers, we make them and their legitimate descendants, *hidalgos de solar conocido* so that in the town where they would settle, and in any other parts of the Indies, they may be regarded as hidalgos and noble persons of known lineage and house, and be recognized as such and enjoy of all the honors and privileges, and do all the things that all hidalgos and gentlemen of the kingdoms of Castile can enjoy and do according to the orders, laws, and customs of Spain. And on behalf of said Don Juan de Oñate I have been implored to grant him the privilege to order that the above be obeyed in spite of the moderations that about it were made by the Count of Monterrey.

habiéndoseme consultado por el mi Consejo de las Indias, he tenido por bien que las dichas prerrogativas se entiendan con los que duraren en la dicha conquista cinco años, conque si en prosecución de ella murieren los dichos conquistadores antes de cumplir los dichos cinco años, en tal caso gocen ellos y sus hijos y descendientes, de las tales prerrogativas. Por la presente mando que a todos los que hubieren ido, y fueren a servirme, en la dicha conquista, pacificación y población, según y de la manera que en el dicho capítulo se contiene y duraren en la conquista los dichos cinco^{5v} años, y a los que en prosecución de ella murieren antes de cumplir los dichos cinco años y a sus hijos y descendientes, se les guarden y cumplan todas las preeminencias, prerrogativas exenciones, y libertades sobredichas según y como se les concede y declara por el dicho capítulo, entera y cumplidamente, sin faltarles cosa alguna. Y encargo a los Infantes, Prelados, Duques, Marqueses, Condes, Ricos Hombres, Priors de las Ordenes, Comendadores y subcomendadores, alcaides de los castillos y casas fuertes y llanas, y a los de mis consejos, Presidentes y oidores, alcaldes, alguaciles de mi casa y corte, y chancillerías, y a mis Virreyes, Gobernadores, y otros cualesquier mis justicias y jueces, así de éstos mis reinos y señoríos, como de las Indias, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano, y otras personas de cualquier esta⁶do y

And having consulted with my *Consejo de Indias*, it is my wish that said prerogatives be applicable to those who would spend in said conquest five years, and that if in the course of the conquest said conquerors should die before completing the five years, they, their sons and their descendants should enjoy those prerogatives. By means of this I order that for all of those who would have gone, and would go, to serve me in said conquest, pacification, and settlement, in accordance with and in the manner that is contained and declared in said chapter, and would persevere in the conquest said five years, and to those who would die while fulfilling it before completing said five years, and to their sons and daughters and descendants, the above stated prerogatives, exemptions, and freedoms should be observed and obeyed in accord with what is granted to him and declared in said chapter [of the instructions], fully and completely. And I charge my sons and daughters, Church authorities, Dukes, Marquises, Counts, *Ricos Hombres*, Priors of the [religious] orders, *Comendadores*, and *subcomendadores*, alcaides of the castles, forts and ordinary Crown buildings, and to the members of my councils, president and oidores, alcaldes, *alguaciles* of my household and Court, and chancelleries, and to my viceroys, governors, and other officers or judges, in these my kingdoms as in the Indies, Islas and Tierra Firme of the Mar Oceano, and other

calidad y condición que sean, que guarden y cumplan y hagan guardar y cumplir y ejecutar este mi privilegio y merced que así hago a los sobredichos y los dejen gozar de todo lo sobredicho, sin ir, ni pasar, ni consentir que se vaya, ni pase contra lo contenido en esta mi Provisión, la cual quiero. Y es mi voluntad que haya fuerza de ley como si fuera hecha y promulgada en Cortes, y sea pregonada en las partes y lugares que conviniere. Dada en San Lorenzo a ocho de julio de mil seiscientos y dos años. Yo el Rey. El Licenciado Laguna. El Licenciado Armenteros. El Doctor Eugenio de Salazar. El Licenciado Benavente de Benavides. El Licenciado Luis de Salcedo. Por mandado del Rey nuestro señor. Juan de Ibarra. Registrada. Gabriel de Oca. Por Chanciller, Sebastián de la Vega.

En la ciudad de México a vein-^{te} días del mes de junio de mil y seiscientos y cuatro años, estando los señores presidente y oidores de la Audiencia Real de la Nueva España en el acuerdo, el Maese de Campo Vicente de Saldivar presentó la cédula Real destota parte contenida, y pidió su cumplimiento, y vista por los dichos señores la obedecieron con la reverencia y acatamiento debido y dijeron que se guarde y cumpla y ejecute según y como por ella Su Majestad lo manda, y que se asentase así por Auto y lo rubricaron: Ante mi: Christóbal Osorio:

Don Felipe por la Gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla, de León, de Aragón,

persons of whatever state, condition, and quality to observe and obey, and have observed and obeyed and executed this my privilege that by this means I make to those named above and let them enjoy all stated above, without doing, or allowing others to do anything against what is contained in this Provisión, which I desire. And it is my will that the Provisión should have the force of law, as if it were made and promulgated in *Cortes* (in Spain), and that it be proclaimed in those parts and places where it would be appropriate. Given in San Lorenzo on 8 July 1602. I the King. Licentiate Laguna, Licentiate Armenteros, Doctor Eugenio de Salazar, Licentiate Benavente de Benavides. Licentiate Luis de Salcedo. By order of the king our lord. Juan de Ibarra. Registered, Gabriel de Oca. For the Chancellor, Sebastián de la Vega.

In Mexico City, on 20 June 1604, the president and oidores of the Audiencia Real de la Nueva España being in agreement, the *Maese de Campo* (field master) Vicente de Saldivar presented the royal order, part of which was destroyed, and asked that it be obeyed. Once seen by said gentlemen, they obeyed it with the reverence and with due respect and said that it should be observed and executed, as H.M. orders, and that it should be settled by *Auto*, and they signed it: Before me, Cristóbal Osorio:

Don Felipe, by the grace of God king of Castile, León, Aragón, the

de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalén, de Portugal, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega, de Murcia, de Jaén, de los Algarves, de Algecira, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Canaria, de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano, Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgoña,⁷ Brabante, y Milán, Conde de Habsburgo, de Flandes, y de Tirol, y de Barcelona, Señor de Vizcaya y de Molina, *etcétera*: Por cuanto habiendo tenido Don Luis de Velasco, Caballero de la Orden de Santiago, mi Virrey Lugarteniente, Gobernador y Capitán General en la Nueva España, y Presidente de la mi Audiencia y Chancillería que en ella reside, ciertas relaciones y avisos del estado que toman al presente las cosas de las provincias del Nuevo México, y juntamente con esto la dejación que Don Juan de Oñate, Gobernador de las dichas provincias, parece haber hecho del dicho cargo y visto cierto pedimento que en razón de ello hizo el dicho Licenciado Tomás de Espinosa de la Plaza, mi fiscal en la dicha mi Audiencia de la dicha Nueva España, sobre que el dicho mi virrey atento a la dejación hecha del dicho cargo por el dicho Don Juan de Oñate, y a estar resuelto de salir^v y desamparar aquel presidio con toda la gente española que tenía si para el mes de junio próximo venidero de este presente año no se le enviasen nueva orden y cierto socorro que pedía, y a que si

Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarra, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Seville, Cerdeña, Córdoba, Corsica, Murcia, Jaén, the Algarves, Algecira, Gibraltar, Islas Canarias, Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Borgoña, Brabante, and Milan; Count of Habsburg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona; Lord of Vizcaya and Molina, etc. Don Luis de Velasco, *Caballero de la Orden de Santiago*, my viceroy, lieutenant, governor, and general captain in New Spain, and president of my Audiencia and Chancellery that resides in it, having received certain reports and notices about the conditions that at present exist in the provinces of Nuevo México, and together with this the resignation that Don Juan de Oñate, governor of said provinces, appears to have made from said office and having seen certain petition that because of it (the resignation) was prepared by said Licentiate Tomás de Espinosa de la Plaza, my *fiscal* in my said Audiencia in said New Spain, concerning the fact that my viceroy, being aware that said Don Juan de Oñate had resigned said office and had resolved to leave and leave unprotected that presidio with all the Spanish people in it if by June of the present year no new order as well as certain aid that he was requesting would be received. If said decision and resolution, by said Don Juan and

la dicha resolución y determinación del dicho Don Juan y sus soldados se ejecutase sin espresa licencia mía que por cédula mía tengo proveído y mandado lo contrario demás que el dicho Don Juan y los que le siguiesen cometerían crímenes de si mayestates (majestuosos) resultaría entre otros graves inconvenientes y daños, como lo serían, perderse cuatrocientas almas de los que allí se habían bautizado porque sin duda, en faltando de su defensa los españoles, habían de apostatar, o morir con los demás indios que hasta ahora habían contraído amistad con los dichos españoles, mandase nombrar gobernador en lugar del dicho Don Juan de Oñate de los que allá estaban, que en^s tretuviese y amparase aquellas poblaciones, que entretanto que se me consultaba, y por mi otra cosa se proveyese, y mandase, el dicho mi virrey para tomar en esto la resolución que más conviniese a mi servicio, tuve cierta junta con los Licenciados Don Pedro de Ojalora, y Diego Núñez Morquecho, y Don Juan Quesada de Figueroa, oidores de la dicha Real Audiencia de la cual resultó proveerse un Auto del tenor siguiente:

En la ciudad de México a diez y ocho días del mes de enero de mil seiscientos y ocho años su excelencia Don Luis de Velasco, Caballero de la Orden de Santiago, Virrey Lugarteniente del Rey nuestro señor, su Gobernador y Capitán General en esta Nueva España, y Presidente de la Real Audiencia y Chancillería que en

his soldiers, were to be carried out without my express permission, the opposite of my cédula has provided and ordered, and in addition that said Don Juan and those who were to follow him, they would be committing crimes and other grave harm and damages, such as the loss of four hundred souls who have been baptized. If no Spaniards would be there to defend them, undoubtedly they would apostate or die with the other Indians who had become friends of said Spaniards. [Because of this] it was ordered that a governor be named in lieu of said Don Juan de Oñate, from among those who were there, who would maintain and protect those settlements while I was consulted, so that I might provide and order something else that my viceroy resolve this in the manner most fitting to my service. I had a certain meeting with licentiates Don Pedro de Ojalora and Diego Núñez Morquecho, and Don Juan Quesada de Figueroa, oidores of said Real Audiencia, from which resulted an Auto that is as follows:

In the city of Mexico, on 18 January 1608, his Excellency Don Luis de Velasco, Caballero de la Orden de Santiago, my viceroy, lieutenant, governor, and general captain in New Spain, and president of my Audiencia and Chancellery that resides in it, etc., having seen the petition by Licentiate Tomas Espinosa de

ella reside, *etcetera*. Habiendo visto con los Licenciados Don Pedro de Otalora, y Diego Núñez Morquecho, y Don Juan Quesada de Figueroa, oidores de esta^{sv} Real Audiencia, lo pedido por el Licenciado Tomás Espinosa de la Plaza, fiscal de S.M. en ella, [a]cerca de lo proveído y mandado por cédula de S.M., su fecha en Madrid a diez y siete de junio del año pasado de mil seiscientos y seis, y cartas y relaciones enviadas por Don Juan de Oñate, Gobernador del Nuevo México, y del Padre Fr. Francisco de Escobar, Comisario de aquella población, y de los vecinos de ella, y la dejación hecha del dicho cargo por el dicho gobernador dijeron que en nombre de S.M. se acepte la dicha dejación, y se nombre por el virrey persona que se encargue del dicho gobierno de los que en el Nuevo México asisten, y se mande al dicho Don Juan no salga de el hasta tanto que otra cosa se le mande. Y que luego se despachen ocho soldados, a los cuales se les pague a cada uno trescientos pesos de oro común a cuenta de sus sueldos, a razón de cuatro años, y cincuenta⁹ pesos del dicho oro por año, a cuenta de la Real Hacienda, que vayan de socorro y aviso al dicho Nuevo México, para que no hagan mudanza hasta tanto que consultado S.M. del estado de las cosas de aquella conquista y población, otra cosa provea. Y con ellos vaya el Padre Lázaro Ximénez de la orden de San Francisco, y asimismo un armero, el que sea uno de los dichos ocho soldados, y que

la Plaza, fiscal of H.M. in it with licentiates Don Pedro de Otalora and Diego Núñez Morquecho, and Don Juan Quesada de Figueroa, oidores of said Real Audiencia, concerning the petition by Licentiate Tomas Espinoza de la Plaza, fiscal of H.M. in it, about what was provided and ordered by cédula of H.M., dated in Madrid on 17 June of the past year of 1606, and letters and reports sent by Don Juan de Oñate, Governor of Nuevo México, and by Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary of that settlement, and by the vecinos in it, and the resignation made by said governor, that in name of H.M. said resignation be accepted and that the viceroy name a person to take charge of said government and of those who serve in Nuevo México. And further, that said Don Juan be ordered not to leave until he is ordered to do something else and that eight soldiers be dispatched soon, each of whom should be paid 300 pesos of common gold, from their salaries, for four years, and also fifty pesos of said gold per year, from the Royal Treasury, that the soldiers go to help and to take notice of this to Nuevo México, so that those there do not leave until H.M., having been consulted concerning the state of things in that conquest and settlement, orders something else. And that Father Lázaro Ximénez, of the order of San Francisco, should go with them and, in the same manner, an armorer, as one of the eight soldiers, and that

se les envíe algún socorro según a su excelencia pareciere que convenga. Y así lo mandaron asentar por Auto. Don Luis de Velasco; el Licenciado Don Pedro de Ojalora; el Licenciado Diego Núñez Morquecho; El doctor Juan Quesada de Figueroa. Ante mi, Alonso Pardo.

Por tanto en conformidad de lo proveído por el dicho auto de suso incorporado, por la buena relación que tengo de la persona de vos el Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, y acatando lo que me habéis servido, y espero me serviréis en las dichas provincias del Nuevo México, por la presente con acuerdo del dicho mi Vi^o rrey, os elijo, nombro y señalo para que las rijáis y gobernéis en lugar del dicho Don Juan de Oñate, por el tiempo que fuere mi voluntad, y la del dicho mi virrey en mi nombre, procurando su población y aumento y conservación, y que los indios naturales de ellas que están asentados y poblados de paz y reducidos a nuestra Santa Fe Católica, sean mantenidos y amparados en justicia y buena doctrina, disponiendo y ordenando las demás cosas de las dichas provincias, como mas sea en servicio de Dios, y mío, excusando las entradas voluntarias contra los indios que no estuvieren de paz, permitiendo que solo las hagan los religiosos que quisieren salir en la forma Apostólica a fundar y plantar nuestra Santa Fe, y esto de manera que quede doctrina bastante para los que al presente están de paz y¹⁰ en estando a vuestra orden y obediencia

whatever aid his excellency would think appropriate, should be sent to them. And they so ordered by Auto. Don Luis de Velasco; Licentiate don Pedro de Ojalora; Licentiate Diego Núñez Morquecho; Doctor Juan Quesada de Figueroa. Before me, Alonso Pardo.

Therefore, in agreement with what is decreed in said Auto, incorporated above, and by the good report that I have about you, Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, and keeping in mind what you have served me, and hope you will serve me, in said provinces of Nuevo México, by means of this, with the concurrence of my said viceroy, I select, name and appoint you to rule and govern them instead of said Don Juan de Oñate, for the time that I and my viceroy would wish, conserving and increasing its population, and seeing to it that the native Indians who are settled and converted to our Holy Catholic Faith be kept and protected in justice and good doctrine, disposing and ordering the other things concerning said provinces in a manner that will be best for the service of God, and mine, not permitting voluntary *entradas* against the Indians who might not be pacified, only allowing those men of the cloth who might want to go as apostles to found and plant our Holy Faith. This is to be done in a manner that insures that those who at present are pacified be properly indoctrinated and, being under your command and obedience, I order

todas y cualquier personas estantes y habitantes en las dichas provincias, según y como lo han estado a la del dicho Don Juan de Oñate, a los cuales mando os obedezcan y os cumplan vuestros mandamientos y os acudan siempre que fuere necesario y los llamáredes so las penas que les pusieredes, las cuales ejecutaréis en los rebeldes y inobedientes, que para todo lo susodicho y lo anexo y dependiente os doy poder y facultad cual de derecho se requiere, y mando que en lo aquí contenido, no sea puesta dificultad ni impedimento alguno, que yo por la presente os recibo, y he por recibido, al uso y ejercicio, y os encargo y mando tengáis con el dicho Don Juan de Oñate toda buena correspondencia, haciéndole honrar y respetar por su calidad y edad y los cargos que ha ejercido en las dichas provincias.^{10v} Aconsejaos con el en todas las cosas y casos que se hubieren de disponer que pidan maduro consejo, y por entender será muy acertado el suyo con la larga experiencia que tiene de las de aquellas provincias, el cual haréis notificar, y que se notifique, no salga de ellas hasta tanto que por mi, o por el dicho mi virrey en mi nombre, otra cosa se ordene y mande porque de lo contrario me tendré por deservido. Dada en la ciudad de México a veinte y siete días del mes de febrero de mil y seiscientos y ocho años. Don Luis de Velasco. Yo Alonso Pardo, teniente del secretario mayor de gobernación de la Nueva España por el Rey nuestro señor. {Nota del escribano: Lo demás

all and any persons that inhabit or are presently residing in said provinces to comply with and obey your commands, and come before you whenever it may be necessary, as they have under Don Juan de Oñate. And you are to summon them under whatever penalties you may establish, which you will impose on those who rebel and disobey you. By means of all that follows and is attached, I grant you power and authority required by law. And I order that no difficulty or impediment be placed in the ways of what is herein contained. By means of this I admit you and have admitted you to that employment and exercise. And I command you to treat said Don Juan de Oñate properly, making others honor and respect him because of his quality, age, and the offices he has held in said provinces. Secure his advice in all things and cases that should be disposed which require mature advice, and because it is understood his advice will be very apt, given the considerable experience he has in those provinces. You will notify him not to leave said provinces until something else by me, or by my said viceroy in my name, is ordered, because if the opposite is done I will consider myself not served. Given in Mexico City on 27 February 1608. Don Luis de Velasco. I, Alonso Pardo, lieutenant of the chief secretary of government of New Spain [appointed] by the king our lord. {Scribes note: The other material written by Alonso Pardo

que contiene lo suscrito de Alonso Prado no se pudo leer por estar el sello real encima.} Registrada Don Juan de Ribera; Chanciller: Don Juan de Ribera.¹¹

Don Juan de Oñate, Gobernador, Capitán General y Adelantado, conquistador, pacificador y poblador de los Reinos y provincias del Nuevo México, y de las a ellas comarcas, y circunvecinas, por el Rey nuestro señor, *etcetera*. Por cuanto el Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, del Consejo de Guerra de este Real ejercito, natural del pueblo de Navalagamella, que es dos leguas de la villa del Escorial, en los Reinos de Castilla, me ha hecho relación diciendo que ha servido a S.M. en éste dicho Nuevo México, y pacificación y reducción de él, a su costa, en minción con sus armas y caballos desde el principio que se comenzó a levantar e conducir gente para el socorro que S.M. envió a estas dichas provincias, que fue la segunda jornada de esta conquista, que ha siete años y un mes. Y que los cuatro meses de ellos estuvo en la ciudad de México haciendo gente¹² para el dicho socorro, por alférez de la compañía del Capitán Don Jerónimo de Torres, y que el un año gastó en venir desde la dicha ciudad, a estos dichos reinos, con un mes que estuvo, enarbolado estandarte, por capitán de esta jornada, en el valle de San Bartolomé, aguardando el despacho de los comisarios para entrar en este dicho Nuevo México, y que los cinco años y nueve meses

could not be read because the royal seal was impressed on it.} Registered Don Juan de Ribera, Chancellor. Don Juan de Ribera.

Don Juan de Oñate, Governor, Captain General and *Adelantado*, conqueror, pacifier, and settler of the kingdoms and provinces of Nuevo México and of those near and around them, [appointed] by the king our lord, etc. Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, of the Council of War of this royal army, born in Navalagamella, which is two leagues from the village of the Escorial in the kingdoms of Castile, has given me a report saying that he has served H.M. in this said Nuevo México, and in its pacification and conquest, at his own cost and expense, with his arms and horses from the beginning that the recruitment of the people sent to aid these provinces was started. This was the second expedition in this conquest and took place seven years and one month ago. In this period he spent four months in Mexico City recruiting people for said aid as *alférez* of the company of Captain Don Jerónimo de Torres, serving as a standard bearer, one year traveling from said city to these kingdoms, including one month as captain of this expedition, [while they were] detained in the valley of San Bartolomé where they were waiting orders to enter this Nuevo México. And for five years and nine months he has served and remained in these kingdoms and

ha asistido y durado en estos dichos reinos y provincias, en la conquista, pacificación y reducción de ellos, sin haber salido en todos los dichos cinco años y nueve meses, a Tierra de Paz, ni se haber apartado de la dicha conquista, presupuesto la era heroica de reducir almas al gremio de nuestra Santa Fe Católica, y servir a S.M. como bueno y leal vasallo para que se amplíen y extiendan y ensanchen sus reinos, t^{er}minos y señoríos, y todo ello se ponga¹² debajo de Su Real Corona; y pues que a mi me consta, por recaudos bastantes que ante mi ha presentado, el tiempo que ha que comenzó a servir al Rey nuestro señor en la Nueva España en las ocasiones de esta conquista, y que cargos y cosas del servicio de S.M. ha hecho y se ha ocupado en favor de esta jornada y los demás pues los he tenido presentes y visto por vista de ojos, y que han sido por mi orden, no los especificaba, y que conforme a lo dispuesto en la Real Provisión atrás contenida que la [ha] cumplido con sus obligaciones ganado y conseguido con las armas en la mano, la exención, libertad y merced que por ella S.M. le hace de hacerle hijodalgo de solar conocido a el y sus hijos legítimos y legítimos descendientes, y de todas las demás que le tiene con-/¹³ cedidas por mis capitulaciones y ordenanzas Reales de nuevos descubrimientos y que me suplicaba le declarase por tal hijodalgo a el y a sus hijos legítimos y legítimos descendientes y que le concediese y comunicase todas las demás mercedes

provinces, assisting in their conquest, pacification, and subjugation. [He did this] without having gone during those five years and nine months to pacified land, nor was he absent from said conquest in that time, which was [undertaken] heroically to convert souls to our Holy Catholic Faith and to serve H.M. as a good and loyal vassal to increase his kingdoms, territories, and dominions, all to be placed under his royal Crown. Since it is a matter of record in the many reports and documents he presented before me, I am certain of the time since he began to serve the king, our lord, in New Spain, in this conquest, and of which offices and things he has been occupied in the service of H.M. during this expedition and other [actions] that I have seen with my own eyes and which have been ordered by me, not specified by him; and in agreement with what is provided in the royal provision included earlier, and [since this is a matter of record that] he has fulfilled his obligations and obtained with arms in his hand the exemption, prerogative, and privileges that H.M. grants him and makes him an hidalgo de solar conocido and his legitimate sons and daughters and descendants, and all the other privileges conceded by my *capitulaciones* and royal ordinances concerning new discoveries and that he implored that I declare him and his legitimate sons and daughters and legitimate descendants such hidalgos and that I concede and extend to

que le pertenecen en cualquier forma y manera, como a tal conquistador. Y que si más le convenía pedir, lo pedía. E por mi visto ser justa su demanda, y verdadera su relación, y constarme, como me consta, de que enarboló en la dicha ciudad de México en veinte y ocho días del mes de agosto de mil quinientos y noventa y nueve, por alférez de la compañía del dicho capitán Don Jerónimo de Torres, y que tuvo enarbolado estandarte cuatro meses, gastando con los soldados de la dicha compañía de su hacienda todo lo que fue necesario, con mano franca y liberal, y que fue elegido y nombrado en la dicha ciudad/¹³ por capitán de esta dicha conquista, que es la fecha de su conducta, en ella a veinte y tres días del mes de diciembre del dicho año de noventa y nueve, y que salió de esta dicha ciudad a dos días del mes de enero del año de mil y seis[cientos] años, a levantar gente, así conquistadores como pobladores, al valle de San Bartolomé, que es en la Nueva Vizcaya, siéndole costoso este viaje, así de caballos, mulas, bueyes, como de otros gastos. Y asimismo enarboló en dicho valle e hizo tocar caja y clarín publicando la jornada, estuvo enarbolado hasta tanto que vinieron a despachar la gente del dicho socorro Juan Guerra de Resa, mi teniente, y los comisarios de ella, Juan de Gordejuela, y Juan de Sotelo, que hicieron lista general en el dicho valle a veinte y ocho días de agosto del dicho año. Y despachadas las compañías del dicho socorro, el dicho capitán Juan Martí-

him the other privileges that pertain to him in whatever form and manner, as a such conqueror, and that if more was useful to him to ask for, he would request it. In my view, his petition is just and his report is truthful. It is a matter of record, as it is, that he served as standard bearer in said Mexico City on 28 August 1599, as alférez of the company of Captain Don Jerónimo de Torres, and that he served as standard bearer for four months, spending on the soldiers of said company what was necessary from his assets, with a free and liberal hand. And that he was elected and named in said city as captain in this said conquest, that the date of his commission was 23 December of said year of 1599, and that he left this said city to go to the valley of San Bartolomé, which is in Nueva Vizcaya, on 2 January 1600, to recruit people, both conquerors and settlers, the trip being costly to him, both in horses, mules, oxen, and in other outlays. And in the same manner he served as standard bearer in said valley and had the expedition announced with drum and trumpet, until my lieutenant, Juan Guerra de Resa, and the commissaries of the expedition, Juan de Gordejuela and Juan de Sotelo, came to dispatch the people, making a general roster in said valley on 28 August of said year. And when the company was dispatched with said relief, Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya with it, as one of the captains of war and

nez de Montoya en el, por uno de los capitanes del Consejo de Guerra, y por teniente de Maese de Campo, que llegó a este real y villa de San Gabriel el dicho capitán, y socorro^{3v} a veinte y cuatro días del mes de diciembre del dicho año de mil y seis[cientos] años, y metió en estas dichas provincias veinte y un caballos y dos mulas, cuatro sillas jinetas, una brida, dos arcabuces, un pistolete, cuatro espadas, dos dagas, tres cotas, dos sobrevistas, dos pares de escarcelas, y su caballo armado, herraje, pólvora, y otros muchos pertrechos de guerra, con todo lo demás necesario para el adorno de su persona, todo ello en abundancia, que valdría cantidad de pesos; habiendo pasado en el dicho viaje inmensos trabajos de aguas, nieves y fríos por marchar el dicho real en el rigor del invierno y por merecerlo sus servicios y persona, y tener el valor necesario para el dicho efecto y cargo de capitán le di, en éste dicho real segunda conducta, que su fecha en este real a veinte y ocho días del mes de abril de mil y seis[cientos] años y un año, y fue uno de los capitanes que yo nombré para llevar con mi persona al descubrimiento⁴ de la ranchería y famosos llanos de Cibola, por tener de el tan entera satisfacción. Y en la guerra que tuve en ella, con los Escanjaquenes peleó a caballo valerosamente, muy a satisfacción mía y de mi Maese de Campo y de todo el ejercito hasta tanto que por la misericordia de Dios nuestro señor fueron vencidos y los cautivos traídos a mi presencia, donde se consiguió

as lieutenant Maese de Campo, it arrived with the aid at this Real and village of San Gabriel on 24 December 1600, and brought into these provinces twenty one horses and two mules, four horse saddles, a bridle, two harquebuses, a small pistol, four swords, two daggers, three coats of mail, two helmets, two pairs of thigh armor, and his armored horse, [some] iron, and many more war supplies, and all that was needed for his own accouterment, all in abundance, which would have cost many pesos.

Having experienced in said journey much difficulty in rains, snows, and cold weather in order to march his company in the winter, and because his services and person are deserving and because he had the necessary courage to do that and to exercise the office of captain, I gave him, in this camp, a second commission, issued in this camp on 28 April 1601, and he was one of the captains that I named to take with me to the discovery of the ranches and famous plains of *Cibola*, because I was highly satisfied with him.

And in the war that I had there with the Escanjaquenes, he fought on horseback with much courage, much to my satisfaction and that of my Maese de Campo and all the army, until, thanks to the mercy of God our Lord, they were defeated and the prisoners brought to my presence.

una muy notable victoria, siendo los nuestros tan pocos en número que la alcanzaron los bárbaros tan sin el. Y se halló en el castigo que fui a hacer a los Taos, donde fue con mi persona, que la suya cobró allí muy buena reputación, y en las paces que entre los dichos Taos y Teguas se hicieron, y en la pacificación del pueblo fuerte de Ácoma, con los reverendos padres Fray Francisco de Velasco, Comisario Apostólico, y Fray Juan de Escalona, y Fray Francisco de Escobar, que en esta ocasión se consiguió la paz con^{14v} los naturales del dicho pueblo. Y luego fue con el capitán Márquez, que iba por cabo con doce soldados, haciendo escolta al sobredicho comisario, que fue a visitar las provincias de Suni (Zuni) y Moqui (Hopi), y de allí pasaron a los Cruzados por cierta noticia que había de unas minas, las cuales descubrieron; y trajeron noticia de la Mar del Sur y secretos de ella y de los de la tierra adentro. E cuando yo fui a descubrir el dicho mar le dejé por persona de gran confianza en esta dicha villa para guarda y defensa de ella, y por del Consejo de Guerra, y acudió como muy leal vasallo de S.M. a su Real servicio, y dio, de diez caballos que tenía, los cinco para el dicho viaje. Y cuando salí a Tierra de Paz a dar cuenta a S.M. de lo sucedido, asimismo le dejé en esta dicha villa por alcalde ordinario, donde administró justicia con mucha cristiandad y buen celo,

There he achieved a very notable victory, since our people were so few in number that the barbarians might have won without him. And he was present on the punitive expedition that I made to the Taos, where he went with me [and] where he gained a very respected reputation, as well as in the pacifications that were made among Taos and Teguas and in the pacification of the pueblo-fort of Ácoma, with the reverend fathers Francisco de Velasco, Apostolic Commissary, and Fray Juan de Escalona, and Fray Francisco de Escobar, where, on this occasion, peace was achieved with the natives of said town. And then he went with Captain Márquez, who was going as head of twelve soldiers, escorting said commissary who went to visit the provinces of Zuni and Hopi, and from there they went to the Cruzados because of certain news about some mines which they discovered, and they brought news about the Mar del Sur and some secrets about it, and about *Tierra Adentro*. And when I went to discover said sea, I left him in this village as a very trustworthy person, for its protection and defense and as a member of the Council of War. And he, as a very loyal vassal of H.M., attended to his royal service, and of the ten horses he had, provided five for said expedition. And when I went to pacified land to give H.M. an account of what had happened, I left him in this village as *alcalde*

favoreciendo las justas causas pías y de caridad con¹⁵ mucha entereza y rectitud.

Y cuando mi Maese de Campo fue a la jornada de la Mar en busca de la laguna e isla, que salió de esta villa a quince días del mes de setiembre de este año de mil y seiscientos y seis, dio para la dicha jornada cuatro caballos, y por mi mandado se quedó en esta dicha villa por ser su persona necesaria y conveniente en guarda de la iglesia y Real estandarte, con sus armas y caballos sin otros muchos servicios y salidas que ha hecho, así contra los apaches, como en traer plomo de las minas para munición, que merece remuneración, y sería muy bien empleado en su persona cualquier favor y merced que S.M. le haga, [a]demás de la que le ha hecho, de hacerle hijodalgo de solar conocido a el y a sus hijos legítimos y legítimos descendientes, habiéndolo también merecido porque ha sido siempre muy leal y muy obediente a sus oficiales mayores,¹⁶ y ha dado buena cuenta de todo lo que ha sido a su cargo y no se ha hallado en motín, ni en otro ningún maltrato sino que siempre ha sido muy leal vasallo de Su Majestad y le ha servido muy lealmente con su persona, armas, caballos, y hacienda, sin haber sido socorrido de ajenas expensas en esta dicha conquista, y en cargos muy honrosos que ha tenido, porque ha sido cual factor, consultor y asesor

ordinario, where he administered justice as a true Christian, with zeal, favoring the just and pious causes as well as those having to do with charity with entire rectitude.

And when my Maese de Campo went on the expedition to the sea, searching for the lake and island, leaving this village on 16 September 1606, he provided for said expedition four horses, and by my order he remained in this village because his person was necessary and fitting to guard the church and royal standard with his weapons and horses, [not listing] the many other services and sorties that he has performed, such as against the Apaches, or bringing lead for ammunition from the mines, which deserve to be remunerated. And it would be a very good thing to give him any favor or privilege that H.M. wishes, in addition to making him and his legitimate sons and daughters and legitimate descendants hidalgos of solar conocido, which he has also deserved because he has always been very loyal and very obedient to his superiors and has given a good account of all that has been assigned to him and has not been part of any mutiny or of any mistreatment, but has always been a very loyal vassal of H.M. and has served him loyally with his person, weapons, horses, and assets, without having received help from others in this conquest, and [he has served] in very honorable posts since he has been *factor* (agent), consultant, and adviser to the very reverend father Fray Juan

del muy reverendo Padre Fray Juan de Escalona, Comisario Apostólico de estos dichos reinos y provincias. E por quanto fuera de los quatro meses que tuvo enarbolado estandarte en México por alférez del dicho capitán, y el año de camino para venir a este dicho Nuevo México, con el mes que estuvo enarbolado estandarte por capitán a su costa, ha servido a S.M. en esta dicha conquista los cinco años que la Real Provisión atrás contenida declara, y mas nueve meses que ha durado y asistido en estos dichos/¹⁶ reinos sin haber salido de ellos, ni apartadose de la dicha conquista en todos los dichos cinco años y nueve meses.

Por lo qual le declaro por tal Conquistador para que goce de sus preeminencias, que como tal le tengo dado en nombre de S.M. un pueblo en los Emez Altos, que se llama Santiago, por las tres vidas, la cual dicha merced y mercedes, en virtud de lo en ella contenido y del poder y facultad que tengo del Rey nuestro señor, y usando de el en su Real nombre le comunico y otorgo y plenariamente le concedo al dicho Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya y a sus hijos legítimos, y legítimos descendientes, todas las mercedes declaradas y contenidas en dicha Real Provisión, y le declaro por hijodalgo de casa y solar conocido al dicho capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, y a los dichos sus hijos legítimos y legítimos descendientes, y por persona y personas nobles de linaje para que lo sea, y sean, desde hoy día de la data/^{16v} y

de Escalona, Apostolic Commissary in these kingdoms and provinces. And in addition to the four months that he served as standard bearer in Mexico City as alférez of said captain and [during] the year-long expedition to this Nuevo México, besides the month he had served as standard bearer as captain, at his own expense, he has served H.M. in this said conquest for the five years that the above inserted provisión real declares, and nine months more that he has remained and helped in these said kingdoms without having left them in all five years and nine months.

Because of this I declare him [to be] such a Conqueror so that he may profit from its prerogatives, and as such, in the name of H.M. I have given him a pueblo, located in the *Emez* (possibly *Jemez*) *Altos* named *Santiago*, for three lives, which said grant and grants that are made by virtue of what is contained in said provisión real and of the power and authority that I hold from the king our lord, and in His Royal name I name him and grant to said Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, and to his legitimate sons and daughters and legitimate descendants all the privileges contained in said Provisión, and declare him and to his legitimate sons and daughters and legitimate descendants hidalgos de solar conocido, and as person or persons of noble lineage so that he and they can be from today, the day

fecha de esta merced que S.M. le ha hecho para siempre jamás, realmente y con efecto para siempre jamás, en todos los reinos y señoríos de S.M. de la Corona de Castilla, como por su Real Provisión atrás contenida se especifica y declara. Y pueda gozar el dicho Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, y gocen sus hijos legítimos y legítimos descendientes de todos los favores, gracias, privilegios, libertades, franquezas, inmunidades, prerrogativas, y exenciones, asientos y debidos honores, y demás cosas que los caballeros hijosdalgo de solar conocido de los Reinos de Castilla gozan, alcanzan y les pertenecen, y gozar pueden, en cualquier forma y manera, pues el dicho capitán lo es, y de las demás mercedes que S.M. le tiene concedidas, por mis capitulaciones, asiento y ordenanzas de nuevos descubrimientos, por cuanto ha cumplido, como dicho tengo, por entero todo su tiempo y durado los dichos cinco años, y más¹⁷ nueve meses, [a]cerca de asistir y durar en el dicho Nuevo México y conquista de el, sin haber salido de el en todo el dicho tiempo con sus armas, y caballos y demás pertrechos referidos, a su costa y minción, hallándose al presente después de haber cumplido con sus obligaciones todas, y más, y haber consumido mucha cantidad de hacienda con todas sus armas y persona, y de caballo, y nueve caballos, y con ganado mayor y menor; y pareceme convenir poner aquí sus señas, el cual es hombre de buena estatura, algo mo-

of the date of this privilege that H.M. has issued forever, and with true effect forever in all the kingdoms and possessions of H.M. of the Crown of Castile, as is specified and declared by the provisión real above inserted. And said Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, his legitimate sons and daughters and legitimate descendants, can enjoy all favors, benefits, privileges, freedoms, immunities, prerogatives, exemptions, concessions and due honors, and other things that the caballeros hidalgos de solar conocido attain in the kingdoms of Castile can enjoy and possess, in whatever form, since said captain is one. And he is to enjoy the other privileges that H.M. has given him, on the basis of my capitulations, agreement, and ordinances for new discoveries, and because he has fulfilled [his obligations], as I have said, in its entirety all the time, and has remained for the said five years and nine additional months, being present and remaining in said Nuevo México and its conquest, without having left it in all that time with his arms, and horses and the other military supplies that were mentioned earlier, all at his own cost and expense. Further, he is presently here after having fulfilled all of his obligations and more, and having spent most of his assets with all of his arms, both for his person and for his horse, and nine horses and small and large livestock. And I believe it is fitting to place here a description

reno de rostro con una señal de herida por [en]cima de la sien derecha, y con un lunar en medio de la rodilla de la pierna derecha, no muy negro, y con una señal en la pierna izquierda, por la parte de afuera por [en]cima del tobillo; y será de cincuenta años, poco mas o menos. Dada y sellada con el sello mayor de gobernación/^{lv} en la villa de San Gabriel del Nuevo México a seis días del mes de octubre de mil seiscientos y seis años. Don Juan de Oñate. Por mandado del Gobernador: Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, Secretario. En el Pueblo de Santo Domingo del Nuevo México, a diez días del mes de agosto de mil y seiscientos y ocho años, ante Don Christóbal de Oñate, Gobernador y Capitán General de este reino, la presentó el contenido y se leyó: El Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya parezco ante vuestra merced y digo: Que después que el señor adelantado me dio mi carta de hidalguía, he hecho más servicios a S.M. de los contenidos en ella, como es haber ido, por mandado de vuestra merced siendo Teniente de Gobernador y Capitán General, contra los apaches salteadores, por capitán de la gente que para el/^{js} efecto vuestra merced ordenó dos veces, y por mandado de su señoría otra con vuestra merced cuando dieron en el Real de noche flechándonos desde lo alto de un cerro y el haber aguardado un año, mientras se fue a dar cuenta al señor virrey del estado de las cosas de esta tierra, y el haber hecho plaza en Santa Fe, y en el

of his person: He is a man of good height, his face somewhat dark with a scar over the right temple, and with a not very black mole in the middle of the right knee, and with a scar on the left leg, on the outside, above the ankle. And he is probably fifty years old, approximately. Given and sealed with the principal seal of the government in the village of San Gabriel in Nuevo México on 6 October 1606. Don Juan de Oñate. By order of the governor. Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary.

In the Pueblo of Santo Domingo in Nuevo México, on 10 August 1608, before Don Cristóbal de Oñate, governor and general captain of this kingdom, the following petition was presented: [I] Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya appear before your honor and say that after the Adelantado gave me my letter of hidalguía, I have performed more services for H.M. than those mentioned in it, such as having gone, on orders of your honor when he was lieutenant of governor and general captain, against the thieving Apaches as captain of the people that for that purpose your honor ordered twice, and by your honor's order; another with your honor, when they attacked the Real in the night, shooting arrows from the height of a hill, and having waited one year while a report of the state of this land was sent to the viceroy, and *haber hecho plaza* (emphasis added) in Santa Fe, and in the Real of Santa Buenaventura, *Real de Minas*, and having helped

Real de San Buenaventura, Real de Minas, y sido en ayuda a descubrir-las, y he poblado en el dicho Real, y antes de esto asimismo poblé en la villa de San Gabriel e hice casa siendo en ella alcalde ordinario este año de mil y seiscientos y ocho. Y ha venido a mi noticia que vuestra merced quiere despachar a la Nueva España a cosas tocantes al servicio de S.M., y para ello ha de ir un religioso. Por tanto a vuestra merced pido^{18v} y suplico se sirva de me dar licencia para con los que más, para el efecto vuestra merced nombrare, ir haciendo escolta al dicho Padre y que en ella vayan estos servicios pues es justicia. Juan Martínez de Montoya. Y pido se me dé certificación de los servicios y de como quedé en guarda de la Iglesia y Real cuando la guerra de los jumanos, y poblé en Santa Fe, y ayudé a quemar los ídolos de estas provincias. Juan Martínez de Montoya. Y vista por el dicho gobernador dijo que certificaba a todos los [que] esta vieren que el capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya ha servido a S.M. en todas las ocasiones que alega en la petición de arriba y el tiempo que ha que se hicieron sus papeles de hidalgo por que S.M. le debe ya [ha]cer merced, y por esta le da licencia para que vaya a la¹⁹ Nueva España y haciendo escolta a los Padres Fray Lázaro Ximénez, y Fray Ysidro Ordóñez en compañía de los demás que van en la dicha escolta. Y para que conste de pedimento del dicho capitán Juan Martínez de

in their discovery, and having settled in said Real. And before this, in the same manner, I settled in the village of San Gabriel, and established a household there while I was alcalde ordinario in it this year of 1608. And I have received news that your honor wants to send to New Spain things related to the service of H.M. and that for that purpose a man of the cloth has to go there. Therefore, I ask and beg your honor to give me permission so that with the others, who for that purpose your grace may name, I could go to escort said Father, and that in it should go these services because it is just. Juan Martínez de Montoya. And I request that I be given a certification of my services and of the fact that I remained guarding the church and Real during the war against the Jumanos and that I settled in Santa Fe, and helped burn the idols of these provinces. Juan Martínez de Montoya. When this was reviewed by said governor, he said that he certified to all who may see that Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya has served H.M. on all the occasions that he claims in the above petition and during the time that has passed since his hidalguía documents were prepared, because H.M. should make him a grant. And by means of this [document] he gives authorization so that he can go to New Spain as escort of Fathers Fray Lázaro Ximénez and Fray Ysidro Ordóñez in company with those who go there as said escort. And because of the petition of said

Montoya di la presente en el pueblo de Santo Domingo a diez días de agosto de mil y seiscientos y ocho años. Don Christóbal de Oñate. Por mandado del gobernador. Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretario.

Y así presentada la dicha petición y resaboco (recaudo) y vista por el mi dicho presidente y oidores mandaron se llevase al Licenciado Espinosa, mi fiscal de la dicha mi Audiencia, el cual en su respuesta de ello, por petición dijo que siendo yo servido se le podrá dar la dicha Provisión que pedía sin perjuicio de mi Real fisco, y sin que por esto se atribuyese a los dichos recaudos mas eficacia y autoridad de lo que en si tenían y de derecho les pertenecían. Y así dada la dicha respuesta, por el dicho mi Presi-^{19v}dente y oidores se pronunció un Auto del tenor siguiente:

En la ciudad de México a once días del mes de diciembre de mil y seiscientos y ocho años, los señores Presidente y oidores de la Audiencia Real de la Nueva España, habiendo visto lo pedido por el capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, y acerca de que atento a que fue a servir a S.M. nombrado por capitán para la conquista del Nuevo México con la gente que se envió de socorro, en la segunda jornada, al principio del año de mil y seiscientos, y estuvo sirviendo por su persona armas y caballos y criados actualmente en todas las ocasiones de guerra y de paz que por Don Juan de Oñate, Gobernador y Capitán General, le fue ordenado, tiempo de ocho años, poco

Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, and so that all is verified, I issued this in the town of Santo Domingo on 10 August 1608. Don Cristóbal de Oñate. By order of the governor. Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary.

When the said petition and evidence had been presented and seen by my president and oidores, they ordered it be sent to Licentiate Espinosa, my fiscal in my Audiencia, who in his response said that if I would so desire, it would be possible to issue the said Provisión that he asked for without harm to my royal treasury, without implying that because of this more weight and authority would be given to his documents than they had and by law belonged to them. When said response had been made, my president and oidores issued an Auto as follows:

In Mexico City, on 11 December 1608, the president and oidores of the Audiencia Real de la Nueva España, having seen what was requested by Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, and aware that he went to serve H.M., named as captain in the conquest of Nuevo México, with the people that were sent as support, in the second expedition, at the beginning of 1600. And that he in fact served with his arms and horses and servants on all the occasions of peace and war that Don Juan de Oñate, Governor and Captain General, ordered him, for a time of eight years, approximately, until now. And that with permission of Don Cristóbal de Oñate, son of

más o menos, hasta ahora que con licencia de Don Christóbal de Oñate, hijo del dicho gobernador, a quien el cabildo del Nuevo México nombró para se la dar, vino del dicho²⁰ reino, habiendo gastado en la conquista de su hacienda más de cinco mil pesos. Y por constarme de sus servicios, había sido nombrado por gobernador del dicho Nuevo México en lugar del dicho Don Juan de Oñate, por haber el susodicho hecho dejación del dicho cargo, y que para tener el recaudo necesario de los dichos sus servicios y de las franquezas, y libertades que S.M. había sido servido de conceder conforme a la Real Provisión que sobre ella mandó librar, se le de carta y provisión real en que vaya inserta de su hidalguía, que en el dicho Nuevo México ganó y consiguió, y los dichos sus recaudos de que hizo presentación y la dicha Provisión de S.M. en que concedió las dichas preeminencias e hidalguía a los que sirviesen cinco años, para que el goce de las dichas franquezas y exenciones. Y habiendo visto lo respondido por el Licenciado Tomás Espinosa de la Plaza, Fiscal de Su^{20v} Majestad en esta Real Audiencia en que dice se le puede dar la dicha Provisión Real que pide sin que por esto se atribuya a los dichos recaudos presentados más eficacia y autoridad de la que en si tiene y de derecho les compete; Dijeron que mandaban, y mandaron, se le de al dicho Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya la dicha provisión real por su parte pedida en

said governor, whom the *cabildo* of Nuevo México named to give him the permit, he came from said kingdom having spent in the conquest, from his assets, more than 5,000 pesos. And since his services have been confirmed and verified to me, he was named governor of said Nuevo México in place of said Don Juan de Oñate, because the latter resigned from said office, and that in order to have sufficient evidence of his services and of the prerogatives and freedoms that H.M. had conceded in accordance with the provisión real that concerning it he had ordered issued, I ordered that the provisión real and a letter be given to him in which there should be inserted that of his hidalguía, which he earned and obtained in said Nuevo México, together with the other documents he presented, and said provisión of H.M. in which he conceded said prerogatives and hidalguía to those who would serve five years, so that he can enjoy said freedoms and exemptions. And having seen the response by Licentiate Tomás Espinoza de la Plaza, fiscal of H.M. in this Real Audiencia, in which he says that said provisión he requests could be given to him without this meaning that such act attributes said documents more weight and authority than is already contained in them and that is incumbent by law, they said that they would order, and did order, that said Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya be given said provisión real that he

razón de lo susodicho y en la conformidad de lo que así pide y consiente el dicho fiscal de S.M. Y así lo pronunciaron y mandaron, el cual dicho auto fue notificado al dicho mi fiscal, el cual dijo que se le diese la dicha mi provisión como lo tenía consentido. Y para que haya efecto mandé dar esta mi carta por la cual os mando a todos²¹ y a cada uno de vos, según dicho es, que veáis la dicha mi carta de suso incorporada, que así mandé librar para los que me sirviesen en la dicha jornada del dicho Nuevo México, y con el dicho Capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya la guardéis y cumpláis, y hagáis guardar y cumplir en todo y por todo según y como en ella se contiene y declara, y no hagáis cosa en contrario, sobre pena de cada doscientos pesos a cada uno de vos las más justicias que lo contrario hiciéredes. Dada en la ciudad de México a veinte y seis días del mes de enero de mil y seiscientos y nueve años. Don Luis de Velasco. El Doctor Juan Quesada de Figueroa. El Licenciado Pedro Suárez. Doctor Don Marcos Guerrero. Chanciller Don Juan de Ribera. Registrada Don Juan de Ribera. Yo, Martín Osorio de Agurto,^{21v} escribano de cámara del Rey nuestro señor la hice escribir por su mandado con acuerdo de su Presidente y oidores según consta y parece por el original de la dicha provisión que llevó en su poder el dicho capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya. En México en seis días del mes de marzo de mil seiscientos y nueve años. Y por

asked for on the basis of what is stated above and in conformity with what in this manner he requests and with the consent of the fiscal of H.M. And they so stated and ordered. Notice of said Auto was given to said my fiscal, who said to give him the provisión which he had agreed to. And so that this be effective, I ordered be issued this my letter by means of which I order all and each of you, as already said, to read my letter included above, that in this manner I ordered it be issued so that those who would serve me in said expedition to Nuevo México and with said Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, you should observe and fulfill and insure that it is observed and fulfilled, in everything and by everyone in the manner that is contained and declared in it, and that nothing be done contrary to it, under the penalty of 200 pesos to each of you that would do the contrary. Given in Mexico City on 26 January 1609. Don Luis de Velasco, Doctor Juan Quesada de Figueroa, Licentiate Pedro Suárez, Doctor Marcos Guerrero, Chancellor Don Juan de Ribera. Registered: Don Juan de Ribera. I, Martín Osorio de Agurto, escribano de cámara of H.M., had it written by his command with the agreement of its president and oidores, as it is a matter of record and as it appears in the original of said Provisión which said Capt. Juan Martínez de Montoya took with him. In Mexico City on 6 March 1609. And because of this

ende hice mi signo. Juan Martínez de Montoya. Christóbal de Alarcón, escribano público.

Los escribanos que aquí firmamos, damos fe y verdadero testimonio que Christóbal de Alarcón, de cuya mano parece va firmada y signada la provisión real de suso, escribano Real y Público en esta ciudad de México, y como a tal en ella usa y ejerce el dicho su oficio, y a las escrituras y autos que ante el han pasado y pasan se ha dado y da entera²² fe y crédito como tal escribano fiel y legal, y de confianza en juicio y fuera de el, y de su pedimento dimos el presente en México a seis de marzo de mil y seiscientos y nueve años. Juan Luis de Aguirre, escribano de S.M. Tomás de Salazar, escribano de S.M. Christóbal Dorantes, escribano de S.M.

El traslado antecedente va cierto y verdadero y concuerda con el testimonio original dado por Christóbal García de Alarcón, escribano que fue de S.M. que para este efecto, como dicho es, me fue exhibido por el dicho Don Bernardino López, quien firma aquí su recibo de que igualmente doy fe y a que me refiero.

Y para que conste donde convenga, de su pedimento doy el presente que signo y firmo en la villa de Madrid a diez y ocho días del mes de marzo de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

Recibí el original y lo firmé dicho día, mes y año. Bernardino López (Rubrica).

En testimonio de verdad Luis Serrano de Rozas (Rubrica).

I made my sign. Juan Martínez de Montoya. Cristóbal de Alarcón, public scribe.

We, the scribes that sign here, testify in truthful testimony that Cristóbal de Alarcón, by whose hand the provisión real referred to above appears to have been signed and sealed above, [is a] royal and public scribe in this city of Mexico, and as such uses and exercises said office, and that to the writings and autos that have passed, and do pass before him, he has given and does give faith and credit as such a loyal and legal scribe and one trusted in court and elsewhere. And on his request we issued this in Mexico City on 6 March 1609. Juan Luis de Aguirre, scribe of H.M., Tomás de Salazar, scribe of H.M., Cristóbal Dorantes, scribe of H.M.

The above copy is truthful and concurs with the original testimony given by Cristóbal de Alarcón, former scribe of H.M., which for this purpose, as already stated, was shown to me by said Don Bernardino López, who signs here his receipt, which in the same manner I certify and to which I refer.

And so that it can be a matter of record wherever is appropriate, by his request I issue this [certification] which I sign in the village of Madrid on 18 March 1785.

I received the original and I signed it on said day, month and year. Bernardino López (Rubric).

In testimony of the truth Luis Serrano de Rozas (Rubric).

Glossary

<i>Adelantado</i>	Person given the task of the discovery and settlement of unknown lands and to whom the government of those lands was granted.
<i>Alcalde Ordinario</i>	Magistrate in a village or town, in command if the population was small. Otherwise an <i>Alcalde Mayor</i> would be in charge, with two <i>alcaldes ordinarios</i> serving below him.
<i>Audiencia Real</i>	Highest Court in a Spanish colony or region.
<i>Cabildo</i>	Governing council of a village, town, or city.
<i>Canciller</i>	Person in charge of the registration and safekeeping of documents.
<i>Capitulación</i>	Contract issued by the Crown to one or more individuals to do something of interest to the Crown.
<i>Corregidor</i>	Spanish officer in charge of a district.
<i>Escribano de Cámara</i>	Head scribe in an <i>audiencia</i> . In charge of keeping track of the documents entering and leaving the chambers of the <i>audiencia</i> .
<i>Hidalgo</i>	Said of a generous and noble person. Considered by some authors to be the lowest nobility title. From <i>Hijo de algo</i> .
<i>Oidor</i>	Judge in an <i>Audiencia</i> .
<i>Plaza de Armas</i>	Space in a settlement used for military ceremonies and exercises.
<i>Provisión Real</i>	Order issued by an <i>Audiencia</i> in the name of the king.
<i>Real</i>	In the context of a place, it usually, but not always, meant the place where soldiers would make camp, or where a leading officer would be.
<i>Real de Minas</i>	Mining establishment.
<i>Tierra Adentro</i>	Unconquered territory.
<i>Traslado autorizado</i>	Authorized copy of a document.

Notes

1. The document has no official title but on its cover from 1835 the following is written: "D. Juan Sáenz y Maurigade, vecino de ésta corte, sobre que se le incluya en la descendencia del capitán Juan Martínez de Montoya, Descubridor, Conquistador, y Poblador que fue en las Americas, y Gobernador del Nuevo México." The document is now housed in the Martínez de Montoya Collection, 1785–1835 (AC 143), Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Hereafter two main components of

- this document (see fig. 2) will be cited as the 1785 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library; and the 1835 Genealogy, Chávez Library.
2. France V. Scholes, "Juan Martínez de Montoya, Settler and Conquistador of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 19 (October 1944): 341 (quoted), 337–42.
 3. Beverly Becker, "Around the Plaza: Santa Fe Est. 1610 1607," *El Palacio* 100 (winter 1994–1995): 14–16.
 4. John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 93, 97, 394 n. 3. Kessell states, "Mártínez, it seems, also had some part in relocating people to the site of a proposed new villa and capital already known by 1608 as Santa Fe," *ibid.*, 93.
 5. *All Trails Lead to Santa Fe: An Anthology Commemorating the 400th Anniversary of the Founding of Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1610; The Official Commemorative Publication* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Sunstone Press, 2010). Particularly relevant to the Martínez de Montoya document are the following contributions in this anthology: Marc Simmons, foreword, 13–15; Joseph P. Sánchez, introduction, 19–33; James Ivy, "The Viceroy's Order Founding the Villa of Santa Fe: A Reconstruction, 1605–1610," 97–107; and José Antonio Esquibel, "Thirty-eight Adobe Houses: The Villa de Santa Fe in the Seventeenth Century, 1608–1610," 109–28.
 6. Folio 1 verso, 1785 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library.
 7. For example, part of Juan de Oñate's *capitulación* (contract between the Spanish Crown and one or more individuals) of 21 September 1595 is repeated in both the 1606 Méritos (copy 3) and in the 1609 Provisión Real (copy 2), Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI], México, legajo 23, N. 39, Sevilla, Spain. Also appearing in that 1609 Provisión Real are parts of the "Orden . . . para los Nuevos Descubrimientos." See Diego de Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Cultura Hispanica, 1596), 4:232–46. Parts of Ordenanza no. 100, referring to the *hidalguía* (nobility) requirements, are reproduced several times in the 1609 document. See 1785 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library.
 8. Memorial de los ministros y oficiales que hay en la Audiencia de México, 23 junio 1608, AGI, México, legajo 27, N. 50.
 9. Document naming Juan Martínez de Montoya governor of Nuevo México, 27 febrero 1608, AGI, México, legajo 27, N. 40, doc. 4.
 10. It appears that the reason for the appointment of Juan Martínez de Montoya as governor was that Gov. Juan de Oñate had sent a letter to Viceroy Marqués de Montesclaros telling him that he wanted to resign. "Copia de una carta que el gobernador Don Juan de Oñate escribió al rey nuestro señor desde el Real de San Gabriel del Nuevo México a veinte y cuatro de agosto de mil y seiscientos y ocho (*sic* for siete) años," AGI, México, legajo 27, N. 40, doc. 6. The letter was taken to Mexico City by F. Lazaro Ximénez, who arrived in that city later that year, when the viceroy was Luis de Velasco II. In early 1608, after much consultation with some officers of the audiencia, Velasco decided to replace Oñate. Document naming Juan Martínez de Montoya governor of Nuevo México, 27 febrero 1608, AGI, México, legajo 27, N. 40, doc. 4. As he informed the king the following year, there was nobody in New Spain willing to accept the post. Fortunately, he had heard, apparently from Ximénez, that Martínez de Montoya in Nuevo México was suitable for the position. When the royal order

reached San Gabriel in Nuevo México, probably in July of 1608, the cabildo there refused to accept it, stating that Martínez de Montoya “was not a soldier . . . and that there were other reasons that were not convenient to declare in public.” Instead, the cabildo named don Cristobal de Oñate, Juan de Oñate’s son, governor. But as the viceroy told the king in his letter of 13 February 1609, Cristobal was “muy mozo y con poca experiencia” (very young and with little experience). Reporte del Virrey Velasco al Rey, AGI, México, legajo 27, N. 63, capítulo 8. Because of these reasons, Velasco appointed don Pedro de Peralta governor of Nuevo México. According to a document recently found by Santa Fe city historian José García, the appointment date was 29 January 1609. Archivo General de la Nación [hereafter AGN], Instituciones Coloniales, Real Audiencia, Tierras, Expediente 56, México, D.F.

11. The statement that Martínez de Montoya served in the “pacificación, conquista y reducción” appears on folio 11 verso of the 1785 Martínez de Montoya document. Oñate’s statement is significant because he described himself as “conqueror, pacifier, and *settler* (emphasis added) of the provinces of Nuevo México” at the head of his certification of Martínez de Montoya’s services. That Martínez de Montoya was not one of the first settlers in Nuevo México in 1598 likely explains Oñate’s omission of that descriptor from his recommendation. Oñate’s statement refers only to the years between 1600, when Martínez de Montoya arrived in that province, and 1606, when Oñate certified his services.
12. Among other documents listed in the October 1606 document is the Cédula Real granting a hidalguia to don Juan de Oñate. That cédula exists in the AGI, Indiferente, legajo 416, libro 5, fol. 34r–35v.
13. The 1606 Méritos (copy 3) appears in folios 11–17 of the 1735 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library, whereas the 1608 Méritos (copy 3) appears immediately after in the same document.
14. It is true that the Provisión Real (copy 2) makes reference to Martínez de Montoya having gone to Mexico City with permission from Gov. Cristóbal de Oñate, an item that was mentioned in the 1608 Méritos (copy 3). However, this statement does not confirm anything; Martínez de Montoya had to secure permission to leave Nuevo México, but that permission did not necessarily have to be included in a Méritos document.
15. An order from Viceroy Velasco dated 28 September 1609 states, “And that said don Pedro de Peralta should continue his journey without further delay, which has been a great inconvenience, and would be even more . . . if he did not arrive this year to said provinces.” Apparently, Peralta had started his journey but had been detained in Zacatecas or in San Bartolomé too long. Normally, however, the journey from those places to Nuevo México would require about two months. It is possible that Peralta arrived in his province before the end of 1609, as the viceroy wished, but winter conditions in the northern regions may have further delayed him. Orden del virrey Velasco a Pedro de Peralta, AGI, México, legajo 27, N. 68, doc. 5.
16. See James Ivy, “The Viceroy’s Order Founding the Villa of Santa Fe: A Reconstruction, 1605–1610,” in *All Trails Lead to Santa Fe*, 97–107.
17. Folio 16 recto, 1785 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library. It is possible that the “Emez Altos” cited in the document referred to Jemez.
18. Folio 18 verso, 1785 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library.

19. See Sánchez, introduction, 19–33.
20. The Ordenanzas para los Nuevos Descubrimientos clearly state that the *nuevos pobladores*, or initial settlers of *nuevas poblaciones*, were entitled to certain benefits provided they met certain requirements. Encinas, *Cedulario*, 4:240–41, chap. 93–100.
21. “I have performed more services for H.M. . . . such as having gone . . . against the thieving Apaches . . . and *haber hecho plaza* in Santa Fe, and in the Real of San Buenaventura, Real de Minas, and having helped in their discovery. . . . And before this, in the same manner, I settled in the village of San Gabriel, and established a household there while I was alcalde ordinario in it this year of 1608.” Folio 18 recto, 1785 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library.
22. In 1606 Juan de Oñate stated that Martínez de Montoya was approximately fifty years old, which make his birth year about 1556. See folio 17, 1785 Martínez de Montoya document, Chávez Library.
23. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, 6th ed. (1944, repr., México, D.F.: Porrúa, 1968), capítulo XCII. The expression “Ninguno se quizo bajar a las plazas” occurs in folio 230 recto of *Memoria del Descubrimiento Que Gaspar Castaño de Sosa hizo en Nuevo México, 1590–1591, 211r–240v*, Rich vol. 3, Obadiah Rich Collection, mss col 2570, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York Public Library. For “La plaza mayor, donde se ha de comenzar la población” see, Capítulo 113 of “Ordenanzas sobre Nuevos Descubrimientos, 13 July 1573,” in *Cedulario*, Encinas, 4:242.
24. The expression *plaza de armas* also appears in other contexts in literary works dating to the seventeenth century. Examples can be found in *Vida y Hechos de Estebanillo Gonzalez* (Amberes: Vda. de Juan Cnobbart, 1646) and in a poem by Tirso de Molina that includes the line “Plaza de Armas de Flores,” obviously referring to nonlethal weapons. *Comedias escogidas de Fray Gabriel Tellez (el Maestro Tirso de Molina)* (Madrid: M. Rivandeneira, 1848), 366.
25. Peter Boyd Bowman, *Léxico Hispanoamericano del Siglo XVI* (London: Tamesis Books, 1972), 707.
26. The expression “hacer plaza” appears in the *Unabridged Larousse Gran Diccionario Español-Inglés*, 1st ed. (Paris: Larousse, not dated), where it is translated as “make room.”
27. Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana, o Española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 464 recto.
28. The Real Academia Española is in the process of completing a *Diccionario Histórico*. The current edition of the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 22d ed. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2001) states on page xxxiii that “in the meantime, many archaic expressions are included in it to help the reader of older texts.”
29. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, s.v. “hacer plaza.”
30. *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1732), Tomo Tercero, s.v. “hacer plaza.”
31. An example of this use is “Hacer plaza de sus riquezas.”
32. La Ynstrucción a don Pedro de Paralta, que de presente va proveido por goberador y capitán General de la provincias y poblaciones del Nuevo México en lugar de don Juan de Oñate y por dejación que ha hecho de los dichos cargos, 30 Marzo 1609, AGI, México, legajo 27, N. 63, doc. 3.
33. Sánchez, introduction, 22–23; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 158.

34. Relación Verdadera que el Padre Predicador Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta, de la orden de San Francisco, guardian del convento de Galisteo, hizo al Reverendísimo Comisario General de la dicha orden de la Nueva España, de las cosas sucedidas en Nuevo México por los encuentros que tuvieron Don Pedro de Peralta, gobernador de la dicha provincia y Fray Ysidro Ordóñez, comisario de la dicha orden de San Francisco que residen en ella. AGN, Inquisición, vol. 316, fols. 149–74. Although the document is not dated, a statement in capítulo 225 indicates that it was written in 1617. For an analysis of the events described in the document, see Frances V. Scholes, “Church and State in New Mexico,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 11 (January 1936): 9–76.
35. Fol. 23 recto, 1835 Genealogy, Chávez Library.
36. Fol. 24 verso, 1835 Genealogy, Chávez Library.
37. The claim appears on the cover of the 1835 manuscript and on fol. 28 verso, where it is stated that, “el referido Don Bernardino López . . . prueba el parentezco de quinto grado . . . con Don Juan Martínez, natural que fue de esta villa, quien pasó a servir a S.M. a la America, en donde se le premió los muchos y esclarecidos servicios, con varios empleos e oficios como consta de un testimonio autentico” (said don Bernardino López . . . verifies the familial relationship, in the fifth degree, with don Juan Martínez, born in this village, who went to America to serve H.M., where his services were awarded with several appointments and official charges, as it is verified by an authentic testimony).
38. AGI, Indiferente, legajo 2062, N. 56, 4 Marzo 1585.
39. AGI, Indiferente, legajo 2063, N. 114, 16 Marzo 1587.
40. AGI, Indiferente, legajo 2070, N. 16, 22 Abril 1600.
41. The document refers to a Francisco Sánchez de Bañares, a relative of Inés Sánchez, the wife of Juan Martínez de Montoya. It was drawn in the mines of Pachuca on 26 January 1606. Autos sobre bienes de difuntos: Francisco Sánchez de Bañares, AGI, Contratación, legajo 337A, N. 9.
42. The age of the Juan Martínez de Montoya who immigrated to New Spain in 1587 can be estimated as follows. In 1600 his sons were “near marriage age.” This point implies that the age of the oldest one was then around twenty two. The oldest son would have been born around 1578. At that time his father would have been around twenty to twenty-five years old. That is, the man who immigrated to New Spain in 1587 was probably born between 1553 and 1558.

