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Yours very truly,

W. W. D. Davis.

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THE

SPANISH CONQUEST

OF

NEW MEXICO,

BY

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DOYLESTOWN, PA.,

1866.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1869,

By W. W. H. DAVIS.

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Dedication.

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO

JOHN O. JAMES, OF PHILADELPHIA,

TO TESTIFY THE

RESPECT ENTERTAINED FOR HIS PERSON
AND CHARACTER,

AND TO MARK

THE AUTHOR'S APPRECIATION OF HIS UNVARYING
FRIENDSHIP.

P R E F A C E .

THE conquest of that portion of the North American continent lately the province, now the territory, of New Mexico, and which the United States acquired from Mexico under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, is an unpublished page in Spanish-American history. The historian has overlooked this field of early adventure and given his attention to what seemed a more inviting banquet, thus depriving the world of one of the most interesting relations of incidents to be met with in the record of early explorations in the New World. The earliest mention of Spaniards penetrating into New Mexico is found in the journal of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, written in the first half of the sixteenth century. He was an officer of the unfortunate expedition of Narvaez, and with three companions was wandering nearly ten years across the continent, at the end of which time he reached the Spanish settlements on the gulf of California. Although Vaca and his companions had no part in the conquest of New Mexico, they were its first explorers, and the information they gave of it directed the Spaniards

thither. For these reasons the work would not be complete without their adventures.

In presenting this work to the public, a sense of duty, to them and myself, suggests that I state the circumstances under which it was written. I went to New Mexico, in 1853, to fill an official station under the general government. Soon after my arrival I made inquiries, of those with whom I came in contact, about the history of the country; but I scarcely met an individual who could give me any reliable information, nor were books on the subject to be had. Believing that the struggle, which resulted in the Spaniards wresting the country from the possession of the partially civilized people they found there, would present a deeply interesting narrative, I turned my attention to collecting materials to supply the want of knowledge on the subject. I did this simply for my personal information, without any thought or intention of writing a history. But the more time I devoted to the labor, the more interested I became in it; and as months and years wore away, and new and unpublished material accumulated on my hands, I concluded to present the result of my researches to the public. Difficulties presented themselves at nearly every step, and but for the assistance of kind friends the work had never been completed. Many of the authorities consulted were in the original Spanish, and had lain undisturbed, in musty bundles, for two centuries. They were written in the quaint style of that period and were difficult to decipher.

The events treated in this volume run through a period of one hundred and seventy-six years—from 1527 to 1703, and embrace, among others, the following interesting relations, viz :—

1. The wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca and three companions through portions of New Mexico, as early as 1530–38, from a journal written by himself soon after his return to Spain.

2. The explorations of friar Marcos de Niza, in 1539, in search of Cibola or the country of the Seven Cities.

3. The expedition of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, in 1541–43, to subjugate New Mexico to the crown of Spain.

4. The adventures of friar Augustin Ruiz, who entered the country as a missionary, in 1581.

5. The expedition of Antonio de Espejo, in search of friar Ruiz, in 1582.

6. Account of Juan de Oñate's colonizing the country in 1591, and the attempts the Indians made in the next ninety years to throw off the Spanish yoke.

7. A full account of the great Indian rebellion of 1680, and the contest to re-establish Spanish power.

Besides these authorities, I consulted fragments of MSS., journals of other early explorers and adventurers who were mainly attracted thither by their thirst for gold, as well as all other sources of information I had access to. The work of Padre Frejes on the conquest of the country, published in Mexico in 1830, and De Larenaudière's

History of Mexico afforded me some information I could obtain nowhere else.

The last seventeen chapters were mainly written from the Spanish records in the secretary's office at Santa Fé, and which had never before been translated. These old manuscripts are complete, and their genuineness is undoubted. Their contents include an account of the great Indian rebellion of 1680, and the subsequent efforts of the Spaniards to reconquer and hold the country. I had great difficulty in obtaining the journal of Oñate who established the first permanent settlements in New Mexico; and I am indebted to Major Simeon Hart, of El Paso, Texas, for the copy I consulted, which he procured from the city of Mexico. It had been mutilated and only embraced a portion of his adventures, and as I was unable to obtain further information on the subject, the history of this important period is incomplete. This journal, entire, was formerly in the secretary's office at Santa Fé, but since the United States obtained possession of the country it was stolen, and no clue has been obtained of it. Of the journal of Cruzate I was only able to obtain a few pages, and these in MS.

The copious notes, prepared with great care, will give the reader information of the most important localities mentioned, while the outline map will enable him to follow the march of troops, and the routes of adventurers, with considerable accuracy. I cannot conclude this prefatory notice without returning thanks to Samuel

Ellison, esquire, late translator in the executive office at Santa Fé, for his valuable assistance in translating the old Spanish manuscripts.

With this preface *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* is submitted to the public, with the hope that it will be found of sufficient interest to claim an attentive perusal.

W. W. H. DAVIS.

Doylestown, Pa., July 1st, 1869.



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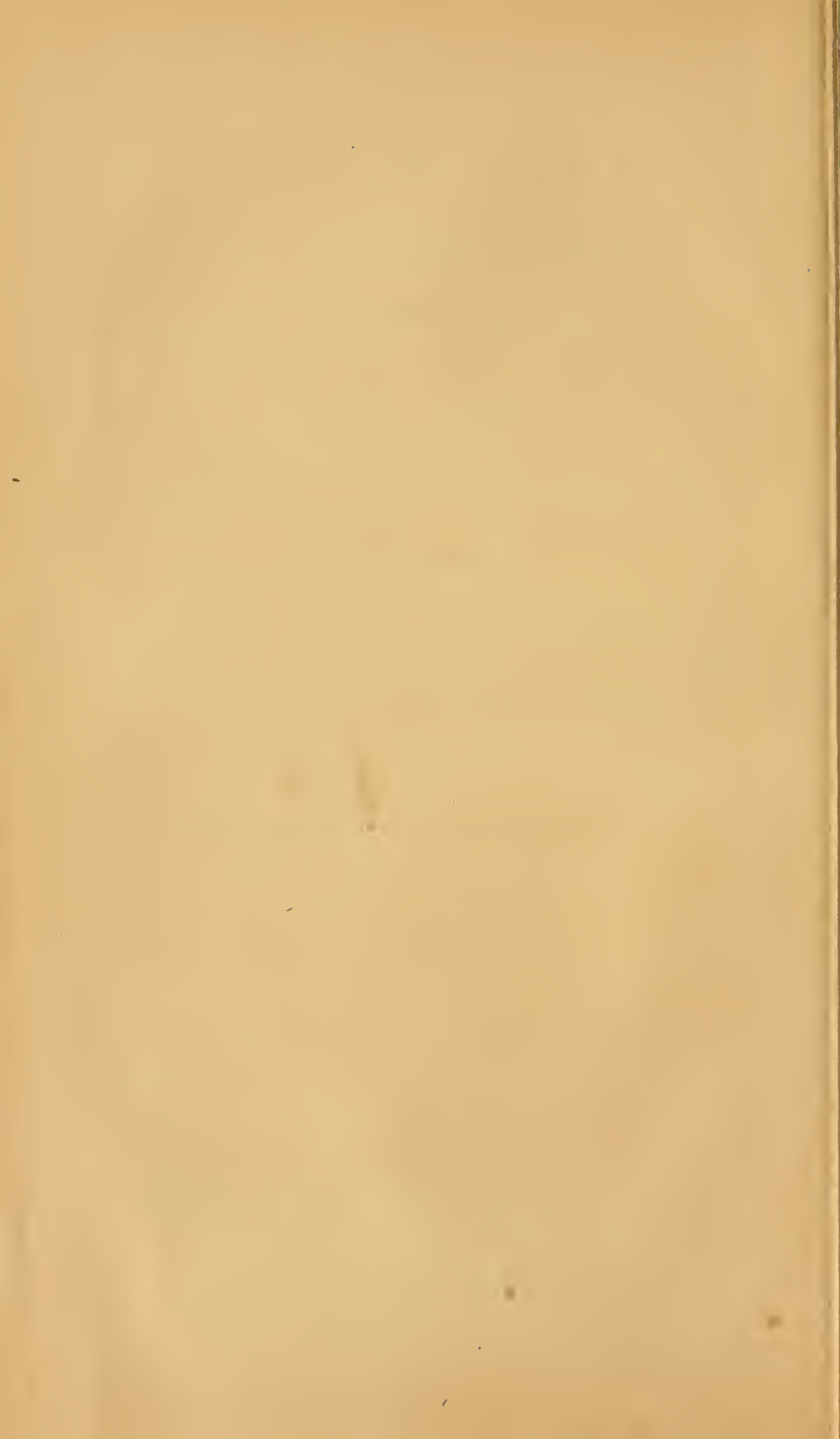
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THE
CONQUEST
OF
NEW MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

NARVAEZ SAILS FOR FLORIDA AND LANDS UPON THE COAST.

AMONG the adventurous spirits of the sixteenth century, who sought the acquisition of fame and wealth in the New World, was a Spanish cavalier named Pamfilo de Narvaez, a gentleman of rank and fortune in his native land. He was commanded by the king of Spain to conquer the then almost fabulous land of Florida, and was appointed governor over all the country he might reduce to possession. He set sail from the town of San Lucar de Barrameda, on the 17th of June, 1527, with a fleet of five vessels and about six hundred men. Among the officers was Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, who held the

responsible posts of treasurer and high-sheriff.¹ Fairly at sea the prows of the vessels were turned toward the Western world, and in due season they arrived at San Domingo, without accident. Narvaez remained at this port near fifty days, in order to procure horses and other articles necessary for the expedition. While there more than an hundred and forty men deserted the fleet and remained upon the island, being influenced to do so by the advantageous offers made them by the settlers. Thence he sailed to Santiago, a port on the southern coast of Cuba, where he completed his outfit. He next sailed for Trinidad, an hundred leagues from Santiago, to take in some provisions promised him by a gentleman who lived near there. He anchored the greater part of the fleet at the port of Cape Santa Cruz, midway between these two points, and sent forward two vessels for the supplies under the command of captain Pantoja. The latter reached Trinidad in safety, but while lying off that harbor a sudden

¹ Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca was a native of the city of Jerez de la Frontera, and was grandson of Pedro de Vaca, who made the conquest of the Canaries, at his own expense. Upon Vaca's return from the unfortunate expedition of Narvaez, the emperor conferred upon him the government of Paraguay, with the title of Adalantado. He sailed from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda on the 2d of November, 1540, and arrived at Santa Catalina the 29th of the following March. He had a stormy time in Paraguay, and upon his return to Spain he retired to the city of Sevilla, where he lived upon a pension of two thousand ducats. He is described as having the most beautiful and noble figure of all the conquerors of the New World; and in the best days of Spanish chivalry, his valor upon the battle-field, his resolution in danger, and his constancy and resignation in hardship, won for him the appellation "*Illustrious Warrior.*" He left behind him two works—his Shipwrecks, and commentaries upon his government on the River de la Plata. A gentleman of New Mexico, Don Tomas Cabeza de Vaca, living at Peña Blanca, in the county of Santa Ana, claims lineal descent from Alvar Nuñez.

and violent storm arose which wrecked both the vessels, and drowned sixty men and forty horses. Vaca was in command of one of the vessels ; but having gone ashore with thirty of the crew in quest of the provisions they escaped the fate of their companions. Narvaez finding a secure anchorage for the fleet at Cape Santa Cruz was enabled to live through the storm ; and on the 5th of November he joined Vaca and the survivors of the wrecked vessels at Trinidad. The season was now far advanced, and being warned by the inclemency of the weather of the danger of venturing to sea, he determined to spend the winter upon the island. For this purpose the fleet, under the command of Vaca, was sent to the port of Xagua, twelve miles distant, where it was anchored in a safe harbor.

The fleet remained at Xagua until the 20th of February, 1528, when Narvaez arrived with a small brig he had purchased to supply, in part, the place of the wrecked vessels. He brought with him a pilot who had been to Florida and professed to be well acquainted with the coast. He immediately set to work making the necessary preparations for the voyage, which were hastily completed ; and on the second day after his arrival he set sail on his ill-fated expedition, with a fleet of four ships and a brig, carrying four hundred men and eighty horses. Steering westward, he coasted along the southern shore of Cuba, encountering several severe storms which endangered his safety ; and in a run of twenty days he doubled Cape San Anton, the western point of the island, and sailed within twelve leagues of Habana. The next day he stood in toward the land, intending to enter the harbor, when a sudden storm arose from the South which drove the vessels off the shore in the direction of Florida. He

made land on the 12th of April, but sailed along the coast until Holy Thursday, when the fleet came to anchor at the mouth of a bay, upon the head of which some Indian habitations were seen.

The controller, Alonzo Enrriquez, landed upon an island in the bay, and trafficked a little with the natives, who came to him without alarm. The next day, being Good Friday, Narvaez went ashore with as many men as the boats would carry, and made a visit to the Indian settlement at the head of the bay, which he found deserted. The huts were generally small, rude structures, but one of them was large enough to hold three hundred persons. The only article seen of any value was a small bell of gold found among some fish-nets. Narvaez remained here overnight, and the next morning he unfurled the royal ensign and took formal possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain. This ceremony completed, he assembled his followers around him, and made known to them his authority as governor over all the lands that might be discovered; when the officers laid before him their commissions which he approved. The remainder of the troops, with the horses, were now landed without accident, and the little army stood in arms upon a savage and almost unknown coast.² The next day the Indians returned to their huts, but as the Spaniards had no interpreter who understood their language, they were unable to hold any intercourse with them. The savages made a few signs to the strangers, as if bidding them to go away, and then returned into the interior.

² The place where Narvaez landed is established without much, if any, doubt, as Tampa Bay, on the western coast of Florida, and was named by the Spaniards the Bay of the Cross. He disembarked on the northern shore, and marched inland towards the North.

Two days afterward Narvaez, under an escort of forty men and accompanied by Vaca and two other officers, made an excursion a short distance inland. They marched toward the North until evening, when they came to a large bay which extended far into the interior, on the shore of which they encamped until the next day, when they returned to the vessels. The brig was now ordered to sail along the coast in search of the harbor the pilot had spoken of; but in the event of the captain not being able to find it, he was directed to return to Habana and bring a further supply of provisions from a ship left at that place in charge of Alvaro de la Cerda.

After the departure of the brig Narvaez, with his small party, returned inland to continue his explorations. They marched along the coast for the distance of four leagues, when they captured four Indians who conducted them to their town at the head of the bay. Here was found a little maize in an unripe state, and the Spaniards saw four dead bodies covered with painted deer-skins, and deposited in cases similar to those used in Castile for containing merchandize. The bodies were afterward burned. They also discovered some pieces of woollen-cloth, bunches of feathers, and a few samples of gold. The Indians, upon being asked where they had obtained these things, replied that they came from a distant province called Apalache, which also abounded in many other articles of great value. Thence they continued some ten or twelve leagues further into the interior, the Indians acting as guides: but making no discoveries, except finding a little ripe corn, they retraced their steps and returned to the ships.

The time had now arrived when it became necessary for Narvaez to take some steps toward carrying into effect the object of the expedition. For this purpose he assem-

bled his principal officers and informed them of his intention to penetrate into the interior with the troops, while the vessels were to follow the coast until they should arrive at the harbor mentioned by the pilot, where they were to await his return. This plan did not meet the entire approbation of his followers. Among those who opposed it were the notary and Vaca, who thought it imprudent to penetrate into the heart of the country, cut off, as they would be, from all support, until the vessels should be first placed in a known and safe harbor. The opinion of his lieutenants, however, was disregarded, and Narvaez followed his own judgment and inclination. He made immediate preparations to carry his determination into execution. The vessels were placed in command of Caravallo, an alcalde of the expedition, with necessary instructions to govern him. The troops were then mustered upon the shore, fully armed and equipped for the march, numbering three hundred infantry and forty cavalry. They were accompanied by two friars and three other clergymen. He distributed two pounds of biscuit and half a pound of bacon to each man, this being all the provisions he had left to give them; and when this supply should be consumed they would be obliged to depend upon the uncertainty of the march for subsistence.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARMY MARCHES INTO THE INTERIOR AND TAKES
APALACHE.

THE Spaniards marched for the interior on Sunday, the 1st of May. They took a northerly course, nearly parallel to the sea-coast, which they held for fifteen days when they arrived at a large river which detained them a day in crossing.¹ In all this distance the country was uninhabited and barren, and the troops subsisted on a scanty ration of bread and bacon, given them before starting, and some palmettos, found on the march. Soon after crossing the river they encountered about two hundred Indians with whom they had some difficulty. They succeeded in making prisoners of five or six of the savages, who conducted them to their huts half a league off, where was found a large quantity of corn in a ripe state.

¹ This river is undoubtedly the Withlacooche, which is the first large stream North of Tampa Bay that empties into the gulf of Mexico. The distance from Tampa is about an hundred miles, and according to their rate of travel, the Spaniards should have reached it in fifteen days, the time they were occupied in making the march.

Here they encamped for a few days to recruit their wasted strength. Their exact position not being known, at the request of the officers, Narvaez sent Vaca with forty men in search of the sea. He returned in the evening and reported that he had marched upon what appeared to be the sea-shore until he arrived at the river they had crossed, when he retraced his steps without having discovered the sea. Not being satisfied with this exploration, Narvaez sent out a second party of sixty infantry and six cavalry under the command of Velenzuela, who was directed to cross the river and follow it down to the mouth, and look for a good harbor. He met with little better success than Vaca. He reached the coast, but the water was not more than two feet deep in any part of it; and the only signs of inhabitants were five or six canoe-loads of Indians seen at a distance.

The next day after Velenzuela's return the army resumed the march, and continued in a northerly direction, through a barren and uninhabited country. On the 17th of June the Spaniards were visited by an Indian chief, dressed in painted deer-skins and carried upon the back of a warrior. He was accompanied by a large number of his people playing upon reed-flutes. Narvaez held intercourse with him by signs, and gave him to understand that he was going in search of Apalache. The chief said he was an enemy of that people and would assist him to make war upon them. A few hawk-bills and other trinkets were given to the Indians, and the chief, as evidence of his friendly feelings, presented the governor with the deer-skin he wore. Resuming the march, that night the Spaniards came to another river so broad and deep they were obliged to build a large canoe to ferry the men.

across, and they were a whole day in getting over.² One soldier and his horse were swept away by the current and drowned; the body of the horse was recovered by the Indians, and was cooked and eaten that night by the soldiers. They encamped upon the bank of the river until morning, when the march was resumed, and the same day they arrived at the town of the chief. He extended to the weary Spaniards the usual hospitalities of his tribe, and among other things furnished them with a supply of corn, of which they stood in great need. During the night the Indians quietly withdrew from the town and disappeared; and the army marched the next morning without one of them making their appearance.

While the army was in march a large party of Indians, fully armed and equipped for battle, came in sight but fled when the Spaniards approached, and afterward followed in their rear. A small party of cavalry was placed in ambush to surprise them when they should come up,

² This river is supposed to have been the Sawanee or Suwanee, which rises in Georgia, flows South and empties into the gulf. From the length of time employed in marching from the Withlacooche to the Sawanee, Mr. Smith supposes that Narvaez crossed the river pretty high up. As the journal of Vaca makes no mention of having passed any stream between these two rivers, it would naturally be inferred that they crossed the Sawanee below its eastern branch, else some account would have been given of the latter stream. They must have changed their course from the North toward the West before they reached the river. It is the opinion of Mr. Smith, that in the march of the Spaniards from the Sawanee to the gulf they were conducted by the Indians near the present boundary between Florida and Georgia. Garcilasso de la Vega, who accompanied the expedition of De Soto a few years later, and who appears to have seen Vaca's journal when he wrote his account of De Soto's march, was also of the same opinion. I believe this route to have been too far to the North, although I entertain a different opinion upon this point with a good deal of reluctance.

and succeeded in capturing three or four who were used as guides. Under their direction the army continued on until the 24th of June, through a country covered with a heavy growth of timber with the ground much encumbered with fallen trees, when it came in sight of the long wished-for town of Apalache.³ The soldiers were much rejoiced when they saw the goal of their hopes, and expected this would be the termination of their hardships. They had suffered much from fatigue and hunger, and been obliged to march many a weary mile without finding as much as a grain of corn to eat.

When the army arrived in front of the town, Narvaez ordered Vaca to enter it with fifty infantry and a few cavalry, which he did without loss. He found it only occupied by the women and children. The warriors were absent, but they shortly returned and opened fire upon the Spaniards. The action lasted but a few minutes, when the Indians fled, leaving Vaca and his men in possession of the town. None of the soldiers were injured, and the only loss sustained was one horse killed. Apalache was situated in the midst of dense forests, surrounded by large bodies of fresh water filled with fallen trees. The houses were forty in number, small and low, and built of thatch; and in them were found a large

³ The exact situation of this place is not known, and it can only be located by conjecture. Narvaez was eight days in marching from the Sawanee to Apalache, and his course must have been West, or nearly so; and I believe the town to have been situated between that river and the Ocilla which empties into the Bay of Apalache. The length of time the Spaniards were occupied in marching from the Sawanee to Apalache is an argument against their having crossed that river very high up and passed along near the boundary line between Florida and Georgia, for they could not have accomplished the distance in eight days, the time mentioned in Vaca's journal.

quantity of corn in a dry state, deer-skins, and small thread mantelets with which the women covered the person. In the fields the corn was fit for plucking. The country, from the place of landing up to this point, was mostly level and sandy, generally covered with a dense forest of large trees of various kinds, and abounding in lakes. The forests were filled with rabbits, bears, deer and other game, and the lakes abounded with water-fowls and fish.

A few hours after the Spaniards had taken possession of Apalache, the Indians returned in a peaceful attitude and requested that their women and children might be delivered to them. They were given up, but Narvaez detained a cacique who had been very active in stirring up the Indians to hostility. The next day the savages returned and made an attack upon the troops, but when the latter sallied out they fled to the surrounding lakes and escaped. The only loss sustained on either side was one Indian killed. The following day they renewed the attack, coming from the opposite side of the lake, but were repulsed without loss to the Spaniards.

The army remained at Apalache, to recruit the men after their fatiguing march, and also to allow Narvaez an opportunity of exploring the surrounding country. He caused three parties to start out in as many directions, but none of them returned with favorable reports. They found the country thinly peopled, and difficult to be traversed, because of the dense forests and numerous lakes that everywhere abounded. The governor made inquiries of the captive cacique about other towns, and was told that Apalache was the most populous; and that in other sections the country was poorer, with fewer inhabitants, and abounding in vast deserts and solitudes. He said that

toward the South, in a journey of nine days in the direction of the sea, there was a town called Auté, whose inhabitants had an abundance of corn, pumpkins and fish, and were friendly with the people of Apalache. The Indians continued hostile and made frequent attacks upon the Spaniards, in one of which they killed one Don Pedro, a lord of Tesenco. They never stood their ground for any length of time, but generally fled when attacked in return, and their covert in the lakes was so secure that they could not be dislodged.

The Spaniards rested twenty-five days at Apalache, when Narvaez determined to go in search of Auté, of which the Indians had given such a favorable account. He evacuated the town at the head of his troops and resumed the march toward the South. In the meantime the Indians of all the surrounding country had been roused up to resistance, and seemed determined to oppose his further progress. The second day after leaving Apalache, and while crossing a lake, he was attacked by a large body of savages, who opened a severe fire of arrows upon his troops, from behind trees and among the swamp-grass. They succeeded in checking his advance, and disputed the passage with much spirit and bravery. They wounded several men and horses, and were not routed until the cavalry had been dismounted and charged them on foot, when they broke and fled into the lake. The Indians were all well-armed, with bows as thick as the arm and about three and a half feet long: they were good marksmen, and shot their arrows with great accuracy the distance of two hundred yards, and with such force as to penetrate the coats of mail worn by the soldiers. The Spaniards now crossed the lake without further opposition and continued the march. At the distance of a league

they arrived at a second passage, similar to, but more difficult than, the first, but the Indians offered no resistance and it was traversed in safety. The next day they came to a third passage, where they found the Indians assembled in large numbers to oppose them. They were better prepared to meet this attack than the former one, and succeeded in crossing the lake without loss; and when they came out upon the plain they charged the Indians, killing two and wounding two or three others. They now advanced for some days without opposition and until within one league of Auté, when the enemy again appeared and fell upon the rear-guard. In this attack the Spaniards lost one man, a soldier named Avellaneda. He was killed by an arrow which struck the edge of his cuirass with such force that the shaft passed almost entirely through his neck.

The army arrived at Auté the ninth day from Apalache. The town was found deserted and the houses burnt, but the Indians in their flight had left behind them a good deal of maize, pumpkins and beans in a ripe state. The Spaniards remained here three days. The third day after their arrival Vaca was sent in search of the sea, as the Indians had said it was near this place; they were encouraged in this belief, because they had seen a very large river running toward the South. He set out with fifty

4 The situation of this place is equally uncertain with that of Apalache, but was somewhere in the same region of country. Narvaez was nine days in reaching Auté, and his course was South, for which reason we may infer that it was situated between Apalache and the gulf of Mexico. The party sent out from Auté, in search of the sea, reached a cove on the coast in one day, and also saw a large river flowing toward the sea. This is the only river Vaca mentions since crossing the Sawanee, and it is but reasonable to suppose, that had he seen or crossed any other, he would have mentioned it.

infantry and seven cavalry, and was accompanied by the commissioner friar Suarez, captain Castillo, and Andres Dorantes. In one day's march they reached a cove or inlet of the sea, where they found an abundance of oysters. The next morning Vaca sent twenty men to explore the sea-coast, who returned in the evening and reported that they had not been able to reach it, and that it was very distant. The third day he returned to Auté and made a report of his explorations. In his absence the Indians had made an attack upon the camp, and killed one horse: and he found Narvaez and many of the soldiers sick, being worn down by the hardships of the march.

CHAPTER III.

NARVAEZ CAUSES BOATS TO BE BUILT AND ATTEMPTS TO
ESCAPE BY SEA.

NARVAEZ remained at Auté seven days when the march was resumed toward the coast ; and at the end of the first day he reached the little cove where Vaca had halted in his explorations a few days before. Here the army encamped.¹

¹ The point where the Spaniards reached the coast they called the Bay of Caballos ; and from the most reliable data I am of the opinion that it was one of the coves or inlets of Apalache Bay ; in truth it cannot well be located further West. History seems to have fixed upon this locality with as much certainty as any other upon the whole route. In 1539 a squadron from the army of De Soto, under Juan de Añasco visited this bay, and the appearance the shore presented was stated by the Ynca in his account of the expedition. They saw plainly where the furnace had been built, and charcoal was still found lying round about. The logs the Spaniards had hollowed out and used for horse-troughs were also there. They were told by the Indians that Narvaez had encamped at that place and built his boats. They pointed out to Añasco where various events had transpired, and took him all over the ground ; and also showed him where the Indians had killed ten of his men, as is stated in Vaca's journal. They explained to him by signs all that had occurred there. He and his men searched in holes and under the bark of trees to discover letters or other mementoes of Narvaez's men, but found nothing. Herrera confirms this location. In 1722 Charlevoix was at San Marcos de Apalache, and in speaking of the bay wrote as follows : " This bay is precisely that which Garcilasso de la Vega, in his History of Florida, calls the port of Auté." Let. xxxiv.

The condition of the Spaniards was now pitiable in the extreme, and was becoming more critical every hour. The march was arduous and dangerous ; disease was daily wasting away their number, and the sick and disabled were so numerous there were not horses enough to transport them. They were almost without provisions ; in an unknown country cut off from all hope of succor, and surrounded by a savage foe ; they were completely lost in the wilderness of forests and swamps and knew not whither to turn to extricate themselves. In the midst of these difficulties, of themselves so well calculated to dispirit both officers and men, a secret conspiracy was put on foot by the cavalry, for the purpose of abandoning the governor and securing a better fate for themselves. The misfortunes which beset them had now reached such a point that some immediate steps seemed necessary for self-preservation. Narvaez was fully aware of the critical situation, and he took counsel of the present danger for his future course. The evening he encamped at the little cove he called to him each officer and man of any note, and asked their individual advice as to the course that should be pursued. After calm deliberation upon the state of affairs, they coincided in the project of building boats, and endeavoring to make their escape by sea. But this course, which seemed the only feasible one left, by which they could hope to rescue themselves, was surrounded by many difficulties. They had neither tools, material, nor workmen ; nor had they provisions to sustain themselves while at work building boats. The matter was fully discussed without coming to any decision that night ; and when the council broke up each one repaired to his couch in the sand, with a prayer to God that He would direct them in all their trials.

Upon further reflection, the next day, it was resolved to attempt to build boats in spite of the difficulties, and trust their future fortunes to the waves of the sea. It was their intention to coast along the gulf-shore until they should reach some of the Spanish settlements in Mexico. They commenced to build boats the 4th of September, and by the 20th five were completed, each one being thirty-one feet in length. Their tools were of a very rude description, and their materials entirely unsuited to the purpose. One of the men made a pair of bellows of deer-skins. Nails, saws, axes, etc., were manufactured from their stirrups, spurs, bridle-bits and other articles of iron about their equipments. The rigging for the boats was manufactured from the fibre of the palmetto, and the tails and manes of their horses; and the shirts of the officers and men were made into sails. The boats were likewise calked with the fibre of the palmetto. Every third day a horse was killed and divided among the workmen and the sick; and to increase their store of provisions foraging parties made frequent excursions to Auté in search of grain, where they found a few bushels of corn. The forest around swarmed with Indians, who harassed the workmen, and made frequent attacks upon those who went out in search of provisions. A party of men gathering shell-fish in the neighboring cove were attacked within sight of the camp and ten of them killed. A Greek named Teodoro made rosin from the pine trees with which he pitched the boats, and stones were used for ballast, though it was with difficulty a sufficient quantity could be found for that purpose. Bottles, to hold water for the voyage, were made of tanned skins of the horses' legs.

The whole distance the Spaniards had marched from the Bay of the Cross, *Baye de la Cruz*, where they first

landed, to the point where the boats were built, was estimated at about two hundred and eighty leagues ; and the number who had died of hunger and disease, and been killed by the Indians, was forty, including officers and men.

The final preparations for departure were made by the 22d, when they went on board the boats. The same day they killed the last of their horses, and including this they had but a very limited supply of provisions for the voyage. They embarked in the following order : "In the boat of the governor there went forty-nine men ; in another which he gave to the controller and commissary others as many. The third he gave to captain Alonzo de Castillo and Andres Dorantes with forty-eight men ; and another he gave to two captains, Tellez and Peñalosa with forty-seven men. The last he gave to the assessor and me (Vaca) with forty-nine men." The whole number who embarked, independent of the officers, was two hundred and forty. The boats were heavily laden, and after the men were on board and the baggage and provisions taken in, there remained not more than three inches of the gunwale above water. They were so much crowded, that the officers and men had not even space to move, but were obliged to sit in one position. In all the boats there was not one person who had any knowledge of navigation.

The place where the Spaniards embarked is known as *La Baya de los Caballos*, the Bay of Horses. They went on board the 22d of September, and commenced their voyage the same day. They turned their backs upon that inhospitable coast, and launched their frail boats upon the bosom of an almost unknown gulf, with emotions of no ordinary kind. A dark cloud, from which gleamed no ray of hope, encompassed this band of heroes, and the

stoutest heart almost gave way under their misfortunes. The prows of their little vessels were turned seaward without a martial sound, or a joyful shout to cheer their departure. In silence and in fear they cast loose their boats and started on their voyage.

For seven days they passed through shallow sounds, and at the end of that time they came to an island near the main-land. Five canoes loaded with Indians started from the main-land to come off to them, but becoming alarmed they abandoned their canoes, which fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Some of the boats landed upon the island, where they were fortunate enough to find a few mullets and dried mullet-roes; and as their stock of provisions by this time had become much reduced, they were thankful for this meagre supply. They made use of the Indian canoes to raise the gunwales of their own boats, which rendered them more secure. They remained on the island but a short time when they re-embarked and pursued their voyage. In a league they discovered a strait the island made with the main land, through which they passed. They named the strait San Miguel, because it was seen upon that day. They now directed their course toward the West and pulled along the shore of the gulf of Mexico. Thus they coasted for thirty days, now and then pulling in close to the main-land and entering some of the creeks and coves, which they found shallow and difficult of navigation. The only inhabitants they saw in all this distance were a few miserable Indians fishing. The Spaniards suffered greatly for water. The skins that contained it had rotted by this time and were become perfectly useless; and their supply being exhausted they landed upon an island and searched for some in vain. They had now been five days without

water, and their thirst had become so intolerable that they drank salt-water, from the effect of which four of them died. While they were upon this island a violent storm arose, which detained them six days.

The storm had not yet subsided when they again re-embarked, preferring rather to trust themselves to the perils of the wind and waves than remain upon the island and endure such great thirst without a prospect of having it relieved. The sea ran very high and several times the boats were in great danger of foundering. About sun-set they doubled a point of land behind which they found calm-water in a sheltered cove. As they neared the shore several canoes filled with unarmed Indians came off to meet them, and followed them in to the land. When they had made fast their boats the Indians conducted them to their village, where they offered them fish to eat, the Spaniards giving them in exchange corn and trinkets. The cacique invited Narvaez to his hut, where he tendered him the rude hospitalities of his tribe. Their friendship appears to have been a pretext to conceal their hostile designs, for in the night the Indians made an attack upon the Spaniards who were in the houses and scattered along the shore, and were with difficulty beaten off. The governor was wounded in the face, and hardly a man escaped injury. The cacique was made prisoner in the conflict, but was afterward liberated by his people. He left behind him, in his escape, his robe of skins of the civet-marten, which had a fragrance of amber and musk. The Indians renewed the attack three times and fought with great determination. At the last assault fifteen men, under captains Dorantes, Peñalosa and Tellez, were placed in ambush and attacked them in rear when, after short resistance, they fled and did not return.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPANIARDS RE-EMBARK AND VACA'S BOAT IS CAST UPON
THE SHORE.

AFTER the repulse of the Indians the Spaniards passed the night in quietness, and in the morning the enemy was not to be seen. The weather had now become cold. A keen wind was blowing from the North, and being without shelter they burnt thirty of the Indian cabins for fuel. The sea was so boisterous all that day that they were unable to embark and were obliged to remain upon the island. During the night the sea became more calm, and on the following morning they again embarked and continued their voyage. After rowing three days in a westerly direction they entered an estuary, where a canoe filled with Indians came toward them. When they approached within speaking distance Narvaez asked them for water, which they promised to bring him if he would furnish them something to hold it. The Greek and the negro accompanied the Indians for water, against the advice of the governor and the rest of the men, the savages leaving two of their number as hostages. Sometime in the night the Indians returned with the vessels empty, but without the Greek and negro. They spoke

a few words to the two hostages who immediately attempted to escape, but were prevented by those who had them in charge.

The next morning the Spaniards were visited by many Indians in canoes, among whom were five or six chiefs, of commanding appearance and great influence; they wore the hair flowing upon the shoulders and were dressed in robes of martens, with lion-skin ties. They demanded the release of the two hostages, but Narvaez declined to give them up until the Greek and negro were returned. This they promised to do, and also agreed to furnish the Spaniards with water and many other articles of which they stood in need if some of them would accompany them to the shore., but the governor refused to accede to their proposition.¹ The Indians continued to collect in great numbers, and fearing they intended to take possession of the entrance to the estuary to prevent his escape, Narvaez put to sea, followed by the canoes of the savages. They kept in his wake, and but a short distance astern, until about midday, when they commenced an attack by throwing clubs and slinging stones; but while the fight was going on the wind freshened up when the Indians paddled back to the land and the boats held on their course toward the West. They rowed until the middle of the afternoon when Vaca, whose boat was leading, discovered a cape by which flowed a great

¹ The following note of Dorotheo, the Greek, is made by Biedma; Recueil, p. 72: "In 1540, when the soldiers under Soto came to the town of Mavila, they heard that Don Dorotheo, with his companions, had been there, and they were shown a dirk that had been his." It is the opinion of Mr. Smith that Teodoro traveled inland, being invited by the appearance of a country of plenty and a people less barbarous, and he may have wandered to the North into the country where the bison abounded and passed his life among the hunters of that animal.

river. He cast anchor near a small island to wait until the governor should come up; but the latter instead entered a bay near by filled with small islands. Here all the boats came together and took in a supply of water. When they embarked again they tried to make a point in the river behind the island to obtain wood, but the current was so strong they were unable to reach it. The river discharged itself into the gulf with such impetuosity that the current, assisted by a strong North wind then prevailing, drove the boats out to sea in spite of all their labor at the oars. When half a league from shore they sounded but could not reach bottom in thirty fathoms. They labored two days to reach the land, but were unable to make headway against the strong current that poured out the mouth of the river. On the third morning before the sun was up they discovered smoke on shore, in the distance. They pulled toward the land all day and by evening arrived within a short distance of it; but fearing to approach nearer in the night, and being then in three fathoms of water, they resolved to rest on their oars until morning.

When the morning dawned Vaca's boat was the only one near the place where they had rested on their oars the night before, the others being nowhere in sight. He sounded and found thirty fathoms of water. He strained his eyes in vain over the smooth surface of the gulf in search of the missing boats, but no trace of them could be discovered, and himself and crew found themselves alone upon the waters. Under the circumstances they concluded to continue their course, and again taking to the oars held on their way to the West. They rowed until vespers, when Vaca espied two boats ahead, the foremost of which proved to be that of the governor.

When they met Narvaez and Vaca held a consultation as to the proper course to be pursued. The latter was in favor of joining the third boat, when the three together should continue on whithersoever God should be pleased to direct them, but the governor wanted to land because the third boat was too far out at sea to be overtaken. The latter course was adopted and the boats were turned toward the shore. They rowed in that direction until near sun-set, Vaca's boat, meanwhile, having fallen some distance astern, for the other boat had the strongest men and best rowers. He asked Narvaez to give him a rope that he might put his boat in tow, but this he declined, telling him at the same time that it was no longer a time when one man should command another, but that each one should do what he thought best calculated to save his own life. Narvaez now held on his way, but as Vaca was unable to keep up with him he turned his boat from the land and joined the one out at sea, which he found to be commanded by captains Peñalosa and Tellez.

These two boats now steered westward for four days, when they encountered a furious storm that separated them. Vaca's boat came near foundering, and when the storm abated he found himself a second time alone upon the sea. He and his men were now almost in despair, but they continued their voyage. Such had been the inclemency of the weather, and the hunger, thirst and other privations they had been obliged to endure, that at the close of the next day nearly all the crew were lying insensible in the bottom of the boat. There were not five men able to stand upon their feet, and the master and Vaca were the only ones capable of handling an oar. Early in the evening the master also gave out and Vaca was left the only one of the whole crew able to do any-

thing; but the former revived a little during the night and took charge of the boat, when the latter laid down and rested awhile. Toward the dawn of day Vaca was aroused by the roaring of the sea, and believing they were near the shore cast the lead and found seven fathoms of water. They resolved to keep a little ways out at sea until the sun was up, so as to see how they were situated, and therefore continued to pull gently along the shore. They had thus rowed for more than a league when a great wave struck the boat and knocked it almost out of the water upon shore. The blow aroused the crew from their almost insensible state, and they crawled upon their hands and knees to the shore and sought shelter in some neighboring ravines. Here they found a little rain-water; and building a fire parched some corn and warmed their benumbed bodies. The boat was cast upon the shore on the 6th of November.²

² There is a diversity of opinion as to the location of the island upon which the boat of Vaca was wrecked. It is believed by Mr. Smith that all the boats were lost somewhere East of the Mississippi river, and which is generally concurred in by those who have examined the subject. He contends that the boat of the controller, Enriquez, was wrecked at the mouth of Pensacola Bay, and that the crew reached the land on the Western shore. From the most careful examination I have been able to give the subject I believe that the boat of Vaca was cast away West of the Mississippi, upon one of the low sandy islands that line the coast of Louisiana. There are several reasons for coming to this conclusion.

In the first place, the time they were occupied in coasting along the shore would have enabled them to get beyond the mouth of the Mississippi. From the time they embarked at the Bay of Caballos until Vaca's boat was cast upon the island of Malhado, forty-five days elapsed, exclusive of stoppages. They were seven days passing through the shoals after they had embarked, and the other thirty-eight were occupied in rowing toward the West along the coast of the gulf. That they did not follow all the windings and indentations of the coast is very evident, for Vaca says they only now and then entered the coves.

After the men had eaten and rested awhile, Vaca ordered Lope de Ovieda, who was stouter than the rest, to ascend a tree near by and take a survey of the country. Upon his return he reported that they were upon an island and the country had the appearance of having been trodden up by cattle, from which he inferred that it was inhabited by Christians. He was now directed to make

After rowing thirty-four days they passed the mouth of a great river, the current of which was so strong that it drove the boats out to sea in spite of all they could do; and four days afterward the boats were separated in a storm, and that of Vaca wrecked. The Mississippi is the only river that empties into the gulf of Mexico with a current as strong as the one here described. The mouth of the river was encountered four days before Vaca's boat was wrecked; and Mr. Smith locates the island of Malhado between the Choctawhatchee river and Pensacola Bay, but there is no river, with a strength of current equal to the one the Spaniards encountered, emptying into the gulf at a point four days east of the islands off Pensacola Bay. There is another reason in favor of the conclusion to which I have arrived as to the place of Vaca's shipwreck. After he and his companions started inland in their wanderings through the country, they met with no river the size of the Mississippi, and it is not likely a stream which the Indians called the "Father of Waters" would have passed unnoticed in the journal. The deepest river Vaca mentions only reached up to the waist, and that stream was encountered when pretty far out upon the plains. If they had come to the Mississippi while traveling on land it would have impeded their march unless they could have obtained canoes of the Indians to cross it.

The circumstantial evidence already given seems sufficient to fix the shipwreck of Vaca at a point West of the Mississippi, in the absence of other testimony. But in addition to this we have direct evidence upon the subject. Castañeda, in his narrative of the expedition of Coronado, says the Spaniards passed the mouth of the Mississippi, which they discovered, on the last day of October, about which time they encountered the furious storm which separated the boats and drove that of Narvaez out to sea. According to the same chronicler, six days after passing the mouth of the river Vaca's boat was cast upon the shore, which would have allowed them sufficient time to make some of the low sandy islands that skirt the coast of Louisiana.

a further reconnoissance of the island without going far from camp, for fear of a surprise by the Indians. He set out, but being absent a considerable time Vaca dispatched two men in search of him, who met him near the camp on his return, followed by three Indians armed with bows and arrows. He had penetrated about half a league into the wood, when he came to some deserted huts, from which he took a small dog, an earthen pot and a few mullets. The Indians followed a little distance in his rear until they arrived near the camp, when they seated themselves upon a bank, where they were joined in half an hour by fifty more armed warriors. The savages were peaceably disposed; but had they been hostile resistance had been useless, for there were not six Spaniards able to raise themselves from the ground. The Indians were persuaded to approach, when a few presents of beads and hawk-bills were given to each warrior, who in return gave Vaca an arrow, esteemed by them a pledge of friendship. The Spaniards explained, as well as they were able, their unfortunate condition and commended themselves to their mercy. The appeal seemed to touch a chord of sympathy in the hearts of the savages, who gave them to understand, when they went away, that they would return in the morning with something for them to eat, as they had nothing at that time to give them. They came back the next day as they had promised, bringing with them a large quantity of fish and certain roots which they gathered from under the water, which they offered to Vaca and his men.

CHAPTER V.

PITIALE CONDITION OF VACA AND HIS MEN, AND WHAT
BEFEL THEM.

THE Spaniards remained on this island several days to recruit their strength and to make preparations to continue their voyage. The Indians treated them with great kindness, supplying them with fish and roots, and doing many other things to increase their comfort. Having now become well-rested and supplied with an abundance of food and water, Vaca determined to re-embark. Their boat was buried in the sand, but it was dugged out and launched with much difficulty. To accomplish this they were obliged to work in the cold water a long time without clothing. The boat once more afloat they put in their provisions and went on board. But they had only fairly embarked when a fierce wave struck it, knocked the oars from the hands of the rowers and capsized her. The assessor and one man were drowned, while the others were cast upon the shore, naked, having lost all their clothing, provisions and everything else the boat contained.

The condition of the poor Spaniards was now more pitiable than ever. They found themselves a second time

upon an inhospitable and savage coast, entirely at the mercy of the Indians. The time of year was November; the cold was intense, with a sharp wind that seemed to go to the very marrow of their bones. They had neither clothing, tents or anything else to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. Since the month of May Vaca himself had eaten nothing but corn; and the whole party had become so much emaciated from past sufferings that they had the appearance of skeletons. Their hearts trailed in the dust at the dreary prospect before them, and naught else than the indomitable spirit of Spanish chivalry gave them resolution to struggle against their fate. They were thrown upon the shore where they had previously been encamped and fortunately found alive a few embers of the fire they had left in the morning. They kindled anew the expiring coals, around which they gathered and warmed their chilled bodies.

The Indians did not know that the Spaniards had re-embarked in the morning and been cast ashore again, and when they returned to the camp toward evening with the usual supply of food they were so much surprised and shocked at their desolate appearance that they turned and fled from fear. Vaca called to them and induced them to return. They came and sat down with him and his men, when he related to them as well as he could, without the aid of an interpreter, the new misfortune that had overtaken them, and how two of their number had been drowned. This relation, with their wretched appearance, sensibly affected the Indians, who manifested their grief by uttering loud lamentations for more than half an hour. Fearing they might perish in their exposed and destitute condition they besought the savages to take them to their huts and give them shelter, which they

consented to do. As their huts were some distance inland from the scene of the shipwreck, a party of thirty Indians was immediately dispatched to make preparations for the reception of the Spaniards, each one carrying an arm-load of wood. Toward evening the remainder of them took the weary Christians in their arms and carried them to their village. Those who had been sent in advance had arrived some time before and had already kindled large fires. They carried their guests from one fire to another, resting at each one long enough for them to warm themselves; when they were taken to a hut which had been prepared for their reception and in which a large fire was blazing. Here they took up their quarters, and at night they laid themselves down to sleep in greater comfort than they had known for many months. When their arrival was known through the village the Indians held great rejoicings at their rescue, which consisted principally in yelling and dancing, and which was kept up all night. Hearing such an uproar among the savages without knowing the cause, the Spaniards were in great fear and expected every moment to be offered up victims to some heathen rite. They passed the night in safety, however, and the next morning the Indians assured them of their friendly feeling by presenting them roots and fish to eat, and otherwise treating them with great kindness.

The Indians informed the Spaniards there were other white men in that vicinity, whereupon Vaca, who had no doubt they were some of his wrecked companions, sent out two men in search of them. They had not proceeded far, however, when they met a party of their countrymen coming toward the village, when they turned back and accompanied them in. The new-comers were Andres Dorantes and Castillo with their boat's crew. Their boat

had been capsized on the fifth day of the month about a league and a half from that place, but the crew escaped to the shore without losing anything. The meeting of these unfortunate wanderers was both sad and pleasant—sad that they should encounter each other under such painful circumstances, and yet not unattended with pleasurable emotions, for they were again united in their misfortunes and could help each other to bear up under them. The congratulations of meeting having passed they consulted together as to the means of making their escape. They agreed to refit the boat of Dorantes and Castillo, and those who were able were to go to sea in her, while the others were to remain until they should have sufficiently recovered their strength to make their way along the coast in search of some Christian land. They took immediate measures to carry out their determination and continue the voyage. The boat was launched after much exertion, but she was hardly afloat again when she sunk, and thus an end was put to their hopes of escape by water. They looked on with mournful interest as the boat filled and went down before their eyes; and when the gulf had calmly closed over her and they saw themselves deprived of the last means of rescue, they turned from the shore and retraced their steps to the Indian village with heavy hearts. Since they were last wrecked one of their number, a cavalier named Tavera, had died, and the survivors were in a very enfeebled condition.

The fortunes of our wanderers seemed to become darker and darker with each turn of affairs, but hope still told "a flattering tale" and bade them be of good cheer. Escape by sea being now hopeless they determined to use every exertion to effect it by land. Finding themselves

not in a condition to continue their journey westward, and the weather being exceedingly boisterous and cold, they yielded to a necessity they could not avoid and concluded to remain and spend the winter where they then were. It was agreed that four men, the most robust of the party and excellent swimmers, should be sent forward in search of the Spanish settlement at the Panuco, which was believed to be very near, to give information of those who remained upon the island, and, if possible, to obtain assistance for them. Those who were sent upon this expedition were Alvaro Fernandez, a Portuguese carpenter and sailor, Mendez, Figueron, a native of Toledo, and Astudillo, a native of Zafre, who took with them an Indian of the island as guide. These strong-hearted pioneers made a few necessary preparations, when bidding farewell to their companions they started upon their hazardous journey.

Within a few days the weather increased in cold and became very tempestuous. The Indians were now unable to catch fish or gather roots, and food of all kinds became so scarce that starvation began to stare them in the face. The huts afforded so little protection from the inclemency of the weather that the Spaniards suffered much from the intense cold and began to sicken and die. Five of the men upon the coast were reduced to such extremity that they were obliged to eat the dead bodies of their companions to preserve life. Death made such havoc among them that in a short time out of eighty, the whole number who had arrived in the two boats, but fifteen remained alive, and they were reduced to mere skeletons. To increase their misery, about this time the Indians were visited by a fatal sickness that carried off half their number and the Spaniards were accused of being the

cause of it. This belief made the savages hostile and they formed a plan to murder them in revenge. But they were prevented from carrying the plot into execution by one of their own number persuading them the Spaniards were not the cause of the sickness, and as evidence of which he reminded them that nearly all the strangers had died of the same disease. The Indians also entertained ill-feeling toward them because they had eaten their dead, a practice which greatly shocked them, savages though they were.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ISLAND OF MALHADO, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
INHABITANTS.

THE island upon which the Spaniards were wrecked, and which was the scene of so many disasters to them, they gave the name of Malhado, or Misfortune, of which the following account is given by Vaca, with the manners and customs of the people. He says :

“ To this island we gave the name of Malhado. The people there are large and well-formed ; they have no other arms than bows and arrows, and in the use of them they are extremely skillful. The men have one of their nipples bored from side to side, and some have both ; and through the holes they wear a cane the length of two palms and a half and the thickness of two fingers. They have the under lip also bored, and wear in it a piece of cane the thinness of half a finger. The women are accustomed to hard labor. The stay the Indians make on this island is from October to the end of February. Their subsistence is the root which I have spoken of, got from under the water in November and December. They have wears, but take fish only in this time, and afterward

they live on the roots. At the end of February they go into other parts to seek sustenance, for then the roots begin to grow and are not good. They love their offspring the most of any people in the world, and treat them with the greatest mildness. When it occurs that a son dies, the parents and kindred weep for him, and so does every one ; and the wailing continues a whole year. They begin it in the morning of every day before sunrise, the parents first and after them the whole town. They do the same at midday and at sunset. After a year of mourning has passed away they perform the rites of the dead, and they wash and purify themselves from the stain of smoke. They lament all the defunct in this manner, excepting the aged, for whom they show no regret, as they say their season has passed and there is no enjoyment for them, and that living they would occupy the earth and take the support of the young. It is their custom to bury the dead, unless it be those among them who are physicians, and those they burn. While the fire kindles they are all dancing and making high festivity until the bones become calcined. After the lapse of a year the funeral rites are celebrated and all take part in them. The dust is then presented in water for the relatives to drink.

“Every man has an acknowledged wife. The physicians are allowed more freedom ; they may have two or three wives, among whom exist the greatest friendship and harmony. When a daughter is to be married, from that time to the marriage all that he who takes her to wife kills in hunting, or catches in fishing, the woman brings to the house of her father, without daring to take or taste any part of it, but victuals are taken thence to the groom. In all this interval neither her father nor mother enters

his house, nor can he enter their's, nor the house of the children; and if by chance they are in the direction of meeting they turn aside and pass the distance of a cross-bow shot from each other, carrying the head low the while and the eyes cast on the ground; for they hold it an impropriety to see or to speak to each other. But the woman has liberty to converse and communicate with the parents of her future husband. The custom exists from this island to the distance of more than fifty leagues inland.¹

“There is another custom, which is, when a son or brother dies, at the house where the death takes place, for three months they do not go after food, but sooner famish, and their relatives and neighbors provide what they eat. As in the time we were here a great number of the natives died, in most houses there was very great hunger, because of the observance of their ceremonial; and although they who sought after food worked hard, yet from the severity of the season they obtained but little; in consequence, the Indians who kept me left the island and passed over in canoes to the main into some bays where there were many oysters.

“For three months in the year they eat nothing else than these and drink very bad water. There is great want of wood, and mosquitoes are in great numbers. The houses are of mats, set up on masses of oyster-shells, which they sleep upon, and in skins should they accidently possess them. In this way we lived until the month of April, when we went to the sea-shore, where we ate

¹A similar custom to the one here described, in regard to the ceremony observed during the time of betrothel, still exists among the Miembres band of the Apache tribe, and the Nabajo Indians of New Mexico.

blackberries all the month, during which time the Indians did not omit to practice their rites and festivities."²

The physicians among the people of Malhado practiced the healing art in a manner peculiar to themselves. When one of them was called to attend upon a sick person, it was the custom to blow upon the seat of disease, which was believed to have a magical effect in the way of curing the ills which flesh is heir to. They also scarified over the pain, made cauteries with fire, and sucked the wounded parts. They professed to cast out all infirmities by merely blowing upon the patient and the laying on of hands. Cautering with fire was held in the greatest repute. It was the custom of these Indians, after having been cured of disease, to give the physician all their goods and then to seek among their relatives for more to give him. The Spaniards had not been a great while upon the island, when the Indians wished to make physicians of them, and, as Vaca relates in his journal, without subjecting them to the ordeal of an examination or asking for a diploma. But they desired all knowledge of the healing art and declined to assume the responsibilities of the profession. The Indians seemed determined to have their wishes gratified in this particular, and used persuasive means so long as there was any hope of their having the desired effect. But when this course failed to induce the Christians to alter their minds, the savages applied a more potent argument, which consisted in the stoppage of their rations. This last appeal moved the resolution of the stubborn cavaliers, who seeing there was no other course left than to comply with the wishes of the Indians, consented to enter the profession in competition with their red brethren, and

² An extract from Vaca's journal.

without ceremony began to practice. By way of encouragement, one of the Indians told them that he could remove pain from the stomach by merely passing a heated stone over it, but inasmuch as they were very extraordinary men they would be able to accomplish a great deal more.

The mode of practice adopted by the Spaniards was at once simple and harmless, and if the patient received no relief from the treatment he was sure to come out of the doctor's hands without injury. When called upon to administer to those who stood in need of their services it was their common custom "to bless the sick, breathe upon them, and recite a Paternoster and Ave Maria, praying with all earnestness to God our Lord that he would give them health and influence us to do them some good." This system of practice seems to have acted like a charm, and it is related that in every instance after the sign of the cross had been made over the patient he immediately recovered. The Christians now received much better treatment than before and at once grew into favor and importance. In many instances the Indians even denied themselves food to supply them and they made them presents of skins and many other articles. At one period there was great scarcity of provisions, and Vaca mentions that he went three days without tasting any kind of food.

The Spaniards who came to the island with Dorantes and Castillo, as well as those belonging to the boat of Vaca, with the exception of himself, lived some time with another tribe of Indians of a different tongue and ancestry, who dwelt upon the opposite shore of the main-land where oysters abounded, but they returned to Malhado about the first of April.

The inhabitants of all this region went naked, with the exception of the women and young damsels, who covered a portion of the person; the former with the moss that grew upon the trees and the latter with deer-skins. They were of two distinct tribes and spoke different languages; one being Capoques and the other Han, and the members of each tribe lived by themselves. They had no chief and appeared to be without political organization. They were generous toward each other. Of their custom when visiting Vaca speaks as follows: "They have a custom when they meet, or from time to time when they visit, of remaining half an hour before they speak, weeping; and this over he that is visited first rises and gives the other all he has, which is received, and after a little while he carries it away with him and often without saying a word."

CHAPTER VII.

DORANTES AND CASTILLO ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE, AND WHAT
HAPPENED TO VACA.

WHEN Dorantes and Castillo returned to the island of Malhado upon the opening of spring they assembled all the Spaniards they found alive, who numbered fourteen. They had suffered much during the winter from the hardships they were obliged to endure, and were emaciated and enfeebled. At this time Vaca was still upon the shore of the bay where he had wintered with the Indians who held him captive, and was much prostrated by disease. Hearing of his condition his companions in misfortune gave an Indian the cloak of marten-skins before mentioned to pass them over to the main-land to visit him. All were crossed over the strait in safety but Hieronymo de Alaniz and Lope de Ovieda, who being too feeble for the trip were left upon the island. They found Vaca still too sick to accompany them in an attempt to escape, and they determined to proceed without him. They were joined by one of his men, which increased their number to thirteen. They started along the coast toward the West, leaving Vaca in the care of the Indians.

The condition of Vaca at this time was more deplorable than at any former period, and misfortunes seemed to thicken around him from day to day. He found himself prostrated by disease, in the hands of the savages, and deserted by his companions with whom he had toiled and suffered so much. In their desire to escape they had left him to his fate, and now there seemed for him no hope of deliverance. As he bade them farewell, and saw their forms disappear toward the setting sun, his heart sunk within him and he almost gave himself up to despair.

After he had recovered from his sickness he remained a prisoner among these Indians for a year, and endured many hardships. They made him an abject slave, and compelled him to endure every kind of severe labor and submit to the harshest treatment. Among other duties that devolved upon him was digging roots from under the water and among the canes. This occupation tore his fingers and the broken canes lacerated his body. His life became such a burden that he determined to make his escape and join a tribe called Charruco, which inhabited the forests and country of the main-land. He succeeded in reaching these latter Indians, where his condition was changed for the better.

Vaca remained with these people nearly six years, from the summer of 1528 to sometime in the year 1533. In all this time he went without clothing and conformed in every respect to the manners and customs of the Indians. He followed the occupation of a pedlar, or trader, which enabled him to obtain plenty of food and command good treatment. In his trading excursions he was allowed to travel some forty or fifty leagues along the coast and as far into the interior as he pleased. He traveled from tribe to tribe at pleasure, which was a great convenience

to the Indians, as they could not carry on their traffic in time of war. He principally carried into the interior sea-snails and their cones, conchos, and a fruit like a bean, used for medicine, sea-beads, and other articles; and in return brought back skins, ochre with which they colored their faces, flints for arrow heads, cement, canes for arrows, and tassels made of deer-skins, ornamented and dyed red. He was treated with kindness wherever he went, and the Indians gave him food in exchange for his wares. In the course of time he became a person of such great importance in all the surrounding country that his acquaintance was sought for the reputation he enjoyed. In imitation of the Indian custom he ceased from his labors during the winter months, and retired with them to their huts and villages and led an inactive life. His leading object in traveling back and forth through the country was to become well acquainted with it and the people, so that in case he should attempt to escape the knowledge would be of advantage to him.

It will be borne in mind that when Dorantes and Castillo made their escape from the island of Malhado they left two Spaniards behind, sick, Ovieda and Alaniz, the latter of whom died soon after, the former getting well and remaining upon the island. The reason Vaca remained so long among the Charrucos, was to enable Ovieda to make his escape, and for this purpose he made him a visit every year to persuade him to cross over to the main-land. At each annual visit Ovieda promised him that he would certainly accompany him the next year, but when the time arrived his resolution failed him. At last, after much persuasion, he induced him to leave the island, and as he was not able to swim Vaca crossed him over in a canoe.

Having reached the main in safety, after some slight preparations they started on their escape, following the coast toward the West. They traveled in company with some Indians until they had crossed four large rivers, when they came to a deep bay a league in width, which was supposed to be the bay of Espiritu Santo. Having crossed the bay in safety they resumed their journey and in a short time met with some Indians of the Quévenes nation. This people told the Spaniards there were three Christians some distance beyond, the survivors of a considerable number, the others having either died of hunger or cold, or been killed; that the tribe which held them treated them with cruelty. They represented the country as very poor, with few inhabitants, who suffered much from the cold. They said that those who held the three Christians would soon come to eat walnuts upon the margin of that river, within a league of where they then were, when they would have an opportunity of seeing them. In confirmation of the bad treatment the other Christians received, these savages slapped and beat Vaca and his companion; and put their arrows to their hearts, saying they were inclined to kill them as they had killed their friends. Ovieda became alarmed at these hostile demonstrations and desired to return with the women who had crossed the bay with them. Vaca used every persuasion he was master of to induce him to continue on with him, but it was of no avail; he returned with the women and was never heard of afterward.

Vaca again found himself alone with the Indians, but he determined to persevere in his effort to escape. Two days afterward he was informed that those who held his countrymen prisoners had come to the place designated to eat walnuts. He was directed to go to a point of wood

which the Indians he was then with must pass on a visit to the strangers the next day, when they would take him along with them. He awaited their coming at the place of rendezvous, and accompanied them to the camp of the walnut-eating Indians. When they had approached within a short distance, Andres Dorantes, who had been told that a white man was coming, came out to meet Vaca. The meeting was a happy one, as each had thought the other dead, and they mutually returned thanks to God for having preserved their lives through so many vicissitudes. In a short time he had the pleasure of saluting the other captives, Castillo, and Estevanieo, a Barbary negro, at whose safety he was also much rejoiced.

The three Spaniards immediately counseled with each other upon a plan of escape. Vaca told Dorantes that he had long entertained the intention of escaping to some Christian land, and still intended to do so, if possible. The latter had heretofore advised Castillo and the negro to the same course, but they had declined making the attempt because of their inability to swim the numerous bays and rivers which intersected the country. But now they concluded to escape together. They made their arrangements with great secrecy, to prevent their intention becoming known to the Indians, who would have killed them to prevent their escape. In order to allay all suspicion it was deemed advisable to postpone the attempt for the space of six months, when the Indians, as was their custom, would migrate to another part of the country to eat prickly-pears. Here they would meet other savages who would come there to trade and exchange bows, with whom they could return if they should succeed in eluding the vigilance of their masters. This plan of operations being agreed upon, they awaited with deep

anxiety the arrival of the time when they hoped to be able to strike an effectual blow for their deliverance from bondage.

Vaca and Dorantes were given as slaves to the same Indian who, as well as all his family, was blind of one eye. Their master belonged to the tribe called Marianes, while Castillo was living with the Yeguases who dwelt in their vicinity.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FATE OF NARVAEZ, AND THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE SURVIVORS.

DORANTES and companions related to Vaca what had befallen them since they had left the island of Malhado, and also what had happened to others of the Spaniards.

It will be remembered, that when they parted from Vaca on the shore of the main-land opposite the island, they took their course along the coast toward the West. They had not proceeded far when they found the boat in which the friar and controller had been wrecked. They passed the mouths of four great rivers whose currents were so strong that their boats were swept away and carried out to sea, and four of their number drowned. In the distance of sixty leagues they lost two more of their companions, when they arrived at a large bay. By this time they were in a starving condition, having eaten nothing since their departure but crabs and rock-weed. Here they saw Indians eating mulberries, who fled to the

¹ From this it would appear that they were in boats, although the journal of Vaca is silent as to what boats they were or how they obtained them.

opposite side of the cape upon their approach. While they were contriving some means of crossing the bay an Indian and a Spaniard approached them, the latter being recognized as one of the party who had been sent forward from the island of Malhado in search of the Panuco, of the name of Figueroa. He related that two of his companions had died from cold and hunger, and the third been killed, while he was a captive among the Quevenes. Here he met with Hernando de Esquivel, a survivor of the commissary's boat, who was a prisoner to the Marianos, and from whom Vaca learned the fate of the governor and the remainder of the Spaniards not before accounted for.

When the boat of Narvaez became separated from the others, as before related, he continued to coast along the shore toward the West. He came up with the crew of the controller's boat, which had been upset at the confluence of the rivers, and carried them across to the mainland. The latter continued their course by land, while the governor held on by water. Soon they came to a large bay across which he conveyed the crew of the controller's boat. Here they stopped for the night, the whole party encamping upon the shore, with the exception of Narvaez and a page who remained in his boat. It was anchored with a stone and was thought to be secure; but in the night a heavy North wind began to blow which drove them out to sea, and they were never heard of afterward. The survivors continued along the shore on foot, making rafts upon which they crossed the rivers and bays they encountered in their course. Being now the month of November and cold weather about to set in, they deemed it advisable to select a suitable place for winter-quarters. They fixed upon a piece of timber on the

bank of a river, wood and water being both convenient, and crabs and shell-fish near at hand. Here they pitched a rude camp and prepared to spend the winter. They began to sicken and die soon after they encamped, and by the 1st of March but one of their number was alive. Their supply of food failed them, and they suffered to the last extremity from hunger and cold; and they were so near starvation that the living were obliged to dry and eat the flesh of the dead to sustain life. To add to their other troubles a quarrel took place between Soto Mayor and Pantoja, the lieutenant, which resulted in the death of the latter. The last survivor was Esquivel, who maintained life upon the dead body of a companion until he was taken by a party of Indians, with whom he remained sometime, when he met with Figueroa as before related.

Of the four hundred men who had sailed from Spain for the conquest of Florida but few remained alive and they were captives in the hands of the Indians. Figueroa and one other Spaniard soon afterward succeeded in making their escape, while Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, Estevanico and two others remained and prevailed upon the Quevenes to accept them as slaves. In the service of this tribe they were very badly treated, and the Indians, among other things, amused themselves in pulling out their beard. They killed three out of the six without any cause. Dorantes, fearing he would meet the same fate, made his escape to the Marianes, among whom Esquivel had been a prisoner. These people informed him how they had put the latter to death, because he tried to run away on account of a woman dreaming that her son would kill him, and in confirmation showed him articles that had belonged to Esquivel.

These Indians took life according to custom and not

that they were blood-thirsty by nature, and they cast away their children because of dreams. They had a custom of destroying their daughters at birth, and also permitting the dogs to devour them, fearing their enemies might raise up children from them and thus become strong enough to enslave them. It is said they even preferred to destroy them to marrying them among their own people. The only two tribes who practiced this custom were the Marianes and the Yeguases. The men bought their wives of their enemies, and the price paid was a bow and two arrows, or a net a fathom in length and another in breadth. The married state continued during the will of the parties. They also killed their male children and bought others of strangers.

Castillo and Estevanico made their escape inland to the tribe of the Yeguases. These people were of fine symmetry and good archers, and had the custom of boring the nose and one nipple. They lived on roots, spiders, the eggs of ants, lizards, snakes, and other reptiles and insects. They killed a few deer and caught some fish, the bones of which they reduced to a powder and ate for food. Provisions were scarce and they suffered greatly from hunger. They obliged the old men and old women, who were little esteemed among them, to carry all the burdens; the women did nearly all the hard work and were only allowed six hours rest in twenty-four. The roots were baked in ovens, and it was the duty of the women to heat them, which occupied part of each night.

² I am informed by a gentleman, long a resident of Texas, that the Indians upon the Trinity river live upon roots much in the same manner as those spoken of by Vaca. They dig them from under the water, and prepare them for food by drying them in the sun, after which they are reduced to powder and made into cakes.

They began to dig the roots, bring wood and water, and to do other necessary labor at sunrise. They also roasted the roots, which required two days. These Indians were generally great liars and thieves. They made a kind of liquor upon which they became intoxicated.

They were fleet runners and could run down a deer, in which manner they frequently caught them. Their lodges were made of mats placed upon hoops, and they often changed their locality when in search of food. They planted nothing. They were a cheerful and merry people, and even amid the season of greatest hunger they did not fail to observe their festivities and ceremonies. Their happiest time was while gathering the prickly-pear, when their hunger being satisfied for a time, they feasted and danced day and night. They prepared the pear for food by squeezing it open and drying it in the sun, and the skin they beat into a powder.³ The country swarmed with mosquitoes, whose bite was poisonous. These insects were a source of great annoyance to the Spaniards, and in order to protect themselves from them they were in the habit of encircling their sleeping place with a fire kindled with rotten wood so as to make a dense smoke without much flame. In the winter the Indians rid themselves of the mosquitoes by firing the plains and forests, which at the same time drove away lizards, snakes and other reptiles. They killed deer by surrounding them with fire, and they burned the pasturage of the buffalo in order to oblige them to seek fresh grazing in more

³ The prickly-pear is the fruit of a species of the *Maguëy* or the *Agave Americana*, and is found more or less abundant in most parts of New Mexico and Texas, and particularly upon the extensive plains that traverse these countries. It is not unpleasant to the taste, and the juice is quite refreshing in time of thirst.

convenient localities. They always pitched their camp close to wood and water; and when they went out to hunt deer they were obliged to carry with them a supply of these two necessary articles, as they did not abound in the haunts of this animal. They made hunting excursions two or three times a year, and thus, at intervals, were able to appease their pressing hunger; but at other times they suffered a good deal for food. While out hunting they were very much annoyed by mosquitoes, which Vaca says were equal to the "holy plagues of Lazarus."

In speaking of the cattle the Spaniards encountered in their wanderings through the country, Vaca gives the following account: "Cattle come as far as this. I have seen them three times and eaten of their meat. I think they are about the size of those of Spain. They have small horns like those of Morocco, and the hair long and flocky like that of the merino. Some are light brown (pardillas) and others black. To my judgment the flesh is finer and sweeter than that of this country. The Indians make blankets of those that are not full grown, and of the larger they make shoes and bucklers. They come as far as the sea-coast of Florida, and in a direction from the North, and range over a district of more than four hundred leagues. In the whole extent of plain over which they roam, the people who live bordering upon it descend and kill them for food, and thus a great many skins are scattered throughout the country."⁴

⁴ The cattle here mentioned were buffaloes, which roamed over all the great central region of North America; and their tracks have been seen as far South and South-east as the Withlacooche river. This fact is mentioned by Romans. This is the earliest mention of the buffalo by any writer.

CHAPTER IX.

HOW VACA AND HIS COMPANIONS ESCAPE FROM THE INDIANS.

THE period of six months, during which the Spaniards had agreed among themselves to remain with the Indians before attempting to escape, had now elapsed, and the time approached to put their plans into execution. Their masters, as was customary, went to a place about twenty leagues distant to gather pears; and the Christians having made the necessary preparations were on the point of making their escape, when a circumstance occurred which prevented them for the present. The Indians quarreled among themselves about a woman and fell to beating and kicking each other with great severity: and finally their hostility ran so high that each one took his lodge and went into some other part of the country, which separated the Spaniards and thus put an end to their hopes for a time.

This course of events obliged the captives to remain with the Indians another year. Vaca relates that he spent a very hard life; was often beaten and otherwise abused by those who held him; to escape this cruel treatment he ran away three times, but upon each occasion he was

pursued and brought back. The next year the different bands of Indians with whom the Spaniards lived met at the usual place of resort, to eat prickly-pears. Again they had completed their arrangements to escape, when the savages suddenly separated and returned to their respective homes, thus a second time thwarting their plans. Vaca now determined to make his escape at all hazards, and before he separated from his companions he advised them of his intention. He told them he would remain with the Indians until the moon was full, when, if they did not join him, he would escape alone. At the time specified, being the 13th of September, he was joined by Andres Dorantes and Estevanico, who had encountered numerous obstacles in meeting him at the time agreed upon. Castillo was not able to join them at that time, as he could not elude his captors. But in a few days he made his escape and came to the place where his companions then were. They had joined another tribe, meanwhile, with whom the Indians, who had previously held him, had made peace. Vaca learned, from this people, of another tribe who lived upon the coast, named Camones, who were said to have killed Peñalosa and Tellez, whose fate they were ignorant of. To satisfy them such was the case, the Indians showed him some of the arms and clothing that had belonged to them.

The survivors of this unfortunate expedition, four in number, now found themselves united, preparatory to attempting their escape—their comrades either having met a watery grave, been killed by the savages, or died of disease and starvation. The Indians now changed their camp and moved to another part of the country. The Spaniards remained with them one day afterward, when they eluded their vigilance and took to flight, trust-

ing to God to guide and direct them.¹ It was late in the season and the prickly-pears had nearly disappeared, but they hoped, with the few that remained and the mast to be found in the wood, they would be able to subsist while they traveled over a large district of country. They hurried on with speed all day fearing lest the Indians should pursue and recapture them. Toward evening they saw smoke in the distance, and espied an Indian who turned and fled. The negro was sent in pursuit, when he halted until he was overtaken. On being told the Christians were in search of the people who made the smoke, he said his village was near by and conducted them to it. They were received with great kindness and were lodged in the houses of two physicians. This tribe was called Avavares, and although they spoke a different language the Spaniards were able to converse with them in the tongue of the Marianes. They used to trade with their former masters, and among other things supplied them with bones. They had arrived with their lodges that day, and as soon as they were informed of the presence of the Spaniards, and the cures they could effect, they brought them a great many pears.

¹ It is a task of no slight difficulty to trace the route of Vaca and his companions across the continent from the meagre, and often unreliable, data we have at hand. The history of the Southern portion of the United States is the least reliable of any part of the Union; and for many years little, if any, addition that throws light upon the earliest explorations, has been made to it. There is no doubt that Vaca passed through a portion of New Mexico in his route, though it is impossible to say how far North he came. Formerly the Southern boundary of New Mexico was much further South than at this time, nearly as low down as the mouth of the Conchos, which empties into the Rio del Norte. In making up the notes, in reference to Vaca's wanderings, I am much indebted to the copious notes accompanying Mr. Buckingham Smith's translation of his journal.

During the night some Indians went to Castillo and told him they had a pain in the head and requested him to cure it. He made over them a sign of the cross and commended them to God, when they said they were well. The Indians furnished them with the best food the country afforded, and among other things brought them a piece of venison. When it became known through the village how they could cure the sick, a large number flocked to them, each one carrying a piece of venison as a fee. The Spaniards deemed it advisable to resume their practice, and all to whom they administered immediately recovered; in commemoration of which the Indians held feastings and rejoicings for three days. They made inquiries about the country beyond, and the means of living it afforded; and upon learning that it was uninhabited, and that there were few pears at that season of the year, they resolved to spend the winter with this tribe.

In a few days they accompanied the Indians in search of pears to a place where they expected to meet several tribes speaking different languages. In a journey of five days they arrived at a river, without having seen any pears on the way, on the bank of which they put up their lodges, and went in search of a fruit that resembled a pea. In wandering about the wood Vaca became separated from his companions and was lost for five days. He was entirely naked, and as the weather was cold he suffered a great deal. He passed the first night in the warmth of a burning tree, and the remaining nights he spent in the low bottoms near the streams. As there were no sticks in many parts of the wood, he carried a load always on his back, to kindle a fire when necessary. He dug a hole in the ground around which he built four fires in the form

of a cross, and then crept into the hole and covered himself with grass. One night the grass caught on fire and he came near being burned to death, and only escaped with several severe burns. During the time he was lost he did not taste food of any kind, and his feet became so lacerated and torn that they bled profusely. He reached the bank of the river where the Indians and his companions were encamped on the afternoon of the fifth day. They rejoiced at his return, as they had supposed him lost. The next day they changed their location and pitched their lodges at a place where there was a great quantity of pears, with which they satisfied their pressing hunger.

The following day some Indians brought five sick persons to the camp and besought Castillo to cure them, offering him bows and arrows. At sunset he pronounced a blessing over the sick, and all the Christians joined in prayer to God, asking Him to restore them to health; and by the next morning they were all as well as though they had never been sick. This event had a beneficial influence upon the Indians, and at the same time impressed the Spaniards themselves with a belief that the blessings of God were resting upon them, which increased their hope of escape. All the sick having been restored, the Indians again moved their lodges to a point where others were encamped eating prickly-pears. Here were found assembled various tribes, such as the Cutalches, Malicones, Coayes, Lusolas and the Atayos. War was existing between the two latter nations and they exchanged arrow shots daily.

Two days after their arrival some of the Lusolas Indians came to the Spaniards and besought Castillo to go with them to their lodges to cure their sick and wounded,

one of whom was near his end. But being timid in the practice of his new profession he declined to go, and Vaca went in his place, accompanied by Estevanico. When they arrived at the lodges they found a man to all appearance dead; his eyes were set and he was without pulse. His lodge had been pulled down, as was the custom of his tribe, and his friends were weeping around him.² Vaca removed the mat which covered him, breathed upon him and supplicated the Lord to restore him to health. The man afterward recovered. His getting well was esteemed a great miracle, and the Indians gazed upon the Spaniards with wonder and fear. All the sick who were treated in like manner recovered: and Vaca was rewarded with a basket of pears and the bow of the man who was so dangerously ill. This recovery raised the fame of the Spaniards among all the tribes and they were requested to visit their lodges and bless their children. When the Catalchiches were about to return to their own country they gave the Christians all the pears they had gathered, and some flints, five inches in length, which were used for cutting and were of high value among the Indians. When they separated they begged Vaca and his companions to remember them and pray to God that they might always be well, which they promised to do.

² A similar custom to this prevails among the Nabojo Indians of New Mexico, who either burn or pull down the lodge in which a person dies.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANIARDS CONTINUE THEIR JOURNEY, AND THE PEOPLE
THEY MET.

THE Spaniards remained with the Avavares eight months, during which time the Indians from all parts of the country brought their sick to them to be healed. By this time Dorantes and Estevanico also began to practice medicine, but they were not such bold practitioners as Vaca. The Indians called them the children of the sun, and so great was their confidence of their power to heal the sick that they believed none would die while they remained with them. The practice of each one had the same effect upon the patient and the savages said that all who were treated by them recovered. The inhabitants of the country, through which they had been traveling since their escape, related to them a remarkable circumstance which they said had taken place several years before, and which is given as Vaca relates it :

“ They said that a man wandered through that country called Bad-Thing ; that he was small of body and had beard, but they never could distinctly see his features. When he came to the house where they were their hair

stood up and they trembled. Presently there shone at the door of the house a blazing torch, and then he entered and seized whom he chose of them, and giving him three great gashes in the side with a very sharp flint, the width of the hand and two palms in length, he put his hand through and drew forth the entrails, from one of which he would cut off a portion more or less the length of a palm and would throw it on the embers. Then he would give three gashes to an arm, and the second cut on the inside of the elbow and would sever the limb. A little after this he would begin to unite it, and putting his hands upon the wounds these would instantly become healed. They said that oftentimes, while they danced, he appeared among them in the dress of a woman, and at others in that of a man; that when it pleased him he would take up a buhio, or house, and lifting it high after a little while he would come down with it with a heavy fall. They also told us that many times they offered him victuals, but that he never ate; that they asked him whence he came and where was his home, and he showed them a fissure in the earth and said that his house was there below. These things that they told us of we much laughed at and ridiculed; and they, seeing that we did not believe them, brought to us many of those they said he had seized, and we saw the marks of the gashes he had made in the places according to the manner they had described. We told them that he was an evil one, and, in the best way we could, we gave them to understand that, if they would believe in God, our Lord, and become Christians like us, they would have no fears of him, nor would he dare to come and inflict upon them these injuries; and that they might be certain that while we remained in the land he would not dare to appear in it. At this they were de-

lighted and lost much of their dread." These Indians gave them information of two others of their companions, the Asturian and Figueroa, who were said to be captives among a tribe further along the coast called the People of the Figs, *los de los higos*.

Vaca found all the natives whom he encountered in the greatest possible state of ignorance and destitution. They had no reckoning by the sun or moon, but by the return of the seasons, as when "the fruit come to ripen and the fish to die." They were well treated by all the tribes. Their houses were built in the same manner as those of the Yegnases: but there was neither maize, acorns nor nuts in the country. The Spaniards went naked like the Indians during the day and at night covered themselves with skins. While they remained with this tribe they suffered a good deal for the want of food. In the spring when the pears began to ripen Vaca and the negro, without the knowledge or consent of the Indians, visited another tribe called Maliacones, a day's journey further on. In three days they sent for Castillo and Dorantes, who joined them. The Indians they were now with broke up their camp and went into another section of the country to eat the small fruit of a tree upon which they were in the habit of subsisting for ten or twelve days while the pears were coming to maturity. On the way they were joined by a tribe called the Arbadaos, a weak and miserable race, with whom the Spaniards remained when the Maliacones returned to their own country. Here they were treated with the same unvarying kindness. They shared with the Spaniards the best they had, which, however, was scanty enough. Here they suffered more for food than at any time since their escape. They had not more than two handfuls of pears a day and but little

water. They traded for two dogs, which they devoured with great relish. Vaca says that going naked caused them to shed their skin twice a year like serpents. They tore their flesh in passing through the wood and bushes, and exposure to the sun and air covered their bodies with sores. They were obliged to carry heavy loads of wood upon their backs and the cords which bound it on cut into their flesh. The Indians kept them employed a good deal of their time in scraping and softening skins; and Vaca relates that then was his greatest prosperity, for he preserved the scrapings of the skins which lasted him for food two or three days. When meat was given them they ate it raw, because they had been accustomed to it, and it was easier of digestion. Even if they had wished to cook it they dared not trust it upon the fire, as the first Indian who came along would steal it. The savages devoted their whole time to hunting food, which was necessary in order to obtain sufficient quantity to keep themselves from suffering with hunger.

The Spaniards having regained a little of their strength after eating the two dogs determined to prosecute their journey.¹ They took leave of the Indians and set out, traveling the first day through a severe storm of rain. They stopped at night in a large wood, and before going to sleep they built an oven and put peas into it to bake, which they found well cooked in the morning. These they ate for breakfast and then resumed their wanderings. Having passed the wood they came in sight of huts, near which they saw two women and some boys, who fled upon their approach. Vaca called to them when they came to

¹ When Vaca and his companions started inland from the sea-coast they most probably took a direction nearly North-west until they reached the great plains.

him with timidity, but after their fears had passed away they conducted them to their village, where they arrived at evening. The village contained fifty huts. The inhabitants were astonished at the sight of white men, and passed their hands over their faces and bodies and then over their own.

The next morning the Indians brought their sick to them to be cured and blessed. They treated the Spaniards with great kindness, and even robbed themselves of food that they might give it to them. They staid several days with this tribe, and in the meantime other Indians from beyond came to the village on a visit. When the latter returned to their own country the Spaniards accompanied them, much against the wish of their late hosts, whom they left weeping at their departure. They used every endeavor to persuade them to stay, but they were too anxious to continue on their journey to remain.

From the island of Malhado to the country wherein the Spaniards now found themselves the inhabitants had the same general manners and customs. The husband did not cohabit with the wife from the time she became pregnant until two years after she had given birth; and on account of the scarcity of provisions they suckled their children until twelve years of age, when they were considered old enough to support themselves. When they traveled in the desert, if one fell sick they left him behind to perish, unless it were a son or brother, whom they would carry upon their backs. It was the custom of men who were childless to leave their wives at pleasure and unite themselves with other women; but when they had children they never abandoned their wives. When they fought among themselves the men never resorted to the bow and arrow, but they beat each other with their fists:

and when they had ceased fighting both parties retired to their huts or the wood, where they remained until their anger had subsided, when they returned and made friends again. If unmarried persons quarreled they went to some neighboring tribe, where they remained some time before returning to their own people. Even their enemies received them kindly upon such occasions, and they returned home loaded with presents.

CHAPTER XI.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF VARIOUS
TRIBES.

THE various tribes of Indians the Spaniards met to this time were martial in their disposition and well skilled in the arts of savage warfare. When encamped near an enemy, or where there was a probability of being attacked, they pitched their lodges upon the skirts of the most tangled-wood, and dug a ditch near by in which they slept, covered with sticks, loop-holed. They prepared a place in the wood for the women and children to sleep away from the lodges. At night they kindled fires in the lodges, so that if the enemy should come to make an attack they would assault them, thinking the Indians were there, when the warriors would rush from the ditches and take them by surprise. When they could not take shelter in a wood they surrounded themselves with trenches from behind which they discharged their arrows. While Vaca was among a tribe called Aguenes their enemies made a sudden attack upon them at midnight, killing three, wounding several others and driving them from their lodges into the fields. About daylight, and after they

had returned to their lodges, the enemy made a second attack. They were again taken by surprise; had five killed and several wounded, and were a second time driven from their lodges, with the loss of all their property. In a little while the wives of the Quevenes came as ambassadors and made a treaty of peace, when the two tribes became friendly again. When Indians who were not of the same family had personal enmities they assassinated at night by lying in wait, and committed gross barbarities upon each other.

They were always watchful and on the alert in time of danger, and when in fear of an enemy they slept with a bow and a dozen arrows by their side, keeping the bow strung. During the night they ran out of their lodges and crept about bent down to the ground so that they could not be seen, and thus watched upon all sides. If they discovered any object they took to the bushes with their bows and arrows where they remained until daylight, constantly running about and searching where the supposed enemy was to be found. They now unbent their bows until they went out to hunt. Their bow-strings were made of the sinews of the deer. When they fought they laid close to the ground and kept constantly moving about while discharging their arrows, and thus received but little harm from the enemy. When they exhausted their arrows in battle each one returned his own way, never following in each other's footsteps.

Vaca mentions the following nations they passed through, viz: "I also desire to enumerate the nations and tongues that exist from the island of Malhado to the furthest limit. In the island of Malhado there are two languages; the people of the one are called Coaques, those of the other Han. On the terra firma over against

the island is another people called Chorrucos, who take their name from the forests where they live. Advancing by the shore of the sea others inhabit who are called Doguenes, and in the rear of them others of the name of Mendica. Further along the coast are the Quevenes, and after them, in the interior, the Marianes; and continuing by the coast are others called the Guayeones; and behind them, inland, the Yeguases. Back of them are the Atoyos; and in their rear others the Acubadaos, and beyond them are many on the same path. By the coast also live those called Quitolos and behind, in the interior, are the Avavares, to whom adjoin the Maliacones, the Cutalchiches, and others called Susoles and the Comos; and by the coast further on are the Camoles; and on the same coast, in advance, are those whom we call *Los de los Higos*, the people of the figs.¹

These various tribes inhabited huts and lived in villages built in different ways. Each tribe spoke a separate language, although some of them understood the languages of their neighbors. They stupefied themselves with smoke, which they considered so great a luxury that they would sacrifice anything to enjoy it. They made a tea from the leaves of a tree that resembled the oak. They first toasted the leaves in a pot, and after they were

¹ Mr. Smith, in his translation, makes the following note of the various tribes Vaca traveled among, viz:

“The Cayoques or Capoques may have been the Cadoques. Charlevoix writes of the Coaquias as a tribe of the Illinois. He found them in the winter of 1721 re-united to the Tamarouas, a kindred tribe, composing the inhabitants of a populous town on the Eastern bank of the Missouri. Lettre xxviii, p. p. 392-8. Other names are suggestive in their sounds, of other nations; the Aguenes of the Agerones or Inies, the Charruco of the Challakee, the Guaycones of the Tawakones residing on the river Wachta.”

well parched the pot was filled with water and twice boiled when the liquid was poured into a jar to cool. They drank it as soon as it was covered with a thick froth, and as hot as they could bear it. The color of the liquid was yellow, and while boiling the pot was carefully covered; but if it happened to be open when a woman passed by they threw the tea away. They drank this tea for three days and a half, and each one drank daily an arroba and a half, equal to about four and a half gallons, wine measure. It was their custom to cry aloud, from the time it was taken from the pot until it was used: "Who wishes to drink?" Vaca says: "When the women hear these cries they instantly stop without daring to move; and although they be heavily loaded they dare do nothing further. Should one of them move they dishonor her and beat her with sticks, and, greatly vexed, they throw away the liquor they have prepared; while they who have drunk void it, which they do readily and without pain. They give a reason for the usage, that when they are about to drink, if the women move from where they hear the cry something malign enters the body in that liquid and causes them shortly to die."

It was the custom among these tribes for men to live with others who were emasculate and impotent, who were dressed like women and performed their labors; and they also used the bow and arrow, and carried heavy burdens. There were many seen in this condition among them. They were more muscular and taller than other men and bore burdens of great weight.

We last took leave of Vaca and his companions as they were about bidding farewell to the Arbadaos, who wept at their departure. They left with the strange Indians who had come to visit them and accompanied them to

their country. They were well received and kindly treated; and, according to custom, the children were brought to them to be blessed. Among the food given them to eat was a flour made of the fruit of a tree called Mezquiquez, which was of a sweet and pleasant taste, and wholesome. It was prepared in the following manner: They dug a hole in the ground into which they placed the fruit and pounded it until well mashed; when they put the mixture into a jar and poured water upon it until it was covered. They next put earth in the jar and stirred it with the mixture until of the proper sweetness. To eat it they sat around the jar and each one put in his hands and took out as much as he wanted. The pits and skins of the fruit were pounded a second and third time until all the juice was extracted. It was their custom to make great banquets upon this preparation, when they gorged themselves with it. They made a feast for the Spaniards, accompanied by great dances and ceremonies, which lasted several days. Among other marks of respect with which they were treated a guard of six men was stationed by each one while he slept at night, and no person was permitted to approach them until the sun was up.²

After they had lived with these people for some time, they were visited by the women of the tribe which inhabited a country further on, with whom Vaca proposed to

² This, most probably, was the fruit of the Mesquit tree, which is found growing in New Mexico, but is not seen until we approach the Rio del Norte, going West. The Indians make it into a kind of bread, and also distil from it a liquor which they are very fond of. The tree bears a pod in the shape of a bean, which is sweet to the taste. Mr. Smith is of the opinion that the fruit referred to is that of the sweet locust, but at this time the Spaniards must have been in the Mesquit country, and further West than the locust-tree grows.

return, though much against the will of the Indians. The women pointed out to the Spaniards the direction they should take to reach their village, when, after bidding farewell to their late hosts, they started off in search of it. There being no paths they soon became lost, and wandered about four leagues out of their way, when they were overtaken by the women who now became their guides. They traveled until sun-set, when they arrived at the village, which consisted of one hundred habitations. On their way they crossed a large and rapid river, the water coming up breast high. When near the village the inhabitants came out to welcome them, yelling as loud as they could and striking the palms of their hands against their thighs. Many of them carried gourds bored with holes and pebble stones in them, which were held in very great veneration, and were only brought out on important occasions. They attributed to them wonderful virtues, and made use of them to effect cures. They told the Spaniards they grew in Heaven and were washed down to their country by the river.

The appearance of the strangers caused great excitement in the village, and the Indians were so anxious to touch them that they almost crushed them in the effort. They took them up in their arms and carried them into their houses, where a crowd of people constantly pressed upon them. The savages were so much rejoiced at their arrival, that they passed the entire night in dancing and rejoicing. They wished to perform some personal ceremony over their guests, but Vaca declined this honor. The next day the whole population presented themselves and requested to be touched and blessed by them, in the same manner they had done others through whose country they passed.

Vaca remained at this village two days when he took his departure, accompanied by all the inhabitants who escorted him to the village of the next adjoining tribe. The latter were equally well pleased to see the Spaniards, and gave them the same friendly welcome, furnishing them with the best provisions they had, including a part of a deer killed that day. The sick and the afflicted were brought to them to be healed, and were sent away rejoicing. Among other customs was that of those who came to be cured giving their bows and arrows, shoes and beads to the Indians who accompanied Vaca and his companions. Their general direction of travel, at this time, was a little North of West.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SPANIARDS AGAIN RESUME THEIR JOURNEY AND WHAT
THEY SAW.

THE Spaniards resume their wanderings. Setting out from the village mentioned at the close of the last chapter, they continued their journey across river and plain through numerous tribes of nameless Indians, with a crowd ever at their heels. Among others they came to a people who dwelt in a great number of fixed dwellings. They were of fairer complexion than any they had yet seen, but were mostly clouded of one eye and many were entirely blind. Here they observed a new and singular custom which prevailed among many tribes they afterward visited. When they arrived at a village the Indians who accompanied them immediately began to pillage and ransack the houses, and to appropriate to themselves everything they could lay their hands on. Vaca became

¹ The story has its parallel. The following passage is from a traveler who was at a town of the Shoocories, in the year 1701: "Most of these *Indians* have but one eye; but what mischance or quarrel has bereaved them of the other, I could not learn." *New voyage to Carolina, &c.*, by John Lawson, Gent., Surveyor General of North Carolina, London, 1709. Buckingham Smith's note on Vaca's journal.

alarmed at this proceeding, fearing that it would bring himself and companions into difficulty ; but he was assured by the inhabitants that they were so much pleased at seeing him they considered their goods well-disposed of, and that further on there were rich people from whom they would be able to repay themselves. This custom appears to have been a system of reciprocal plundering, each tribe, in turn, depredating upon its neighbor. The whole population came to the Spaniards to be blessed.

The appearance of the country now changed. The broad plains, covered with a rich carpet of grass interspersed with flowers, gave way to a more uneven surface, and serrated peaks of mountains could be seen in the distance. When first discovered they appeared to be about fifteen leagues off, and upon information obtained from the Indians the Spaniards believed them to run from the North sea. They took the direction of the mountains, guided by the Indians, who conducted them through the country of their friends, as they were not willing their enemies should enjoy the sight of such wonderful beings. They soon arrived among another people, whom their guides began to plunder ; but, as the custom was well understood, the inhabitants had taken the precaution to conceal some things so as not to be stripped entirely bare. The Spaniards received a friendly welcome, and their presence was celebrated by great rejoicing. The Indians presented them with the articles they had concealed, consisting of beads, ochre, and a few small bags of silver ; but these Vaca and his companions did not retain themselves, but, as was their universal custom, gave them to the Indians who accompanied them. Upon receiving these presents they commenced their dances.

The Spaniards rested one day with this people, and

then took their departure. The Indians wished to conduct them to their friends who lived at the summit of the ridge; but as it was out of their course, they continued along the plain near the foot of the mountains. Many of the Indians accompanied them in spite of their opposition, and two were dispatched in advance in search of people in the direction they were traveling. The women carried a supply of water, and would not allow any one to drink of it without permission of the Spaniards. Their course now lay along the bank of a river. After traveling two leagues the Indians who had been sent forward were met returning; who reported they could not find any inhabitants, and advised them to travel by the mountains. Vaca again refused to take this route, when the Indians left him and returned down the river, while he and his companions continued up the stream. The Spaniards were now alone. But they had not proceeded far when they met two women on their way to join the Indians who had just left them; by whom they were informed that further up the river they would find houses, pears, and flour of maize.

They continued up the river all day, and at sunset arrived at a town containing twenty houses where the inhabitants came out to meet them, weeping. They supposed the strangers were accompanied by Indians from below, in which case they knew they would be plundered; but when they saw the Spaniards were alone, their weeping was turned into joy. They slept in the village that night. About daylight the next morning the village was surprised by a party of hostile Indians, and as the inhabitants had not time to conceal anything they were robbed of all they possessed. The thieves, by way of consoling their victims, told them that the Spaniards

were children of the sun, and had the power of life and death in their hands ; intimating that their presence was remuneration enough for the loss of their goods. They advised them to conduct the Christians where the people were numerous ; that they should offend them in nothing, but give them all their goods, and should rob other Indians wherever encountered.

The thieves having given this advice took their departure. The Spaniards resumed their journey the next day, the Indians conducting them through a well-peopled country for three days, to another village. Their guides announced their approach to the various tribes they encountered, relating to them many wonderful stories they had heard from others about the strangers, and some of their own invention. When they arrived near the village the inhabitants came out to meet them, and tendered all the rites of savage hospitality. Their guides rifled the houses they encountered on the way.

Thence they traveled fifty leagues inland along the base of the mountains, and in that distance arrived at a village of fifty houses. The inhabitants made them numerous presents, giving a copper bell to Dorantes with a human face engraved upon it. The Indians said it had come from the North. Here they rested over night, and departed the next morning. That day they crossed a mountain range about seven leagues broad covered with scoria and iron, and in the evening they arrived at another village situated upon the bank of a beautiful river. The inhabitants, carrying their children upon their backs, came out to meet them. They gave them many presents, including little bags of pearls, pounded antimony with which they rubbed the face, beads, and blankets of cow hides, and buffalo robes. Vaca thus speaks of the fruit

of the country: "There are in that country small pine trees, and the cones of them are like small eggs; but the seeds are better than those of Castile, as its husk is very thin, and while green it is beat and made into balls, and thus eaten. If dry, it is pounded in its husk, and consumed in the form of flour."² The principal article of food, in addition to the seeds of the pine tree, was pears.

After those who had come out to receive the Spaniards had touched them, they ran back to their houses and returned with many things for them to eat. They brought to Vaca a man who had been wounded some time before with an arrow, the head remaining in the wound, and requested him to cure it. He succeeded in drawing out the arrow-head, and sewed up the wound, when, in a short time, the man recovered. At this the Indians were greatly pleased and rejoiced publicly. This operation, and the recovery of the wounded man, gave the Spaniards great influence. They showed the Indians the bell that had been given them, and were informed that there were many plates of the same material, buried, and also fixed habitations, where it had been obtained.

Leaving this village they continued on their way, and Vaca says; they "traveled through so many sorts of people of such divers languages, that the memory fails to recall them. They were invariably followed by a crowd of Indians, and the custom of plundering each other was universal. They were armed with clubs, which they threw with astonishing precision and killed more hares with them than they could consume. Hares were very abundant.

² This fruit is the piñon that grows on a species of pine-tree, and which abounds in most parts of New Mexico. It is a small but palatable nut, and forms quite an article of trade. I am not aware that the piñon-tree grows in Texas.

When one was started the Indians would surround and attack him with their clubs, driving him from one to another until he was overcome and captured.³ Those armed with bows did not travel with the main body, but dispersed along the ridges in search of deer. When they came in to camp at night they brought a plentiful supply of venison, with birds, quail and other game. Everything they killed they brought and laid before the Spaniards. The women carried mats to construct the lodges, each Spaniard having a separate one allotted to him with the necessary attendants. The deer and hares were roasted in ovens built for that purpose; and after partaking of a little of the food thus prepared, they distributed it to the principal Indians, who were requested to divide it among their followers; but none would touch it until it had first been blessed by the Christians. Sometimes they were accompanied by as many as three or four hundred Indians, and as they had to breathe upon, and bless their food and drink before they would touch it, their presence became a great annoyance. On their route they crossed a great river which came from the North, and traversed a plain thirty leagues broad. Here they were met by other Indians who came a great distance to welcome them, and through whose country they must pass.

Here the custom of mutual plunder ceased. When the Spaniards entered the houses the inhabitants placed them, and everything they contained, at their disposal; but

³ This custom still prevails among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, and they practice the sport several times a year. They sally out from their villages, mounted on mules and horses, armed with clubs, and ride to a neighboring prairie where the hunt comes off. The rabbits are started from their covert, when the horsemen run them down and kill them with their clubs. In this manner they capture a great many of these animals. It is a favorite sport.

They returned the presents given them to the chief, to be distributed among the people. Vaca's guides told the new-comers they should not hide any of their goods from the white men, for the sun revealed all things to them, and that for so doing they would cause them to die. These people stood in great fear of the Spaniards, and for several days after their arrival they dared not speak nor raise their eyes to Heaven. The Indians who had accompanied them to this point now returned, and this new tribe became their guides. The latter conducted them through a desert and mountainous country for fifty leagues, when they came to a very large river, which they forded, the water coming up to their breasts. The traveling over the barren and rugged country was now so difficult that many of the Indians began to sicken from mere fatigue and privation. Thence they entered upon extensive plains at the foot of mountains, where they met other Indians who came from a great distance beyond. They gave the Spaniards more presents than they could carry, and when requested to receive part of them back again, they replied that such was not their custom, and the articles were left upon the ground.

* Mr. Smith fixes this river as the Arkansas, near its junction with the Canadian Fork, but does not give the data from which he arrives at this conclusion. My opinion is, that at this time Vaca was not so far North as the Arkansas, but was probably on the head-waters of some of the rivers of Eastern Texas. That he was as far North as the Canadian, during his wanderings, I think more than probable. Castañeda, in his journal, mentions that Coronado, when out upon the buffalo plains, which must have been at a point not far from the latitude of Santa Fé, came among a people who told him that three white men, like himself, had passed through their country, and had blessed their skins. These were probably Vaca and his companions, as we have no record of any other white men passing through that section of New Mexico before the arrival of Coronado and his army.

CHAPTER XIII.

VACA AND COMPANIONS ARRIVE AMONG A PEOPLE OF FIXED HABITATIONS.

VACA now desired the Indians to conduct him toward the setting-sun, and wanted them to send messengers ahead to announce his coming to the inhabitants of the country. They endeavored to excuse themselves on the ground that the country was remote, and its people their enemies; but not daring to disoblige him they sent forward two women. The Spaniards and Indians followed them but halted at a point agreed upon to await their return. They waited there five days, but the messengers not returning in that time, the Indians said they could not have found any people. The Spaniards now requested to be conducted toward the North, but this the Indians declined for a like reason, and because, as they alleged, there was neither food to eat nor water to drink in that direction. Vaca now showed his displeasure, which gave great alarm to the Indians. They besought him not to be angry any longer, and promised to guide him whithersoever he desired to go, even though it were certain they would die on the way.

About this time a circumstance happened which gave the Indians increased dread of the Spaniards, and made

them more submissive to their will. While the latter feigned displeasure at their conduct a sickness broke out among them, of which eight died in one day. This caused great consternation among the inhabitants throughout all the country, as they believed the Spaniards caused their death by merely willing it; and their dread became so great that they were almost ready to die with fear. The families of the dead manifested great sympathy for them during their illness; but after their decease they showed neither feeling nor pity for their remains, nor would they bury the bodies until commanded to do so by the Spaniards. Vaca and his companions now became alarmed in turn, fearing the Indians would die of disease, or run away from fright, and they would be left without guides in that strange and savage country. While among these people one person was never seen to speak to another, nor an infant to smile; and "the only one that cried they took off to a distance and with the sharp teeth of a rat they scratched it from the shoulder down nearly to the ends of the legs." The Indians said it was done as a punishment because the child had cried in the presence of the Christians.¹ These people were in a better condition, more comely in person, and more obedient than any they had yet seen.

The Spaniards had now been with this tribe eighteen days, at the end of which the two women who had been

¹ On the authority of Romans, as stated by Mr. Smith, the Muscogeese used to practice a custom very similar. He says: "They make their boys frequently undergo scratching from head to foot through the skin with broken glass or garfish teeth, so as to make them all in a gore of blood, and wash them in cold water; this is with them the *Arcanum* against all disease; but when they design it as punishment to the boys they dry scratch them (i. e.) they apply no water for the operation, which renders it very painful."

dispatched toward the setting sun in search of other people returned. They reported that they had seen but few Indians, as it was the season for cattle and they had nearly all gone in pursuit of them. The Spaniards now determined to resume their journey, and the next morning they started. The sick who were convalescent remained behind, but those who were able went forward. They traveled three days through an uninhabited country when they encamped. Castillo and Estevanico started the next morning, with the two women as guides, in search of inhabitants. One of the women conducted them to the town where her father lived, situate upon a river that ran between ridges, the habitations being the first they had seen with the appearance and structure of houses.² They explained to the inhabitants, as well they could, the reason of their visit. They were treated with kindness. At the end of three days Castillo took five or six of the principal inhabitants and returned to Vaca, reporting that they had found a people living in fixed and civilized dwellings, and subsisting on beans, pumpkins and maize. Vaca and the Indians immediately set out for the village, and after traveling a league and a half they met Estevanico with the whole population coming to receive them. They gave the Spaniards many presents, including beans, pumpkins, calabashes and "blankets of cow hides."³ The Indians who had accompanied them to this point, being

² The Spaniards, at this time, must have been among the villages of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. At one point the Canadian River runs for some miles through a deep cañon, which answers pretty well to Vaca's account of a "river which runs between two ridges," and in which are found ruins of old Indian pueblos, or villages. If this supposition be true, they must have ascended the Red River some distance and then struck across to the Canadian.

³ Buffalo robes.

enemies of this new people, were dismissed and sent back to their own country after receiving many presents from Vaca and his companions. The journey was now resumed under the guidance of their new allies, and after traveling about six leagues they reached the village at dark. Their arrival was the occasion of great rejoicing.

Vaca remained with this people two nights and one day, when they conducted him to a neighboring tribe who also dwelt in fixed habitations and lived upon the same kind of food. Here the manners and customs were different. The inhabitants did not go out to receive them as many other tribes had done, but awaited them in their houses, seated upon the floor with their heads down, faces turned toward the wall and the hair pulled over the eyes. They piled their property in a heap on the middle of the floor. They gave the Spaniards many presents. They were an intelligent and active race, with fine persons and possessed of great strength. Vaca gave them the name of the "Cow Nation," because of the great number of cattle that were killed in their country, and particularly along the river, for fifty leagues.⁴ The coun-

⁴ Whenever cattle are mentioned in these pages it refers to buffaloes, which then roamed over all New Mexico.

⁵ I am of opinion that the river here referred to was the Pecos toward which Vaca traveled from the Canadian or Red River, probably in a South-west direction. In 1583, when Espejo made an expedition into New Mexico he ascended the Del Norte and returned South down a river further to the East which he called the River of Oxen, because of the great number of buffaloes found upon its banks. Vaca called the country he was now in the "Cow Nation," from the great number of the same animals that were killed there and particularly along the river. The Pecos is the only river East of the Del Norte that flows toward the South; and there can be no doubt that this is the stream that Espéjo descended, and that it is identical with the one to which Vaca refers.

try was very populous. The inhabitants went in a state of nature, except the women and old men who were incapable of fighting, who dressed in deer-skins. The season was unusually dry. Rain had not fallen for two years, and all the seed corn they had planted had been eaten by the moles. They were afraid to plant again until it rained lest they should lose the little seed they had left. They begged the Spaniards to "tell the sky to rain," and also to pray for it; which latter request was complied with.

Seeing maize among this people the Spaniards asked them where they got it; they replied that it came from where the sun goes down, where it grew in great abundance. The Indians declined accompanying them in that direction, but told them that the path to that country lay along the river which flowed by their village toward the North; that the country was barren, and in a journey of seventeen days they would find nothing to eat but a fruit called *chacan* which was ground between stones, but which could not be eaten on account of its dryness and pungency; that the people along the river and among

⁶ Mr. Smith gives it as his opinion that this river came from the West instead of the North as stated in Vaca's journal. In this conclusion, however, he is undoubtedly in error, as there is no river running from the West anywhere in the region of country where the Spaniards then were. If they were not on the Pecos they may have been on the Del Norte, which comes from West of North; in which case they must have traveled up that river, and afterward changed their course and traveled toward the South-west. Espejo mentions that traces of the Spaniards were found along the River Conchos when he passed down that stream nearly fifty years afterward. It is possible they had already passed the Del Norte, and were now traveling up the Conchos; but that stream is not of sufficient length to permit its banks to be traveled for thirty-four days toward its source, as appears to have been the case with the stream the Spaniards were on.

whom they would travel were their enemies, but spoke their language, and although they had nothing to give them to eat they would receive them with kindness and make them presents of cotton, hides and other articles. They remained among these Indians two days, feasting upon beans and pumpkins, but uncertain what course to take. These vegetables were cooked in a manner different from any thing they had seen in the country. The use of pots for boiling food was unknown. For this purpose they filled the half of a calabash with water and put hot stones into it until it boiled, when they put in the food to be cooked. While the food was boiling they were constantly taking out the stones as they became cool and putting in hot ones that the temperature of the water might be kept up.

At the end of two days the Spaniards determined to continue their journey in quest of the country where the maize grew. They took their course toward the West, and followed up the river for seventeen days. They met many Indians on the way who gave them blankets of cow hides, and did not offer to molest them. They saw some of the fruit called chacan, which they tasted but found it bitter and unpalatable. They subsisted on deer-suet which they had saved for such an emergency, as the country produced nothing for them to live upon. At the end of seventeen days they crossed the river and continued along the other bank for seventeen days longer in the same direction, when they arrived among a new people living upon plains between very high mountains.

7 This is an error as to direction, no doubt.

8 The Llanos Estacados, or Staked Plains, which Mr. Smith mentions in his translation of Vaca, lay in New Mexico and Texas mostly East of the Pecos River, and from their position cannot be the plains

These Indians lived one-third of the year on the powder of a certain straw; and as it was the season when nothing else could be obtained, the Spaniards were compelled to eat of it while passing through the country.

After leaving this people they again arrived in a country of permanent habitations where they found an abundance of maize. The houses were built of earth and mats. The inhabitants gave them maize both in grain and flour, and also made them presents of beans, calabashes and blankets of cotton. Here the Indians who had come with them were dismissed, Vaca first dividing among them the presents received from this last tribe, as was the usual custom. The Spaniards returned thanks to God for having brought them safely into a country where there was such an abundance of food. Again resuming their journey they traveled for an hundred leagues through a country that abounded in fixed habitations with plenty of maize and beans. ⁴The inhabitants, in all this distance, treated them friendly, and gave them of everything they possessed, among which were deer, blankets of cotton, beads, corals that came from the South Sea, and many fine turquoises brought from the North. They gave Vaca five emeralds made into arrow-heads which were held in great esteem and used in their dances and celebrations; which the Indians said they obtained from lofty mountains to the North, where there were populous towns and very large houses, in exchange for bunches of plumes and feathers of parrots.⁵

spoken of as lying between mountains. At this time the Spaniards were much further South and West, and if they passed up the Conchos during their wanderings they had already traversed that stream and were now a long distance West of the Del Norte.

⁵ In the country inhabited by the Nabajo Indians, lying between the rivers San Juan and the Colorado Chiquito, are found great quantities

Through all this country there was evidence of a higher degree of civilization. The women were better treated and better dressed than among the tribes they had previously visited. Their dress consisted of a skirt of cotton that came down to the knees with half sleeves, and skirts of dressed deer-skin reaching to the ground, open in front, and confined with leather straps. They washed their garments with a certain soapy root that cleansed them well.¹⁰ They also wore shoes.¹¹ The Spaniards had great influence over all these people, who came to them both sick and well, and begged they would touch and bless them. When a woman gave birth to a child she immediately carried it to the Christians to receive their blessing. They believed the Spaniards came from Heaven, and in order to keep alive their superstitious awe the latter conversed but little with them. The negro, however, was in constant intercourse with them in order to find out all that his companions wished to know. If the Indians were at war they made peace on the arrival of the Spaniards, in order to be able to meet them as

of beautiful garnets, and a green stone resembling the emerald. The country also abounds in ruins of large and once populous towns. In all probability the emeralds mentioned by Vaca came from this region. The Spaniards were now undoubtedly among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, or a people who strongly resembled them.

¹⁰ This is the root of a species of a palm tree, and is a spongy, fibrous mass, containing mucilaginous and alkaline matter. It grows in most parts of New Mexico, where it is known by the name of Amolé, and is used instead of soap for washing woolen goods. Two kinds are found, Amolé Pelota and Amolé Largo. The former has a large and round leaf, and is best for washing, while the latter has a long and narrow leaf like that of the palm tree. I do not know that it is found out of New Mexico.

¹¹ This is the first mention of the inhabitants of all that region wearing covering on their feet. The "shoes" were no doubt the moccasins still worn.

friends and present their offerings. They left all the tribes at peace as they passed through the country. They taught them that there was in Heaven a Great Being whom they called God, who made the sky and the earth, and all other things; that He was their master and they worshipped and obeyed him, and received from him all good things. The Indians comprehended this very imperfectly, but at the rising and going down of the sun they would open their hands toward the Heavens with loud shoutings, and afterward draw them down over their bodies. The Spaniards spoke six different languages, but the people they were now with could understand neither of them, and they could only hold intercourse with each other by signs.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SPANIARDS REACH THE SETTLEMENTS OF NEW SPAIN,
AND THENCE GO TO THE CITY OF MEXICO.

THE Spaniards remained in the village where the inhabitants gave them emeralds, three days; which they called the "Town of Hearts,"¹ because the Indians gave

¹ The "Town of Hearts" must have been near the gulf of California, and in the limits of the present Mexican State of Cinaloa. Castañeda mentions that the first province the army came to, in the march to Cibola, after leaving Culiacan, was the one which Cabeza de Vaca had called *Tierra de los Corazones*, because when he passed through it the inhabitants offered him many hearts of animals to eat. At this time the Spaniards were marching nearly parallel with, and but a short distance from, the Gulf of California; and from this position of Vaca and his companions, they may have passed entirely across the territory of New Mexico, and then continued their journey down near the gulf coast. They may possibly have struck the head-waters of the Gila, after crossing the Del Norte, and, passing down that stream toward the West, to a point near where it empties into the Rio Colorado, changed their course to the South-east, and traveled parallel to the Gulf until they reached Culiacan. But if this were the case, they could not have passed up the Conchos, as already indicated. They may, however, have traveled nearly due West from the Conchos toward the coast, and then turned South-east from the "Town of Hearts," and continued their course parallel to the coast. This opinion is sustained by lieutenant Whipple, U. S. Topographical Engineers, who places the Town of Hearts in the valley of the river San Miguel, and not far from the coast of the Gulf of California. If this location be correct, it is conclusive evidence that Vaca and companions did not pass up the river Conchos, but instead passed down the Gila to a point near its mouth, and then struck across to the river San Miguel, and so on to Culiacan.

Dorantes over five hundred split hearts of deer. These formed an important article of food with the inhabitants, and great abundance was always kept on hand for consumption. Vaca says this country was the entrance to many provinces in the South Sea, "and whoever go to seek it and do not enter will be lost; for there is no maize on the coast; the inhabitants eat the powder of corn, (*bledo*,) and of straw, and fish caught in the sea from rafts, as they have no canoes. The women cover their nudity with grass and straw. They are a melancholy and emaciated people."

In a day's journey beyond the "Town of Hearts," they arrived at another town where they were detained fifteen days by heavy rains, which raised the river so high that they could not cross it for that length of time. Here Castillo saw upon the neck of an Indian the buckle of a sword-belt, and the nail of a horse shoe. The inhabitants being asked how they had obtained these things, answered that they had got them from men who wore beards like themselves, who came from Heaven, and had arrived at that river with horses, lances and swords, where they killed two of their people; that they had gone to sea and returned home toward where the sun sets. This was the first information the Spaniards received of their countrymen, and they were greatly rejoiced at the prospect of again meeting them. As they advanced they heard more rumors of white men having been in the country, and now traveled with renewed hope. To conciliate the Indians, Vaca told them he was going in search of the white people, in order to persuade them neither to hurt nor make slaves of them, which gave them great joy.

Thence our wanderers passed through many territories, abounding in fertile land and beautiful streams, but found

all the houses and towns deserted, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains through fear of the Spaniards of Mexico, who made incursions that far. Being unable to plant their crops, they lived upon roots and the bark of trees, and were almost in a starving condition. Here they suffered much from hunger, as the Indians had nothing to give them but blankets. They related to them how the Spaniards had entered their country, destroyed their towns, and carried away many of the men, and all the women and boys, while those who had been able to escape were wandering through the mountains.

Vaca and companions were now alarmed lest the Indians should revenge upon them the injuries they had received from their countrymen, and feared when they should reach that part of the country where hostilities had already taken place, they would oppose their progress. They traveled under many apprehensions, but when they arrived among the Indians at war with the Spaniards, they were received with kindness, and looked upon with awe and reverence. They were conducted to a town at the edge of a mountain range of difficult passage, where they found many people assembled. The Indians gave them "two thousand back loads of corn," which Vaca distributed among those who had accompanied him. The next day two messengers were dispatched through the country to notify the inhabitants to meet them at a town three day's journey beyond, and the following day they set out for that place. As they advanced they saw repeated indications of their countrymen. At mid-day they met the messengers returning, who reported that they had seen but few Indians as they had left their villages and were wandering in the mountains, but that

they had seen the Spaniards the night before, who were carrying away the people in chains.

This information so alarmed the Indians who accompanied Vaca, that many of them fled immediately, and the whole would have left them had he not assured them of their safety. Some of them had come with him an hundred leagues, and as he could not then discharge them in a condition to reach their own country, he kept them with him. They continued their journey. On the third day they were guided to the place where the Spaniards had been seen; when it was found that horsemen had been there, but had left. They were now on the river Petutan, at a point estimated to be ninety-two leagues from the village where they were detained by the rain. It was eighty leagues from the river where they first heard of Christians, and to which point Diego de Guyman had been. In the mountain regions of all this extent, they saw traces of gold, antimony, iron, copper, and other metals, and found the climate very warm.

These repeated indications of their countrymen filled the wanderers with joy, and they returned thanks to God for having delivered them from so many dangers and privations. Vaca entreated some of his companions to go in search of the Spaniards; but they being unwilling, he set out himself, accompanied by the negro and eleven Indians. He followed their trail, and the next day overtook four horsemen. They were so much astonished at his strange appearance, and seeing him in company with Indians, that they would have but little to do or say to him. He requested to be conducted to their commanding officer, when they took him and the Indians to captain Diego de Alcaraz. He explained to Alcaraz whence he came and his condition, and that Castillo and Dorantes,

with a multitude of Indians, were only ten leagues off. The captain immediately dispatched three cavalry men with fifty Indians, and the negro as guide, to bring them up. Alcaraz explained to Vaca that he was lost and did not know whither to turn to extricate himself; that he had not been able to capture an Indian for several days, and that their provisions had given out. Vaca requested his countrymen to give him a certificate of the day, month and year of his arrival among them, and stating the manner in which he came. This was done as he desired.

After the lapse of five days the companions of Vaca arrived at the camp of Alcaraz, accompanied by some six hundred Indians. The soldiers being in great want of provisions, the Indians, at the request of Vaca, brought them a plentiful supply of corn and other articles of food. The corn was in jars closed up with clay, which they had buried to conceal from the Spaniards. Alcaraz was anxious to make slaves of these Indians according to the custom of the times, but Vaca opposed it. He felt himself in honor bound to protect the simple natives who had treated him with so much kindness, and therefore would not allow them to be reduced to bondage. This led to high words between him and Alcaraz.

The Indians who accompanied Vaca refused to return to their own country until they had delivered him safely into the hands of other Indians, as was their custom, fearing they would die unless they did so. Alcaraz, jealous of the devoted attachment of the Indians to Vaca and his companions, endeavored to weaken their veneration for them by telling them they were white men like themselves; that they had been long lost and were persons of a low condition. But this had no influence with the

untutored natives; who declared that the soldiers lied; that the poor wanderers "had come from whence the sun rises, and they, whence it goes down; that we healed the sick, and they killed the sound; that we had come naked and barefooted; and they in clothing and on horses with lances; that we were not covetous of anything, but that all that was given to us we directly turned to give, remaining with nothing; and the others that they had no purpose but to rob whomsoever they found, and give nothing to any one." Vaca was unable to convince them that he was like the other Christians, and with difficulty persuaded them to return to their own country and plant their crops and rebuild their towns. The country is described as the best and most prolific of all the Indias, producing three crops in a year. It abounded in fertile valleys and beautiful rivers, with an abundance of fruits, provisions of various kinds, and the precious metals; and the inhabitants were comely in person and well disposed.

Alcaraz sent Vaca and his companions forward in charge of an *alcalde* named Zeburos, attended by two men. He conducted them through vast forests and solitudes, and they suffered so many hardships that some of the Indians died. They were lost in the wood for two days, and after traveling twenty-five leagues and being greatly fatigued, the *alcalde* conducted them to a town of friendly Indians. Here the *alcalde* stopped, but the Spaniards continued on to the town of Culiazan,² three leagues further, where they found Melchor Diaz, principal *alcalde* and captain of the province.³

Diaz hearing of their arrival came to see them. He

² The same as Culiacan.

³ A small town in the Mexican State of Cinaloa on the river Culiacan which empties into the Gulf of California.

received them with great kindness in the name of Nuño de Guzman, the governor of the province, and placed all that he had at their disposal. After tarrying here a few days in order to pacify the neighboring Indians by means of the great influence they exercised over them, they departed for the village San Miguel, thirty leagues from the river Petutan. They remained at this place until the 15th of May, when they set out under an escort for the city of Compostella, an hundred leagues distant, traveling through a country swarming with hostile Indians. Upon their arrival they were received and entertained by governor Guzman in the most gracious and hospitable manner. He clothed them from his own wardrobe, but they could not wear the clothes given them, nor sleep elsewhere than on the ground for some days. They remained at Compostella ten or twelve days when they departed for the city of Mexico. They were well entertained as they passed through the country, and in some parts the people flocked to the road from a considerable distance to see them, and return thanks that they had been delivered from all their dangers and trials. They arrived in Mexico on Sunday, the day before the vespers of St. James, and were welcomed by the Viceroy and the marquis del Valle.

Vaca and his companions spent the winter in Mexico, and in the spring himself and Dorantes went to Vera Cruz to take shipping for Spain. They sailed hence the 10th of April, and after a voyage of many vicissitudes and dangers they arrived safely at the port of Lisbon, on the 9th day of August, 1537.

CHAPTER XV.

THE EARLIEST INFORMATION OF NEW MEXICO, AND THE
FIRST ATTEMPT TO EXPLORE IT.

THE earliest information the Spaniards of Southern Mexico received of what is now the territory of New Mexico, then known as the country of the Seven Cities or Cibola,¹ was about the year 1530. At this time, Nuño de Guzman was President of New Spain, and resided in the city of Mexico. He had in his employ an Indian who was said to be a native of the valley of Oxitipar, which the Spaniards called Tejos; who represented himself as the son of a merchant in the habit of traveling through the interior of the country for the purpose of selling fine bird feathers to be manufactured into plumes, for which he obtained, in exchange, large quantities of gold and silver which everywhere abounded. He said that he had

¹ The origin of this word is not known, but I believe it to be Indian, and was, no doubt, the name the natives of the country gave to the bison or buffalo. The "Cibola" country was known to the Spaniards of Southern Mexico, ten years before Coronada undertook his expedition. In New Mexico, by common consent, the word is accepted as the Spanish for buffalo, but in the Spanish lexicons it is translated a quadruped called the "Mexican bull." New Mexico was known to the early Spaniards as the "buffalo country."

made two trips with his father and saw the cities he spoke about ; that they were seven in number, and so extensive and beautiful they could be compared to the city of Mexico, and that entire streets were occupied by those who worked in the precious metals. He represented that this country could only be reached after crossing a desert of forty days journey, which was covered with a species of short grass about five inches high, and that it must be penetrated in a Northern direction between the two seas.

Guzman and others, to whom these relations were made, placed implicit confidence in the narrative of the Indian, which inflamed the minds of the adventurous and gold-loving Spaniards, who determined to penetrate that unknown region, make it subject to the crown of Spain, and enrich themselves from the spoils of the conquest. For this purpose an expedition was immediately placed on foot to be commanded by the President in person, composed of four hundred Spaniards, principally men of wealth and gay cavaliers, and twenty thousand Indian allies. They believed Cibola could be reached in a distance of about two hundred leagues.

The army took up its march from Mexico with high hopes of success, directing its course toward what was then called the North Sea. It crossed the province of Tobasco, a dependency of Michoacan, and in good order reached that of Culiacan where the government of Nuño de Guzman terminated. Here he encountered many difficulties, and obstructions to his march met him on every hand. The country was wild and unexplored, and the mountains so precipitous and rugged that he could not find a road across them. The want of a route by which to advance obliged him to remain a considerable time in Culiacan, which produced great dissatisfaction in

the army, and many became anxious to return. The rich persons, who made up a large portion of his force, not accustomed to the hardships they encountered were unanimously in favor of quitting an expedition which promised only suffering and danger. These causes were a death-blow to a further advance.

In the meantime, affairs in the city of Mexico had assumed such a shape that Guzman had no desire to return thither. During his absence the renowned Hernan Cortez had returned from Spain clothed with new honors and authority, and Guzman feared to place himself in his power. In the absence of Cortez he had been his enemy; he had oppressed his friends and squandered his estate, and justly feared that he would retaliate if he should have an opportunity. This condition of things induced Guzman not to return to Mexico, but to remain and colonize the province of Culiacan and there establish his power. Relinquishing all idea of advancing further into the interior, he returned with those Spaniards who still remained with him and established himself at Xalisco and Tonala, which two provinces subsequently formed the kingdom of New Galecia. During this period the Tejos Indian died, and, for the present, all thought of exploring the country of Seven Cities was abandoned.

Nuño de Guzman remained in authority about eight years after the termination of this expedition, when he was deposed and thrown into prison and the government of the province was usurped by and passed into the hands of a resident judge, called the licentiate de la Torre. After the death of the latter, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, appointed Francisco Vasquez Coronado to succeed him in the government of New Galecia. He was a gentleman of Salamanca, in Spain,

but had been established sometime at Mexico, where he married a daughter of the Treasurer, Alonzo d'Estrada, a reputed son of Ferdinand the Catholic. On his appointment, Coronado took a journey through New Spain in order to become acquainted with the country and to see the people whom he was to govern.

About this time the Viceroy received further information concerning the country of the Seven Cities. This was communicated by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions who reached Culiacan after their adventurous wanderings across the continent. They stated to Mendoza that they had made inquiries of the country through which they passed, and had been told by the inhabitants of great cities where the houses were four stories high; that the country was populous, and the people cultivated and lived upon maize, pumpkins and other vegetables; that it abounded in cattle, which roamed about in great herds; deer and other animals, and that they had seen many towns of fixed habitations whose inhabitants dressed in cotton and tanned deer-skin.

The Spaniards listened with deep interest to these recitals, which renewed their desire to penetrate the country of the Seven Cities in search of the remarkable things said to exist there. The Viceroy communicated this information to Coronado, who immediately abandoned the visit he was making through New Spain, and repaired to Culiacan. He took with him to his province three monks, and the Barbary negro who had accompanied Vaca in his wanderings. Being anxious to obtain more correct knowledge of the country in which he had become so deeply interested, he induced two of the monks and the negro to undertake an exploration in that direction. They made immediate preparations for the journey.

CHAPTER XVI.

 FRIAR NIZA SETS OUT FOR CIBOLA, ACCOMPANIED BY ONE OF
 VACA'S COMPANIONS.¹

THE expedition which Mendoza put on foot to make explorations into the province of Cibola, or the country of the Seven Cities, was under the direction of a Franciscan friar named Marcos de Niza, or Nizza.² He was well

¹ Before he set out the friar received instructions from Mendoza, which pointed out the object of the expedition and particularly instructed him in what he should say to the Indians. He was to observe the country, climate, soil and productions, rivers, animals, the number of the inhabitants and precious metals, and, if possible, obtain samples of everything he saw. According to the letter of instructions, the expedition was undertaken for "the honor and glory of the Holy Trinity, and for the propagation of our holy Catholic faith." The friar received these instructions the 28th of November, 1538. *Ternaux Compans, Appendice*, p. 249.

² The route taken by Niza and Stephen can be traced with much greater accuracy than that of Vaca and his companions. They traveled nearly parallel with the gulf of California until they arrived near the head of it, when they changed direction to the North-east, crossed the river Gila, and traversed the extensive stretch of barren country that lies to the North of that stream. This region is almost a desert waste, with a light sandy soil, covered for the most part with a growth of stunted pine trees, and with little water.

fitted for the journey by his former experience, having served under Alvarado in Peru, and was inured to hardship and danger. He was accompanied by friar Onorato, and Stephen, the Barbary negro before mentioned, and a number of Indians, of the towns of Petatlan and Cuchillo, whom the Viceroy had purchased and set free in Culiacan. Having completed the necessary arrangements they departed from the town of Saint Michael, in the province of Culiacan, on Friday, the 7th of March, 1539. They traveled nearly in a North-west direction, some little distance from the coast of the gulf of California, and in a few days arrived safely at the town of Petatlan. The inhabitants of the country through which they passed treated them with great kindness and hospitality. They made entertainments for them on the road side, furnished them with provisions and gave them presents of robes, flowers and many other articles. In

It is the opinion of some who have examined the subject that the route of Niza was further inland than I have located it, among whom are lieutenant Whipple, of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, and Mr. Bartlett. It is supposed that the desert of "four days' journey," first crossed by Niza, lies between the Rio Yaqui and Rio Sonora. Thence he passed through the valley of Sonora and continued in a course nearly North. The town of Vacupa, of "reasonable bigness," is supposed to have been identical with Magdalena on the river San Miguel. He is thought to have passed near the present site of Tucson, a small Mexican town in the territory of Arizona, and continuing North struck the Gila, through the valley of which he traveled five days' journey; he then crossed over to the Rio Azul which he ascended, and so continued on to the great desert which he passed, until he came within sight of Cibola. Upon reflection I believe that Niza traveled some distance up the valley of the Gila, but that he did not ascend it to a point so high up as the Azul, as that would have obliged him to cross the Mogollon mountains of which no mention is made. He must have followed up the Rio Francisco or Salt river further to the West and thus escaped the mountains.

the parts of the country where there were no houses the Indians made bowers of the boughs and branches of trees plaited together for them to rest and sleep under. At Petatlan Onorato was taken sick which detained Niza three days, but his illness increased to such a degree that he was compelled to leave him behind.

Resuming his march he traveled a distance of twenty-five or thirty leagues from Petatlan, receiving the same uniform kindness from the inhabitants. There was great scarcity of provisions throughout all the country, and the Indians informed him that rain had not fallen for three years. They had almost ceased cultivating the land, having fled to the mountains and concealed themselves from fear of the Spaniards, who were in the habit of making incursions from the town of Saint Michael and carrying them off into captivity. Through all this region nothing was seen worthy of note. There came to him some Indians from an island visited by Cortez and told him that it was not the main-land, as was generally supposed, but was really an island. They crossed over on rafts to the main-land, the distance being about half a league. He was also visited by other Indians who came from a larger island further off. They said there were thirty other islands, inhabited, which produced but few provisions, except two of them which yielded corn. They wore about their necks many large shells of the mother of pearl; and upon Niza showing them some which he carried they told him there was a great number of such on the islands, but he saw none upon his march.

Niza now arrived at a desert which he crossed in a journey of four days, accompanied by the Indians of the islands and some others who inhabited the mountains he had passed. Having crossed the desert he came to

another people who were much astonished at the sight of white men, as they had no knowledge of the Spaniards; nor did they hold traffic or intercourse of any kind with the people who lived upon the opposite side of the desert. They treated Niza and his companions with great kindness, and furnished them with such provision as the country afforded. They sought to touch the garments of the friar, whom they called *Hayota*, which meant, in their language, *a man come from heaven*. In accordance with his instructions he taught these people a knowledge of God and the Emperor as he was best able to do. As he traversed the country he made diligent inquiry of the natives as to where he should find a region containing large cities, and inhabited by people superior to those he had already seen, but he could hear of none. Some of the Indians told him that four or five days' journey further into the interior there was a great plain at the foot of a mountain, which contained a number of large towns, and that the people were clad in cotton. Niza exhibited to these Indians several varieties of metals, in order to learn if any such were to be found in that country. They took up the gold and told him there were many vessels of that metal among the people who inhabited the plain, "and that they carried certain round green stones hanging at their nostrils and at their ears, and that they have certain thin plates of that gold wherewith they scrape off their sweat, and that the walls of their temple are covered therewith, and that they use it in all their household vessels." He postponed an exploration of the plain until his return, as it was a considerable distance in the interior, and he was instructed not to leave the sea-coast.

He now traveled for three days through a country

inhabited by these same Indians, at the end of which time he arrived at a town of "reasonable bigness," called Vacupa, where he was well received by the inhabitants and furnished with an abundance of provisions. It was situated about forty leagues from the sea, and the surrounding country was fruitful and capable of being watered. He arrived there two days before Passion-Week, and remained until after Easter for the purpose of informing himself of the country and the people. He sent three parties to the sea-coast with directions to bring in some of the inhabitants of the coast and from the adjacent islands, from whom he hoped to obtain information of those regions. He also dispatched Stephen, with instructions to proceed directly to the Northward the distance of fifty or three-score leagues, to search for anything of interest in that direction. It was agreed between him and Niza, before starting, that if he should discover anything of but little importance he was to send back a white cross of one handful in length; but if he should learn of a country greater and better to the North-east he was to send back a great cross. The friar further instructed Stephen, that in case he should gain information of a rich and well-peopled country he was not to proceed any further on his journey, but return in person or send back an Indian with the intelligence.

The negro set out on the afternoon of Passion-Monday. In four days a messenger came to Niza with intelligence from Stephen, bearing a cross as large and high as a man. He sent word that he had arrived among a people who gave him information of a mighty province, and that there were Indians in his company who had been there. He requested the friar to leave Vacupa immediately and follow him. An Indian who was acquainted with this

province accompanied the messenger and gave Niza an account of the new country. He said it was a journey of thirty days from the town where the negro then was to the first city of said province, which was called Cibola;² that the province contained seven great cities in all, under the dominion of one lord; that the houses were built

² In examining the early history of New Mexico I have been able to locate the ancient city, or village, of Cibola with accuracy, and which heretofore has been a matter of speculation. The situation is identical with the present pueblo of Zuñi, of which the reader will find abundant evidence in this volume, although the town of Cibola may not have stood upon the exact spot where modern Zuñi is situated, as there are indications that the pueblo has been located at two or three different points.

The present pueblo of Zuñi is situated on the North side of the creek of the same name a few miles above its junction with the Little Colorado, and contains about one thousand inhabitants. The houses are clustered together upon an eminence which rises some twenty feet above the surrounding plain; they are one and two stories high and some of the rooms are large. About the centre of the pueblo are an old church and monastery, both now in a ruined condition. The streets are both narrow and crooked.

Some twelve or fifteen miles above this pueblo on the same creek are the ruins of another village called Old Zuñi, which has been abandoned for a number of years; though the fields around the ruins are still cultivated by the Zuñi Indians, and some of the houses are occupied during the summer months, and the fall of the year until the crops are gathered. Many of these houses are entirely under ground, without ventilation except through a small aperture in the top; while others are built with one story above ground, of rude stones laid in mud and covered with earth. About three miles above these ruins there is a fine bold spring of good water gushing out at the head of a hollow, with the ruins of another old pueblo on both sides. The spring is walled up with stone in the form of a horse-shoe, with the wall on three sides elevated above the ground, while to the westward the water escapes in a fine, clear brook. These latter ruins are entirely of stone without any appearance of mortar, and appear to have been abandoned for ages.

The ruins near the spring appear to be the point where the Zuñi Indians established themselves a very long time ago, and their extent would indicate that at that time the population was not more than

of pine and stones, and were large and commodious; the least of them were one story in height, and some were two and three; and the dwelling of the lord of the province was four stories high. All the houses were joined one to another, in good order, and in the gates of the principal ones there were set many turquoises,

one-third as many as at present. When the population became more numerous the land susceptible of cultivation around the village was found to be insufficient for the inhabitants, and they removed down the creek to the site of Old Zuñi. Again the population became too numerous to subsist at the latter place, and the land also becoming exhausted from cultivation, another removal was made to the site of the present pueblo, which is considerably larger than the former appear to have been.

Some fifteen or eighteen miles East of the ruins at the spring is a large perpendicular sandstone rock, called Inscription Rock. It juts out from the hill several hundred yards in the form of a triangle, with the acute angle pointing eastward, and is nearly two hundred feet in height. This rock has a great number of names, inscriptions and hieroglyphics cut upon its face, some of them bearing date about three hundred years ago. At the base of the southern face near its junction with the hill is a pool of not very good water, surrounded by a cluster of small trees. The present pueblo of Zuñi is near an hundred and fifty miles West of the Rio del Norte, and about the same distance beyond the settlements in the valley of that river. This pueblo, like all others in the territory, is an independent community, and among the officers annually elected is one whose duty it is to take care of the sun and moon. Among the records of the early explorations in New Mexico which fell into my hands in the Secretary's office, Santa Fé, was a portion of the manuscript journal of captain general Don Domingo Jeronso Petriz de Cruzate, who marched into the country in 1688 to subdue the Indians. He mentions, among other things, that in the time of Philip II., of Spain, Zuñi was known as the "Buffalo Province." Now, as Philip was upon the throne within twenty years after the expedition of Coronado, and many of the men living who were engaged in it, and as many other Spaniards visited the Cibola country, which was afterward named Zuñi, before his death, I believe I am justified in pronouncing the evidence conclusive on the point. This point being settled the tracing of the route of Coronado is comparatively easy.

ingeniously wrought; that the people of Cibola were well-dressed, and that beyond this were many other provinces all greater than that of the Seven Cities.

The friar was greatly pleased at the receipt of this intelligence. He placed full confidence in all the Indian told him for the reason that he found him "a man of good understanding." Believing that Stephen would await his arrival at the place where he then was, he deferred his departure to join him until the return of those he had sent to the sea-coast. They reached Vacupa on Easter day, bringing with them some of the inhabitants. They also brought back some shields made of cow-hides, very well dressed, and large enough to cover the entire person from head to foot, with a hole in the top to look through. They were made so strong it was said a cross-bow could not pierce them. They informed Niza that both the islands and the coast were scarce of provisions; but that gold abounded in great quantities, and the inhabitants wore shells of pearls upon their foreheads. The people of the islands traded with those of the main-land, crossing over on rafts.

The same day three Indians, called Pintados,⁴ arrived at Vacupa on a visit to Niza. They lived far up in the interior toward the East, some upon the borders of the country of the Seven Cities, and were so named because their faces, breasts and arms were painted. They confirmed the information received from the messengers of Stephen, in all essential particulars. In the meantime, the negro sent other messengers and a new cross as large as the first, to the friar, with information that the land.

⁴ There is a race of Indians to this day in Mexico, called "Pintos," for the same reason, who are considered the bravest men of the country, and are probably the descendants of these same Pintados.

which he sought was the greatest and best country in all those parts. From them he also learned many things that were new concerning the seven cities. He sent the Indians of the sea-coast back to their country, retaining those of the islands who promised to accompany him a seven or eight days journey toward Cibola.

This information hastened the departure of Niza from Vacupa. He made immediate arrangements to resume his march, and on Easter Tuesday he set out accompanied by the Indians of the islands and the Pintados. He traveled in the direction that Stephen had taken, and in three days he arrived among a people who told him that a man might reach the cities of Cibola from that place in a journey of thirty days. From them he gained a more exact knowledge of the country and the inhabitants. They informed him that besides these seven cities there were other kingdoms which were called Marata, Acus and Totontea. Upon these Indians being asked why they had traveled so far from their homes, they answered that they were going in search of turquoises, hides of cattle and other things which abounded in the Cibola country; that they were in the habit of going into the first cities of the province and serving the inhabitants by tilling the soil and in other occupations, for which they received in exchange, hides and turquoises; that the inhabitants of Cibola, this being the name of the first of the seven, wore fine turquoises hanging from their ears and nostrils, and the gates of the principal houses were ornamented with them in beautiful workmanship; that they dressed in a gown of cotton which reached to the feet, with a button at the neck and a long string hanging down from the same; the sleeves were as broad beneath as above, and the waist was encircled with a girdle made

of turquoises. Some wore over their coats dresses of tanned skins which were esteemed the best material in the country, and others wore a still different material. The women dressed in gowns of the same description. These Indians entertained Niza with great hospitality, and were anxious to know when he would return to Vacupa, so that they could furnish him with food and lodgings. They brought the sick to him to be healed, and sought to touch his garments, under the belief that they contained some hidden virtue. They gave him a number of cow-hides which had come from Cibola, which were so well tanned, and dressed, and trimmed with such taste, that they appeared to have been prepared by a civilized people.

CHAPTER XVII.

NIZA CONTINUES HIS JOURNEY, AND HEARS OF THE DEATH
OF STEPHEN.

NIZA again resumes his journey, taking with him only the Pintados. The same day he came to another village where the inhabitants likewise received him with kindness, and sought to touch his garments. They gave him substantially the same account of the country of the Seven Cities as he had already received. Here he found a large cross, which the negro had set up as a sign that the news of a good country was more encouraging, and had left word that he intended to hasten forward as rapidly as possible, but would wait for the friar at the edge of the first desert he should come to. Several of the inhabitants had accompanied Stephen on his journey, but had not yet returned. Before Niza left this place he set up two crosses and took possession of the country as far as that point, in accordance with his instructions.

Niza now traveled five days through a country well-peopled and abounding in villages. He was everywhere well received and hospitably entertained by the Indians and had given to him presents of turquoises and ox-hides.¹

¹No doubt these "ox-hides" were tanned buffalo skins.

Here he received additional information about Cibola. He was told that in two days he would come to a desert where there was no food to be had, and that in order to supply his wants some of their people had been sent forward to carry provisions and prepare lodgings for him. This induced him to hasten on, for he hoped to find Stephen at the further side of this desert, as he had promised to wait for him at that point.

Before he arrived at the desert he came to a very considerable village, pleasantly situated, and supplied with an abundance of water conveyed thither by artificial means. Many of the inhabitants, both men and women, were dressed in cotton garments, while others were covered with ox-hides, which were generally esteemed in the country the best article of apparel. They wore turquoises suspended from their nostrils and ears as ornaments, which they called *Cacona*, and the wearing of them was called *Cusconados*. Among those who came to pay their respects to Niza was the Lord of the village and his two brothers, who were well-dressed in cotton, with a collar of turquoises about the neck, and others suspended from their ears and nose. To manifest their good will toward the friar they offered him many turquoises, dressed ox-hides, beautiful drinking vessels, besides conies,² quails, maize, pine-nuts, and other articles none of which would he accept. They were much pleased with the garment he wore, which they touched with their hands and examined. They informed him there was an abundance of such cloth in the province of Totontecal and that the people of that country dressed in clothes made of it. He laughed at this and told them the material was the same as the cotton garments they themselves wore; to which

² Rabbits.

the Indians replied: "We would have thee think that we understand that that apparel which thou wearest and that which we wear are of divers sorts. Understand thou that in Cibola all the houses are full of that apparel which we wear, and in Totontea there are certain little beasts from whom they take that thing whereof such apparel as thou wearest is made." The friar was deeply interested in this relation and was anxious to know more about the matter. He inquired more particularly of the Indians about the little beasts, and was told they were about the size of the two spaniels that Stephen carried with him and were to be found in great abundance in Totontea.³

In one day from the last mentioned village Niza arrived at the desert and continued on across it. About noon he came to the bank of a river where an abundance of victuals was prepared for him and a bower built for his accommodation. He found the same provision made for him where he encamped at night, and also during the four days he was crossing the desert. At the end of this time he entered a valley well-inhabited. Soon afterward he came to a village where he met many people, both men and women, bearing him victuals, all of whom wore turquoises suspended from their nostrils and ears, and some had collars of the same around the neck. These necklaces were single, while those worn by the Lord and people of the village on the other side of the desert were three or four times double. The inhabitants were dressed in skins, the women wearing good waist-coats and other garments, with turquoises in the nostrils and ears.

These Indians professed to have much knowledge of

³ These "little beasts" were probably a species of mountain sheep which furnished the wool from which the Indians wore their garments.

Cibola. They gave Niza a particular account of the manner in which the people built their houses, their lodgings and their market places. They told him they had often been to Cibola where they procured all the necessary articles for the household, and they confirmed all he had previously heard. He doubted that the houses were built in the manner related, when the Indians to satisfy him that such was the case, "took earth and poured water thereupon and showed him how they laid stones upon it, and how the building grew up as they continued laying stones thereon until it mounted aloft."⁴ He asked if the men of that country had wings by which they were enabled to ascend into these lofts, when they showed him a well-made ladder and told him that by such means they ascended to them. They then took a staff which they held up over their heads and said the lofts were of that height, one above another. Here he received additional information about the woolen cloth of Totontecal, and further particulars of the country; that it was a great province with the houses built in the same manner as those of Cibola, but were better constructed and in greater numbers. The province he was now in had no governor.

Continuing his journey he traveled through this valley five days, which he found populous and fertile. It was well watered and under a high state of cultivation; and provisions were so abundant that Niza believed three thousand horsemen could have been sustained there. Some of the villages were a half, and others a quarter of a league long. In all of them through which he passed he heard many reports of the seven cities, and the inhabitants gave such particular accounts as might be

⁴ From the Spanish Ms.

expected from a people who were in close intercourse with those of whom they spoke. Here he saw a man who was born in Cibola, but had escaped from the governor or lieutenant of the town, and fled to this valley. He said the Lord of the province lived in one of the towns called Apacus, but appointed lieutenants in all the others under his control. This Indian was of a light complexion and resembled a European; was well advanced in years and exhibited more intelligence than the people of the valley, or any he had previously seen. He was anxious to return to Cibola, and promised Niza to go there with him if he would intercede with the authorities to induce them not to punish him for running away.

From this Indian Niza learned many additional particulars of the country and the towns. He represented Cibola as a great city inhabited by a numerous population with many streets and market places; that in some parts of it there were great houses of five stories high in which the chief men of the place assembled at certain seasons of the year; that the houses were of lime and stone, and the gates and smaller pillars of the principal houses were made of turquoises, and all the drinking and ornamental vessels were of gold. The other cities of the province were built in the same manner as Cibola, some of them being larger, and that Apacus, the residence of the lord of the province, was the greatest of them all. He stated that toward the South-east from Cibola there was a kingdom called Marata, which contained many great cities, the houses of which were built with numerous lofts; and that on account of the frequent wars between these two kingdoms the towns of the latter were, for the most part, surrounded by walls. At this time there was peace between Marata and the seven cities.

He represented the kingdom of Totontecal as an extensive province situated toward the West with a numerous population and great riches; the inhabitants dressed in woolen cloth such as that worn by the friar, and others of a finer texture made of the fleece of the animal before described to him. They were said to be a quiet and peaceable people. He also spoke of the province of Aens, said to be extensive and not a great distance from Cibola. He confirmed all that Niza had previously heard concerning the people of Cibola and their mode of dress, with additional information of their customs; among which was that they slept upon beds with canopies over them, and had quilts which they spread upon the beds. Many of the inhabitants of the valley related to him the same things in substance, but with less particularity.

These relations of the Indians gave Niza renewed hope, and he resumed his journey with pleasing anticipations. He traveled three days longer through the valley, being followed by a considerable number of the natives. He encountered many of the inhabitants who, as usual, provided him with provisions and other necessaries. He saw more than a thousand ox-hides well dressed and tanned, and also a great number of turquoises, many of which had been manufactured into chains. He was told they had been brought from the city of Cibola, where there was great abundance, and that they also abounded in the kingdoms of Marata, Aens and Totontecal. There was exhibited to him a hide half as big again as the hide of an ox, which they represented as the "skin of a beast that had but one horn upon his forehead, and that this horn bendeth toward his head, and that out of the same goeth a point right forward wherein he hath so great

This is written Totontecac in some parts of the old record.

strength that it will break anything how strong soever it may be, if he run against it, and that there are great store of these beasts in that country. The color of the hide is of the color of a great goat skin, and the hair is a finger thick."

Here Niza received other messengers from Stephen with later information of his whereabouts. He sent word to the friar that he had arrived at the extremity of the desert, and the further he advanced the more he was encouraged with the news he received concerning the country. The Indians had not deceived him in anything, but as he advanced he found the condition of things the same as represented. He had set up crosses in all the country he passed through, and used such ceremonies in taking possession of the same as he deemed necessary under his instructions.

The Indians requested Niza to remain in their country three or four days to make the necessary preparations to cross the desert. They told him that from that place to the desert was a journey of four days, and from the first entrance into it to the cities of Cibola was fifteen days more; that if he would tarry there they would provide him victuals and other necessaries for the trip, and would likewise furnish him with men to carry his baggage. He accepted their offer and remained with them a few days. These Indians were not entirely disinterested. They hoped by accompanying Niza to Cibola to be able to return loaded with riches. He spent the time he remained among this people in obtaining information of the country he was going to, with the manners and customs of the people, and other knowledge that might be useful to him. For this purpose he called before him a number of the Indians and examined them separately, who agreed in the

account they gave of the population of Cibola, the order of the streets, the number of the houses, and the strength of the gates. At the end of three days a great multitude assembled to accompany him, of whom he selected thirty of the principal men for companions, who were well dressed and wore strings of turquoises, and a number of others to carry the provisions and baggage.^s

Thus provided and accompanied Niza resumed his journey, and on the 9th of May he entered the great desert. The first day he traveled a very broad and well-beaten path. The Indians went in advance to prepare accommodations for him, and at noon he arrived at a place where there was water and where he found dinner provided. At night he encamped at another watering-place where they had prepared a house for his accommodation with the necessary provisions for his supper. Here he rested until morning. ^sThis point appeared to be the usual stopping-place for those going to, and returning from, Cibola, as there were several old cottages standing about and many signs of fire having been kindled. The Indians pointed out the hut they had erected for Stephen when he passed along, and in which he had lodged. He thus traversed the desert, living upon the flesh of wild animals and partridges provided for him by the Indians, who also supplied all his other wants. He had advanced twelve days toward Cibola, when an Indian who had accompanied Stephen, and a son of one of the principal men then with Niza, came to him in great fright and with a countenance full of sadness announced the death of the negro. He related the particulars of the manner in which

^s For some days, up to this time, Niza was, undoubtedly, traveling along the valley of the river Gila, and when he left it he changed his course more to the North-east.

it took place, an account of which will be given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WHAT HAPPENED TO STEPHEN AT CIBOLA ; NIZA RETURNS
TO NEW SPAIN.

THE last information that Niza received of Stephen, before he heard of his death, was transmitted from the valley where he made preparations to cross the great desert. He made the passage of the desert in safety, accompanied by three hundred Indians, who carried his baggage and provisions and attended to all his wants. From this point he again resumed the march for Cibola and advanced through the country without molestation, the inhabitants everywhere receiving him with kindness, giving him turquoises, and presenting him with beautiful females for slaves. He carried in his hand a great mace made of a gourd with a string of bells upon it, and two feathers, one white and the other red, the whole being a symbol of peace. It was his custom when he arrived near a town, or in the neighborhood of a new people, to send the mace forward by the hands of a messenger to announce his coming. When within three days' journey of Cibola he sent the mace to the town by some Indians, with instructions to say that he came upon a friendly

mission and requested a safe conduct. Upon their arrival they were taken before the chief-magistrate, whom the Lord of the province had placed there as his lieutenant, to whom they delivered the mace. He took it into his hands to examine, but when he saw the bells he dashed it upon the ground in a great rage and ordered the messengers to leave immediately. He said he knew well what kind of people they were and that they would not be allowed, upon any account, to enter the town, but if they should he would put them all to death. The messengers were much alarmed, and returned and announced the result of their mission to Stephen; who replied that it made but little difference whether they would give him permission, or not, to enter Cibola, as he intended to proceed on his journey until he should arrive thither.

He resumed his march and in due time presented himself before Cibola. He found a number of the inhabitants awaiting his arrival, as they suspected his coming was for an hostile purpose. He was not permitted to enter the town, but was made prisoner and confined in a large house outside, where he was closely guarded. He was plundered of all he possessed, including many articles he had brought to barter with the inhabitants, and numerous turquoises the Indians had given him on the way. They kept him confined that night without meat or drink. The next day the old men and the caciques assembled in council and had him brought before them, when they questioned him as to his motives in coming into their country. He told them that he preceded two white men, who had been sent thither by their master, a mighty prince, to explore the country, and that they were deeply learned in heav-

¹ One of the friars, it will be remembered, was left behind, sick, at Petatlan.

only things in which they would instruct the people of Cibola. The Indians did not believe this statement, but thought him a spy from some powerful nation that wished to conquer them; and above all it seemed impossible that he could come from a country of white men as he was so black himself. Besides the suspicious circumstances attending his arrival, and the natural prejudice of the Indians against strangers, Stephen's own conduct placed him in a still more unfavorable light. He was haughty, unreasonable in his demands, and treated the people without the least consideration. He commanded them to surrender to him their riches and their women, which they refused. His conduct satisfied the Indians that he was a dangerous man and ought not to be allowed to regain his liberty. They questioned him for four days, and after deliberating upon the case, with all the care its importance demanded, they resolved to put him to death.

If the journal of friar Niza is to be relied upon, the negro was not executed in accordance with the sentence but was killed while attempting to escape. Early the next morning after his sentence, about sun-rise, some of the chief-men took him from his place of confinement and conducted him toward the town. On their way they encountered a large crowd of people coming out, and when he saw them he became alarmed and started to run. The Indians immediately opened a fire of arrows upon him and those who had accompanied him to Cibola, killing and wounding many as they ran; and as Stephen was not seen again it is supposed that he was among the number slain. Of all those who had come with him but three escaped, the young Indian who brought the information to Niza, and two others. The former was on his way to the river that ran near the town, to get a

drink of water, when the attack was made. Becoming alarmed for his life he hid himself upon the river bank and afterward made his escape into the desert. The two other Indians were wounded during the firing and fell covered with blood, buried under the slain. Here they remained all day, as they did not dare to get up for fear of being seen and killed. From where they lay they had a good view of the town, and saw many men and women keeping watch upon the walls, and heard noises inside as though the people were astir. At night they made their escape and succeeded in regaining the desert, where they joined some friendly Indians, among whom was the one who had hid upon the river bank.²

The news of the death of Stephen and the hostility of the inhabitants of Cibola gave Niza great alarm. They placed him on his guard, and he resolved not to sacrifice his life, wilfully, as the negro appeared to have done. To create a favorable influence upon the Indians he told them that God would punish the inhabitants of Cibola, and that when the viceroy should hear what had happened he would send an army of Christians to chastise them. But this they did not believe and said that no man was able to stand against the power of that city. The poor friar was in great uncertainty as to the course he ought to pursue under the circumstances, and his situation caused him serious reflection. To increase his difficulties an Indian named Marcus, whom he had brought with

² There is difference of opinion among the old chroniclers as to the number of those who made their escape from Cibola at the time Stephen was killed. Castañeda says: "Those who came with him were allowed to go away in safety except some young boys whom they retained for slaves." He enumerates the whole number who made their escape and joined the monk at about sixty, while Niza says that but three escaped of all those who accompanied the negro thither.

him from Mexico, told him that he had overheard those who accompanied him across the desert consulting about putting him to death, because they attributed the death of their friends and relatives at Cibola to him and Stephen. In order to appease them he divided among them the few articles he had retained, which, in some measure, had the desired effect, but they still exhibited great grief at the loss they had sustained. He wanted some of them to go to Cibola in order to ascertain more reliable information of the fate of Stephen and whether other Indians had escaped, but this they declined to do.

Upon the refusal of the Indians to return to Cibola Niza told them that he intended to see the town at all hazards and in spite of the dangers that beset him. When they saw that he was determined to return two of the chiefs, his interpreters and some others, signified their willingness to go with him. They resumed the journey immediately and arrived in sight of the town without accident. His journal relates that he found it situated upon a plain at the foot of a round hill, and in order to obtain a better view of it he ascended a neighboring mountain. It presented the appearance of a large place and was better situated than any other town he had seen. The houses were built of stone, several stories high, with flat roofs, and arranged in good order. The inhabitants were of light complexion, and dressed in cotton goods and skins. They slept in beds. Their offensive weapons were the bow and arrow. They possessed many emeralds and other precious stones, but valued turquoises above all others. With these they adorned the porches of their houses and their dresses, and used them for many other purposes of ornament. They had vessels of gold and silver, which were said to be in greater use and more

abundant than in Peru. There was said to be no other kinds of metal in the country, and they were principally obtained from the province of Pintado, in exchange for turquoises, where rich mines were said to exist.³

Niza was not able to obtain any certain and correct information concerning other kingdoms. He was tempted several times to visit some of them; but when he reflected that if his life should be lost in the attempt the knowledge which he had gained of the country and the people would die with him he was deterred from the undertaking. When he told the two chiefs who accompanied him what a commodious city Cibola seemed to be, they answered that it was the least of the seven cities, that Totonteval was the best and greatest of them all, with a great number of houses and a large population. Having obtained all the information possible concerning the province of the Seven Cities, with a description of the country and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, he took formal possession thereof in the name of the "most honorable Lord Antonio de Mondóza, viceroy and captain-general of New Spain," for His Majesty the Emperor. With the aid of the Indians he raised a heap of stones upon the mountain and erected thereon a small wooden cross, the symbol of taking possession. * He named the province of Cibola *El Nuevo Reyno de San Francisco*, The New Kingdom of Saint Francis. By this same act he also took formal possession of the provinces of Totonteval, Acus and Marata.

Having completed this ceremony, and made the necessary preparations for the march homeward, he set out from Cibola on his return to New Galicia; and, in the

³ The accounts given by subsequent explorers prove that Niza's statements about Cibola were greatly exaggerated.

The stones still remain.

* *Tō pin tē a'* or *Pinakea*. The
 not meaning "the one that is," and
 a latter "brandy" - Review situat.
 his miles from here. Rio de

words of the friar himself, he "returned with more fear than victuals." At the end of two days he reached the place where the Indians had remained behind, with whom he traveled until he had crossed the great desert. Here he found the inhabitants in great grief for the loss of their relatives and friends who had been killed at Cibola with Stephen, and they were not able to entertain him as they had done before. He therefore hastened from the valley, and traveling at the rate of eight or ten leagues each day he did not take rest until he had crossed the second desert.

Considering himself now out of danger he turned aside from the direct route homeward to visit the great plain extending to the East from the foot of the mountains, which is mentioned in a previous chapter. He entered upon the edge of it, whence he saw, at a distance, several towns of considerable size, situated in a beautiful green valley, with a fruitful soil, and from which many rivers ran. He was told that gold abounded in this valley, which the people worked into vessels, and thin plates "wherewith they strike and take off their sweat." They would not permit the inhabitants of the other side of the plain to trade with them. Learning that this plain was not inhabited for many days' journey he was afraid to enter upon it and extended his discoveries no further in that direction. He deemed it advisable to leave future explorations in that region until the country should be occupied by the Spaniards, when they could be prosecuted with more safety, and to return immediately to New Spain and give an account of the things he had already seen. Here he likewise set up two crosses, and took possession of the valley and the plain, as he had done before at Cibola and the neighboring provinces.

He now resumed his journey and made all possible haste until he arrived at the town of San Michael whence he had started. He expected to find the governor of New Galecia at this place, but learning that he was at Compostella, he proceeded thither, where he arrived in safety, and related to him an account of his discoveries and adventures. The whole distance from Cibola to Culiacan was estimated at three hundred leagues.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FRIAR RELATES HIS DISCOVERIES TO CORONADO; A
SPANISH ARMY MARCHES FOR CIBOLA.

DURING the absence of Niza, Coronado was principally employed in managing the affairs of his government and anxiously awaiting his return. In the meantime he made an expedition to the North into the province of Topeza, of which the most flattering accounts had been given him. He collected a few Spaniards and Indian allies and penetrated some distance into the interior, but he found everything very different from what it had been represented. The mountains were high and rugged, and could only be crossed with great difficulty; and the whole appearance of the country was uninviting in the extreme. He immediately returned to Culiacan where he found Niza who had just arrived from Cibola.

The friar gave Coronado the most exaggerated account of all that he had seen and been told by the Indians, which excited his mind to such degree that he determined to take Niza to Mexico in order that he might relate the same to the viceroy. They pretended to make the matter a great secret and thereby magnify its importance. Upon arriving in Mexico they obtained an audience of the

viceroy, who lent a willing ear to the narrative. The friar said that he had found the country of the Seven Cities which Guzman had searched for in vain; had discovered islands in the South Sea filled with untold wealth; and that he was engaged in raising an army to conquer them. The influence of both the viceroy and the church was enlisted in the cause, and soon all the pulpits resounded with most wonderful accounts of these unknown regions.

Such an interest was excited upon the subject that in a few days an army of four hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians was raised for the conquest of Cibola. The viceroy appointed Don Francisco Vasquez Coronado, captain-general of the expedition, both because he was the reputed author of the discovery, and a great favorite. He is represented as a "good gentleman, and a wise, prudent and able man;" but the chronicler of the expedition intimates that he thought more of the riches and the lovely wife he left behind in New Spain, than of the honor he enjoyed in leading such a numerous company of gallant gentlemen. A majority of the Spaniards who took part in the enterprise are reputed to have been men of good families, and Castañeda,¹ who accompanied them, says in his journal, "I doubt whether there has ever been

¹ But little is known of Castañeda the historian of the expedition. As his name is not found in the list of officers, it is supposed that he was a common soldier. He was evidently a man of education and accustomed to writing; and his narrative is superior to most of those composed at that period. Upon the return of the Spaniards to New Spain from Cibola, he established himself at Culiacan where he wrote his work. He left it behind him in manuscript covering one hundred and forty-seven pages, written on paper in characters of the times, and covered with parchment. It was preserved in the collection of D'Uguina, Paris, and was translated and published in French for the first time by H. Ternaux Campans, in 1838.

collected in the Indias so brilliant a troop, particularly for the small number of four hundred men."

The viceroy having caused Coronado to be proclaimed and recognized as captain-general, proceeded to appoint the captains and other chief officers. Castañeda says: "He chose for standard-bearer of the army Don Pedro de Tobar, a young cavalier, son of Don Hernando de Tobar, chief Mayor-Domo of the late queen Joanna, our legitimate sovereign whose soul be in God's keeping. He gave the place of Colonel to Lope de Samaniego, governor of the arsenal of Mexico, and a chevalier well worthy this station. The captains were Don Tristan de Arellano, Don Pedro de Quevara, son of Don Juan de Quevara, and nephew of the count of Oñate, Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, Don Rodrigo Maldonado, brother-in-law of the duke of Infantado, Diego López, member of the council of Sevilla, and Diego Gutierrez, captain of cavalry." Besides these enumerated there were many other distinguished cavaliers who held no command or rank, but were placed under the immediate orders of the captain-general.

The expedition being fully organized, the viceroy designated Compostella,² the capital of New Galicia, and one hundred and ten leagues from Mexico, as the point where the army was to assemble. It marched to the place of rendezvous in separate columns, owing to the difficulty of subsisting the whole command in a body; and the detachment to which Castañeda was attached arrived there in good order on Shrove Tuesday, 1540. At the same time two vessels under the command of Don Pedro Alarcon, were ordered to sail from Natividad and

² Compostella is an unimportant Mexican town situated in the State of Jalisco, a few miles South-east of San Blas, on the Pacific coast.

follow the coast as far as Xalisco, in order to transport such baggage as the soldiers could not carry with them. He was directed to continue along the coast in communication with the army on its march to Cibola, but the route of Coronado diverged so much toward the interior that the land and sea forces could not hold intercourse with each other.

After all the detachments were in march, the viceroy left Mexico for Compostella accompanied by a numerous company of gentlemen. He was received and welcomed everywhere with many demonstrations of delight. He spent New Year's day at Pascuaro, the capital of Michoacan, where festivities were held in honor of his arrival. He found all the troops assembled at Compostella when he arrived there. After reviewing the army, he addressed the soldiers upon the importance of the expedition they were about to undertake, and the great results that would probably flow from the discovery and settlement of the country of the Seven Cities. He impressed upon them the duty they owed their officers, and caused each one to take an oath upon a missal containing the four gospels, to obey their general in every particular, and never abandon him. He also obliged the officers to be acknowledged anew by the whole army.

The force, including Indians, servants and camp followers, numbered some fifteen hundred men with a thousand horses. There were collected, to drive along with the army, five thousand sheep and one hundred and fifty cows of Spanish breed, for the purpose of supplying the new settlements that might be made. The arrangements being now complete the army commenced its march the next day after the arrival of the viceroy, being early in the month of January, 1541. The troops as

they marched out the city with colors flying and trumpets sounding, and with the bright beams of the morning sun flashing upon the burnished armor of the proud cavaliers, presented a martial and brilliant appearance. The officers and men were burning with enthusiasm, and returned in loud shouts the acclamations of the populace who thronged the streets and house-tops. The viceroy accompanied the army two days on the march, when he turned back and retraced his steps toward Mexico.

While the army is on the march let us leave it for a moment and glance at the province of Culiacan, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. The town of this name was the last inhabited place in the kingdom of New Galecia and the first founded by Nuño de Guzman, distant two hundred and ten leagues from the city of Mexico. The natives of the province spoke three principal languages, besides numerous dialects of which no mention is made. The first tribe enumerated was called the Tahus, which was the most civilized and had made some progress in a knowledge of the Catholic religion. They were not cannibals, but were far sunk in superstition and savage fierceness. They worshipped the devil, to whom they made offerings of their wordly goods; and they held in great veneration a large serpent which they raised and preserved with care. They did not sacrifice human victims. It was customary for women to devote themselves to a life of celibacy, in honor of whom great and indecent festivals were held. All the caciques of the district came together, and, in a state of nudity, danced with the candidates for single-blessedness, after which the ceremonies were concluded with beastly orgies. Upon such occasions the women took upon themselves certain obligations from which they were not released, although

they might subsequently marry. Before marriage the bride was obliged to surrender her person to the cacique, who was regarded as a kind of high priest; and if she was not a virgin her parents were compelled to restore to the husband all he had given her, and he also had the choice of keeping her as his wife or forcing her to become a public woman. This was also the occasion of great festivities and orgies. The second language of the province was that spoken by the Pacasas, a tribe less civilized and intelligent than the Tahus, who ate human flesh and worshipped stones. Poligamy prevailed among them, and a man married several sisters. They owned the country between the plain and the mountains. The third and last language was that spoken by the Acaxas, who differed but little from the Pacasas. They, also, were cannibals, and hunted men to eat in the same manner as wild animals. They adorned their houses with the skulls and bones of their victims, and those who could show the greatest number of such trophies were most feared and respected. They had frequent wars among themselves when they devoured each other in great numbers. They built their villages in places difficult of access and separated by impassable ravines. Gold mines abounded in the country, but none of them were very productive.

We took leave of the army two days out of Compostella, whence it advanced into the interior by easy and regular marches. The troops were much encumbered with baggage, which had to be transported on horses; and as the soldiers did not understand packing the animals, they soon became so much discouraged that many threw their baggage away rather than be troubled with it. The most refined gentlemen were compelled to be their own muleteers, and necessity

obliged the noble and the low-born to perform the same menial service. After a fatiguing march the army reached the village of Chiametla where the provisions began to fail, and it was obliged to halt there for some days in order to procure a fresh supply. While at that place the colonel, Lope de Samaniego, was killed by the Indians. His loss was deeply felt by the whole army. He went out one day with a few men to a neighboring village, when the Indians suddenly fell upon them, killing him by an arrow shot through the head, and wounding five or six of his men. His body was recovered and buried with the honors of war. As punishment to the Indians all the inhabitants of that village were put to death. Here some dissatisfaction arose among the troops, and many desired to leave and return to Mexico.

While the army lay at Chiametla, two officers, Melchor Dias and Juan de Saldibar, whom Coronado had dispatched with a dozen men to make an exploration toward Cibola at the time he left Culiacan to go to Mexico with the friar, returned from their expedition. They had gone as far as the great desert, when, becoming discouraged, they turned back. When it became known in camp that this party had made no important discoveries the ardor of the troops abated. The friar, who seemed determined that the expedition should advance at every hazard, took it upon himself to contradict the rumors spread abroad, and denied that Dias and Saldibar had failed in their exploration; but represented that they had discovered a good country, and that all who were able to reach it would be sure to return richer in worldly goods. This assured the soldiers in some degree, though they were not fully satisfied that what the holy father told them was true. Having collected sufficient provisions, the army resumed

its march toward Culiacan, and arrived within two leagues of that place on Easter eve. The inhabitants came out to welcome it, but requested Coronado to postpone his entrance into the town until the day after the festival, and he accordingly encamped outside.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ARMY ENTERS CULIACAN; CORONADO MARCHES IN
ADVANCE TO CIBOLA.

THE army entered Culiacan the next day after Easter. The troops were met a short distance outside the town by the inhabitants, who were drawn up in order of battle in a large field and armed with cannon and small arms. After some welcoming ceremonies had been held, the opposing forces engaged in a sham fight for the amusement of the populace, the citizens falling back upon the town which the army assaulted and entered in triumph. This mimic warfare passed off with great eclat, and the only accident recorded is that caused by the premature discharge of a gun by which one man lost his arm. The inhabitants whom Castañeda says were "all honorable men," extended a generous hospitality to the army; receiving both officers and men into their houses, although good quarters had been provided for them outside the town. The chronicler of the expedition says that this kind treatment was not disadvantageous to the inhabitants as the officers were obliged to leave with them the greater part of their baggage for want of transportation. He even

intimates that the prospect of this spoil had something to do with their hospitality.

The army rested at Culiacan a month; provisions were plenty and the inhabitants supplied them liberally. While here a little incident occurred which I record in the words of the chronicler himself: "Sometime before the departure of the general there happened a quite amusing event which I will here relate. A young soldier named Truxillo pretended to have had a vision while bathing in the river. He was brought before the general in much alarm, and related that the demon had appeared to him and said: 'If thou wilt kill thy general I will marry thee to Doña Beatrice his wife, and will give thee great treasures.' He added a great many tales, and friar Marcos made thereupon a fine sermon, pretending that the demon, alarmed at the fruit the expedition promised, used all his efforts to prevent it. Not only was the whole army persuaded of this, but the monks who were in company wrote it to their convents in Mexico, and for a long time all the pulpits re-echoed this adventure, adding to it a quantity of fables. The general ordered Truxillo to quit the army and remain at Culiacan, and it was precisely for this that he had invented this deception as was afterwards made known."

The general, impatient to penetrate the unknown country of the Seven Cities, determined to go in advance with a few chosen men, leaving the army to follow more at leisure. Under the orders of the viceroy he appointed Hernandarias Saaveard, his lieutenant, to replace him in the government of the province during his absence; and Don Tristan de Arellano was named to succeed him in the command of the army. He set out fifteen days after his arrival in Culiacan, taking with him fifty cavaliers, a

few foot soldiers, his most intimate friends, and all the monks, as none of the latter were willing to remain behind. The army was to follow fifteen days afterward. The little party took their departure in high spirits. After marching three days a priest, named Antonio Victorio, broke his thigh and was sent back to Culiacan, which caused a little delay. Putting themselves en route again, they traveled through the country without interruption. The Indians were all friendly; many of them having seen friar Marcos on his previous journey professed great friendship for the Spaniards. They passed through the whole of the inhabited country and arrived in good order at Chichilticale,¹ where the desert

¹ We are able to trace the march of Coronado and his army through New Mexico without much if any doubt as to the course he took. Leaving the town of Culiacan, in the Mexican State of Cinaloa, he marched to the North-west nearly parallel to the coast of the gulf of California. At what point he crossed the Gila river I am unable to determine with any degree of accuracy, but suppose it to have been at or near the place where the Casas Grandes are located. The ruins called Chichilticale I believe to have been upon the Gila, although no mention is made of any river at or near that point; but as few of the many rivers the army crossed are mentioned in the journal of Castañeda, the failure to notice the Gila is no evidence against my location of Chichilticale upon that stream.

The earliest records we have of New Mexico contain a notice of the ruins of large houses on the Gila called Casas Grandes, the origin of which has caused considerable speculation among antiquarians. Albert Gallatin, in a paper addressed to the American Ethnological Society, gives the following account of these ruins.

“The ruins of ancient buildings, known by the name of Casas Grandes, ascribed to the Azteques, and called the second and third stations, are evidently of the same character as the ancient buildings of Cibola; most probably the remains of some of them. We have no description of the most Southern of these Casas Grandes. The father Pedro Pont has given the description of the great house situated near the river Gila, considered as the second station of the Azteques, and which he visited in the year 1775. The ruins of the houses which

begins. Coronado had now completed an important stage in the expedition, and he was much dispirited and out of heart at the result. Thus far he had seen nothing that was encouraging. The country for the most part

formed the town extended more than a league toward the East, and the ground was covered with broken vases and painted pottery.

“The house itself is a parallelogram, facing precisely the four cardinal points, East, West, North and South; extending seventy feet long from North to South, and fifty wide from East to West. It consists of five halls, three intervals, thirty-eight feet by twelve; and they are eleven feet high. The edifice had been three stories and probably four, counting one underground. There was no trace of stairs which probably were wooden and burnt when the Apaches set the building on fire. The whole building is made of earth; the interior walls being four feet thick and well constructed, and the external six feet thick, and shelving outside. The timber work consisted partly of mesquit, principally of pine, though the nearest pine forest was twenty-five leagues distant. Facing the eastern gate, which is separated from the house, there is another hall twenty-six feet by eighteen, inside. Toward the South-west there is a remnant of construction one-story high. Around the whole there are indications of an external wall which included the house and other buildings. The wall was, inside, four hundred and twenty-eight feet from North to South, and two hundred and twenty-six from East to West. From some remains of mud walls (torchis), and some scattered blocks, it appears that there had been a canal to bring water from the river to the town.”

General Emory, of the United States army, in his reconnoissance along the Gila on his march to California, makes the following note of the ruins upon that stream:

“The ruins of the Gila were first seen in longitude about one hundred and nine degrees, twenty minutes. Thence to the Pijmos village distant about one hundred and sixty miles in a straight line, the ruins were seen in great abundance, and wherever the mountains did not shut out the valley. They are sufficient to indicate a very great former population. In one place between one hundred and eleven and one hundred and twelve degrees there is a long wide valley, twenty miles in length, much of which is covered with the ruins of buildings and broken pottery.

“These ruins are uniformly of the same kind. Not one stone now remains on the top of another or above the ground. They are discoverable by the broken pottery in the vicinity, and by stones laid in

was mountainous and barren, and only inhabited by uncivilized and wretched Indians. Chichilticale, instead of being a fine, large town as represented, dwindled down to a single mud house in ruins; and the only consolation

regular order on a level with the ground, and showing the traces of the foundation of houses. Most of these outlines are rectangular, and vary from fifty to two hundred and four hundred feet front. The stones are unhewn and mostly amygdaloid, rounded by attrition.

“The implement for grinding corn, and the broken pottery, are the only vestiges of mechanical arts among the ruins with the exception of a few ornaments, principally large well turned beads, the size of a hen’s egg. The same corn-grinder and pottery are now in use among the Pijmos. The first consists of two large stones slightly concave and convex, fitting each other, and intended to crush the corn by the pressure of the hand.”

In addition to the above, I make the following extracts from Castañeda upon the subject of the ruins seen by Coronado :

“The name of Chichilticale was formerly given to this place because the monks found in the vicinity a house which had long been inhabited by a tribe that came from Cibola. The house was large and seemed to have served as a fortress. It appears that it was anciently destroyed by the inhabitants who compose the most barbarous nation yet found in these regions.”

* * * * *

“He was above all distressed at finding that this Chichilticale of which so much had been said dwindled down to a house in ruins and roofless, but which, however, seemed to have been fortified. It was evident this house, built of red-earth, was the work of civilized people who had come from a distance.”

I find it stated in the journal of Don Antonio de Otermin, of 1681, that the Casas Grandes were eighty leagues distant from El Paso, which would be from two hundred to two hundred and forty miles. At this time there were a few settlers at that point, two of whom raised corn. In my location of the ruins of Chichilticale, I am sustained by lieutenant Whipple, who says, “Chichilticale, meaning *Red House*, is the often described ruin of the present day, in the valley of the Rio Gila, near the Pima villages,” which is the location of Casas Grandes.

The army pursued substantially the same route that Niza and the negro had traversed, and in a little more than fifteen days after crossing the desert reached Cibola.

connected with it was the probability that it had been built by a civilized people who came from a distance. Before him spread a boundless desert which would require many days to cross at the expense of great suffering and fatigue, and beyond lay the unknown region he sought to explore and conquer. The situation of things was gloomy, and it was impossible for him to repress a feeling of sadness. His thoughts turned upon Doña Beatrice and the pleasant home he had left behind in the valley of Mexico, and he sighed to return to them. The assurances he received from his companions that he was certain to find wonderful things further on failed to restore his spirits, for he had so often found their statements false that he could no longer believe them.

Gloomy as the prospect was Coronado determined to advance, and he accordingly left Chichilticale and entered upon the desert traveling a North-east course. For the space of fifteen days they continued across the barren and sandy country scorched by the sun, athirst for the want of water, and wearied by their bodily fatigues. At the end of this time they came to a narrow river on the banks of which they encamped, some eight leagues from Cibola. They named the stream Rio Vermejo² on account of the reddish hue of the water in which they caught mullets that resembled those of Spain. Here they saw the first Indians of the country, who took to flight as soon as they were discovered. The next evening, when about two leagues from the town, some Indians were seen watching their movements from a height that could not be reached. When Coronado and party came into view they raised piercing cries that spread alarm among the Spaniards; and Castañeda records that some of them were so much

² Rio Colorado Chiquito.

frightened that they "saddled their horses wrong end foremost." The soldiers scoured the country in pursuit of the Indians but all succeeded in making their escape. The next day they entered the inhabited country and came in sight of Cibola, but they were so much disappointed in its appearance that they broke out in maledictions against friar Marcos.

Instead of the large city as the friar had represented, they found it to be a village of not more than two hundred warriors, situated upon a rock, and the only means of reaching it was by a narrow and tortuous road difficult of ascent.³ The houses were three and four stories high, and several were built around one court-yard. The province was composed of seven towns some of them much better built and larger than Cibola. Instead of finding the inhabitants peaceable and ready to welcome them, as was expected, the warriors were drawn up in battle a short distance from the town waiting their approach. Coronado ordered the interpreter to summon them to surrender, but they took no further notice of it than to reply with menacing gestures. He now determined to attack them. Placing himself at the head of his escort, they charged under the favorite war cry of "Santiago." The Indians fled the field without resistance and retired to the town. This was next attacked, but was not taken without resistance. The only approach to it was up the narrow and steep pathway that led from

³ It will be seen that the location of this town is not the same as the one Niza saw, which he states was situated upon a plain at the foot of a hill; while the one Coronado visited was upon a rock. It is doubtful whether they visited the same place, although both towns, no doubt, were in the province of Cibola. The location of the village seen by Coronado, and the approaches to it, answer so well to Zuñi that there can be no mistake about their identity.

the valley to the top of the rock, and which the Indians had prepared to defend. As the Spaniards advanced up the ascent to the assault, they were received with a shower of arrows and large stones hurled down upon them. Coronado was felled to the earth, and he would have been killed had not two of the cavaliers thrown themselves before his body and received the blows intended for him. The Indians fought with bravery, but were not able to withstand the attack, and in one hour Cibola was carried and the enemy beaten. The town was found well stored with provisions, and as the Spaniards stood in great need of them they were taken possession of for the use of the army. In a short time the whole province made terms and peace was restored. Here, for the present, I will leave the general and return to the army which was left at Culiacan.

In fifteen days after the departure of Coronado the army set out under the command of Don Tristan de Arellano. All, both officers and men, marched on foot with lance on the shoulder and provisions strapped on the back; the horses being loaded with baggage and extra provisions. The advance was slow and difficult. The first province they entered was the one which Cabeza de Vaca had called *Tierra de los Corazones*. Here Arellano founded a city which he called San Hieronimo de los Corazones, which was afterward abandoned and the settlement transferred to another point. From this place he sent a party under Don Rodrigo Maldonado down the river to the gulf (California), to search for the vessels which had been ordered to follow the coast and hold communication with the army. They returned in a few days without having heard anything of the vessels, and bringing with them an Indian so tall that he was the

wonder of all who beheld him. The tallest Spaniard could no more than reach up to his breast, and it was said that there were many people on the coast still taller than he. The army now crossed the river to await further orders from the general. Here it remained encamped until about the middle of October, when two cavaliers, Melchor Dias and Juan Gallego, arrived with instructions for it to hasten forward to Cibola. Dias was ordered to remain in command at the new settlement for the purpose of colonizing it and endeavoring to open a communication with the fleet, while Gallego was directed to return to Mexico and give an account of the discoveries to the viceroy. He took with him friar Marcos who dared not trust himself any longer in Cibola because everything he had said about the country turned out to be false, and the soldiers were much incensed against him. They found neither powerful kingdoms, beautiful and populous cities, nor the gold, silver and rich stuffs that had been promised them. The army made the necessary preparations for the march to Cibola. Eighty chosen men were left with Dias to garrison the town, besides all who were not considered hardy enough to stand the fatigues of the march. It appears that Arellano accompanied the army no further than this point, but remained in command of those who were not able to endure the hardships of the campaign. The journal of Castañeda is silent as to the reason of his remaining behind, by whose orders, and who took command of the army in his place.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARMY REACHES CIBOLA; EXPEDITION OF DIAS TO THE COAST.

THE army left San Hieronimo de los Corazones soon after the middle of October. It advanced toward Cibola without opposition from the Indians, for Coronado had left all the provinces through which he passed at peace. In the province of Nacapan the inhabitants gave the soldiers a preserved fruit of the cactus, called tunas, or India figs, which produced a dangerous sickness among them. They were seized with a burning fever and severe head-ache immediately after eating them, which lasted for twenty-four hours, and entirely disabled them for that time. They struck the desert at Chichilticale, the same point where Coronado had entered it. Here Castañeda and some of the soldiers saw a flock of sheep, of which the following account is given in his journal. He says: "I also saw and followed them; they were very large—had very long horns and hair. When they wish to run they throw back the head, so that their horns lie along the back. They run so rapidly that we could not catch them, and were obliged to let them go." Three days from this place, while marching upon the bank of a river that ran through a deep ravine, they found a large

horn which is said to have been "a fathom and a half in length ; the base was as large as one's thigh ; it resembled in shape a goat's horn, and was a curious thing." It had also been seen by Coronado. The desert was crossed in fifteen days, without anything occurring worthy of note. Within one day's march of Cibola they encountered a furious hurricane, followed by a severe snow storm. The cold was so severe that many of the Indians who accompanied them perished. Late in the night they obtained partial shelter under some rocks, which, to some extent, protected them from the storm. The Indians suffered much more than the Spaniards, not having been accustomed to such cold weather ; and besides those frozen to death many were so much benumbed that they could not walk the next day, and had to be carried on horseback. The army reached Cibola the next day, where the general was very anxiously awaiting its arrival, and where he had comfortable quarters already prepared for it.

While the troops are resting from their fatigues in the comfortable quarters at Cibola, let us turn back to see what is taking place at Los Corazones where, it will be remembered, a small garrison had been left under Dias. Soon after the army marched disorders and mutinies broke out among the soldiers, and the place was a scene of constant confusion. Dias with twenty-five men went in search of the sea-coast, leaving Diego de Alcarraz in command of the garrison. Provided with suitable guides he started, and after marching one hundred and fifty leagues in a South-west direction he arrived among a nation of prodigious stature.² They lived in cabins made

¹ This distance must be greatly overestimated.

² Probably the same nation whence Maldonado brought the tall Indian mentioned in the last chapter.

of straw with the roof only above ground, and with two doors in opposite sides, one of egress and the other of regress. The cabins were large and more than an hundred persons slept in one of them. The inhabitants were savages and went naked. They carried burdens upon the head of the weight of three or four quintals; and one of them carried a piece of wood with ease that six Spaniards could not lift, and placed it upon the fire. They raised maize which they made into loaves and baked it under the ashes. When they traveled in cold weather they carried a fire brand in their hands with which they warmed themselves. Here Dias struck a large river called Tizon, and which took its name from the custom of the inhabitants carrying fire brands. It was half a league wide at this point. The captain heard of the vessels he was in search of and started down the river to look for them. On his way he came to a tree with the inscription upon it, "Alarcan has come as far as this; there are letters at the foot of this tree." The letters were found, as indicated, in the ground, which informed them that Alarcan had waited sometime for them at that point and then returned to New Spain. They also contained the information that California was not an island, as had been supposed, but a peninsula; and that the water the vessels were then in was a gulf, and not the South sea.³

Dias now determined to march up the river and cross over and then to seek the coast by continuing toward the South-west. They followed the river bank five or six

³ Dias and his party must have marched to the North-west instead of South-west, and the large river he discovered was undoubtedly the Colorado of the West, which empties into the Gulf of California at its head. There is no river to the South-west of Los Corazones which answers the description of the one he discovered, and his starting point was far below the head of the gulf.

days when they came to a point at which they concluded they would be able to cross on rafts, where they encamped. They called in a number of the inhabitants of the surrounding country to assist in cutting down trees and constructing rafts. In the meantime the Indians laid a plot to massacre them, but it was discovered before there was time to put it into execution. They intended to attack the Spaniards while crossing the river or after a part of them had crossed, and were thus divided; and the hope of accomplishing their designs induced them to assist in making the rafts. A soldier while out walking one day, saw a large party of armed Indians passing through a wood toward the river, apparently watching for the Spaniards to cross over. His suspicions being aroused he communicated what he had seen to Dias. An Indian was immediately secretly confined and put to the torture, when he exposed the whole plot. Their plan was that the Indians, on the rafts crossing with the Spaniards, were to throw them overboard, while those on shore were to be attacked at the same time and overpowered. The savage who had divulged the conspiracy was quietly drowned by sinking him in the river without letting his companions know that they were suspected. The next morning the Indians, having a suspicion that their intentions were known to the Spaniards, commenced the attack without waiting for them to begin to cross the river. They discharged a multitude of arrows, but being charged by the horsemen armed with lances, and a warm fire opened upon them by the archers, they were soon put to flight and retreated into the wood. The passage of the river was then begun, the Indian allies manning the raft, and in a short time the whole party, men and horses, were safely landed on the opposite side.

They immediately resumed their march down the stream toward the gulf, and soon arrived in a district of country that had been subject to volcanic action. Castañeda describes it as "a place covered with ashes so hot that it was impossible to march over it, for they might as well have drowned themselves in the sea. The earth trembled like a drum, which caused the supposition of subterraneous lakes, and the ashes boiled in some places in a manner truly infernal." This route being considered dangerous they changed their direction a little and continued on. A few days after, captain Dias received an accidental wound which caused his death and terminated the expedition. A greyhound, belonging to a soldier, having attacked some sheep they were driving along for provisions, the captain threw his lance at the dog to drive him away. It struck the ground point upward, and as he was not able to check his horse, which was going at a gallop, he rode directly upon the point which pierced his thigh and inflicted a mortal wound. He lived twenty days. After his death the party retraced their steps, and arrived at their place of starting without further casualty, notwithstanding the Indians harassed them a good deal. During the absence of the expedition affairs do not appear to have gotten on very smoothly at the garrison. Alcarraz proved an inefficient officer, and the soldiers again became mutinous; two of them were condemned to be hanged, but they made their escape before they could be executed. He sent messengers to Cibola with information of the condition of things, and Coronado detailed Don Pedro de Tobar to return and endeavor to quell the disturbance. He received instructions to remove the most mutinous from the post.

Tobar arrived at a critical moment. The Indians

around the garrison were becoming quite hostile, and a soldier had just died from a wound inflicted by a poisoned arrow. He sent Alcarraz to a neighboring district called the "Valley of the Rogues," to make the caciques prisoners to hold as hostages for the good behavior of their people. They were captured without difficulty, but were soon set at liberty again for a ransom of articles which the soldiers stood in great need of. The Indians immediately took up arms and attacked the Spaniards. They used poisoned arrows, and succeeded in killing a good many and wounding several others. The poison was so powerful that all who were penetrated by the arrows died in a short time, and no remedy could save them. One of the men went mad, and his flesh instantly putrefied. The hostility of the Indians induced Tobar to remove the garrison forty leagues in the direction of Cibola, where he established a new post in the valley of Suyá. Here I will leave him for the present to give some account of the people between Culiacan and Cibola.

Twenty leagues from Culiacan was the province of Petatlan, so named from the material with which the inhabitants built their houses, *petates*, (rush-mats); and the same material was used in all the provinces to the beginning of the desert of Cibola. The villages were built in a valley between the mountains and the sea, on the bank of a river, and were very populous. But little is known of these people. The next province was that of Sonora, one hundred and eighty leagues from Petatlan, of which some account has already been given. Several small villages were found between these two provinces, the names of some of which are given as follows, viz.: Sinaloa, Boyomo, Teocomo and Yaquimi. Sonora took its name from a river and a valley, and the inhabitants

were more numerous and superior in intelligence to any Indians hitherto seen. The women wore a petticoat of dressed deer-skin, and another garment that came down to the middle. In each village was a small earthen eminence which the cacique mounted every morning and for more than an hour proclaimed aloud to the people the work each one had to do during the day.⁴ Their places of religious worship were small houses, but nothing is said of their forms and ceremonies. When they expected war they struck up a row of arrows around their places of worship.

From Sonora to the valley of Suya, where the village of San Hieronimo was rebuilt, was forty leagues. Here were several Indian towns, with the same manners, customs and religion, with few exceptions, as the other provinces to the beginning of the desert at Chichilticale. The men drank a liquor made from the fruit of the cactus, called the wine of Pitihaya, and they were addicted to intoxication. The women painted the chin and around the eyes in the same manner as the women of Barbary. They made preserves of the tunas, the juice of which was sweet enough to preserve them. Melons were raised in abundance and of an enormous size: they were preserved for use by being cut into thin slices and dried in the sun, when they had the taste of dried figs. They made bread of the berries of the mesquit-tree—it was baked in loaves like cheeses and would keep sweet the whole year. Tame eagles were found in the houses of the caciques, and were greatly prized; and hens, resembling those of Spain, were seen in the valley of Suya, but not elsewhere. Wild sheep and goats of large size and with great horns were

⁴ A similar custom still prevails among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

seen in flocks of an hundred in some parts of the country, but the Spaniards were never able to capture any of them.

CHAPTER XXII.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF CIBOLA ; AN EXPEDITION MARCHES
TO THE PROVINCE OF TUSAYAN AND THE RIVER TIZON.

AT the close of the last chapter we left the army united at Cibola. But before I relate what took place there, and the operations put on foot from that point to explore and conquer the surrounding country, it will be in place to give some account of the great desert crossed to reach Cibola, with the manners and customs of the people of that province.

The name of Chichilticale was given by the monks to the last house on the edge of the desert, and which had formerly been inhabited by a tribe of people who came from Cibola. The word Chichalti in the language of the country signified house, and it was supposed that this might be the name of the people; though it was the opinion of Castañeda that the building had been erected by a more civilized race. It was large, and had the appearance of having been a fortress, and was supposed to have been destroyed by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who were represented as the most barbarous people of all that region. The country was a desert ;

the soil was red and covered with small pine trees, the branches of which extended down the trunk to within five feet of the ground. There was also seen a kind of oak which bore an acorn very sweet to the taste. Throughout this region were a few miserable inhabitants who subsisted by the chase, and dwelt in rude cabins. A few roses and pennyroyal were found, and cresses grew in some of the springs. Barbels and picories were seen in the streams. The only animal mentioned is a "tawny lion" that dwelt in the uninhabited part. The distance across this desert region was eighty leagues, and the course of the Spaniards lay toward the North.

The province of Cibola contained seven villages, situated in a warm valley between high mountains; one of them took the name of the province, and another, called Muzaque, is said to have been the most populous. The houses were, ordinarily, four and five stories high, and some few in Muzaque were six and seven. The inhabitants were more civilized and intelligent than any the Spaniards had hitherto seen. They dressed in skins and stuffs made of cotton. The entire middle of the body was covered with a garment that resembled a napkin, which was embroidered with tufts at the ends, and was fastened around the loins. They also manufactured a kind of pelisses of feathers. The women were dressed differently from the men. They wore a mantle over the

1 The same kind of oak is still found in California. Surgeon William S. King, of the United States army, writes to the *Medical and Surgical Reporter* that in California the Indians live almost entirely, at certain seasons, on acorns, making from them a flour which is very sweet and palatable. They make this by pounding the acorns to fine flour, and boiling and stirring it for several hours in hot water. This makes a jelly-like substance which is very good to eat, or may be baked into bread.

shoulder fastened around the neck and passing under the right arm; some of their garments were made of skins beautifully dressed. The hair was done up behind the ear, "in the shape of a wheel which resembles the handle of a cup." Maize was raised as an article of food, and some cotton was cultivated. The stalks of the maize were very short, and the ears started near the ground: each ear contained seven or eight hundred grains, which was a matter of astonishment to the Spaniards, and was said to excel anything seen in the Indies. The animals found in the country were bears in great numbers, lions, wild-cats, hyenas and beavers; there were a few turquoises, but neither gold nor silver. The nuts of the pine tree were collected and used for food.

The manners and customs of the people of Cibola differed from any hitherto mentioned. A man married only once, and if he should lose his wife he was obliged to live single the rest of his days. The women were well treated, but two of them were not allowed to enter into a place at the same time, such conduct being considered a sacrilege. Their government was primitive and rather patriarchal. They had no recognized political organization, neither caciques, nor a council of elders. Their religion was thought to be a branch of the Aztec worship. They had priests who were selected from among the aged persons, one of whose duties was to regulate the manner of living. They preached every morning at sunrise from the highest point in the village, the people sitting around on the ground and paying the most profound attention. They were a peaceful and laborious people, and were neither given to eating human flesh, drunkenness or theft. Vapor-baths were found in many of their houses, and they understood the use of them.

The cross was known among them and revered as an emblem of peace. They burned the dead, and with them the instruments of their trade. There was another province a few leagues to the West of Cibola which also contained seven villages, with similar manners and customs. These fourteen villages were said to contain fourteen thousand men.²

Before the main body of the army reached Cibola, Coronado had succeeded in making peace with the inhabitants, who manifested a friendly disposition. Wishing

² "After passing the desert seven towns are found, about a day's journey from each other; all united together are called Cibola. The houses, coarsely constructed, are of stones and mud. Behold the manner in which they are built; they have one long wall, and on the two fronts of this wall there are chambers of twenty feet square and separated by partition walls, as they communicate by signs. They are ceiled with beams. In order to get into these houses you ascend upon a terrace by means of ladders which they give you in the street; the houses are three or four stories high; they say there are very few that are not two. These stories are more than nine feet high, except the first which is not much more than six. Ten or twelve houses make use of the same ladder; the lower stories are set apart for labor; they live in the upper one. They have on the ground floor loop-holes used slantingly as in the fortresses of Spain. These Indians say that when they go to make war against those of Cibola, the latter shut themselves in their houses whence they defend themselves. When the latter set out on an expedition they carry shields and a garment of colored leather. They fight with arrows and little tomahawks of stone, and other arms of wood which they have not been able to explain to me. They are cannibals; they reduce their prisoners to slavery. They have a great many hens of the country tamed, a great quantity of beans, maize and melons. They rear up in their houses hairy animals large as the dogs of Spain. They shear them,—they make of it wigs similar to the one I have already sent to your lordship. They also manufacture cloaks of it. The men are small—the women are fair and have very graceful actions. Their dress consists of a shirt that reaches nearly to the feet. They divide the hair on two sides and arrange it so that the ears are exposed. They place in it many turquoises, also round the neck and waist. The men wear mantles, and over them.

to obtain further information of the neighboring nations, he dispatched runners into various parts to invite the people to come in, to hold a talk and trade with him. The Indians sent word to all their neighbors and allies, and informed them that the Christians had arrived, who desired to be their friends, and wished to be advised of a good country where they might settle themselves. But few came in, and the general was not able to obtain much knowledge of the surrounding country. The people of Cibola informed him that twenty-five leagues

leather similar to that worn by Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes, and which your lordship has already seen. They have a species of bonnets. In the summer they wear leather shoes painted or colored, and in the winter high boots of the same material.

“They cultivate the land as in New Spain—they carry upon the head as in Mexico. The men lay the groundwork of cloth and spin cotton. They use salt which they obtain from a lake two days' journey from Cibola. These Indians accompany their dances and songs with flutes, on which are marked the places where it is necessary to put the fingers. They are very fond of music—they sing in tune with those who play on instruments. The singers beat time as among us. I have seen the Indian that Estevan, the negro who had been a prisoner in the country, had brought back, play on the flute as he had learned it among the natives. Others sing as I have related, but they are not very skillful. It is said that five or six men assemble together to play the flute, and that these instruments are of unequal size. The sun is favorable for maize, beans and other grains. They are not acquainted with sea fish. They have no cows but they have a knowledge of them. Further on in the province of Cibola there are found a great many wild goats—they are the color of bright gray hair. In the country where I am they abound in great numbers; I have asked the Indians if those of which they speak are similar, and they answered me that they are not. They say that of the seven villages three are very large and four are smaller. It appears, from what I have been able to comprehend by their signs, each of these villages had three gates of square cross bows.”—*Extract from a letter Melchor Dias wrote to Mendoza, which the latter communicated to Charles V. in his second letter to the Emperor. Ternaux Campans, Appendix, p. 293.*

from there was a province called Tusayan³ which contained seven cities like their own; that the houses were several stories in height and the inhabitants very brave. The information he obtained was very limited, as there was no intercourse between the two provinces; but it was sufficient to awaken his interest, and he determined to send an expedition thither.

He selected for this purpose the gallant cavalier Don Pedro de Tobar, and placed under his orders seventeen horsemen and three or four foot soldiers. They were accompanied by a monk named Juan de Padilla, who had been a soldier in his youth, but now belonged to the Franciscans. The rumor had been spread through the surrounding provinces that Cibola was conquered by a very ferocious nation, who rode great animals and devoured men; and as these people had no knowledge of

³ The province of Tusayan is identical with the present Moqui villages, situated on the great tableau between the river San Juan and the Colorado Chiquito. The villages are seven in number, and five of them, in 1692, bore the names of Aguatubi, Gualpi, Jongopavi, Monsonavi, and Orayvi. At the present time four of these same pueblos are called Moqui, Una-Vida, Cuelpe and Towas. The bute or mesa, upon the top of which the pueblos are built, rises up with nearly perpendicular sides, and around the base lay their arable land where they cultivate grains, fruit and vegetables, and pasture their flocks and herds. The Indians attend their crops, and watch their sheep and goats during the day in the valley below, and when night approaches they retire up to their villages. They are a mild and peaceful race of people, and have the reputation of being strictly honest. They dress in cotton and other garments of their own manufacture. The females are said to be good-looking, and are cleanly in their habits; they are well treated by the men, and only attend to work within doors while the latter perform the labor in the fields. The women have a peculiar style of dressing the hair, and the rank and condition of each one may be known by the manner in which she wears it. The married women wear it done up in a club at the back of the head, while the virgins part it in the middle behind, and bring

horses this news caused great astonishment and alarm. For this reason Tobar supposed the inhabitants of Tusayan would be on the look out and would not allow him to enter their country, peaceably ; but he marched with such secrecy that he arrived in their province without being discovered, nor having seen a house or person on the way. They came within sight of one of the villages about dark, and crossing some cultivated fields approached so near the houses that they heard the people talking. Here they encamped all night undiscovered. The next morning they were seen by the Indians, who immediately sounded the alarm in the village. The warriors turned out armed with bows and arrows, clubs and bucklers, and advanced in good order against them. The Spaniards sounded a parley, and sent their interpreter to hold a talk with the Indians. He was received in a friendly manner, but was told that the Spaniards could not enter the vil-

it round to either side something in the form of a rosette, and nicely smoothed and oiled.

Their houses are built of stone and mortar, or mud, and some of them are two and three stories in height. Some are large and others small, and the upper stories of all of them are entered from the outside by means of ladders. They obtain water, for their crops and other purposes, by digging holes in the sand in the valley ; but this supply often gives out in a time of great drought, and to avoid a famine they always keep on hand a considerable supply of provisions. Now and then their more warlike neighbors, the Nabajos, come sweeping down upon them and drive off their flocks ; when they offer but little resistance, but gathering up their movables retreat to their strongholds upon the mesa. Their manufactures in woollen, cotton, leather, basket-work and pottery exhibit considerable skill. Among the population there are a few Albinos with perfectly white hair and light eyes. The Moqui villages are situated some seventy-five miles West of Fort Defiance, and about the same distance North-west of Zuñi ; and from their location there can be no doubt of their being the province of ancient Tusayan. There has not been a Catholic priest settled among the Moquis since 1680.

lage. The Indians traced a line upon the sand, which they forbid any of the strangers to cross ; but one of the soldiers, more bold than the rest, rode his horse over the line, when an Indian made at him with a club and struck his horse's bridle.

The friar was impatient of delay and advised Tobar to attack the Indians sword in hand ; and in order to excite the soldiers to do so said to them : " In truth I know not why we have come hither." The order was then given, when they charged the Indians at full speed, who broke and fled toward the village, but a great number were killed before they could reach it. The Spaniards did not then attempt to enter the village in pursuit of the Indians, but selecting a convenient place near by pitched their camp. In a short time the inhabitants came out to them loaded with presents; and gave their submission in the name of the whole province and asked for an alliance with them. The presents consisted of tanned-leather, flour, fir-nuts, maize, poultry, and some turquoises, which they desired the captain to accept as a mark of their good will. During the day a large number of Indians visited the camp to barter and see the strangers ; and toward evening the Spaniards entered the village and took possession of it. The inhabitants lived in the same manner as those of Cibola, and were governed by a council of wise-men, and had also governors and captains. Some of the chiefs informed Tobar that to the West there ran a great river and by ascending it they would find a nation of very great stature. Having now fulfilled their mission the Spaniards returned to Cibola and reported to the general the result of the expedition.

The news of the great river induced Coronado to send

a party to discover and explore it. He selected Don Garcia de Cardenas to command this expedition, and placed twelve men under him. Leaving Cibola they marched to the province of Tusayan, where they obtained a supply of provisions and guides for the journey. Their route now lay across a desert of twenty days' journey, which they passed in safety and arrived on the bank of the river. They suffered much from cold, although it was summer time. The country was covered with a growth of low, stunted pine trees, and being open to the North, the wind came sweeping down from that quarter with piercing coldness. The banks of the river were so high and rugged that it was impossible to reach the water. From the top of the bank the stream did not appear more than a fathom in breadth, while the Indians represented it as half a league wide. Cardenas and his party marched several days along the ridge of mountains searching for an opening by which they might descend to the stream: but there appeared one continuous barrier of almost perpendicular rock on either side, and far below they could see the river, winding its solitary course like a thread of silver. At one point the bank seemed less precipitous, and they made an attempt to descend. Three of the party, captain Melgosa, Juan Geleres, and a private soldier made the effort, and descended until those who stood upon the bank had lost sight of them. They were absent until four o'clock in the afternoon when they returned, not having been able to accomplish one-third of the distance. They reported the descent as very difficult and dangerous, and that the rocks which, from the top, appeared no taller than a man, were found to be, when they reached them, higher

than the tower of the cathedral of Seville, and that the river appeared very large to them from the last point.⁴

They followed the river bank three or four days beyond this point, when they abandoned it because of the entire absence of water; being obliged to go every night a league or two into the interior to find it. It was the custom of the Indians, when they traveled through this dry region, to take with them a number of women loaded with gourds filled with water, some of which they buried on the way until their return. This was the river Tizon which Melchor Dias had discovered near the mouth; and the Indians of large stature here mentioned are supposed to have been the same which Dias had seen and described. During the march the Spaniards came to a beautiful cascade formed by water falling over a rock, around which a number of crystals were formed. The Indians represented these crystals to be salt, and some of which were collected and carried to Cibola; but nothing is said in the original record as to what they really were.

⁴ The great chasm here spoken of in the river Tizon was none other than the cañon through which the Rio Colorado, sometimes called the Great Colorado of the West, flows. It is many miles in length, and is of such great depth, and so difficult of descent, that it is not known whether any person has ever been able to reach the water. The Indians of the western part of New Mexico speak of this cañon as an object of amazement to them, and probably they are the only persons who have ever reached the river-bank at this point and gazed down the frightful chasm. Within a few years, and since the foregoing was written, the Rio Colorado has been navigated by steam, and boats have ascended a considerable distance above its mouth. The passage through the great cañon is described as wild in the extreme, where the rocky banks rise up, in some place a thousand or fifteen hundred feet from the water.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ALVARADO MARCHES TO CICUYÉ, AND THE ARMY GOES INTO
WINTER QUARTERS AT TIGUEX.

MEANWHILE Coronado and his army remained in good quarters at Cibola. The Indians from several of the neighboring provinces came in to see him, make presents, and form an alliance. Among others, there came a deputation from the province of Cicuyé situated seventy leagues toward the East; who said they had heard of the arrival of strangers at Cibola, and came to offer their services, and beg, if they should come into their country, to be treated as allies. They were accompanied by their cacique, a handsome and well-made man, whom the Spaniards called Bigotes, because he wore long mustaches. They brought a present of tanned-skins and bucklers for the general; who gave them, in return, some necklaces of beads, and bells, with which they were greatly pleased, as they had never before seen such things. They gave Coronado much information concerning the country they inhabited, particularly of their cows, a picture of which was painted upon the body of one of the Indians. They

¹ Throughout the journal of Castañeda all the distances are overestimated.

represented them as covered with a frizzled hair which resembled wool.² He was deeply interested in their relation and resolved to send an expedition into their country for the purpose of exploring it.

He gave the command of this expedition to captain Hernando Alvarado, who, with twenty men, was directed to accompany the Indians upon their return, and at the end of eighty days to present himself in Cibola and give an account of what he had seen and heard. The Spaniards started with the Indians immediately. In a march of five days they arrived at a town called Acuco,³ a very strong place built upon a rock, the inhabitants of which were great brigands and were much dreaded by all the province. The rock upon which the town stood was very high, and on three sides the ascent was perpendicular. The only means of reaching the top was by ascending a stair-case cut in the solid rock; the first flight of steps numbered two hundred which could be ascended without much difficulty, when a second flight of one hundred more

² The animal here referred to was the buffalo.

³ The village called Acuco, by Castañeda, is the pueblo of Acoma of the present day; and the situation of the two places agrees so well that I do not think the location I have given Acuco can be called in question. Acoma is situated some fifty miles from Zuñi, nearly East, and fifteen miles South-west of the pueblo of Laguna. It is built on the top of a small rocky mesa, about ten acres in extent and two hundred feet high, rising up in the plain with nearly perpendicular sides; it is detached from the surrounding mesas, and is ascended by means of a road cut in the rock and earth. It is a place of great strength, and the mesa can only be ascended up the artificial road. The houses are clustered together on the top without regularity, of one and two stories in height, and some have portals, or porches, on the second story. They are built of adobes. The present population is not more than three hundred and fifty or four hundred souls. Water is obtained from the plain or valley below and is carried up to the pueblo by the women in jars of earthenware. The inhabitants cultivate some of the land that lies

commenced. These were narrower and more difficult of ascent than the first; and when surmounted there remained about twelve feet more to the top, which could only be ascended by putting the hands and feet in holes cut in the rock. On the top was a large pile of stones for the purpose of hurling down upon an enemy who should attempt to ascend. There was space enough on this summit to store a great quantity of provisions, and to build cisterns to hold water. The Indians came down in a warlike attitude into the plain to meet the Spaniards, and refused to receive any proposition from them. They drew a mark in the sand, as the Indians had done at Tusayan, and forbade them to cross it. Alvarado, despairing of bringing them to terms in any peaceable manner, resolved to attack them. He made his disposition to that effect immediately, when, seeing he was about to advance, they begged for quarter. Castañeda relates that their manner of making peace was "to approach the horses, to take their perspiration and rub their whole body with it, and then to make a cross with the fingers." They

around the mesa, but their principal fields are in the valley of the Gallo, a few miles above Laguna. Acoma is in the direction the Spaniards took from Zuñi on their way to Cicuyé; and at their rate of marching it would have taken them about five days to make the distance. There is no other pueblo, or the ruins of one, in all that section of the country whose location answers so well to the situation of Acuco as Acoma. Castañeda mentions that at Acuco was found a cross near a fountain two palms high and a finger in thickness. The wood was squared, and around it were many dried flowers and little staves ornamented with feathers. In my location of Acuco as identical with Acoma of the present day I am sustained by lieutenant-colonel Eaton, late of the United States Army, who says upon this subject: "In a conversation with a very intelligent Zuñi Indian I learned that the pueblo of Acoma is called in the Zuñi tongue Hah-koc-kec-ab (Acuco); and this name was given to me without any previous question which could serve to give him an idea of this old Spanish name."

also crossed their hands which act they held inviolable. According to custom they made the Spaniards presents of fowls, bread, dressed deer-skins, grains of the fir-cone, flour and maize.

Alvarado continued on and in three days he arrived at a province called Tiguex.⁴ Here the inhabitants received him with pacific demonstrations on account of Bigotes being along, who was a powerful chief and much feared in all that country. He was so much pleased with the appearance of this province that he dispatched a messenger back to Coronado with a recommendation that he should come there to spend the winter. Thence the Spaniards continued their march and in five days arrived at Cienyé, a large and strongly fortified village. Here, also, they were received in the most friendly manner. When the inhabitants saw them approach they marched out to receive them, and escorted them into the town to the music of their drums and flutes. The Indians made Alvarado presents of stuffs and turquoises, the latter abounding in the province. The Spaniards remained here some days to recover from the fatigues of the march. At this village they met an Indian from a distant province toward the East, whom they named the "Turk," because of his resemblance of the people of that nation. He gave a most glowing account of the famous cities to be found in the country whence he came, and of the abundance of gold and silver to be found there. Alvarado became so much interested in his narrative that he felt but little interest in completing his expedition into the country where the buffalo abounded; therefore taking this Indian for a guide he continued his march until he obtained a

⁴ In the journal of Jaramillo, a captain in the expedition, this word is written *Tihuex*, but I prefer to follow the spelling of Castañeda.

sight of buffaloes, when he hastened back to report to Coronado the result of his explorations.

The messenger that Alvarado dispatched from Tiguex reached Coronado in safety, and he was so much pleased with the account he gave of that place that he determined to winter the army there. He immediately sent Garcia Lopez de Cardenas thither to prepare quarters for the troops. When he arrived he turned all the inhabitants of the village out of their houses to make room for the soldiers. They were not allowed to carry anything away with them but their clothing, and they were obliged to seek shelter in the neighboring provinces. At this cruel treatment the Indians were much incensed, and they turned from their homes filled with hostility toward the strangers. Coronado having heard of the existence of another province with eight villages determined to visit it on his way to Tiguex. For this purpose he set out in advance with thirty of the most hardy men, leaving instructions for the army to follow in twenty days. In a march of eight days he arrived at a town called Tutahaco,^s

^s Tutahaco, and the other seven villages here referred to, must have been situated upon the Gallo, and in a direction North-east from Cibola. In marching from the latter province, in a general North-east course, which the Spaniards were then pursuing, the first stream they would approach was what is now called the river Gallo. The only pueblo on it, at the present day, is that of Laguna, and the ruins of the others, if situated upon its banks, have disappeared, at least I have never heard of any being in existence. It is now a small stream; but there is evidence of many of the streams having partially dried up, and at that day this, probably, contained a much larger body of water. The time the Spaniards were occupied in marching from Cibola to Tutahaco would seem to argue against my location of the villages of this province, as the Gallo should have been reached in half that time from the former place; but as the country to be traversed is mountainous, the march may have been prolonged on this account. I am not able to give these pueblos any other location consistent with the well-known and determined points upon the route of Coronado.

where the inhabitants gave him a friendly welcome. He found the houses built in the same manner, and the people wearing the same style of clothing, as in Cibola. Thence he ascended the river and visited all the other villages of the province,⁶ when he resumed the march for Tiguex. He reached that place without accident, where he met Alvarado, who had stopped there on his return from the buffalo country to await his arrival. Coronado found but little water on his march and was much impeded by the want of it. At one stretch of two and a half days there was none to be had for man or beast, which caused great suffering among the horses and Indians of burden.

Here Coronado met the Turk, who had returned with

⁶ The only village extant of those in the province of Tutuaco, mentioned by Castañeda, is that of Laguna, if I am correct in fixing their location on the river Gallo. I visited it some years ago on my way to Fort Defiance. It is situated upon a rocky knoll on the west bank of the Gallo, and has a population of nearly a thousand souls. The houses are of mud and stones, generally small and badly ventilated, and built without order. The people enter them by means of outside ladders and pull the ladders up after them on to the terrace above. The rows of houses are separated by narrow lanes, and in the centre of the village is a small plaza or square. At this village is kept what the Indians are pleased to call their God Montezuma, which I was permitted to see, as I was not a Mexican. An old woman brought something into the room wrapped up in a dirty cloth, which was set on the floor before me and uncovered. It was not in the image of anything upon the earth, in the heavens above or in the waters underneath. The famous God was made of tanned skin, stretched on a circular frame about nine inches high and the same in diameter. One-half was painted red and the other green, and the top was covered over. On the green side were cut apertures to represent eyes; it was without a nose, while circular pieces of leather represented the mouth and ears. There was a small tuft of leather dressed with feathers on the top. The Indians present looked on it with the greatest veneration and knelt around it. They went through a form of prayer, and sprinkled a white powder upon it. One of them told me this senseless thing was God, and the brother of God.

Alvarado. The general was deeply interested in the account he gave of his native province, of which he spoke in the most exaggerated terms. He said there was a great river which ran through it, two leagues wide, in which were fish as large as a horse; that the canoes were capable of carrying twenty rowers on a side, and were also propelled by sails; they were fitted up with great magnificence; a large golden eagle was fixed in the prow, and the master reclined in the stern under a beautiful canopy. He represented the sovereign as great and powerful, who took his siestas under the spreading branches of a great tree, and was charmed to sleep by the music of little golden bells suspended therefrom, which sounded when the wind blew. He said gold and silver abounded in the country and were used for all purposes; that the most common vases were made of massive wrought silver, and the plates and porringers of gold. This marvellous story was readily believed by the too credulous Spaniards, and Coronado determined to make an expedition in search of the untold wealth said to exist there. Among other things, the Turk said he had brought several golden bracelets with him as evidence of the wealth of the country, which he left at Cieny ; and as he was anxious to reclaim them the general sent Alvarado back with him to that village to assist in their recovery. When they arrived there the inhabitants denied all knowledge of them, and said that the Turk was such a liar he could not be believed. The captain made prisoners of the chief, Bigotes, and the cacique, whom he chained in his tent in order to make them tell where the bracelets had been

⁷ The river referred to was probably the Rio del Norte, and fish of an enormous size are still caught in it.

^s Mid-day nap.

concealed ; but they persisted in denying all knowledge of them, and reproached the Spaniards as men who were void of faith and friendship. They were carried captive to Tiguex, where the general kept them confined for several months, but without being able to extort any knowledge of the golden bracelets.

Twenty days after the departure of Coronado from Cibola the army commenced the march from that place for Tiguex, under the command of Don Tristan de Arclano, who had lately arrived from Sonora. The first night it quartered at a village, the largest and handsomest that had been seen in the province. The houses were seven stories high, built in the form of terraces with balconies supported by wooden pillars, and the walls were pierced with loop-holes for the purpose of defence. The roofs were on a level and common to all the inhabitants of the village ; and they were entered by an exterior stair-case,^s there being no doors on the outside. There were no streets to this village. While here a violent snow storm came on, and the soldiers took shelter under the projecting balconies of the houses.

The next morning the march was resumed. The season was the beginning of December ; the cold was quite severe, and the snow, which fell almost every day and night, covered the ground to the depth of three feet. The country abounded in forests of fir and pine trees, and at night the soldiers built large fires to melt the snow and keep themselves warm. Some nights there was such a heavy fall of snow that the camp would be buried up before morning. The troops suffered from cold and fatigue. They passed the village of Aeuco, before men-

^s The word "stair-case," no doubt, means ladder, the present method of entering the dwellings of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

tioned, where the inhabitants gave them a friendly reception and furnished them provisions. The Spaniards looked at the rock, with the village perched upon its top, with great interest. The ascent was inaccessible to them without assisting each other, while the Indians, who were accustomed to it, would go up and down with great facility, the women carrying burdens and scarcely using their hands. Thence they marched to Tiguex, where they arrived without accident and went into the comfortable quarters already provided for them. They found the province in a state of revolt, with active hostilities going on between the Indians and Spaniards.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DESCRIPTION OF TIGUEX; THE INDIANS REVOLT AGAINST
THE SPANIARDS, BUT ARE CONQUERED.

THE account which Castañeda gives of the province of Tiguex is so complete and interesting that I copy it entire from his journal. He says: "The province of Tiguex,

¹ The villages of the province of Tiguex must have been upon the banks of the Rio Puerco, and at this day the ruins of several are found upon this stream. After crossing the Gallo, this is the next river approached traveling toward the North-east, and is the largest until you arrive at the Del Norte. A chain of high mountains bounds it on the West, and according to the wording of the original text the pueblo of Jemes was about seven leagues to the North-east. The locality of the latter village is perfectly well known, and the Puerco is the only stream within seven leagues of it to the South-west; and it is impossible to locate Tiguex in any other part of the country, and at the same time do justice to the march of the Spaniards. Castañeda describes the river as large, which may have been the case with the Puerco at that time, but at the present day it is an inconsiderable stream, and at some seasons of the year is quite dry. During the rainy season its banks are filled with water, and like all mountain streams has a rapid current. The valley of the Puerco contains some good farming land and varies in width. It empties into the Rio del Norté. There is some evidence that Tiguex, I mean the village of that name, was situated upon the Jemes river. After the army had returned from the plains to Tiguex, an officer ascended the river the latter village was situated upon, some distance, and visited the two provinces of Jemes and Ynqueyunque. Now, Jemes is upon the river of the same name; and if the river was ascended to this village, the evidence that Tiguex was situated upon the same stream, would appear quite conclusive..

contains twelve villages situated upon the bank of a great river ; it is a valley about two leagues broad, and bounded on the West by very high mountains covered with snow. Four villages are built at the foot of these mountains, and three others on the heights.

“They are governed by a council of old men. The houses are built in common ; the women temper the mortar and raise the walls ; the men bring timber and construct the frames. They have no lime but they make a mixture of ashes, earth and charcoal, which answers very well for a substitute ; for although they raise their houses four stories high, the walls are not more than three feet thick. They make great heaps of thyme and rushes which they set on fire ; when this mass is reduced to coal and ashes they throw upon it a great deal of earth and water and mix all together. They then knead it in round masses which are dried and which they employ as stones ; the whole is then coated with the same mixture. This work thus resembles somewhat a piece of masonry.

“The young unmarried people serve the public in general. They seek firewood and collect in the courts, whence the women take it for use in the houses. They occupy the vapor-baths which are under ground in the courts of the village. There are square and also round ones. The roof is sustained by pillars made of trunks of the pine. I have seen them which had twelve pillars, each one twelve feet round ; but usually they have only four pillars. They are paved with large polished stones like the baths of Europe. In the centre is a lighted furnace on which a handful of thyme is occasionally thrown, and which suffices to keep up the heat, so that one is there as in a bath ; the roof is on a level with the ground. There are some as large as a tennis court.

“When a young man marries it is by the order of the old men who govern. He must spin and weave a mantle; they then bring the young girl to him, he covers her shoulders with it, and she becomes his wife.

“The houses belong to the women and the vapor-baths to the men. The women are forbidden to enter or sleep in them, except to carry food to their husbands or sons. The men spin and weave; the women take care of the children and cook provisions. The soil is so fertile that it does not need to be worked when they sow; the snow falls and covers the seed, and the maize springs underneath. The harvest of one year answers for seven. There is found in the country a quantity of cranes, ducks, crows and partridges, which live on the houses. When they begin to sow the fields are still covered with maize which they had not been able to gather.

“In this province were a great number of the hens of the country and *gallos de papada*, (double-chinned cocks); they might be kept sixty days without being plucked or dressed, and without giving out a bad smell.² So it was with human corpses, particularly in winter. Their villages are very neat. The houses are very well distributed and very neat. One room is designed for the kitchen, and another to grind the grain; this last is apart and contains a furnace and three stones made fast in masonry. These women sit down before the stones; the first crushes the grain, the second brays it, and the third reduces it entirely to powder. Before entering they take off their shoes, tie their hair, cover their heads and shake their clothes.

² New Mexico is noted for the dryness of its atmosphere. Dew and moisture are almost unknown, and neither animal nor vegetable matter decay. Dead bodies give out no unpleasant smell, for the ordinary process of decomposition does not take place, but they dry up instead.

While they are at work a man seated at the door plays on the bagpipe, so that they work, keeping time; they sing in three voices. They make a great deal of flour at once; to make bread they mix it with warm water, and make a dough which resembles the cakes called *oublis*. They collect a great quantity of herbs, and when they are quite dry they use them all the year in cooking their food. No other fruits than pine nuts are seen in the country.

“They have preachers; the crime against nature is not known among them; they are not cruel, do not make human sacrifices and are not anthropophagi. When we entered Tiguex it was forty days since Francisco Hernando had been killed by the inhabitants; he was nevertheless found among the dead without any other injury than the wound of which he died. He was white as snow and had no unpleasant smell.

“I have learned something of their manners from one of our Indians who had been a prisoner among them. Having asked him why the young girls went wholly naked, notwithstanding the great cold, he told me they were not allowed to cover themselves until they were married. The men wear a sort of shirt of dressed leather and a pelisse over it. In all this province was found pottery glazed, and vases of really curious form and workmanship.”

Tiguex was surrounded by other populous provinces. Hemes,³ with seven villages, was seven leagues to the

³ The pueblo of Hemes or Jemez can be located with the same certainty as Cibola and Acuco, and forms a third well defined point in the march of the Spaniards. It is situated on a small river of the same name West of the Del Norte, and about fifty miles West of Santa Fé, and at the foot of a chain of high mountains. The population is but

North-east, and a little more Northwardly was that of Quirix with the same number of villages. Those of Tutahaco and Acha were the first four, and the latter forty leagues distant; the former to the South which contained eight villages, and the latter to the North-east. In all the provinces the people had the same manners and customs, with the exception of some local peculiarities.

It has been already stated that at the time the army arrived in Tiguex, the Indians were in a hostile state and open warfare existed between them and the Spaniards. The ill-will of the natives was aroused by the bad treatment Bigotes and the cacique of Cicuyè had received, and subsequent acts incensed them still more. The soldiers were in great want of clothing, and Coronado made a demand upon the Indians for the necessary supply. He required of them three hundred pieces of stuffs immediately, but they asked for time to talk the matter over in council as

a few hundred, and the style of building with the form of government, and the manners and customs of the people, is almost identical with the other pueblos yet remaining in the country. In the valley of the little river, upon which this village is built, are found, at this time, numerous ruins probably the remains of the other pueblos of which the province consisted when Coronado marched through the country. The houses are built upon two or three principal streets parallel with each other, and some of them are two stories high with the upper story receding from the lower so as to leave space for a sort of uncovered balcony. Around the village are a few acres covered with apricot and peach trees. The houses are entered from the ground by means of ladders. ✕ The river here is some fifty feet broad with a rapid current, and flows to the Southward. Some distance North-west of Jemez, in the valley of the river Chaco, are extensive ruins of large buildings formerly constructed of stone, and which exhibit a style of architecture superior to any others found in the country. They are probably the remains of some of the populous provinces which Castañeda mentions, but were not visited. ✕

✕ Probably Tutahaco is the pueblo referred to, the name being misspelled.

was their custom, in order to distribute the amount to be furnished among the different villages. He consented to this, and runners were dispatched to the twelve villages situated upon both banks of the river, but before the people could assemble and make their arrangements, he ordered them to furnish the quantity demanded. Soldiers were sent around to collect the stuff of the Indians, who were obliged to take the clothes off their back to make up the required amount. If these Christian collectors were displeased with what was given them, and met a person with better garments on, they obliged him to change without any regard to his rank or condition. This bad conduct created a deadly hostility on the part of the Indians, but they had other cause of grievance of still greater weight.

An officer rode to a village about a league distant from the one where he was quartered, when, giving his horse in charge of an Indian, he entered his house and attempted to violate his wife. When the Spaniard had ridden away and the Indian re-entered his house, the wife told him of the outrage that had been committed upon her. The injured husband and the chiefs of the village immediately waited upon the general to complain of the bad conduct of the officer and to demand redress. This Coronado promised to grant. He caused the whole army to be paraded, and directed the husband to point out the guilty party in order that he might be punished, but he was not able to recognize him. The Indian then said he could recognize the horse, when the general ordered all the horses brought out that he might select the one ridden by the officer. He pointed out the animal he had held, but as the owner was not recognized, he denied the accusation, and here the matter ended. The Indians returned

to their village with their grievance unredressed and greatly dissatisfied.

That night the Indians held a grave council in the estufa, when, after a discussion of their many wrongs, they resolved to make war upon the strangers, and, if possible, to drive them from the province. The next morning they appeared in arms and commenced hostilities. They first attacked some of the Indian allies who were out of camp, killed one man and captured some of the animals. One of the fugitives brought information of the attack to the general, who sent out a party in pursuit. They recovered some of the horses, but a large number were lost, together with seven mules that belonged to Coronado. The next day an officer with a party of men was sent to a neighboring village for the purpose of talking with the inhabitants and endeavoring to make peace with them ; but they saluted them with words of scorn and derision, and refused to hold any intercourse with them. The Indians were strongly barricaded and opened a fire of arrows which killed several horses. Upon the general being informed of the issue of this mission, he sent Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, with a considerable force, to besiege one of the villages and bring the inhabitants to terms. He marched against the village where the officer had offered the insult to the woman, and made the attack before his approach was known. The Spaniards rushed to the assault and gained the house-tops without losing a man, although several were wounded by arrows discharged from the loop-holes of the houses. Here Cardenas maintained himself fighting for two days and one night, the inhabitants meanwhile keeping up a brisk fire upon his men with arrows, which the Spaniards returned with cross-bow and arquebus. While they held

the roofs, some Indian allies, protected by the horsemen, dug passages under ground leading into the houses. These were filled with some inflammable substance and set on fire, which smoked the Indians out and compelled them to sue for quarter. They now made signs of a desire to come to terms. They were answered by Pable Lopez Melyosa and Diego Lopez, of the council of Seville, by crossing their hands in token of peace, when the Indians threw down their arms and surrendered. The prisoners were conducted to the tent of Cardenas. As he did not know that they had given themselves up, he ordered immediate preparations made to burn them alive both as a warning to their neighbors, and in obedience to his orders that none should be spared. He supposed they had come to ask for their lives, which he could not grant under his instructions. Those who knew they had surrendered themselves prisoners of war said nothing, but allowed the preparations for their execution to proceed. But the poor Indians were not disposed to be massacred without resistance. When they saw that the Spaniards intended to violate their faith and put them to death, they began to prepare for resistance. There were nearly one hundred Indians in the tent. They immediately seized pieces of wood and everything else they could lay their hands on that would assist them to defend themselves. The soldiers now rushed upon them sword in hand, killing some and driving others outside the tent where the horsemen charged them and cut them down without mercy. But few escaped. These concealed themselves in the village until night when they fled to other parts of the country.

CHAPTER XXV.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF TIGUEX ; CORONADO MARCHES TO
CICUYÉ.

ABOUT the time the village mentioned at the close of the last chapter was taken, it commenced to snow and continued for two months. It fell in such quantities that it was impossible to undertake any new enterprise, and the army remained in camp and quarters. The Spaniards were now anxious to make peace with the Indians, and, as soon as the state of the weather would permit, messengers were sent into different parts of the province to invite them to come in and have a talk. This they refused to do, saying they could not trust people who paid no regard to treaties and violated their word to those who had surrendered themselves. About this time Cardenas returned from the village he had lately captured to Tiguex, to have a talk with an influential Indian called Juan Aleman from his resemblance to a Spaniard of that name in Mexico. The Indians being suspicious of the object of his coming were found on their guard. Cardenas approached the village and proposed terms of peace, but they refused to negotiate unless he would dismount and remove his horsemen. This being done Juan Ale-

man and the cacique came out to confer with him, but before they would proceed to business they demanded that he should lay aside his arms, as they were unarmed. Cardenas consented to this, notwithstanding his companions endeavored to persuade him to the contrary, and not to trust himself in the hands of the enemy without the means of defending himself.

The parties approached each other to treat. When they met, Aleman, as if for the purpose of embracing him, by way of salutation, took Cardenas in his arms: where he held him fast while two of his companions struck him several blows on the head with their tomahawks, which they had concealed under their garments, and felled him senseless to the ground. The soldiers, perceiving the treachery of the Indians, rushed to the rescue of their captain, whom they succeeded in extricating from his danger: but the enemy opened upon them a severe fire of arrows, which wounded several of the men, and obliged them to retreat. Cardenas was only stunned and in a short time he was able to mount again. The Indians retired into the village.

The Spaniards now proceeded to another village about a league and a half distant, where they found a large number of Indians assembled. They were no more friendly disposed than those of Tiguex, and received them with a shower of arrows and shouts of derision. Seeing they were hostile Cardenas made no effort to hold a parley with them, but returned to Tiguex, before which he had left a portion of his men. The inhabitants again sallied out in great numbers and made every demonstration to attack him. He feigned a retreat and began to retire: whereupon they pursued him into the plain, where he turned upon them with his horsemen and killed several

of their bravest warriors. They were put to flight and sought refuge upon the heights around the village.

In the meantime Coronado, with the main body of the army, was lying in camp in the valley recruiting his forces. After the last combat before Tiguex Cardenas returned to head-quarters and reported to the general the result of his scout. The latter resolved to lay siege to this village and inflict proper punishment upon the inhabitants for their treachery and hostility, and he made immediate preparations to open the campaign. He caused a number of scaling-ladders to be made to enable them to climb the walls, and perfected other necessary arrangements for such an undertaking. The army now marched for Tiguex, before which it arrived in good order, and commenced the assault of the town without delay. The Indians had watched the approach of the Spaniards from the house tops and hills, and were prepared to give them a warm reception. As they attempted to scale the walls they discharged upon them a shower of arrows, and rolled down from the tops of the houses great stones which unhorsed many of the assailants. More than twenty were pierced with arrows, several of whom died. The attack lasted some time, when the Spaniards were repulsed and withdrew.

Coronado, satisfied the village could not be taken by assault, changed his plan of operations, and set down before it to besiege it. Such was the strength of the place, and the great bravery with which the inhabitants defended it, that fifty days were occupied in its reduction. Among other things he cut off the water which supplied the village, which caused great suffering among the garrison. To remedy this the inhabitants sunk a deep well, which fell in while digging and buried thirty men under

the earth. The village was assaulted many times during the siege, and more than two hundred of the enemy were killed before they obtained possession of it. The Spaniards likewise lost several men, killed, among whom was Francisco de Pobares, who fell in a desperate assault. The Indians took prisoner Francisco de Obando, whom they carried into the village and put to death. He was a distinguished man, and his death was a great loss to the army.

In the course of the siege the Indians sounded a parley and asked a cessation of hostilities for one day, in order to send away the women and children, which was granted them. The Spaniards seized this opportunity to propose terms of peace, which the enemy declined on the ground that as they did not keep their word they were not to be trusted. About one hundred women and children left the village, the others preferring to remain and share the fate of their fathers, husbands and brothers. When the children were let down from the walls to be sent away Cardenas, like a gallant knight, advanced and received them in his arms, and delivered them over to their friends. While thus engaged he put down his helmet, which he forgot to replace, and remained standing near the walls. He was observed by an Indian, who made a sign to him to put on his helmet again and go away or he would fire upon him. But as he did not move the warrior bent his bow and discharged an arrow, which passed between his horse's legs without doing any injury. He threatened to aim another with more accuracy if he did not immediately leave the place. This was sufficient warning to Cardenas, who replaced his helmet and rejoined his horsemen. When he had reached a place of safety the Indians uttered loud shouts and discharged a shower of arrows, which of

course fell harmless to the ground. The assault was now relinquished for the day, as Coronado was of opinion that the besieged would consent to make peace; but as they refused to listen to all terms proposed to them hostilities were resumed the next morning.

The siege continued fifteen days after this period, when the inhabitants abandoned the village in the night to retire to some other part of the country. They succeeded in leaving the place unperceived, but were discovered by a sentinel as they were passing the camp of Don Rodrigo Maldonado; when an alarm was immediately sounded. The Indians, aware that their retreat was known, made an attack upon the Spaniards, and succeeded in killing one soldier and a horse and wounded several other soldiers; but they were put to rout with great slaughter. A large number were killed upon the spot, while the survivors were driven into the river where most of them were drowned or perished from the cold. A few succeeded in swimming the stream and getting upon the opposite bank, but they were so much chilled by the water that they fell exhausted upon the ground unable to proceed. The soldiers crossed the river and captured the benumbed fugitives, whom they reduced to slavery. Of the whole number who abandoned Tiguex but few escaped; those who survived the combat being mostly drowned in the river or captured upon the opposite side. Thus the siege terminated and the village fell into the hands of the Spaniards; although a few Indians retired into the outskirts, where they held out for several days. While Coronado with the main body of the army was engaged in the siege of Tiguex, a party of men, under Don Diego de Quevara and Don Juan de Saldibar, was sent to capture a neighboring village. Here the Indians

also attempted to escape by night, but they were discovered by the Spaniards who laid in ambush, who sallied out and attacked them. A great number were killed and the rest put to flight. The village was given up to pillage, and about one hundred women and children were made prisoners. These operations were brought to a close at the end of the year 1541.

Although Tiguex and the neighboring villages had fallen into the hands of Coronado, it could hardly be said that the province was subdued. The inhabitants had all left their homes and no persuasion could induce them to return while the Spaniards remained. They were overpowered but not conquered. Having nothing more to accomplish in Tiguex the general determined to continue his march as soon as the weather would permit the troops to move. He was so much pleased with the account the Turk gave of Quivira, and of the great riches said to abound there, that he came to the determination to march thither and explore it. For this purpose he left Tiguex in advance of the army, with a small escort, and went to Cicuyé to await its arrival. The inhabitants received him in a friendly manner, and were greatly rejoiced because he brought their cacique with him and restored him to liberty.

The village of Cicuyé was situated upon the top of a great rock, in a narrow valley, among mountains covered

¹ The situation of Cicuyé cannot be fixed with certainty, but there is great probability that it stood upon the bank of the Jemez, or Guadalupe, river, probably the latter, and not far from where that stream empties into the Del Norte. When the Spaniards came to the latter river they named it the river of Cicuyé, because it flowed near that village; which confirms me in the opinion that it was situated somewhere in the valley of the Guadalupe, and but a few miles from its mouth. The province contained several villages, and I believe that

with pines. A small stream flowed through the valley, which abounded in trout and otters, and bears and hawks were also found in great numbers. The houses were built around a great square in the centre, underneath which were vapor-baths; they were all built with terraces, and of the same height, four or five stories, and on the roofs the inhabitants could pass around the whole village without being interrupted by a single street. To the first two stories there was a corridor in the form of a balcony, which also made the circuit of the village, under which the people sat and sheltered themselves. The houses had no doors below, but they were entered by means of movable ladders, by which the inhabitants ascended to the balconies. On the upper stories the doors opened out upon the balconies, which fronted both toward the country and the public square. Those which faced

the two which now bear the names of Santa Ana, and Silla, or Cia, were of the number. The Spaniards called one of them Silos, which subsequent explorers may have changed into Silla. It is possible that Cicuyé stood upon the banks of the Del Norté, and there is some evidence to justify this conclusion. When the army returned from the plains it struck the river Cicuyé (Del Norté) about thirty leagues South of the point where it crossed that stream in marching to the plains; thence it ascended the river until the village of Cicuyé was reached. This evidence appears pretty conclusive that the pueblo of Cicuyé was situated upon the river of the same name, otherwise the Del Norté. This hypothesis, however, is hardly reconcilable with the original text that a small stream flowed by Cicuyé. Castañeda states that the village of Cicuyé was situated upon the top of a great rock, in a narrow valley surrounded by mountains, and that a small stream flowed by it. This location agrees pretty well with the situation of Cia or Silla as found by Vargas when he visited it in 1692. He then described it as situated upon the mesa of Cerro Colorado, and it could only be reached by ascending the slope of the mesa by a steep and stony road. A small river ran near it. The village had been destroyed a few years before by Cruzate, and a new one was afterward built at the foot of the mesa, where it remains to this day.

inward to the court were higher than the outer ones, which made the place stronger in time of war. The village could muster about five hundred warriors, who were feared by all their neighbors; they boasted that they had vanquished all who dared attack them, and had never been subdued. It was supplied with water from a spring at a little distance. These people were of the same race as those encountered before, and had similar manners and customs. Before marriage the females went entirely naked, of which it was said they had no cause to be ashamed, as they were born so.

In this province there were several villages. The first was Ximera, between Cicuyé and the province of Quirix; and near by was a large one in ruins, being abandoned except by a few people who lived in one quarter. It had the appearance of having been destroyed by violent means. The Spaniards called it Silos, because they found a quantity of corn-pits (silos) near it. Beyond this there was another large village entirely in ruins and without inhabitants. In the court yard they found a number of stone balls, which appeared to have been thrown by a machine, and were supposed to have been used to batter down the place. They were the size of a large cannon ball. The inhabitants of the province told the Spaniards that four or five years before they were invaded by a numerous and powerful nation called Teyas, who destroyed their villages. They were represented as having machines for besieging. They were so named because they were a valliant people, and were supposed to have come from the North, though it was not known. The Teyans afterward made an alliance with the Cicuyans and sometimes came to winter under the walls of their villages; but they were never allowed to pass the night inside, because of

the dread the inhabitants entertained of them. These two nations traded with each other. The Teyans were said to mount guard in their own country with trumpets, and that the sentinels called each other in the same manner as in Spain. There were seven other villages between the route the Spaniards pursued and the Sierra Nevada mountains, one of which belonged to Cicuyé, and one other had been destroyed by the Teyans.

² These were not the Sierra Nevada mountains of California, but a range in New Mexico a short distance West of the Del Norte, and were given this name by the Spaniards because they were covered with snow when first seen by them.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ARMY LEAVES TIGUEX AND MARCHES OUT UPON THE
PLAINS.

CORONADO, having re-established the cacique in his dignity and authority in Cicuyé and made some examination of the country, returned to his camp, leaving the inhabitants very friendly toward him. Soon afterward a deputation from the large and populous village of Chia,¹ four leagues distant on the river, came in to make terms; and the general sent an officer and a few soldiers back with them to their village to hold a council. They made submission. To give assurance of the confidence the Spaniards reposed in them, four old bronzed cannons were left with them for safe-keeping. A party of six soldiers was next sent to the province of Quirix, which likewise contained seven villages. The inhabitants of the first village fled at their approach, but upon being pursued and assured of good treatment they returned. Here the Spaniards remained for some time waiting for the river to break up so that they could cross over. It

¹ This may have been the present Cilla or Cia, as it is located in the same region of country.

had been frozen for four months, and the ice was thick enough to bear the weight of a horse; but they did not attempt to cross until it had thawed.

In the meanwhile the army had been making preparations to leave Tiguex and march to Quivira. By this time the Spaniards had begun to suspect that all the Turk had told them about the abundance of gold and silver in Quivira was not true, and they watched him closely. Cervantes, who had charge of him, swore that he had seen him conversing with the devil in a vase of water, during the siege, and he related the following particulars of the matter: "That while he was keeping this man under lock and key, so that he could communicate with no one, the Turk asked him who was the Christian that had been killed by the people of Tiguex; that he had answered that no one had been killed, but that the Indian had told him: 'You lie; they have killed five Christians and a captain.' Cervantes was obliged to assent, for it was truth, and asked the Turk who had told him; but the latter replied, 'I have no need of any person to know it.' Since that time Cervantes had watched him, and had seen him speak with the devil." About this time some Indians arrived from Cibola on a visit to the general, and were received very kindly. He charged them to extend every assistance to the Spaniards who might pass through their country. He gave them letters to carry back for Don Pedro de Tobar, who was expected shortly to arrive there from Sonora with reinforcements for the army. These letters contained instructions as to the route Coronado would take, with information that he would cause crosses to be erected as he advanced into the interior, by which Tobar would find other letters.

The army left Tiguex on the 5th of May, (1542,) for Cicuyé where it arrived in safety in a march of twenty-five leagues.² According to a promise Coronado had made the Indians some time before, he restored Bigotes to liberty and permitted him to rejoin his people. They received him with many demonstrations of delight, and were so well pleased with this generous conduct that they furnished an abundance of provisions to the whole army. They appeared entirely pacific, and promised ever after to live on good terms with the Spaniards. The cacique and Bogotes gave to Coronado a young Indian named Xabe, a native of Quivira, to serve as guide to that country. He confirmed the information given by the Turk, that gold and silver were to be found there, but said they were not so abundant as he had represented.

After a brief rest at Cicuyé the Spaniards resumed the march. In a few leagues they came to a chain of mountains which they entered, and toiling up their rugged sides crossed them and debouched upon a more level country beyond. In a march of four days they arrived at the bank of a great river³ which they called the river of Ci-

² This distance is overestimated.

³ This was the Rio Grande del Norte, and the chain of mountains passed four days before reaching the river was that now known as the Jemez mountains. The general direction of the march since leaving Cibola, was North-east, though now and then they deviated, either on account of natural obstacles or to visit neighboring pueblos. The point where the Spaniards crossed the Del Norte was a little North of Santa Fé, and between the pueblos of Cochiti and San Yldefonso; and holding on their course must have come out upon the plains somewhere North and East of where Fort Union now stands. The Indians they encountered there were, probably, some of the wandering tribes that are still found on the plains, either the Kiowahs, Cheyennes, Arrapahoes or the Comanches, all of whom dwell in lodges and subsist by the chase, as did the Querechos described by Castañeda.

cuyé because it flowed near that village. Here they were obliged to halt for several days in order to construct a bridge, when they crossed over and continued their march. They now entered a mountainous country over which they held their course with no greater obstacles than nature presented, for the space of ten days, when they encountered some Indians who dwelt in tents like Arabs. They were called Querechos. Their tents or lodges were made of tanned buffalo skin, and they lived upon the flesh of this animal. They were not alarmed at the sight of strangers coming into their country, but came out of their lodges to meet them and see who they were. They asked the advance guard to direct them to the chief, when they were conducted to Coronado, whom they approached and conversed with by signs. They appeared to be an intelligent people and made themselves so well understood by signs that the Spaniards had no difficulty in conversing with them without the assistance of an interpreter. Inquiry was made of them whether gold and silver abounded in the Quivira country they were in search of; when they confirmed all the Turk had said, but not until after they had first seen and talked with that Indian. They told Coronado that by going toward the rising sun they would come to a very great river, which might be followed for ninety days down its banks without leaving an inhabited country; it was more than a league broad and was covered with a great number of canoes. The first village upon it they called Haxa. The next day the

⁴ During my residence in New Mexico, I was told that some remains of what were supposed to have been a bridge across the Del Norte, were still to be seen about where I have located the crossing.

⁵ Probably the Arkansas, as that is much the largest river to be met with on the plains in crossing them in the latitude of Santa Fé.

Indians broke up their camp and moved away, transporting all their baggage upon the backs of dogs, of which they had a large number with them.

The army continued the march toward the South-east, and in two days came up with the Querechos who had pitched their camp. The Spaniards were now fairly out upon the great plains that lie between the eastern slope of the Rocky mountains and the Mississippi river, and extend from the British Possessions in the North, to the gulf of Mexico in the South. They were surrounded by a nearly level country covered with tall grass, on which immense herds of buffaloes were pasturing in every direction.⁶ The Indians again assured them that they

⁶ Castañeda, in speaking of the plains and what they saw there, among other things writes as follows: "Who would believe that a thousand horses, one hundred and fifty cows of Spanish breed, and more than five thousand sheep, and fifteen hundred persons, including Indian servants, would not leave the slightest trace of their passage in the desert, and that it was necessary to raise, from point to point, heaps of stones and buffalo bones, in order that the rear-guard might follow us, for the grass, short as it was, rose up after being trodden down, as straight and fresh as ever.

"Another very astonishing thing is that on the eastern margin of one of the salt lakes toward the South, was found a spot almost half a musket shot long, entirely covered with buffaló bones to the height of twelve feet, and eighteen feet broad, which is surprising in a desert country where no one could have brought these bones together. It is pretended that when the lake is troubled by the North winds, it throws upon the opposite shore the bones of all animals which have perished in coming to drink.

"The first time we encountered the buffalo, all the horses took to flight on seeing them, for they are horrible to the sight."

The following is Castañeda's description of the buffalo, which will answer very well at the present day. There can be no doubt, whatever, of the identity of the animal here described with the American bison or buffalo. He says:

"They have a broad and short face, eyes two palms from each other, and projecting in such a manner sideways that they can see a

would arrive at many villages by traveling toward the East, which encouraged them to continue in that direction. Here one man was lost, having gone out hunting and not being able to find his way back to camp; and an officer, named Garcia, accidentally broke his arm. The Turk told Coronado they were now near the village of Haxa, and he dispatched Diego Lopez with a small party of men in search of it, with orders to march as rapidly as possible, and to lose no time in returning to the main body.

The next day the army again came in sight of buffaloes

pursuer. Their beard is like that of goats, and so long that it drags the ground when they lower the head. They have, on the anterior portion of the body a frizzled hair like sheep's wool; it is very fine upon the croup and sleek like a lion's mane. Their horns are very short and thick, and can scarcely be seen through the hair. They always change their hair in May, and at this season they really resemble lions. To make it drop more quickly, for they change it as adders do their skins, they roll among the brush-wood which they find in the ravines.

“Their tail is very short and terminates in a great tuft. When they run they carry it in the air like scorpions. When quite young they are tawny and resemble our calves, but as age increases they change color and form.

“Another thing which struck us was that all the old buffaloes that we killed had the left ear cloven, while it was entire in the young; we could never discover the reason of this.

“Their wool is so fine that handsome clothes would certainly be made of it, but it cannot be died, for it is a tawny red. We were much surprised at sometimes meeting innumerable herds of bulls without a single cow, and other herds of cows without bulls. It would sometimes be forty leagues from one herd to another, and that in a country so level that from a distance the sky was seen between their legs, so that when many were together, they would have been called pines whose foliage united, and if but one was seen his legs had the effect of four pines. When near, then it was impossible by an effort, to perceive the ground beyond, for all this country is so flat, that turn which way we will, the sky and the grass are alone to be seen.”

which covered the plains in almost incredible numbers. They took to flight on the appearance of the Spaniards, and overturned each other in their anxiety to escape. In their course lay a large and deep ravine, but as they could not stop with the countless thousands in the rear pushing them on, they tumbled headlong into it, and so many fell unable to rise again, that the bodies of the fallen formed a bridge for the others to cross over on. The cavalry were in hot pursuit of the flying herd, and before they were aware of it, they were in the ravine among the struggling animals. They extricated themselves with difficulty, and some of the horses became so much entangled that they could not be recovered, and were neither seen nor heard of again. Lopez had now been gone some time and the general began to be uneasy at his long absence. He was expecting him back every moment, but heard no tidings of him. He therefore sent parties out to scour the surrounding country and to examine both banks of the little river which ran near where the army then was. As the tall grass which covered the whole country rose up again almost immediately after being trampled down, it was an easy matter for one to lose his way. The lost party were discovered by some Indians out gathering fruit near where the soldiers were searching for them, and were conducted back to camp. Lopez reported that they had traveled more than twenty leagues, and had seen nothing but buffaloes and sky.

Coronado was at a loss to know what to believe concerning the Quivira, amid the conflicting rumors that reached him. He had with him a painted Indian named Sopete, said to be a native of that province, who gave a very different account of the country from the Turk, whom the whole army now began to suspect of misrepre-

senting things. For a time Sopete was believed; but when the Querechos confirmed the story of the Turk, the account of the former fell into disrepute, and he was believed no longer. In order to learn the truth of the matter, if possible, he determined to send an expedition to explore the country in the direction where he supposed Quivira to lie. For this purpose he detailed Don Rodrigo Maldonado with his company, who immediately left camp on that service. In his march he came to a great ravine in which was a village of Indians that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had visited when they passed through the country.⁷ They made Maldonado a present of a quantity of skins, a very large tent or lodge, and many other things. Here he encamped and sent some of his soldiers back to the army with a request to Coronado that he should come to that point. The army marched thither and in a few days all the troops were united in the ravine. The general determined to divide the skins given to Maldonado among the whole army, and in order to prevent any of them being taken before the distribution should be made, he placed a guard over them. But the guard permitted some persons to take a few, when the soldiers fearing that a fair division would not be made, carried the whole of them off, without permission. The Indians took part in the general scramble but they did not get any of them. The women and children cried bitterly when they saw the skins in the possession of the Spaniards, as they had not believed they would carry them off, but supposed they would bless them as Cabeza de Vaca had done. In the village they saw an Indian woman as

⁷ No definite location can be given to this point except that it was out upon the plains, probably about South-east of the latitude of Santa Fé.

white as themselves, with her chin painted after the fashion of the Moors.

While the army remained at this place there arose a furious storm of wind and hail. The hail stones are said to have been as large as "porringers," and some of them larger, and covered the ground to the depth of a foot, or a foot and a half. They fell with such force as to ruin many of the tents, indent the helmets of the soldiers, and wound several men; besides breaking all the dishes in camp, which was deemed the greatest calamity, as none others could be procured in the country to replace them. The violence of the storm caused a stampede among the animals, and all broke loose except two or three horses which were held by negroes, who wore helmets upon their heads to protect them from the hail stones. The wind raised some of the horses off their feet and threw them with great violence against the sides of the ravine, and others were forced into places from which they were rescued with difficulty. There was neither maize nor bread in this country, and the people lived on raw or badly-cooked meat and fruits.^s

^s Nothing is said of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of this region, nor of their particular location except being near a large and deep ravine. But Maldonado, in his exploration, had undoubtedly advanced toward the East from the former position of the army.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CORONADO MARCHES TO QUIVIRA ; SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
PLAIN INDIANS.

THE Spaniards found this region of the plains very populous. A reconnoitering party sent out by Coronado came to a people inhabiting huts resembling "heaths,"¹ and of different construction from those in the ravine; and they found beans, plums which resembled those of Spain, and grape vines. This place was called Cona. The army again resumed its march, and for three days it passed through an inhabited country. It was accompanied by some Teyas Indians as guides, who took with them their women and children, and, as was their custom, had a large number of dogs to carry their baggage. They were intelligent and appeared to be well acquainted with the country. Their account of it differed very much from that given by the Turk, whom the Spaniards now believed had deceived them, and they began to have confidence in the painted Indian. The Teyans said the country of Quivira was toward the North,² but that there was no good road leading thither. The army encoun-

¹ "D'autres cabanes semblables à des bruyères (alixares)."

² South.

tered other large ravines, one of which was a league broad, and at the bottom was a fertile little plain watered by a small stream. Here were found growing, trees, grape vines, rose bushes, plums similar to those of Castile, and poultry like that of New Spain. The inhabitants of the country treated their wives well, who were chaste and modest in their behavior. They were well clothed in dressed-leather, and wore leggings. The women wore a mantle of the same material over the petticoat, falling from the shoulders, with trimmed and ornamented sleeves; and also another little garment said to resemble an expiatory vestment, which reached down to the middle of the body over the petticoat, and was ornamented with tassels.

The army having marched a long distance out upon the plains, and the provisions beginning to fail without any prospect of obtaining a new supply, a council of the officers was held to determine the best course to be pursued. They were satisfied that the Turk had deceived them in conducting them to this point, and that his advice could no longer be taken with safety. The council decided that Coronado, with a small escort, should continue his search for Quivira, while the army should return to Tiguex under the command of Tristan de Arellano. When this determination was made known to the soldiers they expressed great dissatisfaction, saying they were ready to die with their general, and implored him not to abandon them, but permit them accompany him. This he refused to do, but promised to let them know in eight days whether they could rejoin him.

Coronado made preparations to depart for Quivira. He selected an escort of thirty horsemen and six foot-soldiers from among those who were the best mounted and

equipped, and had a reputation for courage. He nominated Diego Lopez his second in command. The Teyans furnished him with guides, and he also took with him Sopete, the painted Indian, and the Turk, the latter being loaded with chains as a punishment for his treachery. Being fully prepared, he left camp in search of that almost fabulous country and city, which had engaged so many of the thoughts of the Spaniards.

For a time we will leave the army, and follow the fortunes of its general. The Turk had conducted the Spaniards so much out of their way, that Coronado was forty-eight days in reaching Quivira.³ His whole march

³ In the county of Valencia, about hundred and fifty miles, nearly due South of Santa Fé, is to be found a ruin which bears the name of Quivira, and is believed to be the remains of the town that Coronado was in search of. General Carleton, U. S. A., who visited this locality a few years ago, gives the following account of it. He says: "The ruins consist of the remains of a large church or cathedral, with a monastery attached; a small church or chapel, and the ruins of the town extending nine hundred feet in a direction East and West, and three hundred North and South. All these buildings have been constructed of the dark-blue limestone which is found in the vicinity. The walls of the cathedral are now about thirty feet in height. It was estimated, from the great quantity of stones that have fallen down, forming a sort of talus, both with the walls and the outside of them, that originally this building was all of fifty feet in height. There is a small room to the right as you enter the cathedral, and another room which is very large, and which communicates with the main body of the building, by a door at the left of the transept. There was also a communication between this large room and the monastery, or system of cloisters, which are attached to the cathedral. This building is one hundred and eighteen feet long outside, and thirty-two in width. It is apparently in a better state of preservation than the cathedral, but yet none of the former wood-work remains in it." Among the ruins are found great quantities of broken earthenware, such as the Pueblo Indians formerly made, some of which shows traces of having been once handsomely painted and glazed. An old road runs toward the East, on the bed of which are growing large cedar-trees. The country

lay across extensive plains, and was only accomplished after many hardships and great fatigue. The location of Quivira was to the West of the great ravine whence he set out, and upon a plain within sight of mountains. The country was well peopled, and abounded in fruits, such as plums, grapes, nuts and mulberries, and also produced rye, grass, oats, pennyroyal and flax. The latter grew wild; and the inhabitants did not cultivate it, because they were not acquainted with its use. The houses were round, without walls, with roofs of

in the vicinity shows no traces of former cultivation, and at the present day the nearest water is fifteen miles off. The ruins now found at Quivira are the remains of buildings erected by the Spaniards after they had taken possession of the country and Christianized the Indians; while the houses of the natives have so completely passed away as not to leave a trace behind them. After the most careful examination of the subject there is no other location which I am able to give the Quivira of Castañeda. These ruins are in the same region of country where he locates Quivira. In the course of more than three hundred years the country has undergone such change as to reduce it from a fertile and populous region, as the Spaniards then described it, to an uninhabited and barren waste, as found at the present day.

In the same section of country are other ruins. Forty miles Northwest of Quivira are those of Quarra, on a small stream that soon sinks into the earth and disappears. Here are the remains of a church, portions of which are in tolerable preservation. Near by are two groves of apple trees which are said to have been planted when these villages were inhabited. As these trees are not indigenous to the country they were probably planted by Spanish priests when the town was a missionary station. Twelve miles South of Quarra are the ruins of Abo. The ruin of the church shows that the building was large, built in the form of a cross, the long arm being one hundred and thirty-two feet in length, and the short arm forty-one feet. The material of construction was red sandstone. Some of the timbers show marks of the axe, and no doubt the building was the work of Spaniards. Near by are heaps of stones that mark the site of ruined houses. The remains of an outer wall can be traced nine hundred and fifty feet from North to South and four hundred and fifty from East to West. The wall, no doubt, enclosed the Indian town, and with their compact way of build-

straw, under which the people slept and kept their property. The village resembled those of New Spain, and the manners and customs of the people were the same as those of the Teyans. The people had neither gold nor silver, nor were they acquainted with these metals. The cacique wore a plate of copper upon his breast, which he prized very highly.

In the vicinity of Quivira were several other populous provinces, some of which were said to have been visited by a Portuguese, a monk, a negro, and some Indians of

ing the population must have been considerable. The country around is barren and rolling, covered with pine trees and without evidence of ever having been under cultivation. While this work was in press, the following paragraph, in the *Semi-Weekly Review*, published at Albuquerque, New Mexico, of April 16th, 1869, relating to some recent discoveries at the Gran Quivira, fell under my notice, viz :

“ We understand that a tunnel and several shafts have recently been discovered within a distance of twenty miles of the ruins of Gran Quivira. The mouth of the tunnel had been closed with stone masonry, and the wall concealed with earth, and the shafts concealed in like manner. The tunnels and shafts are supposed to be a portion of the Gran Quivira mines which were concealed when the Indians drove the Spaniards out of the country some three hundred years ago, and all traces of which were so obliterated that searchers gave them up as having had existence only in the imagination of travelers and gossips ; and the town of Gran Quivira was considered by some *savans* to have been merely a Jesuit mission, and by others an ancient Aztec city, rather than the habitation of miners for the precious metals and the traders who supplied them and their families. The discovery was purely accidental ; and *Time*, which gives a lucid solution of questions which perplex the brains of philosophers and statesmen for ages, revealed these tunnels and shafts to persons who were not searching for them, long after intelligent men, guided by tradition and old manuscripts, had abandoned them as romantic. *Time's* process was simple ; the seasons caused the masonry and earth which concealed it to ‘ settle ’ in a manner to expose the entrances of tunnel and shafts, and thereby settled the question of their existence. We have been shown specimens of quartz taken from the tunnel at sixty feet distance from the entrance. How rich it will prove is a question for assayers.”

the province of Capetlan. The monk was killed because he wished to go among the enemies of the Teyans, and the Portuguese made his escape to New Spain on horseback. The Mexican Indians buried the monk, by permission of those who had killed him, and then rejoined the Portuguese. In speaking of this country Casteñada says: "In this country takes its rise the great river of Espiritu Santa which Don Hernando de Soto discovered in Florida; it traverses afterward a province called Arache. The sources were not seen; they were very far distant, and on the slope of the Cordillera toward the plains. It crosses them entirely, as well as the Cordillera of the North Sea. Its mouth is three hundred leagues from the spot where Hernando de Soto and his companions embarked. The course of the river is so long, and it receives so many affluents, that it has a prodigious breadth where it empties into the sea; one is long in fresh water after having lost sight of land."⁴

After Coronado had reached Quivira and was satisfied how greatly the Turk had deceived him both about the

⁴ Juan Jaramilla, a captain in the army of Coronado, in his relation of the march gives the following account of the country of Quivira:

"This country has a superb appearance, and such that I have not seen any better in all Spain, nor in Italy, or in France, nor in any country where I have been in the service of his majesty. It is not a country of mountains; there are only some hills, plains, and streams of very beautiful water; it satisfied me completely. I presume that it ought to be very fertile and favorable to the culture of all species of fruits. As for flocks, experience proves that it is very suitable, judging from the multitude of animals that are found there, and which is as considerable as can be imagined. We found Spanish prunes, and a specie which is not entirely red, but resembles the red prunes. It is certain that the tree and the fruit are of the same specie as those of Spain. The taste of these prunes is excellent. We found in the country some cows, flax which grows without culture in little shoots separate from each other; and as the savage flocks do not eat it one

country and the manner of reaching it, he interrogated him as to his motives for practicing so much deception. He replied that the people of Cicuyé had requested him to lead them astray upon the plains so that their horses would perish, when the men, returning exhausted, could be easily overcome and killed by them in revenge for all the injuries they had suffered from the Spaniards; that he had agreed to do this because he supposed the Christians could not live by hunting, but could only subsist on corn, and their destruction would be easy; and that he had never known where there was either gold or silver. For this treachery, as well as to prevent him giving dangerous information to the people of the country, he was put to death. This delighted Sopete, the Texas Indian, because the Turk had constantly traduced him, and prevailed upon the Spaniards not to believe him.

We left the army encamped in the valley, where it remained for fifteen days, and until an order was received from the general for it to return to Tiguex, at which place

sees the stalks and the blue flowers; although small it is excellent. There is found in some of the streams sumac not unlike that of Spain, and a grape of very good taste, although it may not be cultivated. The houses of these Indians are of straw, a very great number being of a circular shape; the straw descends almost to the earth like walls; they do not resemble ours; on the outside and top there is a specie of chapel or turret having an entrance where the Indians sit or sleep. In the village where the cross was erected the Indian Ysopete was left, and they took in place of him five or six others to conduct us to houses covered with flat roofs, and we traveled by the same road that we had already passed over, as far as the river to which we gave the name of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. From this place we left the road that we had followed. The guides now took to the right and conducted us in the midst of marshes and cows, in a good country, although there is not seen on any side other signs of a road than those left by the cows, even as I have said it."—*Ternaux Campans, Appendice, p. 378.*

he promised to join them. In the meantime the troops had killed a great number of buffaloes in order to procure provisions for the return march. In the chase of these animals many of the soldiers became lost upon the plains, and as the camp was in the valley and shut out from their sight, they oftentimes had great difficulty in finding their way back. An Indian in pursuit of buffaloes pierced one of them through and through with an arrow, which, as the Spaniards had never witnessed such an exploit before, greatly astonished them. It was the practice, every evening, to call the roll of those who were missing, fire cannons, sound trumpets, and kindle fires as signals to point out the direction of the camp. The Indians met some upon the plains and brought them in, and a few of the most skillful were able to find their way back without assistance. The country was so level, that the only way of determining their position was to keep in mind the point where the sun had risen in the morning when they left camp, and to remain near the game they killed until they could see in what direction it would set; when they could calculate the direction to camp.

The Spaniards had marched out upon the plains some hundred and fifty leagues, according to their estimate.^s This whole distance the country was nearly a dead level, without mountain or hill to diversify the even surface. They saw several small ponds, some fresh and others salt, bordered by tall grass. A few trees were found growing along the banks of the streams which ran through the ravines, into which they descended by the paths the

^s This estimate of the distance is too great. One hundred and fifty leagues would have brought them to the Arkansas river, but Castañeda says nothing about coming to a river of such magnitude.

buffaloes made in going to water. The inhabitants were wandering Indians who lived in lodges, of whom they found two tribes, the Querechos and Teyans;⁶ they were braver and more accustomed to war than those who lived in the villages, and were a taller and stronger race of men. They subsisted entirely by the chase of the buffalo, the skins of which they preserved and dressed and bartered to their neighbors. They passed the summer upon the plains, and in the winter retired to the villages, where they lived in peace and harmony with the inhabitants until the spring opened. Some went to Cicuyé, and others to Quivira, or neighboring towns. The baggage was fastened on the backs of their dogs by means of a girth and small pack-saddle; and when the pack became disarranged the dogs made a sign by barking, for their masters to adjust it. No other domestic animal was seen among them. These Indians were mild and gentle in their manners; and besides eating raw meat they drank blood, but did not eat human flesh.

They prepared buffalo meat by cutting it into thin slices and drying it in the sun, after which they pounded it into a powder.⁷ They cooked it by putting it into a pot with water, and boiling, when it expanded so much that a single handful made a meal. The meat was always prepared with the fat, which was carefully preserved when the animal was killed. The blood of the buffalo and other animals was esteemed a great delicacy, which they preserved and drank as a usual beverage. They filled a large intestine with it, which they carried

⁶ It might be inferred that those who lived in the ravines had habitations of a more permanent kind, and were a distinct, or at least a different, people from those who dwelt in tents or lodges.

⁷ Buffalo meat is cured in the same manner by the New Mexicans.

around the neck, and when dry quenched their thirst from it. When they opened a buffalo they collected the masticated grass found in the stomach, which they squeezed and drank as it ran out. This, also, they relished exceedingly, and considered it the whole substance of the belly. They used a pebble fastened to the end of a stick for a knife, with which they could cut up a buffalo with the same facility as though the instrument had been made of the best steel. They opened the animal on the back, and divided it at the joints with a rapidity that astonished the Spaniards. They sharpened these pebbles on their teeth. There were a great many white wolves upon the plains, which pursued the buffalo, but they were found of no other color. Spotted stags abounded in great numbers, and when dead and while still warm, the hair was easily taken off by the hand. Hares were numerous, and so tame that they allowed the horsemen to kill them with the lance. They were not afraid of buffaloes, but would flee before a man on foot.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCES THE SPANIARDS VISITED;
THE ARMY RETURNS TÓ TIGUEX.

UP to the point where the army was left upon the plains, the Spaniards had passed through the following provinces, which are given in the words of Castañeda, viz. :

“ Cibola is the first province; it contains seven villages. Tusayan, seven; the rock of Acteo, one; Tiguex, twelve; Tutahaco, eight, (these villages are found in descending the river); Quirix, seven; in the snowy mountains, seven; Ximena, three; Cicuyé, one; Hemes, seven; Aguascalientes, three; Ynqueyunque of the mountains, six; Valladolid or Braba, one; Chia, one, which makes in all seventy. Tiguex is the central point, and Valladolid the last toward the North-east.¹ The four villages on the river below Tiguex are toward the South-east because the river makes an elbow to the East; it is reckoned about one hundred and thirty leagues from the highest point to the lowest, reached by the expedition. This interval is wholly inhabited; here are situated the seventy villages of which I have spoken; judging from appear-

¹ This direction is correct if taken from Cibola, but not otherwise.

ance they may contain about twenty thousand men. The rest of the country is entirely desert; not the smallest hut is seen. This circumstance, the customs and forms of government of the nations, wholly different from all those hitherto discovered, prove that they have come from that part of the great Indias, the coasts of which touch those of this country to the Westward. They have been able to arrive by following the course of the river, after having crossed the mountains, and establish themselves in places that seemed advantageous. As they have multiplied they have built other villages until the river failed them, by sinking in the earth. When it reappears it takes the direction of Florida. There exist, they say, other villages on the bank of this river; but they were not visited; under the advice of the Turk we preferred crossing the mountains where it takes its source. I believe great riches would be found in the country whence these Indians have come. From the route they followed they must have come from the extremity of the East Indias, and from a very unknown portion which, from the configuration of the coasts, would be situated very far in the interior between China and Norway. It must indeed be an immense distance from one sea to the other agreeably to the form of the coasts, as discovered by captain Villalobos who went in that direction in search of China. It is the same if we follow the coast of Florida; it continually approaches Norway until we reach the country of God, (Newfoundland).

“To return to our subject. I will say then that in the length of one hundred and thirty leagues, following the course of the river, and in a breadth of thirty, no more inhabitants are seen than I have above mentioned. Many governments of New Spain contain a much more

considerable population. In many villages are found pieces of silver-ore, which serve the natives in varnishing and painting earthenware.”

At the close of the last chapter we left the army encamped upon the plains. As soon as the messenger from Coronado arrived, the troops made immediate preparations to begin the return march. Leaving the valley they marched to the country of the Teyas Indians, who furnished them with guides to conduct them to Tiguex by a nearer route than the one they had come. They returned through a new part of the country, and further South, with which the guides appeared to be perfectly acquainted. Castañeda gives the following as the manner in which they guided the army on its march: “In the morning they observed where the sun rose, and took their course by shooting an arrow before them; before reaching this arrow they discharged another, and in this manner they marched the entire route up to the place they found water and encamped.” They passed a number of salt marshes or lakes, where they found a large quantity of salt, both in cakes and in a crystalline form.² Some of the cakes were several feet in length, four or five inches thick, and floated upon the top of the water. It was bitter to the taste. On the plains they encountered a great number of small animals that resembled the squirrel, and lived in holes they dug in the ground.³ They struck the river Cieuyé more than thirty leagues below the point where they had crossed it in marching to the plains, whence they followed up the bank, which abounded with fruit similar to the Muscat grape.

² There are salt lakes in Valencia and Bernalillo counties, New Mexico.

³ Prairie dogs which are still found all over the plains.

The plant was about six feet high, with a leaf that resembled parsley. The Indians told them that this river discharged itself into the Tiguex about twenty days' journey distant, and thence ran Eastward, but the Spaniards supposed it emptied into the river Espiritu Santa (Mississippi). They ascended the river to Cicuyé. The inhabitants took up arms and refused to furnish them with provisions, and those who were disposed to be friendly were compelled to quit their homes and leave the village. The army thence continued its march to Tiguex, where it arrived in good order. During the march upon the plains an Indian woman, whom captain Juan de Saldebar got for a servant at Tiguex, where he was a slave, made her escape. She recognized some part of the country they passed through, when, plunging into a ravine, she succeeded in eluding her pursuers and getting off. She fled toward the East and is said to have fallen in with a portion of De Soto's army coming West from Florida, whom she told that she had left a party of Spaniards nine days before, exploring the country. Castañeda says that this was related to him by some of De Soto's men after they had arrived in New Spain, and from which it appears that the two expeditions approached very near to each other from opposite directions.

The army, under the command of Don Tristan de Arellano, reached Tiguex about the middle of July, 1542. The general had not yet returned; and as it was expected the troops would winter here, Arellano took the necessary steps to lay in a supply of provisions. For this purpose he sent officers in various directions to collect them, some of whom penetrated into portions of the country not before explored. Captain Francisco de

Barrio ascended the river some distance and visited the two provinces of Hemes and Ynqueyunque. The inhabitants of the former received him friendly, and furnished supplies, while those of the latter abandoned their villages on the bank of the river and fled to the mountains, where they had others strongly fortified, and which could not be approached with horses. Considerable provisions were found in the deserted villages, which the Spaniards seized; and they also saw a good deal of handsome glazed pottery, well made and highly ornamented. Many jars were filled with a brilliant metal resembling silver, supposed to have been the material the Indians used in glazing their pottery. From its strong resemblance to silver the Spaniards believed this metal was to be found in that country. Twenty leagues higher up the river they came to a large village called Braba, which they named Valladolid. It was built upon both sides of the river, which was crossed by bridges made of pine logs squared, and very well fastened together. Here were found vapor-baths more extensive than any they had yet seen in the country; being supported by wooden pillars twelve feet high, and about as many in circumference. The country was elevated and cold and the river deep and rapid. Thence captain Barrio returned to camp. Another officer followed down the river until he arrived at a point where it sunk into the ground and became lost, eighty leagues below Tiguex. He discovered four large villages, which submitted. The inhabitants told him that if he would follow the river some distance further down he would arrive at the place where it came out of the ground larger than when it sunk; but as he had no orders to proceed beyond eighty leagues he returned to camp.

As the general had not yet returned from Quivira some alarm was felt at his absence, and Arellano determined to go in search of him. With an escort of forty horsemen he marched to Cicuyé, whose inhabitants made an attack upon him. The fight continued four days, during which time Arellano fired several cannon balls into the village, and severely chastised them. He killed two of their chiefs. While here he heard that Coronado was on his return, and therefore waited his arrival to afford him protection if it should be required. The soldiers welcomed the general back, but they were much disappointed when informed that he had brought neither gold nor silver. Some thought he had not penetrated far enough into the country, and probably was returning for more troops. The Indian, Xaba, had encouraged the soldiers in the belief that he would bring back some of the precious metals, and therefore when told that none had been found he was much mortified, because he had boasted that his prediction would come true. Coronado was forty days returning from Quivira, and arrived at Cicuyé in the month of August, when the rainy season had already set in. He continued his march to Tiguex, where he determined to spend the winter, and in the spring, with the whole army, advance further into the interior. The inhabitants of the country through which he had traveled, on his return from Quivira, had spoken of a populous region called Acochis, which resembled Spain, and was watered by great rivers. It was expected that gold could be found in abundance, and as he hoped to obtain wealth enough there to repay him for all his hardships, he was anxious to penetrate into and explore the country.

Shortly after Coronado reached Tiguex, Don Pedro

Die Tobar arrived with reinforcements from San Hieronimo. Castañeda records in his journal that these fresh troops "came with their noses in the air, hoping to find the general already in the rich country of which the Turk had spoken," and were greatly disappointed to meet him at Tiguex. Tobar brought letters for the troops, among which was one for Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, one of the most valiant of the captains, which announced the death of his brother in Spain, by which he inherited the family estate. He left camp to return home on leave of absence, accompanied by others who, having become tired of military life, returned to Mexico to establish themselves there. The remainder of the army made arrangements to pass the winter in Tiguex.

Coronado occupied himself, during the winter, in pacifying the country, and putting the army in a condition to take the field in the spring. He exerted all his influence to persuade the inhabitants to return to their homes and live in peace and quietness. The army was in a sad state, and needed much recruiting before it would be fit for active service. The soldiers were almost without clothing, and covered with vermin, besides much broken down by hard marches. Coronado collected all the stuffs he could find in the province and had them made into uniforms. Much dissatisfaction arose as to the manner of distributing the clothing, because the officers reserved the best part for themselves and friends. The general took the part of the troops, which produced a misunderstanding between him and the officers, but nothing of a serious nature grew out of it. With the exception of these little difficulties the winter passed tranquilly away, and the opening spring found the army in a much more efficient condition than when it had gone into winter quarters.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CORONADO MEETS WITH AN ACCIDENT, AND THE ARMY
RETURNS TO MEXICO.

AT the opening of spring Coronado issued orders for the army to make immediate preparations to march to Quivira. The troops were almost ready to take the field, when he met with an accident which frustrated all his plans. On a feast day at this season of the year, as was his custom, he went out on horseback to ride at the ring, accompanied by Don Pedro Maldonado. While in full career his saddle girth broke and he fell to the ground: when the horse of Maldonado, in springing over him, kicked him on the head and knocked him senseless. He was picked up and carried to his quarters, where he was confined to his bed for a long time, with his life in great danger. During his illness all operations were suspended and the army remained at Tiguex. When partially restored to health, he received information of the revolt of the Indians in the province of Suya, which affected him very seriously and caused a relapse. Castañeda intimates that his second illness was more a feint than real, assumed in order to excuse his subsequent strange conduct.

In the meantime it was whispered around that

mathematician of Salamanca had predicted that Coronado would become great and powerful in a distant land, but would afterward encounter a fall that would cause his death. This prediction now haunted his mind, and he believed, or pretended to believe, that the fulfillment of it was about to come to pass. Under these circumstances he appeared ill at ease, and fearing he was about to die, expressed a desire to return home and end his days in the bosom of his family. Many of the principal officers were also anxious to return, and at his solicitation they induced the soldiers to present a petition to him, asking to be conducted back to New Spain. He now called a council of officers to take the matter into consideration; which decided that inasmuch as they had not found any rich country, and the land they had taken possession of was not fertile enough to be distributed among the soldiers, it would be advisable to return home. An order was immediately issued for the army to make preparations to march for Mexico. As soon as this decision was made a number of the soldiers regretted what they had done, and supplicated the general to revoke the order. This he declined to do, and, to avoid their intercessions, he shut himself up in his quarters and refused to be seen, pretending to be much sicker than he really was. They were anxious to obtain possession of the petition they had presented to him, in order to destroy it, so that he would have no sanction from them for the course he was about to take; and to prevent them entering the house for this purpose, at night, he was obliged to place sentinels before his door and upon the balcony. They succeeded, nevertheless, in possessing themselves of his trunk, but did not find the wished-for paper in it; which he kept under his pillow. The officers who repented their decision to

return home now made Coronado two propositions ; either to leave them sixty men with which to maintain themselves in the country, or to take sixty men himself and return to New Spain, leaving the command of the army to another officer. These propositions not being approved by a majority of the troops, he refused to accept either. The officers yielded the point, as they were obliged to submit to the general, but they lost all zeal for the service and affection for their chief. The orders for the return march were announced anew, and the officers and men busied themselves in making the necessary preparations.

While the army is getting ready to march from Tiguex, let us notice the events that had been taking place in the province of Suya. When Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas arrived there, on his way to Spain, he found the Indians in a state of revolt, and immediately returned to the army to inform Coronado of the condition of things. The garrison left there consisted of the most turbulent and seditious soldiers in the army, who would neither submit to their own officers, or to those of the civil government. They were in a state of daily mutiny, and at last took up their arms and marched for Culiacan, leaving behind their captain, Diego de Alcarraz, and a few sick men. Some of the deserters were killed on the way, while the rest reached their place of destination, where they were placed in confinement by Don Hernando Arias de Saavedra.

Upon the departure of the garrison the Indians became more troublesome than before, and threatened an attack. The town was built upon the bank of a small stream and of easy access to the inhabitants of all the surrounding country. One night fires were seen blazing upon the hills around, when the Spaniards, expecting the enemy,

doubled the guard ; but everything remaining quiet they relaxed their vigilance toward morning. In the meantime the Indians had entered the place under cover of the darkness, but their presence was not known until they commenced the attack. The garrison was taken completely by surprise and made but a feeble resistance. They attempted to leave the town, but were met and driven back with the loss of their commanding officer. A few of the horsemen cut their way through the enemy and made their escape. The Indians effected their purpose of sacking the place and retreated loaded with booty ; besides killing upward of twenty soldiers and several servants, whom they shot with poisoned arrows. The survivors marched for Culiacan the next morning, where they arrived in safety, after suffering many hardships on the road.

The army marched from Tignex, for New Spain, the beginning of April, 1543. Coronado left behind two of the missionaries, who determined to remain and make an effort to convert the Indians, named Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan, and Louis, a lay brother.¹ The former intended to station himself at Quivira and the latter at Cicuyé, and before the troops left an escort was furnished them as far as the latter place. Padilla was put to death soon after

¹ The following is an additional account of what befel the friars left behind in New Mexico, after Coronado and his army had marched, translated from the old Spanish Ms., at Santa Fé :

“ When Coronado returned to Mexico he left behind, among the Indians of Cibola, the father fray Francisco Juan de Padilla, the father fray Juan de la Cruz, and a Portuguese named Andres del Campo. Soon after the Spaniards departed Padilla and the Portuguese set off in search of the country of the Grand Quivira, where the former understood there were innumerable souls to be saved. After traveling several days they reached a large settlement in the Quivira country. The Indians came out to receive them in battle array, when the friar,

his arrival at Quivira. The last that was seen or heard of brother Louis was when on his way with some Indians to visit a neighboring province. He said the Indians treated him kindly, with the exception of the old men who disliked him and would most probably cause him to be put to death. The general sent him a few sheep for his support.

The army returned by the same route by which it had entered the country, and but few incidents occurred on the homeward march worthy of note. Before reaching Cibola a fatal sickness broke out among the troops, of which more than thirty died. Here they encamped a few days to recruit and make preparations to cross the desert. A few of the Mexican Indians remained at Cibola, refusing to return to their own country. Resuming the march again, the Spaniards crossed the desert and arrived in safety at Chichilticale. The Indians followed them for two or three days, to pick up whatever might be abandoned, but made no hostile demonstrations. Two days after their arrival at this place Juan Gallegos came in with reinforcements and was much disappointed to meet the army returning, instead of being in the rich country described by the Turk. The arrival of this additional force induced the officers to renew their former proposition to Coronado ; but neither he nor the soldiers

knowing their intentions, told the Portuguese and his attendants to take to flight, while he would await their coming, in order that they might vent their fury on him as they ran. The former took to flight, and placing themselves on a height within view, saw what happened to the friar. Padilla awaited their coming upon his knees, and when they arrived where he was they immediately put him to death. The same happened to Juan de la Cruz, who was left behind at Cibola, which people killed him. The Portuguese and his attendants made their escape and ultimately arrived safely in Mexico, where he told what had occurred."

would listen to it. Their faces were turned homeward, and they were opposed to retracing their steps. Thence again resuming the march they reached Culiacan. On this part of the route they met with some opposition from the Indians, who killed several soldiers and some horses. One day an Indian shot a Spaniard with an arrow freshly dipped in poison, and the wound should have been mortal; but quince juice was applied to the parts and the man's life was saved. The wound was on the wrist, and the poison was so virulent that the flesh adjacent entirely decayed and left the nerves and bones bare, and the putrefaction extended up to the shoulder.

Upon the arrival of the army at Culiacan all discipline came to an end, and Coronado, although in the province of which he was the governor, found himself without civil or military authority. He was enabled, however, by means of promises, to collect together most of the stragglers, with whom he continued the march to Compostella, where they arrived during the festival of Saint John. Between this place and the city of Mexico the march was an arduous one and the troops suffered severely. It was the rainy season, the streams were much swollen and some of them could only be crossed with difficulty and danger. Just before reaching Compostella a soldier fell into a river when he was devoured by aligators² before any assistance could be rendered him. Desertions were constant and numerous, and when Coronado reached Mexico he had not more than an hundred men with him. The viceroy was much displeased with the manner in which he had conducted the expedition and received him coldly. He was soon afterward deprived of his province and fell into disgrace.

² Probably sharks.

CHAPTER XXX.

AUGUSTIN RUIZ AND TWO FRIARS ENTER NEW MEXICO AS MISSIONARIES AND ARE PUT TO DEATH BY THE INDIANS.

THE expedition of Coronado resulted so disastrously to the Spanish arms, that all desire for further exploration into New Mexico was repressed for a number of years. The gallant cavaliers who composed his adventurous little army had been so sanguine of a rich harvest of wealth and honors in the almost fabulous country of the Seven Cities, that the failure of the expedition filled them with sad disappointment. Their bright anticipations were dashed to the ground, and they turned their attention to other regions which promised a more certain realization of their hopes.

For the space of forty years no further attempt was made to penetrate into, and explore, the country, and the inhabitants were left undisturbed in their quiet mountain valleys. At the end of this time, and in the year 1581, a Franciscan friar named Augustin Ruiz was living in the valley of Saint Bartholomew, about two hundred leagues from the city of Mexico. He was informed by the Conchos and Passaguata Indians, with whom he had some intercourse, that to the North there

were several large provinces which the Spaniards had not yet discovered. Fired with religious zeal, and moved by a strong desire to convert these heathen nations to christianity, Ruiz determined to penetrate this unknown region as a soldier of the cross. For this purpose he made immediate application to the Conde de Corunna, the viceroy of New Spain, for permission to enter the country in order to learn the language and preach to the Indians. At the same time he made a similar application to the superiors of his own order. License was granted by both authorities, and the friar made preparations for his journey.

He selected for his companions two of his brother Franciscans, one named Francisco Lopez, who was appointed commissary of the expedition, and the other friar Juan de Santa Maria. They were accompanied by twelve soldiers, under the command of a captain, who went along as an escort and defence against the Indians, and also for the purpose of searching for mines of the precious metals, with which the country was said to abound. Ruiz, having completed the necessary arrangements, set out on his pious mission.

They traveled toward the North, and, after a march of some two hundred leagues in that direction, arrived in the province of the Teguas Indians, who inhabited the banks of the Del Norté. They found the country thickly populated by various nations, and the inhabitants everywhere received them in a friendly manner. They continued up the river until they reached the pueblo, or village, of Puara.¹ Here the soldiers became alarmed for

¹ This pueblo was situated about eight miles above the town of Albuquerque, in Bernalillo county, on the Del Norté, but it has long since gone to ruins.

their safety, because of the great number of Indians they saw; being too few themselves to offer resistance in case of an attack, and so distant from the Spanish settlements that they could not receive any assistance from that quarter. For these reasons they declined to proceed further, but resolved to return immediately to Saint Bartholomew. The friars used every persuasion to induce them to continue on, but it was of no avail, and they turned their faces homeward. The soldiers tried hard to persuade the friars to return home with them, but the latter declined to turn back. They determined to continue their journey, feeling assured that the time had arrived when they would be able to put into execution their pious intention of christianizing the savages. They were not alarmed at the desertion of the soldiers, for they put their faith and hope in "things not of this world," but remained with cheerfulness among these heathen nations to instruct them in the knowledge of the living God.

The friars were still at the pueblo of Puara when the soldiers abandoned them. They were attended by three Indian boys and a Mexican who refused to leave them and return with the escort. They remained here a few days longer, when they resumed their journey toward the North, and in a few leagues' travel arrived at the pueblo of the Galisteo,² a village of the Tanos nation. Thus far they had found the Indians peaceable, who had treated them in the most friendly manner possible, and provided for all their wants. They were so much pleased with the provinces they had passed through, and with the apparent mild and amiable disposition of the inhab-

² These pueblos were situated on the Galisteo creek about twenty-two miles South of Santa Fé, and are in ruins.

itants, that it was resolved to send one of their number back to New Spain to give information of what they had seen, and invite other friars to come hither. Juan de Santa Maria volunteered to undertake this journey, and having made a few hasty preparations he set out on his return.

Friar Maria was accompanied some distance by Ruiz and Lopez, when they returned to Puara, where they established themselves for the purpose of learning the language of the country. They located at this point because the Indians had treated them with great kindness. After bidding farewell to his two companions, Maria continued on toward the South. He crossed the Sandia mountains, intending to pass by the Salinas (salt lakes), and thence to take a direct course for El Paso del Norté, one hundred leagues to the South, thus making a shorter and quicker route than the one by which they had entered the country. The third day, when near the pueblo afterward called San Pablo, in the Teguas nation, he stopped to rest under a tree, where the Indians killed him and burnt his remains.

The two friars lived some time in peace and quiet at Puara, and pursued their labors without interruption. One afternoon Lopez retired about a league from the village to engage in his devotions, and while occupied in prayer he was killed by an Indian, who inflicted two mortal wounds upon his temples. The Indians afterward pointed out to Ruiz where the body of his companion had been buried, which he caused to be disinterred and reburied in the pueblo according to the forms of the Catholic religion. The death of Lopez was a severe affliction to Ruiz, who mourned his loss in bitterness of spirit. He felt now, in truth, that he was alone in the

midst of savage nations, with no one upon whom he could rely but Him whose cause he espoused. He was in no wise discouraged at this gloomy condition of things, but resolved to prosecute his mission as long as life should last.

The war captain of Puara was much grieved at the death of Lopez, and in order to save Ruiz from the same fate he removed him to the pueblo of Santiago, a league and a half up the river. But his death had been resolved upon and it was impossible to save him. A few days afterward he met the same fate as his brethren, and almost before the breath of life was out of his body it was thrown into the river, then in flood, as food for the fishes. Thus the Teguas Indians completed the work of blood, and put to death three pious men who came into the wilderness to devote their time and their lives to their temporal and spiritual welfare.

From the sacrifice of these three friars the old chroniclers contend that there sprung a plentiful harvest of souls. They record, that from that time down to the year 1629 there were baptised thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty Indians, and many others were in a state of conversion; and that in the same period the friars had erected, without cost to the government or king, forty-three churches in New Mexico. The body of Lopez remained buried at Puara for thirty-three years, when the place of interment was pointed out to Estevan de Perea, commissary of the province. The remains were disinterred in the month of February, 1614, and deposited in the church of the pueblo of Sandias with

³ This pueblo is situated on the East bank of the Del Norté, a few miles above the town of Albuquerque, and contains between two and three hundred inhabitants.

great ceremony, a number of priests marching on foot, dressed in full robes. It is related in the writings of one of the priests who was present, that when the procession began to move the saint in the church commenced to perform miracles.

The soldiers who deserted the friars at Puara reached Saint Bartholomew in safety, where they related all that had taken place since they first set out on their journey, and also made a report of the same to the viceroy at the city of Mexico. The San Franciscan order was much alarmed at the situation of their brethren who remained behind among the Indians, and they used every exertion to persuade a party of soldiers to march to their relief.

At this time there was a cavalier at the mines of Santa Barbara of the name of Antonio de Espejo, a native of Cordova, and a man of wealth, courage and industry. He offered his services to the Franciscans for the purpose of rescuing their brethren, and declared he was willing to risk his life and part of his fortune in the enterprise, if he should be authorized to undertake it by some person of competent authority. The offer was accepted, and governor Juan de Ontrueros, the king's alcalde and chief justice of the town of Las quarta Cienegas in the jurisdiction of Nueva Biscaya, twenty leagues from Santa Barbara, granted him license to lead an expedition. He was authorized to take with him as many soldiers as might be willing to follow his fortunes, or would be required to carry out the object of the expedition.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ANTONIO DE ESPEJO UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION TO RESCUE THE TWO FRIARS.

ESPEJO made immediate preparations to march into New Mexico. He set about the work with such activity and energy that in the course of a few days he had the requisite number of men embodied and a sufficient quantity of provisions collected. He provided, as a matter of precaution, one hundred and fifteen extra mules and horses, besides a large supply of arms and munitions of war; and he was accompanied by a number of Indians to assist the soldiers in whatever way their services might be required. Everything being in readiness they took up the line of march from the valley of Saint Bartholomew on the 10th of December, 1582, and directed their course toward the North.

In a march of ten days they arrived in a province inhabited by a people called Conchos, who lived in villages of rude houses covered with straw. When the inhabitants heard of their approach they came forth to

¹ These Indians lived in Mexico along the Conchos river, which empties into the Rio Grande del Norte in latitude about 30 degrees.

meet and give them a friendly welcome. They went almost naked, and lived under the government of caciques similar to the Indians of Mexico. They were armed with bows and arrows. They raised a great quantity of maize or Indian corn, gourds, and melons of good quality; and the streams abounded with fish of various kinds and of fine flavor. Their principal articles of food were conies, hares and bears; the latter were killed in great numbers and were eaten by the inhabitants of the whole province. Idols were not seen among these people, nor was any form of religious worship observed or heard of. The Spaniards erected crosses to which the natives made no objection; and the friars explained to them, by the aid of interpreters, the meaning of the cross and how it was an emblem of their religion. The Indians informed them of other towns of the same nation twenty leagues distant, whither they conducted them. The caciques sent word from one town to another, in advance, of the coming of the strangers, and upon their arrival they found the inhabitants waiting to receive them.

Having passed through the country of the Conchos Indians the Spaniards arrived among the Passaguates, their neighbors, who lived in a similar manner. They were well received, but tarried among them a very short time. These Indians, according to the custom of the country, and in obedience to the command of the caciques, conducted them four days on their march. In this region they found many mines of silver, which those skilled in metals pronounced very rich, but they were not prepared to take possession and work them. Thence they continued their march, and in one day arrived in another province called Tobosos, whose inhabitants, upon their approach, fled into the woods and mountains. Upon

inquiry as to the cause of this strange conduct, Espejo learned that some years before a party of Spanish soldiers had come into that country and carried many of the people away captive; who, hearing that the Christians were again approaching, feared a similar fate awaited them a second time.

Espejo sent messengers after the fugitives to assure them they need not be alarmed, as no injury would be done them, and requested them to return to their houses. Many returned and were received and treated in the most friendly manner by the Spaniards, who distributed presents among them. The captain explained to them, through an interpreter, the object of his coming into their country, and that his mission was a peaceable one, which removed all their fears. The friars taught them the mystery of the cross, and obtained their permission to erect some in the country. These Indians conducted the Spaniards until they arrived in a country inhabited by a neighboring nation twelve leagues distant. The Tobosos went naked, and were armed with bows and arrows.

The province into which the Tobosos conducted the Spaniards was called by the Indians Lumanos² (Humanos), and by the Christians Patañabueyas. They inhabited an extensive and populous district of country, which contained several large towns. The houses were built of lime and stone, with flat roofs, and the streets were laid out with order and regularity. The inhabitants were a people of large stature, and their faces, legs and arms were "*raced*" and "*pounced*."³ Their mode of government was superior to that of any Indians hitherto met

² This province was situated upon the Del Norté river, and most probably South of El Paso.

³ A species of tattooing.

with; and they were provided with an abundance of provisions, including several kinds of wild beasts, fishes, and fowls. The province was well watered by numerous rivers, one of which came from the North and emptied into the gulf of Mexico, and is represented as being as large as the Guadalquivir.⁴ There were several salt lakes which produced excellent salt. They were a war-like people, and exhibited hostility to the Spaniards as soon as they entered the country. The first night they were encamped among them they made an attack upon their animals, killing five and severely wounding two more; and but for the guard defending them with great bravery, they would have killed the whole of them. After this they abandoned their town and fled to the mountain near by.

Early the next morning Espejo, accompanied by five soldiers well armed, and an interpreter named Peter, a native of this nation, went up to them in the mountain to prevail upon them to return to their village. He assured them of his peaceful intentions, and that he had come there neither to do them any injury nor to rob them of their goods. They believed what he said, and descended and re-occupied their houses. He made the caciques presents of bracelets of glass, beads, hats, and other articles. This course entirely pacified the Indians, and gained their confidence; and when the Spaniards again resumed their journey a number of them accompanied Espejo several days on the way. They continued their march along the bank of the Del Norté for the space of twelve days, during which time they passed through many towns inhabited by the Humanos. Notice of their approach was sent in advance, and as

⁴ The Rio del Norté.

they drew nigh the various towns the caciques, unarmed, came out to meet and welcome them. They were entertained with hospitality, supplied with an abundance of victuals, and given presents of hides and chamois-skins very well dressed, many equal to those of Flanders. These Indians were very well clothed.

The Humanos seemed to have some faint idea of the Christian religion. They made rude figures to represent God, at the same time looking up toward heaven. In their language they called the Supreme Being Apalito, and acknowledged him for their Lord, "from whose bountiful hand and mercy they confess that they have received their life and being, and these worldly goods." Many of them brought their wives and children to the friars that they might cross, and bless them. Upon being asked whence they had obtained a knowledge of God, they answered that it was taught them by three Christians and a negro who had passed through that part of the country, and remained some days among them. From the information the Indians gave of these strangers, the Spaniards were satisfied they were Cabeza de Vaca and his shipwrecked companions, whose adventures across the continent have already been given in another part of this volume.

The Spaniards resumed the march, leaving the Indians of the province in peace, and in token of their friendly feeling some of them accompanied Espejo to perform labor for the soldiers. They continued up the river for some days, when they came to another large and populous province. The inhabitants had received notice of their approach from their neighbors down the river, and as was their custom, came forth to conduct them to their villages. They brought with them many articles made

of feathers of beautiful workmanship, of various colors, and mantles of cotton streaked with blue and white like those of China, to trade with the Spaniards. The whole population was dressed in chamois-skins well tanned and prepared. The knowledge obtained of this province was very limited, by reason of the want of an interpreter. Espejo was not even able to learn its name, but they held a little intercourse with the inhabitants by means of signs. Exhibiting to them some of the precious metals, they inquired whether any such was to be found in their country; when they replied, that in a region five days' journey to the Westward there was an abundance of the same metals, and promised to conduct the Spaniards thither. The Indians afterward conducted them to that section of country, but the journal of Espejo says nothing about the discovery of gold or silver.

Continuing their march up the river, the Spaniards came to another province more populous than the last; where the inhabitants received them as friends, and made them many presents. Among the articles of food given them was a fish taken from one of the lakes in the province, which abounded with them. They remained with these people three days, during which time a continued scene of rejoicing was kept up, the Indians performing many of their dances, and other ceremonies, expressive of great joy. They were likewise unable to learn the name of this province, but understood it was very extensive and contained a numerous population. Here they found a Conchos Indian who explained to them, by signs, that at the distance of fifteen days' journey toward the West there was a very broad lake, and near it several great towns; that the houses were three and four stories high, and the people were well dressed and provided with an

abundance of provisions. He offered to conduct them thither, but Espejo declined turning from his march until he had accomplished the object for which he had set out—the relief of the friars. The temperature of this province was mild and pleasant, and the soil very fertile. It abounded in wild beasts and fowls, yielded the precious metals in abundance, and produced many other desirable articles.

The Spaniards continued their march toward the North, along the bank of the great river, for the space of fifteen days, traveling through a country covered with pine forests, bearing fruit like those of Castile.⁵ In all this distance they saw no inhabitants. At the end of this time, and after having marched, as they supposed, some eighty leagues, they arrived at a small village of poor cottages covered with straw, and containing but few inhabitants. Among this people they found a large number of well-dressed deer-skins, with a great quantity of excellent white salt. Here they tarried two days, and were well entertained; and when they resumed the march the Indians accompanied them the distance of twelve leagues, and until they arrived at other large towns, and within what the Spaniards called New Mexico.⁶ Here, all along the banks of the river, there grew forests of poplar⁷ and walnut trees, and vines like those of Castile; the timber in some places being as much as four leagues broad.

⁵ The piñon nut.

⁶ Part of the province of Humanos was undoubtedly within the present limits of New Mexico.

⁷ The cotton-wood, which is still found in the valley of the Del Norte.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ESPEJO MARCHES UP THE VALLEY OF THE RIO DEL NORTÉ;
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCES HE PASSED THROUGH.

HAVING traveled two days through the poplar and walnut groves, Espejo came to ten towns situated upon both banks of the Rio del Norté, and others some distance from the river. They were all populous, and the Spaniards estimated the Indians they saw at ten thousand. The houses were four stories high, well built, and with good lodgings overhead, and in most of them provisions were stored away for the winter season. The inhabitants dressed in deer-skins and cotton, and the garments of both the men and women were made after the manner of those of Mexico. They wore boots and shoes with soles of "neats-leather," a circumstance which appears to have given much surprise to the Spaniards, as they had seen nothing of the kind before in any part of the country. The women kept their hair well dressed and combed, and went with their heads uncovered.

¹ The towns of this province were situated South of Albuquerque, and it is probable that Isleta and Los Lentos were of the number.

The towns were governed by caciques in the same manner as those of Mexico; whose commands were executed by an officer called a sergeant, who went through the town crying in a loud voice the will of the cacique, and ordering the same to be put in execution. The inhabitants gave the Spaniards a friendly reception and furnished them with an abundance of provisions, among which were hens of the country. Many idols, which the Indians worshipped, were found in this province; and in every house an oratory was erected for the devil, where he was said to preside, and to which food was carried for him to eat. In various places the Indians had erected chapels dedicated to the devil, in which he was said to recreate and rest himself when he traveled through the country, from one town to another. These chapels were all handsomely trimmed and painted. They represented, by pictures, the sun, moon and stars as principal objects of their worship.

On their arable lands, of which there was a great extent in the province, the Indians erected on one side a small shed standing upon four studs, under which the laborers ate their food, and reclined during the heat of the day. They were a laborious people, and continually occupied themselves in some useful employment. The fields nearest the banks of the Del Norte were well cultivated. Their arms were strong bows, and arrows headed with sharp-pointed stones that would pierce through a coat of mail, and *macanas*, or clubs, half a yard in length and armed with sharp flints, which they wielded with great dexterity, and with which they could cut a man's body in two at a single blow. They used a shield made of untanned bull-hide. The country, except the valley of the river, was mountainous and covered

with pine trees. When the Indians first saw the horses of the Spaniards they were no less astonished than the Mexicans, and almost worshipped them as superior beings. They entertained them in their best houses, and entreated them to eat of their choicest provisions. Some of the tribes were more advanced than others, and dwelt in better habitations and wore more comfortable clothing. A chief of one of the provinces gave Espejo four thousand bolls of cotton.

The Spaniards remained four days among these people, when they resumed the march. Continuing up the bank of the Del Norté, in a few leagues they entered the Teguas nation, which contained fourteen towns. Here they learned that the two friars with the Indian boy and the Mexican, whom they were in search of, had been slain in a town of this province called Puara. When the inhabitants of this town and their neighbors heard of the approach of the Spaniards, they became greatly alarmed, and fearing they came to revenge the death of the friars, deserted their houses and fled into the mountains for safety. Espejo used every effort to induce them to descend and re-occupy their houses, but without success, as they feared to place themselves in his power. He found a great quantity of provisions and a large number of the hens of the country in Puara, besides many sorts of metals, some of which appeared valuable. They could not determine the number of inhabitants in the province. Here were found the bodies of the two friars, to which they gave Christian burial.²

Having now accomplished the object of the expedition, the Spaniards held a consultation as to the course they

² This must be an error, as the body of Lopez was buried by Ruiz, while that of the latter was thrown into the river.

should pursue; whether to return immediately to New Biscay, or continue their explorations. Various opinions were held among the officers and men. Espejo had understood that some distance from thence, in the eastern (western) part of the province, there were great and rich towns, and as they were so far advanced on their way, he thought it advisable to continue the march until they should reach them, and thus be enabled, as eye-witnesses, to give a correct account of the country upon their return. In this opinion he was supported by friar Bernardine Beltram and many of the soldiers, which determined him to prosecute their explorations further.

It was decided that the command should remain at that place, while Espejo explored some of the surrounding provinces, which determination he proceeded to put into immediate execution. He set out with two men, and after traveling toward the West for two days he arrived in a province which contained eleven towns; they were all very populous, and were estimated to contain forty thousand inhabitants. It bordered on that of Cibola, and was very fertile, producing an abundance of all the necessaries of life. The country was covered with a great number of cattle, with the hides of which, and with cotton, they made their clothing, imitating in style the dress of their next neighbors. They saw signs of rich mines of the precious metals, and also found considerable quantities in the houses. The inhabitants worshipped idols. They gave the Spaniards a friendly welcome, and furnished them with provisions. Espejo and his companions having obtained some knowledge of the country and the people, returned to camp and related an account of their explorations to their companions.

Espejo, hearing of another province some five leagues further up the river, called Los Queros (Queres), immediately marched thither from Puara. When they arrived within a league of the first town a large number of Indians came forth to meet them, who saluted them with great friendship, and wanted them to enter their villages. They escorted them to their houses, where they were well entertained. This province contained five towns, and the population was estimated at fourteen thousand souls, all of whom worshipped idols, in the manner of their neighbors. They found in one of the towns "certain shadows" and canopies similar to those said to have been brought from China, in those days, and on which were painted the sun, moon and stars, besides other curious things. Here they took the altitude of the north star, and found themselves in latitude 38 degrees North.³

Leaving the province of Los Queros, they continued their march in the same Northerly course, and in the distance of fourteen leagues they arrived in the province of Cunames. Here they found five towns, the largest of which was called Cia.⁴ This was an extensive town, and contained eight market places, and the houses were better built than any others they had seen in the country, being plastered and painted many colors. The province was populous, and they estimated the people they saw at twenty thousand. The Indians received them in a friendly

³ An error, for they were then South of Santa Fé, which is in 35 degrees 41 minutes North.

⁴ This pueblo, sometimes called Zia or Silla, is situated in the county of Santa Ana, near the Jemez river, a few miles from where it empties into the Del Norte. At this time it contains not more than three or four hundred inhabitants, and in all essential particulars differs in no manner from the other pueblos of the present day. It is built in the valley of the river.

manner, and besides furnishing them with provisions, made them presents of many curious mantles. They were more advanced in civilization, and had a better form of government, than any province Espejo had previously visited. They exhibited to the Spaniards some of the precious metals, and pointed out the mountain, not far off, where they were obtained.

While in this province the Spaniards heard of another in a North-west direction, whither they determined to go. Resuming their march they traveled about five leagues, when they came to a new province, the inhabitants of which were called Amies. It contained seven large towns, with an estimated population of thirty thousand. One of them, situated behind a mountain, is represented as being much larger and more beautiful than the others; but the Spaniards did not visit it, fearing to separate the command lest some accident might befall them. These people resembled the inhabitants of the province of Cunames, being as well provided with the necessaries of life, and having as good government.

Continuing the march toward the West, in a distance of about fifteen leagues, they arrived at a large town called Acoma. It was situated upon the top of a rock near fifty paces high, and contained a population of about five thousand souls. The ascent to it was up a pair of stairs cut in the solid rock, and water was kept in a cistern hewn in the summit of the same rock. Upon the approach of the Spaniards the principal men of the place went forth to meet and welcome them, bringing with them, as presents, many mantles of chamois-skins, very well dressed, and an abundance of provisions. Their corn-fields were situated two leagues from the town, and were watered by a small river that flowed near by, along

the banks of which were growing great beds of roses similar to those of Castile. In the vicinity of Acoma were several mountains, said to abound in metals, but as they were inhabited by a numerous and warlike people, the Spaniards did not visit them. They remained in this town three days, and during the time, the inhabitants performed a solemn dance before them. They came forth dressed in good apparel, and joined many interesting sports with their exercises, which afforded great amusement to the Christians.

Leaving Acoma on the fourth day after their arrival, they continued their march toward the West, and at the distance of twenty-four leagues they came to the province of Zuñi, which the Spaniards called Cibola. It was very populous. This is the same province that Francisco Vasquez de Coronado visited forty years before, and where he erected many crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which yet remained standing. They found the Christian Indians who had remained behind when Coronado returned to New Spain, still living, named Andrew de Culiacan, Gaspar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadalajara. They had been so long among these people, that they had almost forgotten their mother tongue, but spoke the language of Cibola with great fluency; and it was with some difficulty the Spaniards were able to converse with them. They informed Espejo that several days' journey from thence was a great lake, upon the banks of which stood many large and populous towns; that the country abounded in precious metals, and as evidence of it he was told that the inhabitants wore golden ear-rings and bracelets; that Coronado knew of this province and attempted to reach it, but after marching in that direction for twelve days, he was obliged

to turn back for want of water, and never made a second attempt.^s

^s This lake was most probably Agua Negra, or Black Water, situate in the Nabajo country, and less than a day's march from Fort Defiance, as I am not aware of any other lake in that part of the country. It lies to the North-west of Zuñi instead of West, a mistake of direction very easy for Espejo to make in an unknown region.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE SPANIARDS VISIT SEVERAL NEW PROVINCES AND THEN
RETURN TO NEW BISCAY.

WHEN Espejo heard of the country on the borders of the great lake which promised such a rich harvest of the precious metals, he was very desirous of going thither, and proposed the same to his officers and men. Some of them were willing to accompany him but the majority, among whom was the friar, were opposed to a further advance into the interior, and advocated an immediate return to New Biscay. But he was not to be thwarted in his plans. He found nine soldiers who were willing to follow his fortunes, with whom he determined to prosecute his adventures; while the remainder of the Spaniards decided to return home. Having made the necessary preparations and obtained some information of the country he started from Cibola toward the unexplored West.

Let us take leave of the soldiers for the present, and follow the march of Espejo and his companions. In the distance of twenty-eight leagues they entered a large and populous province, which was estimated to contain fifty

thousand inhabitants. The Indians were alarmed when they heard of the approach of the Spaniards, and immediately dispatched a messenger to warn them not to come nearer their towns under penalty of death. Espejo assured him that his coming was for a peaceful purpose and that no harm would be done to his people. To prove his friendly intention he gave him several presents to carry back to be distributed among the Indians. He made such a favorable report of the strangers and the presents had so much influence in quieting their fears, that the Indians gave permission to Espejo to enter their towns. Upon being informed of this decision the Spaniards resumed their march. When they arrived within a league of the first town they met about two thousand Indians, who had come out to bid them welcome, bearing them loads of provisions as evidence of their good-will. In return the captain presented them a few articles of small value which greatly pleased them, and which they esteemed more precious than pure gold. As they drew nearer the town the caciques, with a multitude of other Indians, came out to meet them. They manifested great pleasure at the visit of the Christians, in testimony of which they cast corn-meal on the ground under their horses' feet.

Thus surrounded, and escorted by a numerous throng of Indians, and amid the liveliest expressions of gladness, the Spaniards entered the town where they were well lodged and entertained. Espejo, not to be excelled in generosity, again distributed among them presents of hats, glass beads and other articles. The cacique sent word to the whole province of the arrival of the strangers, whom he represented as a courteous people, for which

^a This was, undoubtedly, the province of Moqui.

reason he had not offered them harm. Upon the receipt of this information the Indians from all parts of the country came in to pay their respects and welcome them to the province. They came loaded with presents which they bestowed upon the Spaniards, and also invited them to visit them in their towns and to make merry. Notwithstanding this apparent display of friendship on the part of the natives, Espejo feared that treachery was lurking at the bottom of it; and to be better prepared in case of necessity, he wanted some place of defence to rally upon. As it would not do to let the Indians suspect his object he was obliged to accomplish his wishes by a little strategy. He represented to the cacique that his horses were very fierce animals and would kill his people in case they should become enraged, and that it was necessary he should have some enclosure to confine them in to prevent any accident. The cacique, believing this to be true, assembled a large number of Indians, who in a short time constructed a rude fort of lime and stone, being such an enclosure as the Spaniards would stand in need of in case the Indians should become hostile. This town bore the name of Zaguato.

Having remained several days in this town, receiving the hospitalities of the Indians, Espejo made preparations to continue his march Westward. Here he received additional information of the great lake he was in search of, which agreed with what he had already heard. He left behind at this place two Spaniards and the Tubian Indians who had accompanied him, with orders for them to return to Zuñi with his carriages, while he continued his journey with but four companions. When the Indians learned that he was about to leave them, they brought him numerous presents in token of their friendship, among

which were "forty thousand" mantles of cotton, both white and colored, a large number of hard towels with tassels at the corners, and some metals which appeared to contain much silver.

Before resuming the march Espejo obtained the services of reliable guides, well acquainted with the country. He took a course due West, and after traveling forty-five leagues in that direction he reached the mines near the lake. They were situated in a mountain which could be ascended without difficulty. The vein was very broad, and he took therefrom, with his own hands, several specimens of rich metals which contained great quantities of silver. Near the mines were situated several towns upon the mountains, inhabited by a race of Indians called Tubians. The inhabitants came forth to meet him, upon his approach, carrying crosses upon their heads and other tokens of peace. In this province there were two considerable rivers, upon the banks of which were found growing many vines bearing excellent grapes, and large groves of walnut trees. There were also hares like those of Castile. The Indians explained to Espejo, by means of drawings, that behind the mountains there was a great river: that ran toward the North-sea. It was about eight leagues broad, and on both sides were situated many towns of such size that those in which they dwelt were but small hamlets in comparison.

Having obtained this information Espejo immediately took up the march for Zuñi, where he arrived without accident or opposition from the Indians. He found the remainder of the Spaniards still at this place, and also those whom he had sent back from Zaguato. In his

² This river must have been the Great Colorado of the West, but its size is overestimated.

absence the inhabitants had treated them with great kindness and furnished them with an abundance of everything necessary to supply their wants. They were pleased at his return, and a large number went forth to meet him and welcome him back to the village.

The Spaniards now made preparations to leave Zuñi, the friar and the greater part of the soldiers to return to New Biscay, and the captain to continue his explorations higher up the river Del Norté. The Indians furnished them with provisions for the march and expressed great regret at their departure. They invited them to return to their province and bring others with them, promising to supply as many as might come with corn, for which purpose they planted a greater quantity that year than usual.

The soldiers and the friar having marched on their return to New Biscay, Espejo and companions set out on their contemplated expedition to the North-east. After marching some sixty leagues toward the Queres nation, and thence twelve leagues more to the East, they entered the province of the Tubians,³ otherwise called Hubates. The Indians welcomed them as friends and supplied them with provisions. Here they were informed of rich mines of the precious metals, some of which they visited. The province was estimated to contain twenty-five thousand inhabitants, who were clothed in colored mantles of cotton and chamois-skins, well-dressed. Their houses were four and five stories high. The country was mountainous, covered with pine-trees and filled with mines. Information was received of another province about a day's journey distant, inhabited by a people called Tanos, and which contained a population of some forty thousand.

³ Two provinces appear to have been called by the same name.

Espejo marched thither, but when he arrived in the province the Indians would neither furnish him with provisions nor permit him to enter their towns.

This was the limit of his explorations. Being now a great distance from New Spain, his party few in number and in the midst of numerous and powerful nations of Indians, he resolved to return to Mexico. The necessary preparations were quickly made, and in the beginning of July, 1584, they took up the line of march homeward. One of the Indians who accompanied them acted as guide and conducted them by a route to the Eastward of the Del Norte. They passed down a river called *Río de las Vacas*,⁴ or the river of Oxen, and was so named because of the great number of buffaloes that fed upon its banks. They traveled down this river the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, all the way passing through great herds of buffaloes. Thence they struck across to the river Conchos by which they had entered the country, whence they continued on to the valley of Saint Bartholomew, their starting point. The friar and the soldiers had arrived there before them and gone to the town of Guardiania, whither Espejo and his companions followed. Here he remained some time and wrote an account of his expedition for the Conde de Corrunna, who forwarded the same to the king of Spain and the lords of the council of the Indians.

Sometime after the return of Espejo one Humaña entered the country to make explorations, and penetrated some distance into the interior, but I have not been able to obtain any information of his operations. He was hunting gold in the southern part of the territory, and on his return passed near the town of Quivira. On the march

⁴ The river Pecos, and the same "Cow River" that Vaca describes.

he had a difficulty with one of his officers, a Portuguese named Leiva, whom he caused to be executed. This act so alarmed one of his companions, a Mexican Indian named Josefe, that he made his escape to the pueblo of Picoris, where he was afterward found by Oñate. Soon after this Humaña and nearly all his companions were put to death by the Indians. They had halted to rest about three days' travel from Quivira, when the Indians set fire to the grass, and the smoke and flames either suffocated, or burnt them to death, or rendered them helpless, and thus they became easy victims to the savages. Of the whole number only two escaped, one a Spaniard, named Alonzo Sanches, and the other a mulatto girl who was badly burnt. Sanches remained with the Indians and was much respected and feared by them, and because of his great bravery was made a captain. No reliable information was received of him afterward, though the Indians said he was alive a few years before 1629. The mulatto girl was living when Oñate entered the country.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

JUAN DE OÑATE ENTERS NEW MEXICO WITH A PARTY OF COLONISTS.

ESPEJO and his companions, upon their return to New Spain, gave a most flattering account of the country they had passed through, of the populous towns, fertile valleys, abundance of provisions to be obtained, and the rich mines of the precious metals to be found in the mountains. This information rekindled the avarice of the Spaniards of Mexico, and the viceroy determined to take permanent possession of, and colonize, the country.¹

¹ I have translated the following interesting account which Espejo gave of New Mexico from De Larenaudière's History of Mexico, viz :

“The people were somewhat advanced toward civilization, with many manners and customs similar to those of the Aztecs. Many of the men and women wore long gowns of cotton, tastefully painted, and some had coats of cloth colored with blue and white, similar to the manner of the Chinese. They were adorned with feathers of different colors. One of the chiefs gave him four thousand bolls of cotton. One of the tribes, called Jumanes, painted the face, arms and legs in ridiculous figures. Their arms were great bows, with arrows terminated with sharp-pointed stones, very hard, and wooden swords armed on both sides with sharp-cutting stones, similar to the swords of the Aztecs. The latter they use with great dexterity, and could cut a man's body in two at a single blow. Their shields were covered with untanned bull-hide. Some of the nations lived in houses of stone four

The person who first moved in the matter of the colonization of New Mexico was Don Juan de Oñate, a native of Zacatecas, and a gentleman of influence and importance in his day. He conceived the idea of planting Spanish colonies in the country, and in order to obtain permission to do so, presented a petition to the viceroy, Don Louis de Velasco, to that effect, about the close of the sixteenth century.² He pledged himself to introduce

stories high, and walls very thick to keep out the cold of winter. Others slept under tents during the heat of summer, or lived in them all the year. There were found villages where luxury and comforts were noted. The houses were whitewashed and the walls covered with pictures. The inhabitants used rich mantles with similar pictures, and subsisted on good flesh and corn-bread. Other tribes were somewhat more savage: they covered themselves with skins of animals, the product of the chase, and the flesh of the mountain bull was their principal food. Those nearest to the banks of the Del Nerté, whose fields appeared well cultivated, obeyed chiefs whose orders were announced by public criers. In the pueblos of all the Indians were seen a multitude of idols, and in each house there was a chapel dedicated to the genius of mischief. They represented, by means of pictures, the sun, moon and stars as principal objects of their worship. When they saw the Spanish horses for the first time they were no less astonished than the Mexicans, and were on the point of worshipping them as superior beings. They subsisted them in their most beautiful houses, and entreated them to accept the best they had. There were found in that great region abundant harvests of corn, flax similar to that of Europe, vines loaded with grapes, and beautiful forests filled with buffaloes, deer, stags, and every species of game."

² The date of this petition is given as the 21st of September, 1595, which is most likely an error, as the records state that he left Mexico, for New Mexico, on his expedition of colonization, in the year 1591. There is a good deal of discrepancy among the authorities as to the time Oñate arrived in New Mexico. Padre Frejes, in his history of the conquest of New Mexico, published in Mexico, in 1830, states that Oñate arrived there in 1595; Mariana says that he set out from Mexico in 1598; while De Larenaudière, in his History of Mexico, published at Barcelona in 1844, states that he took possession of the country the last year of the sixteenth century—1599.

two hundred soldiers, horses, cattle, merchandise, and agricultural implements. As a remuneration for his services he demanded large grants of land; that his

The following is a copy of the original decree of the king of Spain, in favor of Oñate :

“Don Felipe, by the Grace of God, King of Castile, of Arragon, of the Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Portugal, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galecia, Mayoria, Sevilla, of Yerdina, Cordova, Coréga, Murrisa, Jaen, Algarbes, of Algesira, Gibraltar, Canary Islands, East and West Indies, Islands, and Tierra Firma of the Ocean, Archduke of Austria, Duque of Borgora and Milan, Count of Traspur, Flanders, and Tirol, of Barcelona, Lord of Viscaya and Molisa, &c., &c. :

“Whereas the ViceRoy, Don Louis of Velasco, by virtue of a decree of the King my Lord—may he live in Glory—entered into an agreement and capitulation with Don Juan de Oñate, relative to the discovery, pacification and settlement of the provinces of New Mexico, which is in New Spain, and among other things he granted to him what is contained in one of the chapters of instructions of new discoveries and settlements of the Indies, which is as follows: ‘To those who bind themselves to form said settlements, and shall have done the same, and shall have complied with the agreement, in honor to their own persons and their descendants and of them as first settlers, laudable memory may remain, we make them and their legitimate descendants *Hijosdalgos* of the lands owned by them, in order that in the settlement established by them, and in any other part of the Indies they may be *Hijosdalgos* and persons of noble lineage and Lord paramount, and as such they shall be known, held and considered, and enjoy all the honors and pre-eminences, and may do all things that noblemen and gentlemen of the Kingdom of Castile can do, according to the privileges, laws, and customs of Spain, should or ought to do and enjoy.’ And in behalf of the said Don Juan de Oñate, I have been requested to grant him the grace to command him to approve, notwithstanding the moderation which the Duque of Monterey used relative thereto, and published by him, my Council of the Indies, I have thought proper that the said prerogatives should be understood to continue during the time occupied in said conquest, for five years, and if the said conquerors should terminate the conquest thereof before the expiration of the five years, they, their sons and descendants shall enjoy the said prerogatives as herein set forth. And I do hereby command that all who may have gone and shall go on the said conquest, pacification, and settlement, according to, and in conformity with, the provisions of the

family should be ennobled; the loan of a considerable sum of money to defray the expenses; a fat salary, and to be furnished with arms and ammunition. He also asked permission to reduce the natives to a state of obedience,

said chapter, and shall continue in the conquest for five years; and those who shall prosecute the same who should die before the expiration of the five years, there shall be reserved and secured unto their sons and descendants all the pre-eminences and prerogatives, exemptions and liberties as aforesaid in conformity to, and as is granted and conferred upon them in the said chapter, entirely and completely, failing in nothing, and charge the Infantes, Prelates, Duques, Marquises, Counts, Nobles, Subjects and Priors of royal orders, Prefects, Alcaldes of the Castiles, houses surrounded with a moat, and country houses (casas fuerte y llanas), and those of my Councils, Presidents, Judges, Alcaldes, High Constables of my household and court, and chancery to my Vice Roys and Governors, and to all of my authorities and judges, as well those of my Kingdom and Seignories as those of the Indies and Tierra Firma of the Ocean, and other persons of whatever condition or quality to observe and comply, and to have obeyed and executed this my franchise and grace, confirmed to the aforesaid, without restricting or increasing, nor consent to any infraction of the contents of this my determination, which I desire and it is my will that it shall have the force of law as though it had been decreed and promulgated in Court, and it be published in all proper parts and places.

“ Given at San Lorenzo, on the 8th day of July, 1602.

(Signed)

“ I THE KING.

“ Laguna, Armenteros, Doc. Eugenio de Salazar, Benabente de Venavides—Louis de Salcedo. By order of the King, my Lord. Juan de Ybarra. Recorded, Gabriel de Ochoa, Chancellor, Sebastian de la Vega.

“ ACT OF AUDIENCE.

“ In the city of Mexico, June 20, 1604, the President and Judge of the Royal Audience of New Spain being present at the session, also the Mariscal de Campo, Vicente the Saldivan, presented the Royal decree governing to the opposite party, and asked that it be complied with; and being seen by the said Audience they obeyed the same with all reverence and respects, and replied that it should be observed and complied with, and executed in all its parts as His Majesty commanded; and thus it was recorded as their act, and they approved the same by placing their rubric thereto in my presence.

(Signed)

“ CRISTOVAL OROSIO.”

which meant, in its practical effect, their reduction to a state of slavery, and stipulated that the government should supply the colony with "six priests, a full complement of books, ornaments, and church accoutrements."

The viceroy granted the petition of Oñate, with the exception of some of his most extravagant demands; and the agreement entered into between them stipulated for "the discovery, pacification and settlement of the provinces of New Mexico, which is in New Spain." Among other things there were granted to them the following privileges contained in one of the "chapters of instructions of new discoveries and settlement of the Indias;" which gave "To those who bind themselves to form said new settlements, and shall have done the same, and shall have complied with their agreement, in honor of their own persons and their descendants, and of them as first settlers, laudable memory may remain, we make them and their legitimate descendants *hijosdalgos* of the lands owned by them, in order that in the settlement established by them, and in any other part of the Indias, they may be *hijosdalgos* and persons of noble lineage, and lord paramount, and as such they shall be known, held and considered, and enjoy all the honors and pre-eminences, and may do all things that noblemen and gentlemen of the kingdoms of Castile can do, according to the privileges, laws and customs of Spain, should or ought to do and enjoy." The time limited for the conquest and pacification of the country was five years; and if Oñate should die during that period, and before the conquest should be completed, his sons were empowered to carry on and complete the same, with like privileges and prerogatives as their ancestor. This agreement between Oñate and the viceroy was confirmed and approved by

Don Felipe the Third, king of Spain, at San Lorenzo on the 8th of July, 1602, but Oñate had entered upon the labor of conquest and colonization some years before.

As soon as the viceroy had granted the petition of Oñate, and given him the necessary authority to organize the expedition, he made immediate preparations to carry it into execution. He exhibited great activity in raising troops, inducing settlers to embark in the enterprise, and procuring a supply of provisions. He had numerous obstacles to encounter in fitting out the expedition, which those who were opposed to it increased in every possible manner. From this cause there was a delay of three months in marching, and in the meantime the men became much dissatisfied. More than two hundred returned home, many of whom were married and intended accompanying the expedition with their families. This delay also caused great loss to Oñate, who defrayed nearly the whole expense. But in spite of every obstacle and opposition he completed his arrangements and took up the line of march from the city of Mexico sometime in the year 1591. His force consisted of upward of seven hundred soldiers, including the flower of the Chichimeca troops, and he was accompanied by one hundred and thirty married men, with their wives and children, who went into the country as permanent settlers. Among this number were several persons of note. Although the records are silent upon the subject, we may suppose that he took with him a sufficient number of domestic animals to commence new settlements. He was also accompanied by ten Franciscan friars, said to have been men of spirit and learning, who were named, Alonzo Martinez, commissary of the troops, Francisco de San Miguel, Francisco de Zamora, Juan de Rosas, Alonzo de Lugo, Andres Corchado,

Juan Claros, and Cristoval Salazar, ministers; and Juan de San Buenaventura and Pedro de Vergara, secular friars.

Fairly en route, Oñate directed his march toward the North, through the interior of the country, until he struck the Del Norte river, which he reached without any serious difficulty. He followed up the bank of this stream, passing numerous Indian towns belonging to different provinces, until he arrived at the valley inhabited by the Teguas nation, situated on the borders of said stream in about latitude 37 degrees North.⁴ Continuing up the river a few leagues further, he established his camp at an advantageous location between the rivers Del Norte and the Chama. He entered New Mexico with a force of four hundred men, including the one hundred and thirty who brought their wives and families with them; the others having either deserted on the march, or from other causes failed to reach their destination. The reason given in the old records for fixing upon this point for the commencement of the new settlement is because it was "an intermediate point, and on the West is California distant two hundred leagues, as has been seen, and to Florida on the East three hundred leagues by an air line, not regarding the distance traveled by Orantes, Cabeza de Vaca, nor Hernando de Soto, for they were all lost, wandering back and forth, and the distance should be measured in a direct line, and on the North to the arm of the sea which is called San Lorenzo, where the embarkation for Spain is easy, for it will be seen hereafter that this river has its confluence in the Labrador

⁴ This is an error in the reckoning, as the Teguas nation inhabited a region of country South of Santa Fé, and in latitude about 35 degrees 30 minutes North.

country, the frontier of Terranova, at which place they come every year to fish for cod.”⁵

The Indians received the Spaniards as friends, and manifested their good-will by supplying them with provisions and clothing, assisting them in the erection of their houses, and immediately declaring themselves vassals of the king of Spain. They found the climate cool and healthful, somewhat similar to the elevated regions of Spain, the land fertile, and watered by beautiful and clear streams. The forests and mountains abounded with game of many kinds, and the rivers and streams were swarming with fish. The surrounding provinces were inhabited by a peaceable and amiable people, many of whom lived to be an hundred years old.

Upon their first arrival the Spaniards encountered the difficulties that always beset settlers of a new country, and they were necessarily obliged to endure many hardships. The soldiers soon became dissatisfied with the life they were obliged to lead, and deserted their officers and returned home. Upon their arrival in Mexico they gave the most discouraging account of the condition of things, representing the country as barren and unfit for the residence of man. They disparaged it in every possible way, which had the effect of bringing the new settlement into bad repute.

The colonists immediately commenced to build houses and organize a settlement, in which labors the Indians gave them assistance. As soon as they had prepared a shelter for themselves and families, they turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil, as the best and surest means of living. They located land, opened farms,

⁵ This extract is given for the purpose of showing the crude idea the Spaniards of that day had of the geography of the continent.

planted corn, and all kinds of vegetables, and sowed wheat and other grains; and soon the valleys were blooming under the hand of industry, and the colonists had the satisfaction of witnessing the steady growth of an abundance of all the necessaries of life. Until the harvest yielded its bountiful supply, the wood, the mountains, and streams furnished a sufficiency of flesh and fish to satisfy their immediate wants. The country was well adapted to grazing purposes, and, as soon as practicable, they turned their attention to this branch of husbandry, and in a few years numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle were seen pasturing upon the neighboring mountains and plains. Plenty smiled on every hand, and peace between the Christians and natives seemed cemented by permanent good-will between the parties.

The accounts given of the Indians, as they were found by Oñate and his followers, agree substantially with those received from his predecessors. They were settled in villages of large houses which contained many rooms, and were several stories high; they dressed in mantles of cotton, which was cultivated by them to a considerable extent, and in buffalo-ropes and wolf-skins. The mantles were painted. They also wore mantles of feathers made from the plumage of the wild turkey, with which the country abounded. The dress of the men and women was similar; and all wore moccasins. They cultivated corn, beans, pumpkins, and herbs, of which they laid in a supply for the year before cold weather commenced; and they also ate bears, deer, rabbits, wild turkeys, partridges, and quails, which they obtained by the chase. They caught trout, perch, and catfish in the streams, of which the latter in particular abounded in the Rio del Norté. The Indians were all sober, and drank no other beverage than water.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OÑATE VISITS QUIVIRA, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE THERE ;
FRIAR SALMERON.

As a leading object of the Spaniards in entering New Mexico was to search for the precious metals, they soon turned their attention in that direction and neglected, in a measure, the pursuits of agriculture. In their search for mines they were very successful, and found deposits of gold and silver, of greater or less richness, in various localities ; as in the mountains near Socorro, Puara, Tunque, in the Puerto, in the Sienega, in San Marcos, Galisteo, Pozos and Picoris, and also in the Jemez mountains. Granite was found near Chama. Besides the precious metals, there were discovered copper, lead, magnets, copperas, alum, sulphur and charchihuites. The latter were sought after principally by the Indians and used by them as ornaments, and by whom they were valued above all other earthly things. The Spanish colonists of that day are described by some as men of great idleness, and enemies to all kinds of labor ; and one old chronicler remarks, that although their desire for gold was such that they would enter into the infernal

regions to obtain it, and the country abounded in valuable mines, they had not the energy necessary to work them; and another goes so far as to say that, "if they have a good crop of tobacco to smoke they are well contented, and want no other riches."

This is probably an overdrawn picture. It is quite likely that the want of capital, and the absence of proper machinery were greater drawbacks to the working of the mines than lack of energy in the colonists, for the Spanish settler, in all parts of the world, has ever been noted for his untiring industry in his search for the precious metals. Among those who took up their abode in New Mexico, during the first nine years after Oñate had entered the country, were three Flemish men, but citizens of Mexico, named Juan Fresco, (Cool John), Juan Descalso), (Barefooted John), and Rodrigo Lorenzo. They turned their attention to mining; discovered many new mines; extracted a good deal of silver from the ore, and made many experiments in the precious metals. Encouraged by what they had seen and done in the business of mining, they returned to Mexico and obtained competent miners and refiners, together with the necessary machinery to work the mines, which they carried back with them to New Mexico. When they reached the settlements, and the Spaniards heard their intention, the latter assembled the night of their arrival, set fire to the machinery and burnt it. This is said to have been done because the governor, Don Pedro de Peralto, gave the enterprise his countenance; from which it would appear that the settlers would not allow those who were so disposed work the mines.

When Oñate had erected his own house, and the colonists were in a condition for him to be absent, he made

on a visit to the different Indian provinces. After he had been to those neighboring to the new settlements, he extended his explorations into the interior, and visited the more distant. Having heard a good deal said of the great city of Quivira, he determined to make a trip thither, to obtain correct information of the people and the country. For this purpose he left the village of New Mexico some time in the year 1599, accompanied by eighty soldiers as an escort and father Francisco de Velasco, then commissary of the province, and a secular friar named Pedro de Vergara, both of whom had come into the country with him. He took for guide the Mexican Indian, Josefe, who made his escape from Humaña, as before mentioned.

Thus prepared for the expedition he took up the line of march, traveling in an East South-east direction over the buffalo plains, covered with great herds of that animal. They passed through a beautiful, healthful and fertile country, with a salubrious climate, and well watered. The plains abounded with fine pasture, and the soil produced by cultivation good grapes, plums, and other fruits. They traveled, according to their computation, the distance of two hundred leagues, when they arrived at what they denominated the "promised land," from its great beauty and fertility. They saw, upon the plains, wandering Indians, without permanent habitations, who dwelt in huts of straw, and lived upon the flesh of the buffalo, and who never planted, or laid up food. They dressed in skins, which they also carried into the settled provinces to sell, and brought back in return corn-meal.

The Spaniards also encountered a tribe of Indians called Escansaques, who were then on their way to make

¹ These people were probably the Querechos described by Castañeda.

battle with their enemies, the Quiviras. They had been in the habit of entering the settlements and setting fire to the houses, and father Velasco persuaded Oñate to punish them in such a manner that they would not be likely to do any damage in future. A battle took place between them and the Indians, in which a thousand of the latter were killed and a number of the Spaniards wounded. Here was found some evidence of the killing of Humaña and his companions, in a few articles of iron, old boots, and bones of horses seen at this point.

When the Quivira Indians heard of the approach of the Spaniards, they sent a messenger to receive them; but when he saw them in company with their enemies, the Escansaques, he became alarmed, and dared not cross the river which separated them. Oñate sent a party of soldiers to cut off his retreat and make him prisoner, which they succeeded in doing, and brought him in to camp and put him in irons. The Quiviras, hearing what had happened to their messenger, resolved to rescue him, which they accomplished by a little stratagem and cunning. They pretended to have become reconciled with the Spaniards and visited their camp, but while the latter were taking care of their arms, they succeeded in carrying off both the Indian and his irons. The surrounding country appearing to be thickly settled, from the number of smokes rising in all directions, Oñate sent out a reconnoitering party. They returned the next day, and reported that there was no end to the settlements; that the Indians said the country was very extensive, and was still more populous to the North. The Indians likewise told them that it was the custom of their people to hang their clothes upon the trees when they were

* The same Quivira that Coronado visited.

preparing for war, where they, themselves, had seen them hanging. They heard much said of the great wealth of the country, and how the spear heads and drinking cups were made of gold, but they saw no evidence of it.

Upon the return of the reconnoitering party the Spaniards advanced toward the settlements, taking the direction the Indians had fled after they released the prisoner. On their approach the Indians abandoned their houses through fear; but when they were informed how many of their enemies, the Escansaques, had been killed, they were assured and returned. They were now satisfied that the Spaniards were a brave people and would make valuable friends, and their exploit was published throughout the country. The Indians now desired their friendship, and for this purpose they sent, as ambassador to them, an Indian of Quivira, a man of great shrewdness and reserve, who established peace between the parties. Oñate was well satisfied, from what he could learn, that the country abounded in gold, and which the Indians refined by a process they called Tejas.³

When Oñate returned to Mexico he took with him two Indian boys he had made prisoners in the fight with the Escansaques, and whom he named Miguel, because the action took place on that day. In the city of Mexico one of them built a furnace for refining gold, with an accuracy that astonished all of that occupation. He said this was the only metal found in the country whence he came, and that he was acquainted with no other kind. The silversmiths tried to deceive him with plated and spurious articles, but they could not, as in

³ The author has not been able to procure the balance of Oñate's journal, which will account for the abrupt termination of his adventures in New Mexico.

every instance he readily distinguished the true from the false. He was afterward taken to Spain and presented to Philip III. and the Court. The silversmiths of the capital also tried to deceive him with a mixture of metals, but in every case he detected the spurious article and pointed out the pure gold. His intelligence created quite a sensation at Court. He made a map of his native province and the neighboring countries, with an accuracy that caused great surprise, and which was placed in the hands of the duke of Infantado, where it was afterward seen by father Francisco Velasco. Miguel gave such a flattering account of the wealth and greatness of the country, and of the abundance of gold to be found there, that the king determined to cause that region to be well explored, and gave immediate orders for one thousand men to be equipped for that purpose. The gentleman, who carried this Indian to Spain, wishing to do great service to his country offered to equip one half the soldiers at his own expense. The king granted him permission to do so; and he wrote to the viceroy of Mexico, that in case he should comply with his promise the other five hundred were to be equipped at his, the king's, expense. But nothing was done in the matter, and the expedition entirely failed.

Oñate appears to have remained several years in New Mexico after his expedition to Quivira, and was engaged in subduing the natives, and making settlements. Several villages and missions were established, principally in the valley of the Del Norte, and the colony flourished and gained strength from year to year. In 1611 he made an exploration toward the East and discovered what were then known as the Cannibal lakes, and also a river which

was called the "river of Cadandachos, which means Palisade."⁴

While the settlers were occupied in subduing the Indians, cultivating the soil, and digging the precious metals, the friars were employed in preaching to the natives and converting them to christianity. The number of these pious missionaries was increased, from time to time, and with a zeal worthy the cause in which they were engaged, they traversed all parts of the country proclaiming the gospel to the heathen. The first mission was established at a place called El Teguayo, and down to the year 1608 eight thousand Indians had been baptised and converted to Catholicism. Among the religious men who came into the country within a few years after the arrival of Oñate, was one Geronimo de Zarate Salmaron, a monk of the Franciscan order, who passed eight years of his life endeavoring to civilize and christianize the natives. He took up his residence in the pueblo of Jemez, which language he acquired, and preached to the inhabitants in their native tongue. He resided there several years, and baptised, and administered the sacrament to, six thousand five hundred and sixty-six Indians of this nation, besides baptising a large number of the pueblos of Cia and Santa Ana, of the Queres nation. He built several churches and convents, and did many other praiseworthy acts to improve the condition of the heathen inhabitants. He made a visit to the pueblo of Acoma, then hostile to the Spaniards, which he succeeded in pacifying and inducing to make peace. He traveled over a large portion of the country, which he explored; and upon his return to Mexico to lay the result of his mission

⁴ The situation of these lakes is not known at the present day; but the river is probably the Canadian fork of the Arkansas.

before the head of his order, he wrote an account of the country, giving the location of the various mines of precious metals, with such general information as would be of service to those who might succeed him.

In the year 1629, by order of the reverend father friar Francisco de Apodaca, the "commissary of all the provinces and consecrated vessels of New Spain," one friar Francisco de Velasco examined the journal of Salmeron, and caused the same to be made public, in order to stimulate other religious men to undertake missions into the country to convert the natives from idolatry. The notice of Velasco, giving publicity to this journal, is dated at the convent of San Francisco, city of Mexico, August the 18th, 1629.^s

^s I have not been able to find Salmeron's journal.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE INDIANS BECOME DISCONTENTED UNDER SPANISH RULE,
AND MAKE SEVERAL ATTEMPTS AT REBELLION.

As has been already stated, when the Christians first entered New Mexico to establish permanent settlements, the Indians received them with kindness and extended to them the rights of savage hospitality. They furnished them the means of living until their fields should bring forth fruit, and assisted them in erecting dwellings to shelter them from cold and storm. The simple-minded natives were of an amiable disposition and averse to war; and were disposed to live on terms of good-will with the strangers who had made their homes in their country.

In a few years, however, the Spaniards began to assume the prerogative of masters, and under the rule of tyranny which naturally followed, all harmony and good-feeling between the races were at an end. It had ever been the policy of Spain, in all her American conquests, to change the religion as well as the civil institutions of those whom she conquered. In accordance with this rule of action, the Spanish settlers of New Mexico soon required the Indians to give up the religious faith of their

fathers, to which they were strongly attached, and embrace Catholicism. To effect this purpose with more facility, churches were built and priests established in most of the pueblos; religious services were celebrated according to the forms of the Catholic church, and the Indians were compelled to adopt a mode of worship which they neither understood nor sympathized with. In a short time they saw all their ancient rites prohibited; their *estufas* were closed; their altars removed, and their idols destroyed. Their favorite dance the *Cachina*, which made up part of their religious worship, was interdicted; and in fine they saw themselves compelled to kneel at the white man's shrine, to worship his God, and by their sweat and toil to support a swarm of priests, established in all their villages. The Indians were naturally attached to the religion of their race, in which they had been reared and which their fathers had believed in from time immemorial, and it was a severe trial for them to give it up. This was a compliance cruel in the extreme, but the strong arm of Spanish power obliged them to submit; and not unfrequently the lash was applied to make them more devout. In addition to this, when the Spaniards turned their attention to mining, the Indians were compelled to work in

¹ The *estufa* still retains its importance in the political and religious organization of the Pueblo Indians. Each village contains one, which is used both as a council chamber and a place of worship, where they practice such of their heathen rites as still exist among them. It is built partly under ground, and is considered a holy place. In it the Indians hold all their deliberations on public affairs, and transact the ordinary municipal business of the village. It is said to be their custom when they return from a successful war expedition, to repair to the *estufa*, where they strip themselves of their clothing and dance and otherwise celebrate their success; and that, upon some occasions, they remain there two or three days before visiting their families.

the mines, where, year after year, they dragged out a life more miserable than death itself. From these causes the natives became bitterly hostile to the Christians; and as years rolled away with renewed and increased hardships, their hearts were steeled against all desire of reconciliation. From this time friendship between the races was at an end, and they became open or secret enemies.

Under these circumstances we are not surprised that the Indians wore the Spanish yoke with uneasiness and discontent, and longed to throw it off. They now began to look upon the Spaniards as intruders in the country, and considered it their duty to expel them. In secret they still worshipped the Gods of their fathers, and neither the teachings of the priests, nor the severe punishments inflicted upon them, could compel them to relinquish their ancient rites. Whenever they were known to indulge in their heathen ceremonies, even in the privacy of the *estufa*, they were severely punished; but this had only the effect to incense them still more, and increase their hatred of the Spaniards.

The Indians now resolved to rid themselves of their harsh task-masters, and to effect this object a general combination of all the *pueblos* was agreed upon. They began to manifest open discontent, and defy the Spanish power. They made several attempts at rebellion before success crowned their efforts, in every instance being either betrayed by one of their own number, or immediately overpowered after they had taken up arms. The first attempt of the kind, of which we have any record, was about the year 1640, while General Arguello was the governor and captain-general of the province. The immediate cause of this outbreak was the whipping, im-

prisoning and hanging of forty Indians, because they would not relinquish their heathen worship and become devout Catholics. They flew to arms but were soon overpowered. During the same administration the Jemez and the Apache Indians combined in a conspiracy, but the effort was futile, as they succeeded in killing only one Spaniard, named Diego Martinez Naranjo. The governor caused twenty-nine of the conspirators to be arrested and imprisoned.

A second rebellion was put on foot in the year 1650, during the administration of General Concha. It was planned by the pueblos of the Teguas nation, namely: Ysleta, Alameda, San Felipe, Cochite and Jemez; and it was the intention of the Indians to drive every Spaniard, and particularly the priests, from the country whom they did not massacre. In this instance the Apaches also became their allies. The time agreed upon for the outbreak to take place was the Thursday night of Passion-Week, when the Christians would be generally assembled in the churches engaged in religious exercises, and being unprepared for defence the Indians were to rush in and massacre them. Fortunately the conspiracy was discovered before the time arrived to carry it into effect, and was prevented. A party of Indians had been sent

² Ysleta, San Felipe and Cochite are situated in the valley of the Del Norte, the two former South of Santa Fé, the latter about due West, and within sight of the town Peña Blanca. Alameda was situated near Albuquerque, and has long since passed away. San Felipe is a few miles South of Peña Blanca, and almost in sight of it. On a high bluff mesa near this pueblo, and overlooking the river, is the ruin of an old pueblo, which has not been occupied within the memory of the present generation.

³ A wandering tribe, consisting of several bands, and occupying various parts of New Mexico. They live in lodges and subsist by the chase and stealing.

out to steal horses to aid them in the enterprise, and the Spaniards suspecting some mischief, dispatched captain Alonzo Baca in pursuit. He succeeded in arresting them with the animals in their possession, when they made a full confession of their plan of operations. They informed him that the horses had been delivered to them by the Christian Indians of Sandia and Alameda; and that all the pueblos had united with the Apaches, in a conspiracy to kill every Spaniard in the country. Baca lost no time in communicating this information to the alcalde of Alameda, who gave immediate notice of what he had heard, to the governor. General Concha took prompt action in the matter. He ordered an investigation to be held forthwith, which resulted in the discovery of all the plans of the enemy, by which the rebellion was crushed and the ring-leaders secured. Many Indians were arrested and imprisoned, of whom nine were hung, and a number sold into slavery for the term of ten years. These energetic measures overawed the rebels, and for the present they remained quiet.

For some time the two races lived in apparent friendship with each other, and nothing more was heard of rebellion, but the Indians had not relinquished the hope of driving the Spaniards from the country. For a few years undisturbed quiet reigned throughout the province, and the Indians bore their grievances in silence and sadness. During the administration of General Villanueva the Indians of the pueblo of Piros conspired with the Apaches, and fled from their village and took refuge with the latter in the Magdalena mountains. From this rendezvous they sallied forth with arms in their hands and commenced the work of death. They killed five Spaniards before they could be overpowered, one of

whom was an alcalde of a neighboring village, who was murdered by a Christian Indian named Tambulita. This was the extent of the injury done when the conspiracy was crushed and the leaders secured. Six of them were hung, and many others imprisoned and sold into slavery. Among other superstitions that existed with the Indians of New Mexico was that of witchcraft, and about this time the Spaniards caused several of the inhabitants of Senacu to be burnt for this imaginary offence.⁴

A short time afterward another rebellion was put on foot which resulted as disastrously as before. The head and front of this movement was Estevan Clemente, the governor of the Salt Lake pueblos, an Indian of much influence, and to whom his brethren paid great deference. This conspiracy was general throughout the country, and not a white man was to be spared to tell the tale of blood. Clemente directed the Indians to steal the horses of the Spaniards and conceal them in the mountains, so they would have no means of escape should they attempt it. The time fixed upon for the outbreak was the Thursday night of Passion-Week as before; but meanwhile the whole plan of operations was discovered and the rebellion nipped in the bud. Clemente was arrested and hung, when his followers abandoned the enterprise and made terms with the Spaniards. There were found among the effects of this Indian many idols and other

⁴ The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico still believe in witchcraft. In the spring of 1854, the Indians of the pueblo of Nambé put two of their own number to death for this imaginary offence, being accused of eating up all the little children of the village. The offenders were tried before the United States District Court at Santa Fé, for murder, and acquitted because it could not be clearly proved in which of two adjoining counties the killing took place. The author conducted the case for the government.

articles in readiness to resume their heathen worship had the conspiracy been successful.

In the year 1675, and while general Juan Francisco Frecenio was governor and captain-general of the province, the Indians of the Teguas nation were accused of having bewitched friar Anares Duran, superior of the convent of the pueblo of San Yldefonso, his brother, sister-in-law, and an Indian interpreter. Upon information being laid before the proper authorities, upward of forty of the Indians were arrested and imprisoned. A military tribunal, composed of Francisco Javier, civil and military secretary of the governor, as judge confiscator and executioner; Louis de Quintana, associate judge, and sergéant-major Diego Lopez, interpreter, was organized for their examination. Upon being arraigned the Indians pleaded guilty, when forty-three were sentenced to be whipped and sold into slavery, and four to be hanged. Of the four sentenced to suffer death, one was hung in Nambè, another in the pueblo of San Felipe, a third in Jemez, and the fourth hung himself.

This proceeding increased the hostility of the Indians toward the Spaniards, and those of the Teguas nation formed a conspiracy to put the governor to death. For a time they were troublesome, but no outbreak occurred nor was there any open resistance to the Spanish authority. While the Indians under sentence remained in confinement, seventy warriors of this nation, under the command of Popé, a distinguished San Juan Indian, repaired to the quarters of the governor early one morning, and demanded the release of their brethren. They entered the house and filled two of the rooms, and laid before him eggs, chickens, tobacco, beans and peltries, as a ransom for the prisoners. The governor was alarmed

at the resolute front the Indians wore, but exhibited no sign of fear. In reply to their demand, he told them that he would release those in confinement if they would abandon their heathen customs, when they quietly retired.

Thus the Indians, for a period of nearly half a century, and during the administration of fourteen governors, made ineffectual attempts to free themselves from the yoke of the Spaniards. The latter were kept in a state of constant alarm and fear, and the most unceasing vigilance was required on their part to prevent themselves being expelled the country. These repeated failures, however, did not dampen the ardor of the Indians for rebellion, nor relax their efforts to be free. From time to time they renewed the attempt, and each succeeding effort brought to the work increased wisdom and cunning, and experience purchased by defeat. At length the oppression of the Spaniards reached such a pitch that the Indians were determined to bear it no longer; forbearance had ceased to be a virtue, and they resolved to make a united and mighty effort to rid themselves of their oppressors forever. This led to the revolution of 1680 which resulted in the expulsion of the Spaniards from the country, when the Indians maintained their independence for upward of ten years in spite of all the force the government could send against them.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE INDIANS RISE IN REBELLION AGAINST THE SPANISH
AUTHORITIES.

AFTER the defeat of their contemplated rebellion in the time of Governor Concha, the Indians had repeatedly discussed the formation of new conspiracies in their private assemblies, which some of the pueblos advocated and others opposed. The first attempt, to unite all the pueblos in a common league against the Spaniards, was made by the Taos Indians. Their method of communicating intelligence to their brethren was simple but effective. They obtained two deer-skins upon which they made drawings representing the manner of the proposed conspiracy, and the object of it. These they sent by trusty hands to all the Christian pueblos, with an invitation to join in the enterprise. Messengers were even sent to the distant villages of Moqui, but they refused to unite with the others, for which reason the project was postponed.

The second effort of the kind was put on foot in the year 1680, by the same Popé, who is mentioned in the last chapter. He was a man of decided ability, and

exercised a controlling influence over his untutored brethren. He traversed the country in all directions, and, with an eloquent tongue, pictured to the Indians the wrongs they were suffering, and aroused them to a desire to throw off their yoke. He told them that their Great Father and chief of all the pueblos, he who had been their father since the flood, had commissioned him to order his countrymen to rebel against the Spaniards and drive them from the land, so that they could live as their forefathers had done, free and independent. To wield a greater influence with them, he made them believe that this undertaking was the result of supernatural agencies, and that he held intercourse with the devil, who was lending all his aid to the work. He said, that one day while down in the estufa at Taos, there appeared unto him three figures of Indians who were always present there. They were named Caidit, Tilim and Tlesime, who sent forth fire from every extremity of their body; and were messengers from the infernal regions; that they conversed with him, advising him what course he should take to unite all the Indians in a common league against the Spaniards. That they directed him to make a rope of the palm-leaf, and tie in it a number of kots to represent the number of days before the rebellion was to take place; that he must send this rope to all the pueblos in the kingdom, when each one should signify its approval of, and union with, the conspiracy by untying one of the knots. Popé, as he had been directed, caused the palm-leaf rope to be carried from pueblo to pueblo, by the fleetest young men, with an invitation to all to join in the enterprise, and threatening with death those who refused. Absolute secrecy was enjoined upon all. The rope was carried to every pueblo but that of Piros, which,

For some unexplained cause, was not invited to participate in the rebellion. In this simple manner notice was given all over the province of the proposed rebellion, and the time it was to take place.

Popé was not alone in his endeavors to arouse his countrymen to a sense of their wrongs and persuade them to drive the Spaniards from the country. He was the leading spirit in the work, but he had some active and zealous co-laborers. These were Catite, a half-breed Queres Indian, Tacu of San Juan,¹ Jaca of the Taos pueblo, and one from San Yldefonso,² called Francisco. Some of these men had cause of personal revenge; and all burned with a desire to rid themselves of the system of tyranny under which they had been groaning for near a century. They had been whipped and scourged because they would not bow down and worship the unknown God of the Spaniard, and been compelled to dig the precious metals from the bowels of the earth to satisfy the avarice of their tyrants; and they thirsted for vengeance.

Everything was conducted with the most profound secrecy, and no means spared to prevent their plans becoming known to the Spaniards. A constant watch was kept upon those who were thought likely to divulge the plot, and not a woman was let into the confidence of the conspirators. Popé's own son-in-law, Nicholas Bua, governor of the pueblo of San Juan, fell under his suspicion, and, for fear he might give information to the enemy, he put him to death by his own hands. The Indians

¹ It is said that the two pueblos of San Juan and Pozos remained faithful to the Spanish, for which the former was afterward styled San Juan de los Caballeros, or the gentlemanly San Juaners.

² The pueblos of San Juan and San Yldefonso are situated in the valley of the Del Norte, a few miles North of Santa Fé.

held Popé in great dread because of their belief that he held intercourse with the evil spirit, and they attached more importance to what he said than that spoken by all the other leaders.

The time fixed upon for the rebellion to break out was the 10th of August, and the poor, oppressed Indians looked forward to its arrival as the period that was to deliver their necks from the yoke of the Spaniards. They had newly bent their bows and tipped their arrows afresh to draw Christian blood, and they awaited with impatience for the day of vengeance to come. In spite of all their precaution, however, treachery lurked in their own ranks. Two days before the time fixed upon, two Indians of the pueblo of Tezuque went down to Santa Fé and divulged the conspiracy to the Spanish governor. They were parties to it, but betrayed their country and their cause to the enemy. The Indians were immediately informed that their plans had been made known to the Spaniards, and, fearing that delay might endanger the whole enterprise, they resolved to take up arms forthwith. That night the pueblos nearest the capital commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of all Christians who fell into their hands, sparing neither priests, women nor children, except a few of the handsomest maidens, whom the warriors reserved for wives.

The rebellion burst upon the Spanish authorities before they were prepared to meet it, and they were in dismay when informed that the Indians were advancing toward the capital. The most vigorous measures were taken to roll back the tide of rebellion that was setting in upon them from all parts of the country. Governor Otermin directed that the Spaniards in the South should take refuge in the pueblo of Isleta, under the command of

the lieutenant-governor, and there fortify themselves; while those in the North were ordered to repair to Santa Fé. The settlers obeyed the summons with alacrity, and leaving their homes hastened toward the places of rendezvous; many reached them in safety, but a large number were overtaken on the way by the Indians and put to death without mercy. The capital, meanwhile, was put in the best possible state of defence. The suburbs were abandoned and the inhabitants withdrew to the central part of the town. The streets entering into the plaza were strongly barricaded; the government buildings were converted into fortifications, and arms distributed among the citizens.

Thus situated, the little garrison awaited, with much apprehension, the approach and attack of the savages. Information reached them daily that they were advancing toward the town, and they were in hourly expectation of seeing them make their appearance. Two Spanish soldiers arrived from Taos on the evening of the 10th instant, having passed through the rebels with difficulty, who brought information to the governor that the Taos pueblo was in arms, and on the march for the capital. They also reported that the Spaniards at La Cañada were well fortified and able to defend themselves. The governor sent out a detachment of soldiers in that direction to reconnoitre the enemy, with orders to bring in the citizens who remained at La Cañada. In the meantime, however, the Indians had attacked that place, massacred the inhabitants, destroyed the town and driven off the stock, and on the 12th the troops returned with the intelligence. The Indians were now gradually drawing near Santa Fé, and the alarm of the inhabitants and the garrison increased daily. They had avowed the massacre of the

Spaniards in the several pueblos, and threatened the rest with the same fate, expressing a determination to exterminate all who were in the country.

Two friendly Indians were dispatched in the direction of the Galisteo, to gain intelligence of the enemy in that quarter. They had been absent but a few hours, when they returned with the information that about five hundred warriors of the Tagnos nation were marching toward Santa Fé, and were not more than a league distant. The spies had entered their camp, and understanding their language had been able to learn something of their plan of operations, as well as to note the disposition they manifested. They were incensed in a high degree against the Spaniards, and were confident of success. They declared that the God of the Christian was dead, but that their God, the sun, never died. They were only waiting to be joined by the Teguas and Apaches to carry into effect their war of extermination.

The forces of the savages followed close upon the steps of the two spies, and the following morning they were seen approaching the town in large numbers from the South. They halted in the suburbs, and took possession of some deserted houses to await the arrival of their allies from the North, before making an attack. Governor Otermin was fully sensible of the danger that menaced him and his little garrison, and determined to arrest it, if possible. He desired to hold a parley with the rebel chiefs and induce them to withdraw their forces before the arrival of the Northern Indians; and for this purpose he sent out a deputation to meet them in conference. But instead of manifesting any willingness to come to terms, they exhibited a strong determination for war. They informed the Spanish officers that they had brought with

them two crosses, one painted red which signified war, and the other white which indicated peace, and they might take their choice between the two; but if they selected the one which indicated peace, it could only be upon condition of an immediate evacuation of the country. The governor made every possible effort to conciliate the rebels, and induce them quietly to return to their homes. He offered to pardon all their crimes and receive them again into the favor of the government if they would lay down their arms and become good Christians and loyal subjects; but they treated these overtures with scorn and refused to listen to any terms of peace. For nearly a century they had toiled and labored under the iron rule of their Spanish task-masters, and now they saw a gleam of happier times; a day of deliverance and retribution was near at hand, and they could not give up the hope of retaliation and again place themselves in bondage. The conference ended, and the Indians awaited the arrival of their confederates.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE INDIANS BESIEGE SANTA FÉ, AND COMPEL THE SPANIARDS TO EVACUATE THE TOWN.

GOVERNOR Otermin having failed to conciliate the Indians, now determined to attack them, hoping to defeat them before the arrival of their confederates from the North. For this purpose the garrison made a sortie to dislodge them from the suburbs. The savages received them with great bravery, and handled them so roughly that the governor was obliged to turn out in person with all the disposable force to save them from defeat. The battle was continued all day, being maintained with equal courage on both sides. The Spaniards had a few men killed and wounded, but the loss of the Indians was very great. Toward evening, and before the action was ended, the Teguas and other nations were seen approaching the town from the North, when the Spaniards were obliged to retire within their fortifications and relinquish the advantages they had gained during the day. The enemy encamped close under the walls of the town and prepared to invest it.

The Indians closely besieged Santa Fé,¹ and took every precaution to confine the Spaniards within their earthen walls. Their numbers increased daily by the arrival of warriors from surrounding pueblos, and they showed a determination to starve out the unfortunate garrison. The siege had now lasted nine days, and the enemy exhibited no disposition to relax the investment of the town. The condition of the garrison was becoming desperate in the extreme. The Indians had turned off the stream that supplied them with water, and the horses and

¹ Santa Fé, or, as it is sometimes written, Santa Fé de San Francisco, the city of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis, is the capital of the territory of New Mexico, and has been the seat of government of that country almost from the time the Spaniards first settled it. It is in latitude 35 degrees, 41 minutes North, and 106 degrees West longitude from Greenwich, and has an elevation of more than seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is situated at the western base of the great Rocky chain of mountains, in a pleasant valley, and on both sides of a little river of the same name that empties into the Rio del Norte about twenty miles to the South-west. History is silent as to the time Santa Fé was first settled by the Spaniards, but it was no doubt soon after they arrived in New Mexico. It was the capital long before 1680, and the seat of the civil and military power of the Spaniards. The city occupies nearly the site of several Indian pueblos, and here was established the power of their kingdoms; but they have long since fallen to ruins, and all that remains of them are the pieces of pottery to be found on the surrounding hills and down the valley, and parts of two of their old houses on the road leading to San Miguel. A portion of the old palace is still standing, a quaint old building, the witness of stirring events long before William Penn founded Pennsylvania. Santa Fé is a mud-built city, the houses being constructed of *adobes* from turret to foundation stone. The streets are narrow and unpaved. In the centre of the city is a large public square, or plaza, of late years planted with trees and enclosed with a board fence; and fronting it are the leading mercantile and business houses. It contains but few public buildings. It is the centre of an extensive and profitable business with Eastern cities. The population is about five thousand. The climate is delightful.

other animals were dying of thirst; provisions were becoming scarce, and starvation began to stare them in the face. All hope of succor, under present circumstances, was at an end, and the only alternative left the garrison was to starve for want of supplies, or to make a sortie and cut their way through the enemy. The latter course was resolved upon and they made the necessary preparations for it during the night of the ninth day of the siege. The next morning, at sunrise, they sallied out of their works and made a desperate assault upon the savages. In spite of greatly superior numbers, Otermin succeeded in cutting his way through the Indians and driving them from their position. Three hundred of the enemy were slain, and forty-seven made prisoners, besides a large amount of property recaptured. The captives were examined as to the nature of the conspiracy, after which they were executed. The Spaniards lost a few soldiers killed and wounded, the governor being numbered among the latter. The Indians now raised the siege, and, about three thousand strong, retired to the mountains a little distance from the town.

Otermin now called a council of war to determine what course to pursue in the emergency. Although the population of Santa Fé was over one thousand souls, not more than an hundred able bodied men could be mustered to oppose the swarm of savages that surrounded them. They were fatigued by fighting and constant watching by day and by night, and the supply of provisions was about exhausted. In view of this condition of things, the council resolved that it was advisable to evacuate the town and leave it to its fate. This course determined upon, they made immediate preparations to carry it into effect. They completed their arrangements during the

night of the 20th of August, and early the next morning they evacuated the town and took up the line of march for El Paso del Norté. The inhabitants accompanied the troops on foot and carried their own baggage, as there were not enough animals left to carry the sick and wounded.

The Indians watched the movements of the Spaniards from their camps, but did not attempt to interrupt or molest them, and when they had retreated some distance they marched in pursuit. The fugitives continued their retreat with all possible speed to Alamillo, where they halted to rest. At this place the Indians came up with them and made demonstrations of attack. Here the Spaniards were reinforced by forty men under the command of adjutant Pedro Leyva, who had heard of their distressed condition and marched to their relief. The Indians now gave up the pursuit and retraced their steps toward Santa Fé. A council of war was called by Otermin, when it was decided to continue the march to Salienta there to await a supply of provisions, and they accordingly again put themselves in route. When they reached the pueblo of Isleta they learned that the Spaniards who had assembled at that place had retreated to the South a few days before. As they marched down the valley of the Del Norté they found all the pueblos deserted, the ranches laid waste, and the Christians either killed or driven away. They were nearly in a starving condition, and suffered greatly for provisions as the Indians had destroyed or removed everything that could afford them relief.

In a few days the whole detachment became so much reduced and broken down that it was unable to proceed without assistance, and an express was dispatched to the

lieutenant-governor for supplies. He sent them a small quantity of provisions, and loaned them a few carts to transport the baggage and disabled. Before the Spaniards marched from Alamillo an express was dispatched to father Ayeta, at El Paso, for a supply of corn. He set out from that place with four wagon loads, but in crossing the river, which was high, one of the wagons swamped and the reverend father came near being drowned. The balance of the corn reached the troops which enabled them to continue the march. They reached Salienta the latter end of September, having overtaken the advanced party. Here another council of war was held to consider the propriety of returning to New Mexico, when it was determined to remain at some convenient place near where they then were until the viceroy could be heard from. They selected San Lorenzo, about twelve leagues above El Paso, for the place of encampment, because both wood and water were near at hand.

The fugitive Spaniards passed the winter at San Lorenzo, and suffered very much. They built rude huts raised on four forks, with thatched roofs, and the women, barefooted, mixed the mud and plastered the walls. Most of the material was brought on the backs of the men, the governor and priests assisting in this arduous labor. Father Ayeta supplied them with ten beeves and as many fanegas of corn, daily, but some of the time they were destitute of provisions, and were obliged to live on herbs, wild fruit, mesquit-beans and mescal. Many left San Lorenzo and went to Casas Grandes, Viscaya and Sonora, in search of provisions and quarters. The governor of Parral issued a circular calling upon the inhabitants to send them supplies, but few only were received. To add to their troubles, the surrounding

Indians were hostile, and they were in constant fear of an attack; and they were also threatened by the Indians of New Mexico. Upon two occasions Otermin marched against the Piros nation and chastised them severely for their depredations.

Upon relinquishing the pursuit of the retreating Spaniards the Indians returned to Santa Fé, which they entered and took possession of. They immediately commenced the work of pillage and destruction. The churches and convent were fired and consumed with their contents, except the provisions, which they saved; and while the fire was raging the Indians danced around the burning piles with the wildest demonstrations of delight, crying aloud in the midst of their savage orgies, that "God the Father and Mary the Mother of the Spaniards were dead," and that their God alone lived. They dressed themselves in the vestments of the priests and rode around the town on horseback yelling and whooping with joy. They established the four cardinal points of the compass for their visible church; and erected stone enclosures in the plaza around which they danced the *cachina*, and made offerings of flour, feathers, the seed of the meguey plant, corn, tobacco, and other articles to propitiate their heathen deities. The children were enjoined to observe these rites in future. After these ceremonies had been concluded they repaired to the little river that flows by the town, in whose limpid waters they bathed and washed their bodies with soap-weed,² in order to cleanse themselves of Christian baptism administered to them by the Spanish priests. The chiefs ordered that the names of Jesus and Mary should not be mentioned in the pueblos; that all should drop baptismal names,

² Amolé, mentioned before.

and put away the wives who had been given them in marriage, and take for partners any other women whom they might fancy. The estufas were directed to be opened in place of the churches destroyed, and the cachina dance was re-established with all its forms and ceremonies.

The number of Christians who fell in the rebellion was over one hundred, Spaniards and civilized Indians, and including men, women, children, and suckling babes; of whom eighteen were priests. The loss of the savages was much greater. At the siege of Santa Fé alone more than four hundred were killed and a large number wounded, besides the loss sustained at other places.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WHAT TOOK PLACE AFTER THE SPANIARDS WERE DRIVEN
FROM THE COUNTRY.

THE Spaniards having been driven from the country, the leaders of the rebellion took measures to unite all the Indians in common league against their return. They even made overtures to those of Sonora; and agreed to intermarry and live upon friendly terms with the Apaches, upon conditions that they would assist them in their future struggles with the Spaniards.

Popé made a tour throughout the province to see that the Indians were in a proper state of defence to resist any attempt of the Christians to reconquer them. He sent messengers in advance to all the pueblos to warn the people of his coming, and to notify them to be in readiness to receive him. He was accompanied by Jaca, Louis Cupavo and Alonzo Catité, and whithersoever he went the savages received him with almost regal honors, and paid him the most devout submission. He ordered the churches and convents to be burned, and the pictures and other articles used in Christian worship to be destroyed, and the religion of their fathers to be everywhere

re-established. The Indians were forbidden to speak the Spanish language, but compelled to converse in their mother tongue. They were prohibited planting any but their ancient seeds, beans and corn, and were ordered to throw away all the seeds and grains given them by the Spaniards. They were directed to open new lands and increase their fields, and Popé assured them that since the Spaniards had been driven away they could enjoy the fruits of their own labor, and live free and independent as their forefathers had done. Upon the condition of compliance with his demands, he promised them the blessings of good crops and health. He told them that the God of the Spaniards was made of rotten wood and was not good for anything, but that the God whom they worshipped was very powerful. The Indians were made to believe that these commands emanated from the three figures whose extremities gave forth fire and smoke, and that obedience to them was necessary in order to return to their ancient customs. All who refused to comply were immediately put to death.

When Popé entered Cia he rode a black mule, wore the Indian costume, and had a large bull's horn fastened upon his head. He reached the pueblo early in the morning and was received with the honors paid to the governor and father-custodian. According to custom he threw corn meal upon the people and assured them that it was an emblem of happiness. He ordered the images to be taken from the church and broken, and divided the vestments between Cupavo, Catité and other captains, after taking the lion's share himself. He then made the inhabitants a speech, in substance as follows: That in consequence of having driven the Spaniards away he had come to accompany them in the chase; they would kill

many deer, rabbits, and all other animals; they would have good crops of corn, pumpkins, and large bolls of cotton; that they need not fear the Spaniards as he had thrown up entrenchments on the three roads, and built strong walls that reached from the earth to the heavens, and if they should enter by any other road he would surround them with darkness, and take them without arms and put them to death.

Having made this speech, Popé took his seat at the table attended by Alonzo Catité, Louis Cupavo and a number of others. They drank wine from the sacred vessels and toasted him as "Your Worship," to which he made appropriate responses. The handsomest women of the pueblo were then brought in the room when he selected the most comely, and gave the others to his captains. During his trip through the country he caused many persons to be put to death, and committed numerous other outrages.

The Indians wreaked their vengeance upon the poor priests who fell into their hands with terrible cruelty, and but few escaped. They looked upon them as the cause of nearly all their sufferings, and therefore made them the first objects of their revenge. The fate of the old priest of Jemez, friar Jesus Morador, was cruel in the extreme. After the prior and the first alcalde had left the pueblo the Indians went to his cell in the night, where he was soundly sleeping ignorant of the rebellion. The first intimation he had of danger was the crowd of infuriated savages rushing into his room. They quickly made him prisoner and stripped him naked; then mounted him upon the back of a hog, and with lighted torches and fiendish yells paraded him around the church and through the village, beating him with sticks and heaping curses

upon his head. They next compelled him to get down upon his hands and knees, when they mounted upon his back and lashed and spurred him through the pueblo until exhausted nature gave way, and he fell dead under the operation. When life was extinct they threw his body outside the pueblo to be devoured by wild beasts.

Three priests were stationed at Acoma, named Cristoval Figeroa, Albino Maldonado, and Juan Mora, whose fate was nearly as cruel as that of the priest of Jemez. The Indians stripped them naked, when they tied them together with a hair rope and paraded them through the pueblo in triumph, making a great noise and covering them with abuse. Figeroa, satisfied that they intended to put himself and companions to death, told them to glut their vengeance upon them, but that in three years they would consume each other in wars. This excited the fury of the Indians, who immediately fell upon them with clubs and stones and killed them, when their bodies were thrown into a deep cave on the North side of the pueblo.

When the news of the rebellion reached Zuñi the Indians flew to arms and commenced a massacre of all the Spaniards who fell into their hands. Here were also stationed three priests, Lorenzo Analiza, Juan de Jesus Espinosa, and Sebastian Calsada. The savages entered their cells and dragged them forth to execution. Seeing a servant of Analiza standing near, they directed him to put them to death, and threatened to kill him if he refused. He plead earnestly for their lives, but the Indians were deaf to all entreaties. They were then stripped and stoned, and afterward tied upon the plaza and shot by Analiza's servant. Their bodies were buried in the village church. The Indians being now maddened with

rage, and their revenge being unsatisfied they started for the distant pueblos of Moqui. Here were stationed two missionaries, padre Juan de Vallada and friar Jesus de Lombarde. They were also dragged from their cells in a cruel and barbarous manner, then tied together and driven through the streets with shouts of scorn and derision, and afterward stoned to death. Their dead bodies were thrown outside the pueblo, as food for the beasts of the field and birds of the air.

The *Procurador* of the province left Acoma to proceed to Zuni while the massacre was taking place, and was followed by some Indians. The latter had sent word to the Zunians that he was on his way to their pueblo, and as he approached they sallied out to meet him. When he saw them coming toward him he was convinced they thirsted for his blood, and that there was no chance of escaping them. He dismounted from his mule, knelt down upon the ground with his hands clasped in prayer and eyes turned toward heaven, in which position he remained until they came up and put him to death. They left his body where it fell. In this manner the priests stationed in the different pueblos were killed, and mostly by their own flocks, for whose spiritual and temporal good they had been laboring for years.

The ancient records relate, among other marvelous things that took place during the rebellion, a wonderful account of four influential Indians of the pueblo of Cia. They were implicitly obeyed and much respected by their fellow villagers and had the credit of performing miracles. It is stated that one of them could make it rain whenever there was a necessity for the earth to be refreshed with showers from heaven; a second had the power to create rabbits, wolves, and all other animals; the third could

swallow arrows and swords, while the fourth swallowed rattlesnakes which passed through him alive without doing him any injury. The supposed gift of supernatural power was the cause of the great influence they exercised over their brethren. These four men were afterward captured by the Spaniards and executed in camp by order of Don Pedro Renero de Posada.

After the revolutionary chiefs had concluded their journey through the province they returned to their respective pueblos. Upon the arrival of Catité at Santo Domingo he caused preparations to be made for the celebration of the cachina dance. It is related that the idols were brought out and the Indians assembled waiting for the ceremonies to begin, when Catité burst with a report like the sound of a gun, and was immediately carried off by the devil. Louis Cupavo was afterward disposed of in the same manner. Popé had been intrusted with the supreme command for a long time, when the Indians limited his power because of the numerous outrages he had committed. He was deposed at one time, and the chief authority was conferred upon Cupavo, but he soon became dissatisfied and Popé was reinstated.

The Indians had now driven the Spaniards from the country and achieved their independence. They abolished all the social and religious institutions introduced by the Christians, and again relapsed into the darkness and superstition of barbarism:

CHAPTER XL.

GOVERNOR OTERMIN MARCHES FOR THE RE-CONQUEST OF
NEW MEXICO.

AT the close of the thirty-eighth chapter we left Governor Otermin, with the troops and colonists of New Mexico, encamped at San Lorenzo. He remained there several months awaiting orders to undertake a re-conquest of the country; but it was not until the month of September, of the following year, 1681, that he received instructions from the earl of Paredes to fit out an expedition for that purpose. He immediately began to equip his forces, but this was found to be a task of no ordinary magnitude. It was with great difficulty he could procure either provisions, ammunition or transportation, and to complete his outfit he was obliged to ask assistance of the Franciscan friars at El Paso. They supplied him with two thousand fanegas of corn, two thousand beef-cattle, besides ammunition, wagons to transport the baggage and rations, and other articles the soldiers stood in need of. There was equal difficulty in arming and equipping the expedition. The old armor had become almost worthless

from long usage, and for want of better material he manufactured new armor of ox-hides. There was great scarcity of arms, and some of those he was able to procure were quite useless. The inhabitants of Santa Fé, burning with a desire to revenge themselves upon the Indians for expelling them from their homes, determined to accompany the expedition, and they enrolled themselves for that purpose. On the 18th of September they addressed a petition to Otermin requesting that their families might be permitted to remain in the garrison at San Lorenzo, and be supplied with provisions during their absence with the army. They set forth that the nearest point at which corn could be procured was at the Casas Grandes, eighty leagues distant, where only two persons planted, and that not more than two fanegas could be had there. The prayer of the petitioners was granted.

The expedition was organized in accordance with the custom of the Spaniards, and, in addition to the troops and ordinary army followers, a number of priests accompanied it in order to christianize the Indians in case the country should be conquered. Otermin was the general-in-chief of the little army and Francisco Javier civil and military secretary. The force consisted of both cavalry and infantry, with a body of friendly Indians. The number of men is not given, but he marched with nine hundred and seventy-five horses. The stores and subsistence were conveyed in wagons drawn by oxen, and on pack mules.

The arrangements being completed the general unfurled the royal banner on the morning of November 5th; and amid the sound of trumpets and the shouts of the citizens who had assembled to witness their departure the little army took up its march for New Mexico. They crossed to the East side of the Del Norte opposite the town of

El Paso,¹ and directed their course to the North along the bank of that river. The troops marched in good order, the different divisions keeping in sight of each other, and about sunset reached a point called Estero Largo in the vicinity of some large salt marshes. Here they encamped for the night. From their camp they could see large smokes rising in different directions, proceeding from signal fires of the Indians who were watching their movements. They passed a quiet night, and, resuming the march the next morning, continued on to Robledo, forty leagues further, which was accomplished without opposition from the enemy. This point is at the entrance upon an extensive barren region of country known as *El Jornada del Muerto*,² the journey of death, where for the distance of ninety miles water is not to be found except

¹ A Mexican town, in the state of Chihuahua, situated on the West bank of the Del Norté, a short distance below our boundary line. It lies in a fertile valley, and is a place of considerable trade. It was founded by the Spaniards at an early day.

² This is a stretch of barren country, in the southern part of New Mexico, the only vegetation being a short dry grass and a few tall weeds. It stretches from Fray Cristoval on the North to Doña Ana on the South, nearly an hundred miles. In the whole distance there is no running water, and the only reliance is upon what collects in holes when it rains. El Jornada is properly table land, for it is considerably elevated above the general level at its two termini, and in shape not unlike a canoe. Its width varies from five to thirty miles. It is bounded on each side by a range of mountains, that on the West shutting off the approach to the river. The Rio del Norté here makes a long turn to the West while the road across the desert runs nearly North and South. It has ever been the dread of travelers, and many an one has entered upon it never to be heard of again. It was formerly roamed over by the Mescalearo Apache Indians, who, in some instances, cut off entire trains. In the winter season it is visited by terrific storms of wind and snow, and men and animals are sometimes frozen to death while attempting to cross it. It has been named the "Journey of Death," because of the number of persons killed while crossing it.

what collects in holes after a rain. Before the troops entered upon the Jornada some soldiers were sent ahead to search for water, but were only able to find a limited supply in holes at a place called Perrilla. Otermin now made a forced march of two days and one night to *La Cruz de Onasa* within seven leagues of Fray Cristoval, the northern terminus of the desert. From this place he sent forward all the soldiers, except a small camp guard, with the animals to the river. The next day they were brought back to camp to bring up the wagons and packs, and about sunset the same afternoon the army, with the trains, was encamped on the bank of the Del Norté. The troops were paraded and the priests offered up solemn thanks to God for the safe passage of the desert.

The next day the march was continued up the river and at night they pitched the camp at Contadero. Here some trails of the enemy, both horse and foot, were seen, and the general ordered a squadron of forty soldiers and some Indians to be detailed the next morning to make a reconnoissance of the surrounding country; and particularly to examine the village of Cenecu,³ which was styled the first pueblo of the kingdom of New Mexico. They left camp at an early hour, being accompanied by Otermin in person, several other officers and some of the priests. The pueblo of Cenecu was situated upon the West bank of the river, which was here crossed by fording. As they approached they saw several traces of the enemy, but upon entering the village it was found to have been abandoned. It presented the appearance of having been attacked by the Indians and sacked. The church and convent were in ruins. The clappers had been taken from the bells in the church and cemetery; and the

³ A few miles North of Fray Cristoval, and is now in ruins.

crosses erected in the cemetery and upon the plaza had been burnt. In the vestry the head and crown of a crucifix, and some "holy stones" were found lying upon the ground, having been desecrated by the "Apostate Apaches." A small brass cannon, used for the defence of the church, had been removed and thrown into the cemetery. The reverend father ordered the crosses found in the houses, the head and crown of the crucifix and all wooden ornaments of the altar to be collected and burnt, and the consecrated stones thrown into the river, to prevent them falling into the hands of the Indians. The bells were taken from the steeples and the cannon from the cemetery and placed in the wagons when the pueblo was set on fire and entirely consumed. The party recrossed the river the same night and joined the main body of the army at Contadero.

The next day, the 28th of November, the whole command marched for the ruins of San Pascual which was passed, and the camp pitched six leagues beyond. Many signs of the enemy were seen, with traces of women and children, the trails coming from the interior pueblos. Six abandoned stock-farms were passed, all of which had been pillaged. That night Otermin made arrangements for the march of the army on the following day, and afterward detailed a party of twenty Spaniards and some Indians to accompany him upon a reconnoissance of the surrounding country, and on a visit to the pueblo of our lady of Socorro. The troops continued up the river the next morning while the general and escort crossed over on their way to Socorro.⁴

This village stood upon a bluff bank about half a mile

⁴ This pueblo was situated near the present town of Socorro, in the county of the same name on the West bank of the Del Norte.

from the river, and had a beautiful and commanding situation. Upon entering the town it was found to have been abandoned by the inhabitants, and afterward pillaged by the Indians. The church and convent were burnt and the clappers removed from the bells. The images, which had been concealed in a hole in the church at the time of the rebellion, had been removed and mutilated or destroyed, some being burnt to charcoal and others broken into pieces. Two human skeletons were found in the cloister of the convent. The plaza was barricaded by an adobe wall and palisade, and pieces of broken images and crosses were scattered over it. The houses had been sacked. In a field near by were found the heads and bones of two dead bodies and some articles of clothing. The pueblo was set on fire and destroyed. Before he re-crossed the river Otermin, with an escort of twelve soldiers, visited a warm spring situated about a league from the village at the foot of the mountains.⁵ He rejoined the army the same afternoon. Many of the broken images and other articles belonging to the church were taken to the Spanish camp and burnt under the direction of the priests.

The following day the army marched to Las Vueltas del Socorro where it encamped. The road here was found to be very bad, and the soldiers were obliged to repair it

⁵ The warm spring which Otermin visited in 1681, is pointed out near the town of Socorro, and there can be no question of its identity. I visited it in the spring of 1854, and bathed in its limpid waters. They gush out from fissures in the rocks at the base of a mountain ridge, and after flowing a few yards fall into a pool about a foot and a half deep, and ten or fifteen feet in diameter. The temperature is a little warmer than that of new milk, and pleasant to the person. It is said to possess medicinal qualities of a character highly beneficial to persons afflicted with rheumatic diseases.

before the wagons could get along. The only accident was the upsetting of one wagon. Passing only one night at this point, the Spaniards marched the next day to Acomillo, passing through the pueblo of Agua Nueva. The former village was situated on an open space near the river, but had been abandoned by the inhabitants, and was partly in ruins. The general completed the work of destruction. They encamped near the pueblo and spent an unpleasant night in a severe rain storm.

Continuing the march up the river, over a road very difficult for wagons, the army reached Sebolita on the 4th of December. Otermin rode in advance to examine the pueblo. He found it deserted and nearly destroyed, the inhabitants, through fear of the Apaches, having joined the revolutionists in the interior of the country. Some of the timbers of the church had been used by the Indians to build an estufa for the worship of idols. Near the pueblo were several deep holes in which the enemy had concealed corn, pumpkins and earthen pots. They were covered with clay made up into an oval shape on which was figured the face of an Indian and the body of a toad. In the pueblo were found a great many dried herbs, pulverized, two pieces of human flesh, feathers, and several other articles used in their idolatrous worship. Some of these things the Indians esteemed very highly, and believed that by offering them to their Gods their corn would be preserved.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE ARMY REACHES THE PUEBLO OF ISLETA, WHICH IS TAKEN
AFTER SLIGHT RESISTANCE.

THE army marched from Sebollita on the 5th of December to the Barrancas, where it encamped. From this place Otermin, with an escort of sixty men, went in advance the next day as far as the pueblo of Isleta.¹ He had sent spies into the mountains to look for smoke or some other sign that the pueblo was inhabited, who returned and informed him that they had seen smoke issuing from the chimneys. He arrived within sight of the pueblo early in the morning, and immediately formed his little command to make an attack. He divided it into four divisions, so as to make the assault from as many points; when, sounding the charge, the Spaniards rushed to the attack shouting in a loud voice, as they advanced, praises "to the most holy sacrament." The

¹ The pueblo of Sebollita was situated on the East bank of the Del Norté, about twenty miles above Sorocco, and the Barrancas, near the present village of Los Lentos, both of which are now in ruins. Isleta, still in existence, is on the West bank of the river, about fifteen miles South of Albuquerque, and contains not more than three hundred Indians.

Indians were on the alert, and when they saw the Spaniards approaching they raised their war-cry and flew to arms. They made but a feeble resistance. Seeing the plaza and quarters already in the possession of the soldiers before they had time to form for their defence, and also being assured by the general that they would be put to death if they did not surrender, they laid down their arms and submitted.

Otermin, being in possession of the village, made an examination to see the amount of damage that had been done to it. He found the church and convent burnt, the crosses thrown down, and the body of the church had been converted into a corral in which a herd of cattle was confined. He caused the whole population, men, women and children, to be assembled upon the plaza, whom he reprimanded in severe terms. They denied being guilty of the destruction of the buildings, but laid it to the charge of the leaders of the rebellion, who had come down with the Taos, Picoris and Teguas Indians and burnt the church and everything else pertaining to Christian worship, and ordered the inhabitants to return to their heathen rites. The Indians were directed to deliver up everything belonging to the citizens or the church; and their dwellings were also searched that nothing might remain concealed. The articles found concealed were the box in which the consecrated host was kept, a belt worn by the priest, five small bells used in saying mass, four candlesticks, three large bells, (buried in the church), one missal and two other books, three horses, a copper kettle, a brass mortar, and other articles not enumerated. The property of the church was delivered to father Ayeta, and that of the citizens to the respective owners. The general ordered crosses

to be erected upon the plaza and in the houses, and directed the Indians to wear small ones about the neck. The priests returned thanks for the successful termination of the fight.

Before Isleta was taken two Indians made their escape, who were supposed to have been sent to notify the other pueblos of the approach of the Spaniards, and advise the inhabitants to fly. Upon being informed of this, Otermin dispatched two Sandia runners to the pueblos up the river to order the Indians, in his name, to remain in their houses, come to terms, and receive the gospel, or he would subdue them at the point of the bayonet. During the attack father Ayeta remained in the rear with the army, but as soon as he heard the village had fallen he set out for it. As he approached it he was met by the general and a large procession of men, women and children who had come out to receive him. They escorted him in amid songs of praise, the reverend father himself singing aloud, "Praise be the most holy sacrament and the purity of our Lady, the Virgin Mary, conceived without a stain of sin;" to which the Indians responded, "Forever." Arrived in the pueblo the inhabitants embraced him, after which the *Ave Maria* was sounded upon the trumpet, which the Indians repeated three times in a loud voice, and then quietly retired to their houses.

At dawn the next morning religious exercises were held upon the plaza, attended by the governor, captain, and all the inhabitants of the pueblo. A portable altar, carried with the army, was erected in the middle of the square, and surrounded by the "most serene Virgin Mary, San Francisco and San Antonio." Father Ayeta preached to the Indians through an interpreter. He admonished

them to turn from the path of apostacy, and again enter the fold of the church. After the sermon he gave them absolution for past offences in sight of God, and received them again into communion. Many children were baptised, the first one receiving the name of Charles, in honor of the king of Spain, and for whom Otermin stood sponsor. These exercises having been concluded the general ordered the royal flag to be raised, which was unfurled amid shouts of "Long live Don Carlos the Second!" from the soldiery, and loud *vivas* from the surrounding Indians. Three rounds of musketry were then fired, and the trumpets of the army pealed forth their martial strains in honor of the occasion. The church-bells, after being purified of the desecration heaped upon them by the apostate Indians, were rung in loud and merry peals, when vespers were solemnized, which closed the ceremonies of the day. In the meantime the army and the wagons had come up, and the whole force was encamped at the pueblo.

The following day was the anniversary of the "Pure conception of our Lady," when religious exercises were again held. In the evening an altar was erected on the plaza and the Indians assembled around it, when High Mass was celebrated and father Ayeta preached a second sermon. These concluded, Otermin made an address to the inhabitants, in which he pointed out the great power of his master, the king, and explained to them the obedience that was due to him for all the blessings he had conferred upon them, and the more particularly because of the care he had of their souls. He pardoned all in the name of his royal majesty, and the poor Indians appeared pleased with the clemency extended to them.

The same day an Indian, who was charged with being

a sorcerer and wizzard, and had come from the pueblos above to teach superstition and idolatry to those of the South, was made prisoner. In order to obtain sufficient evidence to arraign him, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, the lieutenant-general of cavalry, was dispatched with seventy picked men and a troop of Indians to make reconnoissance of the pueblos up the river. He was instructed by Otermin as to the course he should take until the latter resumed the march and rejoined him. He was directed to visit the three pueblos of Alameda, Puara and Sandia, of the Teguas nation, and demand whether they intended to submit to the king and church, or make resistance. The Indian runners previously sent to these villages had not yet returned, and it was not known whether the inhabitants remained at home or had deserted to the rebels.

The army still remained encamped at Isleta. The general took this opportunity to collect a supply of corn, as the amount on hand was being rapidly consumed. Each house was required to furnish one sack, and the whole quantity collected, when shelled, amounted to only fifteen fanegas, a part of which was ground for the soldiers. That year had been a season of great scarcity and very little corn had been raised North of that place. A great drought prevailed in the country, and, notwithstanding the witches had performed all sorts of incantations to propitiate their gods and induce them to send down rain, not a drop had fallen for a long time. The failure of the crop was given as a reason why many of the pueblos had been abandoned. The suffering at some of the Northern pueblos was so great that the Indians of the Tanos, Teguas and Queres nations had combined with the pueblos of Acoma and Jemez to attack and destroy Isleta in order

to get the corn in store there. When Otermin arrived only six days were wanting of the time when these Northern Indians were to have made the attack. His advent was considered by the inhabitants as so ordered by God to save them and their pueblo from destruction.

A soldier arrived at the camp on the night of the 9th with dispatches from Mendoza, but they contained nothing of interest. He brought a few articles belonging to the church which had been captured from the Indians up the river, consisting of "a small brass crucifix, an image of our Lady, a chalice and patena, and the bottom of a silver lamp without chains." Upon his request, the crucifix was presented to Otermin, by father Ayeta, as a precious relic.

The next day the army intended to resume the march. The camp was raised and the wagons loaded preparatory to starting, but a storm of rain, snow and wind set in with such violence that the general was obliged to postpone the march and re-encamp. The same evening an Indian of the Teguas nation brought information to Otermin that the inhabitants of the pueblos of Sandia, Alameda and Puara were in the mountains perishing with cold and hunger, and desired permission to return to their villages. The messenger was treated with kindness, and directed to return and tell the chiefs of these pueblos to come down and have a talk, and that until some arrangement could be made they must do the best they could. On the night of the 11th instructions were sent to Mendoza not to molest these Indians, but treat them well, and to receive and disarm all who should come in and give themselves up.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE SPANIARDS CONTINUE THEIR MARCH UP THE RIVER,
AND THE CONDITION IN WHICH THE PUEBLOS WERE
FOUND.

THE Spaniards resumed the march on the morning of the 11th. After proceeding about a league and a half the axle-tree and hounds of the cart which carried the portable altar broke, and they were obliged to encamp to repair damages. In the night a furious storm of rain and sleet came on which continued until the next day, and as the troops were badly sheltered they suffered severely. They were benumbed and chilled by the cold, and were not in a condition to continue the march. Some of the men were hardly able to leave the camp-fires. During the day the cold increased and the storm raged with greater fury; snow began to fall and the neighboring mountains were covered with it. The animals were so much broken down by exposure to the storm and cold that they were not able to proceed. Under these circumstances Otermin determined to remain in camp until the storm should abate in order to give the wearied men and animals an opportunity to recruit.

While encamped at this place, the general received letters from Mendoza by the hands of two Indian runners, which gave an account of his march up the river. On arriving at the pueblo of Sandia he found it abandoned, but discovered many articles used in their idolatrous worship which the inhabitants had left behind in their flight. Proceeding up the river he reached Alameda on the 9th, which he also found deserted except by an old woman who was blind and too feeble to make her escape. The woman, although a Teguas by birth, had been raised in a Christian family and spoke Spanish fluently. Upon being asked why the Indians had abandoned the village, she replied that it was because of the idolatrous worship they practiced, and the acts of treachery they had committed, and for fear the Spaniards would punish them if they should fall into their hands. They had fled two days before the arrival of Mendoza. He also found a man suspended in one of the houses who had hung himself for some unknown cause. The old woman was left in the pueblo with a supply of provisions for her support. She was instructed to inform her people when they should return, that unless they made peace and acknowledged the God of the Spaniards, not one stone of their pueblo would be left upon another, and that they would be all destroyed.

On the hills near Puara the Indians made signals with smoke, and a horseman appeared and hailed the Spaniards, but upon being approached he fled toward Sandia, and was not seen again. They entered Puara which they also found abandoned. They discovered in it several articles used in the church service, and a considerable quantity of corn, beans and salt. Near by the pueblo stood a cart loaded with wood, from which the Indians

had taken the oxen and fled upon the first intimation of Mendoza's approach. He now returned to Alameda. Here he found other articles of church property which had been secreted at the time of the rebellion, besides a further supply of beans, corn and wild turkeys. In this neighborhood the meadows were yet green, and the corn fields filled with fodder, and wood was abundant upon the opposite side of the river. From this point Mendoza wrote Otermin and advised that he should establish a camp, between this pueblo and Puara, to allow the animals time to recruit upon the fine pasture that was to be had there, and recommended that a party of men should be sent forward to secure the fodder then in the fields. This letter concludes in the following manner, which exhibits the estimation in which the priesthood was held in those times: "The reverend preacher, father Lagosa is, in every particular, acting like an angel to my reverend missionary fray Francisco Ayeta whose hand I kiss and repeat my supplication in the name of father San Antonio to commend me to God."

Otermin moved from his last camp on the 13th, to join Mendoza. The day was exceedingly cold, with a strong wind and severe hail storm prevailing. Ruin and desolation marked the line of march; the farms had been laid waste and the buildings destroyed. The grain had been taken from the fields but the fodder was left standing. The march was conducted with great care; scouts were thrown out in advance, and every other necessary precaution taken to prevent a surprise. One night a party of Indians made an attack upon the camp and attempted to run off the animals, which, had they succeeded, would have left the Spaniards almost at the mercy of the enemy. Some soldiers and friendly Indians sallied out

in defence of the animals, and succeeded in repulsing the assailants.

While the troops were in march the general took a small escort and rode in advance to Alameda. He saw no Indians on the road, but found the buildings destroyed and the farms laid waste. He expected to find some of the inhabitants waiting here to hold a talk with him, but none had come down from the mountains whither they had fled upon hearing of the approach of the Spaniards. He had sent them word to meet him at this place, but fear kept them away. The pueblo was searched, and in it were found many articles used in their idolatrous worship, such as a figure of the devil, herbs and feathers. An estufa had also been erected. These things were all destroyed by order of Otermin and father Ayeta. A considerable quantity of corn and beans was found, and what the animals did not consume was burnt. The old blind woman was still there, not being able to join her people, and the body of the dead man was hanging as Mendoza had left it. The pueblo was set on fire and completely destroyed. The army did not reach Alameda until late at night, and as there was no shelter for the troops they were obliged to bivouac in the open air. They had marched part of the day through a rain storm, and were drenched to the skin and shivering with cold.

The Spaniards remained encamped at this place three days, during which time they suffered a good deal from the inclemency of the weather. The second night a severe storm came on, and the following morning the face of the whole country was covered with snow. The storm still continued with great violence, and the weather was cold, and the snow deep. The general was greatly afflicted with sore eyes and hardly in a condition to march, but he

determined to proceed, as he stood in fear of a surprise if he remained here. He was also apprehensive that the river would freeze over, in which case it could only be crossed at great risk.

Under these circumstances the march was resumed on the 16th, in a storm. They crossed to the East bank of the river with some difficulty, as there was no ford at this place, but they got over with no other mishap than one of the wagons and the cart with the altar miring down. The whole command being safely across, the general, with a squadron of cavalry, marched in advance as far as the pueblo of Puara, about a league distant, which was found abandoned. Many trails were seen leading from the mountains, supposed to have been made by the Indians who had come down for corn. The beans and corn found in the pueblo were collected and consumed to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy. This occupied the greater part of the day, and at evening Otermin returned down the river and joined the main body of the army.

The storm had now abated and the weather was clear again. The army being encamped only two leagues from Sandia, the general took an escort of twenty soldiers and some friendly Indians and marched in advance to that place. When the Indians heard of his approach they set fire to the pueblo and fled, but he arrived so soon afterward that the fire had not spread beyond the church and chapel. The Indians had destroyed or injured everything connected with Christian worship; the church bells had been broken into several pieces, and the images of the saints disfigured. The church ornaments had been concealed in the houses. Two estufas had been erected in the pueblo, in which were found the articles used in the

celebration of their heathen rites. The soldiers collected everything belonging to the church and as much corn as they could carry away, when they fired the houses which were entirely consumed. The day was thus spent in the work of destruction, and at night Otermin again returned to the main body of the troops at their place of encampment.

The troops having undergone great fatigue of late, and both men and animals being much broken down, the general remained in camp a few days to give them time to recruit. Fresh meat was issued, and other necessary means taken to place them in the most serviceable condition for a farther advance into the enemy's country. In the meantime a squadron of cavalry was dispatched to scour the surrounding country, with instructions to bring in some of the Indians dead or alive. While Otermin remained at this place Mendoza returned to camp, bringing in three Indians and two half-breeds, prisoners. The former had been captured, but the latter came down from the mountains and voluntarily surrendered themselves. The half-breeds said they had been impressed during the rebellion and compelled to join the rebels. They reported a large number of Indians in the mountains composed of all the nations in the province, among whom were the leading warriors of the pueblo of Cochiti, active men in the rebellion, and that the pueblos were deserted.

Otermin desiring to gain information as to the cause of the rebellion the previous year, now proceeded to organize a tribunal for the examination of the prisoners. He presided as the examining court, assisted by the reverend father Ayeta, "commissioner of the holy order, attorney-general of both the canon and civil laws." Two soldiers, named Juan Lucero de Godoy and Juan Ruiz de Casares,

who understood the Indian tongue, were sworn as interpreters. The prisoners were then brought before the tribunal; but as they were heathens and could not be sworn until they had been first absolved, the rites of absolution were administered, when they took the oath and were examined in due form. As the result of this examination has been properly noticed in that part of the volume which treats of the breaking out of the rebellion, there is no necessity of my repeating it here.

CHAPTER XLIII.

MENDOZA MAKES A RECONNOISSANCE UP THE RIVER TO COCHITI, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE THERE; THE ARMY RETURNS TO EL PASO.

WE will now leave the main body of the Spaniards encamped near Sandia, and follow Mendoza in his march up the river. It will be borne in mind that he was ordered by Otermin, soon after the capture of Isleta, to take a proper escort and make a reconnoissance of the pueblos further to the North. From Sandia he sent back runners with information that he had reached the pueblo of Puara, but no particular account of his expedition was received until he returned and reported it in person.

He took up the march from the camp of Otermin about vespers and proceeded that day to his own farm, three leagues below Alameda, where he encamped. He remained there a few hours to give his men time to warn and refresh themselves, when he resumed the march for Alameda, which he entered the next morning about dawn. The condition in which the pueblo was found has already been mentioned in the last chapter. Thence he continued to Puara. As he drew near the pueblo smoke was seen issuing from the chimneys, a sure sign that it was inhab-

ited, but before he could prevent it the inhabitants had set fire to the houses and abandoned it. Several articles belonging to the church were found here, and some things used by the Indians in their worship, among which was a mask in the shape of the devil. From this place he marched to Sandia, which was also found abandoned. The church and convent were both in ruins. The chapel of San Antonio was in good condition, the Indians having apparently preserved it to use in celebrating their heathen rites. Three cells of the convent had not been injured, one of which had been converted into a blacksmith shop. The only person in the pueblo was an old blind man, who was duly confessed and absolved by one of the priests.

Mendoza continued his march further up the river to San Felipe, which was also abandoned, the inhabitants having gone to Cochiti. The roof was off the church and the convent demolished. He found several articles of church property concealed in the houses, such as an incensory, the box for the consecrated wafers, and pieces of broken crosses; besides many things belonging to the idolatrous worship of the Indians. In the middle of the plaza were piles of stones, around which they had worshipped. The church-bell was found lying upon the river bank with a hole broken in it. Thence he marched to Santo Domingo,¹ where he likewise found the church and convent in ruins. Near the convent was a large pile of stones where the Indians made offerings to the devil, and celebrated other rites of idolatry. The houses were searched, and in them were found considerable

¹ This pueblo is situated upon the bank of the Del Norté, a few miles above San Felipe, and differs in no essential particular from the other pueblos described.

property belonging to the Spaniards. In the houses of Catité and Zepatero were discovered the writing-desks of the priests, and other articles of church property.

He next marched to the pueblo of Cochiti, a few leagues higher up the river. He passed several pieces of broken crosses and two large copper kettles upon the road. On arriving in the vicinity of the pueblo he sent a party of soldiers forward to reconnoitre, which returned in a short time and reported the village deserted. In the meantime the Indians made their appearance upon a hill near by, and challenged the Spaniards to combat; but, as it was then nearly dark, Mendoza declined engaging with them. He now marched his command up to the pueblo, where he found an abundance of provisions and secure quarters for both men and animals. Fearing an attack in the night, a strong guard was stationed around the village, the horses were kept saddled, and the men forbidden to leave the main plaza.

Early the next morning Mendoza made the proper disposition of his forces to give battle to the enemy. Before leaving the pueblo they were drawn up in front of the priest, who absolved and blessed them, and admonished them to cleanse their hearts of sin before engaging in deadly strife. The Indians, meanwhile, had assembled about a league from the pueblo upon a hill where they had thrown up a slight breastwork. The Spaniards advanced toward them, and when they drew nigh the enemy raised their war-cry and made preparations to begin the attack. To avoid the shedding of blood Mendoza stepped forward and sounded a parley. He told them that the king, their master, had pardoned them for past offences. Catité now approached and inquired of Mendoza why the Spaniards had come there; to which

he replied that they had come in search of him and other Indians in order to save their souls. The chief admitted that he had done much harm, but declined to make peace. The priest next besought the Indians to turn from their apostacy and submit to the will of the church. While this proceeding was going on, the war-cry was again sounded, but Catité commanded his followers to be silent, and they obeyed. After a good deal of time spent in parleying, the Indians promised to make peace and return to the church, when the officers and chiefs embraced each other in apparent friendship.

That night the Indians received large reinforcements from various quarters, and they now numbered about one thousand warriors, of whom more than a hundred were mounted. The next morning they approached the Spaniards formed in a half circle, with the intention of surrounding them. They advanced shouting their war-cry with every indication of making an attack. Mendoza made proper disposition to receive them, and was upon the point of beginning the fight, when Antonio Guerra, through an interpreter, sounded a parley in the Queres language and stopped the shedding of blood. A brother of Catité, a war-chief among the rebels, now came forward and announced that the Indians were prepared for peace. The priest exhorted them to lay down their arms and return to their duty to the king and the church and become good Christians and peaceful citizens. To this Catité responded in person, and asked in the name of "God, the holy Mary and all the saints," that peace might be granted them; which was done accordingly. The treaty, on the part of the Indians, was ratified by the chief kissing the foot of the priest, and shedding tears, when peace was announced as concluded. The Indians

assembled upon the occasion belonged, principally, to the Teguas, Tanos, and Queres nations.

Catité asked that a day and a half might be granted him to bring in the Indians of the pueblos of Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe, promising to return at the end of that time. He said the Indians had nothing to fear in returning, as they had not caused the rebellion, which was the work of the Spaniards. The other chiefs also requested permission to inform their respective pueblos of the treaty that had been made. Time and permission were accordingly given, when the Indians took their departure, except one chief, and two casiques, one of the Teguas nation and the other of the pueblo of Cia, who had been selected to remain with Mendoza.

The next day Mendoza sent a friendly Indian, named Tano, to notify the six nations to come in and arrange the terms of a permanent peace. He carried a letter to the cacique of Cia, and was also charged to cause crosses to be erected in the houses of the people of that nation, and along the road, in place of those torn down. It was now time for the return of Catité and the other chiefs, but as they did not appear Mendoza was well convinced that their professions of peace were feigned and not real. When the Indians made terms with the Spaniards it was snowing hard, and their bow-strings were wet and un-serviceable, and they were quite in the power of the soldiers; and their submission was only a *ruse* to gain time in order to extricate themselves. Mendoza remained at Cochiti three days longer, to afford the Indians ample time to fulfil their promise in case they were disposed to do so. In the meantime an Indian from the pueblo of Cia, named Pupiste, came to the Spanish camp with a cross around his neck, as the representative of that pueblo

and Santa Ana, and reported the people of these two villages as willing to submit and make peace. About the same time a Teguas Indian was sent to the pueblos of Sandia, Puara and Alameda, with directions to invite the people of his nation to appear at the camp of Otermin at the same time the other Indians were to present themselves.

Mendoza, now satisfied that the hostile chiefs did not intend to return, took up the march from Cochiti to rejoin Otermin. The first day he encamped near the pueblo of San Felipe. In the night two Indian spies came into camp, who, upon being made prisoners and questioned, confessed the object of their visit. They informed Mendoza that the main body of the Indians had followed him for the purpose of making an attack and running off his animals, and that they were then in San Felipe waiting for an opportunity to put their plan into execution. One of the spies had formerly been a servant of Francisco Javier, who said that his friendship for the Spaniards induced him to make the confession. The Indians were under the command of one Louis of Picoris who had invited Catité to assist him. Upon receiving this information, Mendoza determined to anticipate the Indians and make an attack upon them in San Felipe; but upon laying the matter before a council of war, the officers decided against it, and they resolved only to stand upon the defensive. The enemy made no attack and the night passed away in quietness in the Spanish camp. The next morning the march was resumed, and in due season the lieutenant-general rejoined Otermin after an absence of eleven days.

We took our leave of the general and the main body of the army at the close of the last chapter, while in camp

just below the pueblo of Sandia. He remained there from the 16th to the 22d of December, occupied, principally, in investigating the cause of the rebellion, but meanwhile he gained other important information. The first Indian examined was a native of Tezuque, named Juan, who made known a plan the Indians had formed to cut off the detachment of Mendoza, and which they were only prevented carrying into effect by the watchfulness of the Spaniards. The attack was to have been made the same night this Indian came in and surrendered himself, and being thus put on their guard they remained under arms all night. The plan had been arranged by Catité, and was as follows: The young women of the pueblo of La Cienegiaz were to wash and dress themselves in their most comely attire, and go to the Spanish camp. While the soldiers were seduced from their duty, and in dalliance with the Indian maidens, the Teguas and Picoris warriors were to drive off the animals, and those of the Queres and other pueblos were to attack the camp and put the Spaniards to death. The excuse the girls were to give for entering the camp, was, that they came to bring dinner to the soldiers. Catité himself was to go to the camp and hold a talk with the Spaniards, and when he should give the war-cry his confederates were to rush to the attack. The arrangement was made in council when the Indians first heard of the approach of Mendoza, and in all probability the timely warning of Juan, the Tezuque Indian, saved them from destruction. Another prisoner

² Sometimes spelled Cieneguilla.

³ Situated in Taos county, a few miles East of the Del Norte, among the mountains. It is a little village, and the inhabitants have inter-married with the Jicarilla Apaches. The population is small and bears a bad reputation.

testified that he saw the Indian girls wash and dress themselves for the occasion, and they were only deterred from going to the Spanish camp by seeing a party of soldiers coming toward the pueblo.

In the meantime Otermin had changed his camp. The location near Sandia was much exposed to the cold, and the troops suffered a great deal in consequence. Pasture and fodder had almost entirely failed, and the soldiers were obliged to haul their wood a league at great risk of being attacked by the Indians. For these reasons he removed his camp to the hacienda of Louis de Carravajal one league below the pueblo, and a much more favorable location.

The general now summoned a council of war to determine upon the course to be pursued, which assembled at camp on the 23d of December. Each officer was requested to hand in his views in writing, and there was great diversity of opinion. Some were in favor of advancing at all hazards, while others advised an immediate retreat. The majority, however, recommended that the army fall back to the pueblo of Isleta, which had asked for protection. Father Ayeta was requested to take a seat in the council, which he declined, but gave his opinion at some length in writing, which was received with great consideration. He advised that the expedition should be immediately abandoned and the army return to San Lorenzo, for the reasons that the Indians were not disposed to make peace, and the force was too small to compel them to do so; that it was near mid-winter and the weather intensely cold; that the men from long exposure were hardly able to do duty, and the horses and other animals were too much broken down to proceed.

It was resolved, in the first instance, to fall back upon

Isleta. The march of the troops was hastened by the arrival of a messenger from that place with information that a party of fifty mounted Indians, headed by Louis Tupata, had appeared before the pueblo and threatened to burn it unless abandoned by the inhabitants. The general immediately sent sergeant-major Louis Granillo with twenty soldiers to protect the place until his arrival, and the same day he followed with the army. He marched with great caution, scouring the country with scouts as he advanced.

Upon his arrival at Isleta Otermin determined to continue on to El Paso, and he remained at the pueblo only long enough to recruit the men and animals, collect provisions and make other necessary preparations for the march. In examining into the condition of the animals it appeared that of the whole number of nine hundred and seventy-five horses, with which he had left San Lorenzo in November, eight hundred and fifty were still alive, of which only one hundred and thirty-six were fit for service. When the Spaniards had first entered Isleta it contained a population of more than five hundred, but at the time of their return there were but three hundred and eighty-five of all ages, the remainder having joined the rebels and returned to their idolatrous worship. The inhabitants remaining determined to accompany the army; and after they had taken out their goods, and provisions for the march, the pueblo was set on fire and burnt, with over a thousand fanegas of corn and a large quantity of beans. The troops left Isleta on the 2d of January, 1682, and arrived at El Paso on the 11th of February, having lost nearly one-fourth of the animals upon the march.

4 About twenty-two hundred bushels.

CHAPTER XLIV.

DON DIEGO DE VARGAS SUCCEEDS OTERMIN AND MARCHES
FOR THE RE-CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO; HIS EXPEDI-
TION TO TAOS.

SEVERAL years elapsed, after the failure of Otermin to subdue the rebellious inhabitants and to re-conquer New

I found among the old archives, in the secretary's office, at Santa Fé, evidence that an effort was made, after the failure of Otermin, and before Vargas, to re-conquer New Mexico. An expedition was intrusted to one Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, who was appointed captain-general of the province. He must have entered the country at two different periods, from the records in my possession. In 1688 the viceroy of New Spain, Don Gaspar de Suniga, count of Monterey, sent Cruzate into New Mexico in command of an expedition, and among others he was accompanied by Don Renero de Pasada, and Juan de Oñate, a brave soldier. Oñate took with him seventy Franciscan friars, among whom was one Marcos de Niza, a native of the province. The latter said he had made a visit to Zuñi, called the Buffalo province, during the reign of Philip II. At the first arrival of himself and people in New Mexico, the inhabitants were much surprised, being astonished at seeing white men, and at first believed them to be Gods, and reported them as such. After the surprise had worn off, a cruel war broke out, the governor and most of the priests being killed, a few only escaping to the pueblo of El Paso. Among those who escaped was a Franciscan friar, who went to Mexico and carried with him an image of our Lady of Macana, which was preserved for a long time in the convent of that city.

Mexico, before another attempt of the kind was made. Meanwhile the Indians remained in undisturbed possession of the country, and were fast relapsing into their barbarous manners and customs. The vice-regal government of Mexico now determined to send another expedition into the country, and in 1692 the count Galvas, the viceroy, by and with the advice and consent of

Cruzate was in New Mexico as early as the 26th of November, 1685, at which time he was in the pueblo of San Antonio of Sinolu, [supposed to be the same as Cenecu,] on a visit to the civilized Indians. Upon this occasion the Indians were assembled in the plaza, where he held a talk with them, and among other things he communicated to them the following as the orders of the king, their master: "That they should respect and venerate the churches, and attend Mass punctually every Sunday and feast day; that the governors, captains and fiscals should pay particular attention in seeing that no person failed to do so, and not to permit idolatrous dances and other abuses in the pueblos; to see that all married men are faithful to their wives, and to prevent them living separately as they are accustomed to do; and for the preservation of Lealth they should sleep in the second story, and all the men, women and children should keep on their necks their crosses and rosaries, and all should have crosses placed over the doors of their houses. Every head of a family should keep ten hens and one chicken cock of Castile, and if possible should raise turkeys for the support of their families. They should treat the ministers of the gospel with love and friendship, and observe the greatest respect toward them; and whenever they meet them they should kiss the hem of their habit with submission and veneration. The children of both sexes should be made to say their prayers every night in their houses before retiring to rest. All the natives able to bear arms shall keep their bows in good order, and have ready, at least, ten arrows each to defend themselves with, and also to offend the enemy; and none shall dare use the arms of the Spaniards, for the reason that they are prohibited from using them by royal ordinances."

I have only been able to obtain a fragment of the journal of Cruzate, and cannot learn from it the result of his expedition; but conclude he failed to reduce the Indians to subjection, as this work was afterward intrusted to Vargas. The records at Santa Fé state that he was captain-general in the years 1684, 1685, 1688 and 1689.

the royal audience, appointed Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan to the command, with the rank of governor and captain-general. He immediately entered upon the discharge of his new duties. Relinquishing the pleasures and pursuits of home, he set out for El Paso del Norté, the place at which he was to organize his command, where he arrived some time in the summer of the same year. All the available troops at this post were placed at his disposal, and every other assistance was rendered him. His force consisted of two hundred mounted Spaniards, and less than half that number of friendly Indians: with which he took up the line of march for the North on the 31st of August. He was accompanied by several priests, who were charged with the re-conversion of those who had fallen from the true faith. He appears to have been impressed with the inadequacy of the force given him for the re-conquest of the country, and before he marched from El Paso he wrote the viceroy for a reinforcement of fifty soldiers, who were to be sent forward by the lieutenant-governor, in charge of an officer who remained behind for that purpose.

Vargas was sensible of the difficulties and dangers to be encountered with the small force under his command. In a letter written to the viceroy, on the eve of marching, he says: "I determined to risk life and all in the attempt, and prepared rather to be considered rash, to being looked upon as a man of too much caution, thereby exposing my reputation to remarks." He and his little band of gallant followers pursued their hazardous march up the valley of the Del Norté, through a country swarming with a numerous and incensed enemy. We have no record of the march until they arrived in the vicinity of Santa Fé, on the 12th of September.

The Indians had received notice of the march of the Spaniards, and, from time to time, their runners reported their progress. When they came within striking distance of Santa Fé, and it was known that that was to be the point of attack, the inhabitants of the surrounding pueblos turned out to assist their brethren to repel the assault. The Indians were seen coming in great numbers across the different mesas and down the sides of the mountain into the valley. Vargas now determined, if possible, to prevent these reinforcements uniting with the garrison of the town; for which purpose he sent nearly all his force against the former, retaining only a sufficient number to hold the latter in check in case they should make a sortie against him. The enemy, however, effected a junction of their forces in spite of the pains taken to prevent it; and the movement, intended to compass the defeat of the Indians, well nigh led to the destruction of the Spaniards. The enemy, seeing the Spanish forces thus divided, sallied out to the attack with their united strength, on the 13th of September, at four o'clock in the morning. The action lasted nearly all day, and it was not until three o'clock in the afternoon that the Indians began to give way. Both sides fought with great determination and bravery, and the Indians exhibited the most bitter hatred of the Christians. In the midst of the fight they taunted them with having run away from them before, but said they would not escape this time. Vargas greatly distinguished himself in the action, and when the occasion required he would ride far ahead of his troops to reconnoitre the enemy and the country. The Spaniards marched into and took possession of the town the same evening, and the troops, wearied with their arduous march and the fatigue of battle, found comfortable quarters for a season.

in the antique dwellings of the enemy. The number of the killed and wounded is not given, but from the length of time the action lasted, and the bravery with which the Indians fought, the loss must have been heavy.

With the fall of Santa Fé the pueblos in the vicinity, twelve in number, made submission, and were visited and taken possession of in the name of the king of Spain. As was the custom in those days with Spanish conquerors, all over the world, as soon as the pueblos had been brought to military subjugation, they were delivered over to the pious zeal of the priests for the purpose of being reduced to spiritual obedience. There were baptised, besides the children who had been born and lived during the rebellion, seven hundred and sixty-nine persons, all of whom were received into the bosom of the church.

From Santa Fé Vargas wrote the viceroy an account of the capture of the town, and reduction of the neighboring villages. From this letter we are informed of the number of families and soldiers necessary to hold the country, as well as the difficulty to be anticipated in reducing the Indians to a condition of peace. He says: "In order to hold these provinces it is necessary to establish garrisons in them, and to attempt to send less than five hundred families and a hundred soldiers, would be like throwing a grain of salt into the sea. This number can be had counting with one hundred families that are in El Paso del Rio del Norté, and fifty soldiers in that garrison, and which may be added to the number your Excellency and the Royal Junta may procure. Without this they can never be reduced, for it would be much easier to convert the Jews without the inquisition, than to induce the Indians to leave their country and place of abode." He recommended that blacksmiths,

carpenters and miners should be sent from the jails of Queretero, Zacatecas and Rosario, and that the families should come from Paso del Norté, as being the best adapted to the country. He further states that he was then preparing to march against some of the adjoining provinces, and that he would induce them to embrace "Our Holy Faith," or raze their villages to the ground, and, as he terms it, "thus punish their obstinacy." After these people shall have been reduced, he says that he will declare war upon the Queres and Jemez nations and then make a visit into the country of the Zuñi and Moqui Indians to see how they stand affected toward the Spaniards.

Having established order in Santa Fé and the surrounding pueblos, Vargas made preparations to subdue some of the more distant villages, in accordance with the plan he had marked out. The Indians of the Taos pueblo, who dwelt in a beautiful and fertile valley some seventy-five miles to the North, continued to be very hostile toward their brethren who were disposed to acknowledge the authority of the Spaniards, and Vargas had been requested by the Tanos, Teguas and some of the Picoris Indians, to exterminate them. He marched for that pueblo on the 5th of October, leaving a sufficient garrison in Santa Fé to defend the town in his absence. He reached San Juan the same afternoon, eight leagues distant, and on his approach to the village he was met by a large body of warriors under the command of Don Lorenzo, their war-captain. The Spaniards were formed in line in martial array, with the royal ensign flying, and the Indians were received with the usual military honors. He explained to them that the object of his coming was to re-establish the authority of his master, the king of

Spain, and that he was accompanied by priests who would absolve them of the great sin they had committed in abandoning the Catholic religion. They were ordered to erect crosses in the pueblos as emblems of submission. During the day father Francisco Corvera baptised eighty-six persons of all ages and both sexes, the captain-general standing godfather for a daughter of Captain Lorenzo, and several other children. The Indians made professions of peace, and appeared entirely friendly.

The next morning the Spaniards resumed the march in a storm of rain and snow. They encamped that night at the foot of the mountains, which they crossed the next day without accident, and descended into the valley of Taos. The march was conducted with great caution to prevent their approach being discovered by the enemy, but when fairly down in the valley they advanced rapidly, the governor leading them in a gallop. When within about four leagues of the pueblo they halted and made the necessary arrangements for the attack. It was ordered that the squadron of El Paso should surround one of the two large buildings of which the pueblo consisted, while the balance of the forces, with the exception of the reserve under the command of the general in person, which was to act as the emergency might require, surrounded the other. This disposition having been made, father Corvera administered absolution to the command, when they again took up the line of march. Upon reaching the pueblo they assaulted the two buildings which they secured, with the entrenchments and all the defences, but found them deserted, and not an enemy was to be seen.²

² The pueblo of Taos is situated in the valley of the Del Norte, about seventy five miles to the North of Santa Fé, and is the best sample extant of the ancient villages. It consists of two large adobe buildings,

Looking toward the East smoke was seen ascending among the mountains, which was supposed to proceed from the Indian encampment. The general dispatched Louis, a Picoris Indian, with his brother and people to ascertain the cause of the smoke, intending to follow himself, with the troops, as soon as the animals came up and he could obtain a change of horses. In the course of an hour one of the scouts returned with information that the smoke was caused by the Taos Indians, who were encamped in the gorge of the mountains, and had sentinels posted upon some of the highest peaks. Upon receiving this intelligence Vargas immediately marched for the mountains without waiting for the fresh horses. As he approached one of the rebels came forward and hailed him in Spanish, and in reply as to whom he was, he said he was called the Spaniard. The governor held a parley with him, and reproved him because he and his people had deserted their villages and fled to the mountains. The Indian was directed to communicate with his brethren in the name of the captain-general, and was instructed to

between three and four hundred feet in length, and about an hundred and fifty wide at the base, situated upon opposite sides of a small creek. They are five or six stories high, each story receding from the one below it, and thus forming a terraced structure from top to bottom. Each story is divided into numerous little compartments, the outer tiers of rooms being lighted by small windows in the sides, while those in the interior of the building are dark, and are principally used for store-rooms. The only means of entrance is through a trap-door in the roof, and you ascend, from story to story, by ladders upon the outside, which are drawn up at night, and the population sleep secure from attack from without. In these two buildings there live some eight hundred persons as one large family. A little way removed is the *estufa*, built partly under ground, and which is used both as a council-chamber and a place where they practice such of their heathen rites as still exist among them. It is esteemed a consecrated place, and revered as such.

give assurance that he was authorized by the king of Spain to pardon them if they would come down and return to their pueblo. He also bade him say that the Holy Virgin was upon the flag, and the reverend father who was with them would bring them back again to Christianity. He returned with these peaceful messages to the rebel camp, and that his words might have more effect, a rosary was suspended around his neck.

Shortly after this messenger had left, six other Indians approached around a point of the mountain. As they drew near they laid down their arms in token of peace, when Vargas dismounted and embraced and gave them his hand. They appeared rejoiced with this friendly salutation. Two of their number were dispatched to bring down their people; and they had not been absent a great while, when a large number of Indians were seen approaching with the chief, Francisco Pacheco, at their head. Vargas received them kindly, and explained to them the object of his visit. He desired them to return to their houses and live peaceably, promising that they should not be molested by the soldiers; and accordingly most of them proceeded to the pueblo, a few only remaining in the mountains to take care of their property. The difficulty, between the inhabitants of Taos and the Teguas, Tanos and Picoris Indians was also amicably adjusted, and they embraced each other, and expressed great pleasure at being friends again. Toward evening the remainder of the Indians, with the women and children, came down to the pueblo, and saluted the Spaniards by shouting in a loud voice, "Blessed be the Almighty!" The next morning the troops and Indians were assembled in the plaza, when Vargas explained to them more fully the reason of his coming among them, and impressed

upon them the duty of obedience to the king and priests. They were absolved of the sin of apostacy, and ninety-six; of all ages and both sexes, were baptised and received into the church. The same afternoon two of the young men of the Taos pueblo returned from the province of Zuñi with information of a conspiracy among the Moquis, Jemez, Queres, Pecos, Faraon Apaches and the Coninas Indians, against the Spaniards. They had attended a large council of these Indians on the road, and were made acquainted with their plans. The rebels were to waylay the Spaniards, in large numbers, as they were marching through the country, run off their animals, and, if possible, put the soldiers to death; and they were collecting their provisions and making other necessary arrangements to carry their plans into execution. This news was communicated to Vargas by a Taos chief named Pedro Pacheo, and he immediately determined to make an expedition into the country of the conspirators and chastise them. He informed the Indians present of his intention, and invited the young men, who could come well armed and mounted, to accompany him, telling them that those whom he was about to make war upon were as much their enemies as they were of the Spaniards. Many agreed to join the expedition, and pledged themselves to meet him at Santa Fé in eight days from that time, properly prepared.

Vargas left Taos to return to Santa Fé on the 9th of October, and that night reached camp Miranda. The next day he marched to the pueblo of Picoris, where the inhabitants gave him a friendly welcome. From this place he dispatched two runners to Pecos to notify the inhabitants of that pueblo to meet him in Santa Fé. They carried with them, as emblems of their peaceful

mission, two wooden crosses more than a vara³ long, and a third painted on white paper. He reached El Embudo, at the South base of the mountain, on the 11th, where he encamped for the night. He rested at San Yldefonso on the 12th, and reached Santa Fé on the following day. The expedition was entirely successful, and Vargas returned to his capital without the loss of a man.

³ A Spanish measure of thirty-three and one-third inches in length.

CHAPTER XLV.

VARGAS MARCHES TO SUBDUE THE PUEBLOS OF PECOS, CIA
AND JEMEZ.

THE Northern Indians being now in a state of peace, Vargas had leisure to turn his attention to those who still manifested hostility. These were the Queres, Pecos and Jemez Indians. Upon his return to Santa Fé, from Taos, he remained in the capital no longer than was necessary to make preparations for the proposed campaign. He had recently received reinforcements from Parral which would enable him to operate with more vigor against the enemy. He decided to march to the pueblo of Pecos in the first instance, and after having chastised that village, if it should be found necessary he would proceed against those West of the Del Norte.

In the unsettled state of the country, he deemed it advisable to appoint some suitable person to govern the conquered pueblos in his absence, and to this important duty he called a Picoris Indian named Don Louis. The chiefs being assembled, the oath of office was duly administered to the newly appointed governor upon a cross, when a staff was delivered to him, with instructions how to govern his actions in any case of emergency. Before he

marched Vargas dispatched two squadrons of mounted men, two pieces of artillery, the pack animals, with the friendly Indians and captives, to Santo Domingo to await his return from Pecos.

Having completed the necessary arrangements for the campaign, he took up the line of march for Pecos, with the balance of the troops, on the 17th of October, accompanied by two priests, fathers Corvero and Barros. The war-captain and governor of the Santa Fé pueblos had intended accompanying him, but on account of the unfavorable state of the weather they were obliged to remain at home to take care of their crops. Vargas directed his march across the mountains to the East, and about two o'clock of the same afternoon he entered Pecos.¹ The

¹ Pecos was situated twenty-five miles South of East from Santa Fé, on a small tributary of the river of the same name. In the time of Vargas it contained a population of about fifteen hundred, but now is entirely in ruins. A few years ago the remnant of the Pecos Indians left their pueblo and joined the people of Jemez who speak the same language. Their houses and lands were given them.

Many curious tales are related of the superstitious customs of the Pueblos, among which is the following told of the Pecos Indians. It is said that Montezuma kindled a sacred fire in the *estufa* of that pueblo and commanded that it should be kept burning until he came back to deliver them from the Spaniards. He was expected to appear with the rising sun, and every morning the Indians ascended to the house tops and strained their eyes looking to the East for the appearance of their deliverer and king. The task of watching the sacred fire was assigned to the warriors, who served, by turns, for a period of two days and two nights without eating or drinking, and some say that they remained upon duty until death or exhaustion relieved them. The remains of those who died from the effect of watching are said to have been carried to the den of a great serpent, which appears to have lived upon such delicacies. The tradition, that the sacred fire was kept burning until the village was abandoned, is generally believed by both Indians and Mexicans; but their great deliverer never came, and when the fire went out, from what cause is not known, the survivors of Pecos found new homes West of the Rio Grande.

Indians having heard of his coming, awaited his arrival. They had erected a large cross, and arches, at the entrance to the pueblo, where they received him, singing the *Alabados* in full chorus. The troops were conducted to the main plaza and afterward to the quarters prepared for them. The whole population rendered their submission, after which they were absolved of past offences, and two hundred and forty-eight baptised, the captain-general standing godfather for a child of the sexton. The next morning he held a talk with the Indians, and at their request he appointed a governor, *alcalde*, and war-captain for the pueblo, who were duly qualified and entered upon the discharge of their duties.

That evening Vargas marched for Santo Domingo. He struck across the mountains to the South-west, and about nine o'clock at night reached the Galisteo in a storm of rain and hail. Here he encamped. This pueblo was found in ruins and deserted. The next day, being Sunday, Mass was celebrated, and afterward the troops resumed the march. In three leagues they arrived at the pueblo of San Marcos, also deserted and in ruins except the church and convent. They halted here a short time, when the march was continued to Santo Domingo eight leagues further, where they arrived in good order and found the cavalry and artillery sent forward from Santa Fé. Here Vargas met the messenger whom he had sent, some time previous, to Antonio Malacate, the Queres chief, with crosses and a rosary, to request him to come in and have a talk. The chief had left his pueblo and taken up his residence at Santa Ana, and was then too sick to come in; but he had sent his

² A hymn sung in praise of the sacrament when it is put in the tabernacle.

singer to announce his illness and say that his people awaited the arrival of the Spaniards, whom they would be glad to see. The messenger was furnished with a new supply of crosses and rosaries and sent to the Queres Indians which had deserted their pueblos, and were at that time on the other side of the mountains, with an invitation to the chiefs to come in and hold a parley. He returned the same afternoon, bringing with him some of the head men, whom Vargas received with great friendship. He held a council with them, after which they were dismissed to their people, with instructions to prepare their villages for the arrival of the soldiers. They departed well pleased, with crosses and rosaries suspended around their necks as evidence of peace.

The Spaniards marched from Santo Domingo on the 21st of October. In consequence of the road to La Cienguilla being very bad, he sent the artillery, provisions, captives and friendly Indians to the deserted farm of Cristoval de Anaya, there to await his arrival. Vargas marched direct to Cochiti, where he crossed the Del Norté, and continued in a North-west course toward the mountains. In three leagues he reached a pass where he found a large cross erected by the Queres nation, and a short distance beyond the Indians were assembled in great numbers, with arches built of foliage. They received the Spaniards as friends, saluting them as they advanced, and chanting the Alabado. Vargas dismounted, when he was escorted to the pueblo, which he entered and took possession of in the name of the king of Spain. The priests then proceeded to the duty of absolution and baptism, and one hundred and three persons, adults and children, were received into the church. The general stood godfather for a son of one of the principal chiefs,

who was named Carlos, in honor of the sovereign. At this place there were assembled the inhabitants of the pueblos of Cochiti, San Marcos and San Felipe, who had deserted their villages through fear of the Teguas, Tanos and Picoris Indians. They were assured that they should not be molested if they would return to their homes, which they promised to do. The same evening he marched to within a short distance of Cochiti, where he pitched his camp.

The next morning Vargas proceeded to the farm of Anaya, where he joined the troops he had sent forward with the provisions and captives. Here the Spaniards were again divided. Vargas, with the main body, continued the march for Cia and Jemez, while the artillery, supplies, tired animals and prisoners were dispatched to the farm and pueblo of Mejia, at which place the officer in command was ordered to await the return of the general. That afternoon, Vargas, with five squadrons of mounted men, and fifty friendly Indians, marched for Cia, near which they encamped the same night. The pueblo had been destroyed a few years before by Cruzate, but it had not been rebuilt. The troops entered it the next morning. It was situated upon the mesa of Cerro Colorado, and the only approach to it was up the side of the plateau by a steep and rocky road. The only thing of value found there was the bell of the convent which was ordered to be buried. The Indians had built a new village near the ruins of the old one. When they saw the Spaniards approach they came forth to meet and bid them welcome, carrying crosses in their hands, and the chiefs marching at their head. In this manner they escorted Vargas and his troops to the plaza, where arches and crosses were erected, and good quarters provided them. He caused

the inhabitants to be assembled, when he explained to them the object of his visit and the manner in which he intended to punish all the rebellious Indians. This concluded, the usual ceremonies of taking possession, baptism and absolution, took place. Among other things the general advised them to return to the old pueblo and rebuild it, and he gave them a few axes to aid them in the work. The interview closed by the Indians performing their favorite dance, after which Vargas appointed the requisite officers of the pueblo and instructed them in their duties.

Vargas marched from Cia the same day for the old pueblo of Jemez, three leagues distant. He arrived there without hindrance, but finding it abandoned he continued on to the new pueblo situated upon a high mesa, and about three leagues beyond the old one. The ascent to the top of the mesa was up a rough and difficult road. The Indians had watched the approach of the Spaniards and made preparations to resist them. Vargas commenced the ascent, and as he neared the top he was met by over three hundred well-armed warriors, nearly the same number being held in reserve. They advanced with every appearance of hostility. They sounded their war-cry and rushed among the Spaniards and friendly Indians brandishing their weapons and throwing dirt in their eyes. Vargas sounded a parley to know what was the meaning of their strange conduct, when they informed him such was their mode of manifesting their pleasure at seeing him and his troops; but suspecting treachery he was on his guard and watched them closely. He ascended the mesa on horseback. When he approached within about an hundred yards of the spot where the governor and chiefs and many of the old men were assembled, with

crosses in their hands, they all knelt down. He dismounted to salute them, when they chanted the Alabado, embracing each other, and conducted him to the pueblo.

This pueblo was quite extensive and well fortified. It contained two plazas with four large buildings around each, and was defended by a redoubt and wall, with only one entrance to the first plaza, which communicated with the second by a small gate. The Indians crowded into the plaza in large numbers with their arms in their hands, and immediately commenced the war dance. Seeing this demonstration, Vargas became alarmed for his safety, but wisely kept his fears to himself, in the meantime counselling in his own mind how to defend himself in case of an attack. He permitted them to continue the dance some time, when he ordered them to bring in the women and children, which they complied with. He now directed them to lay down their arms, which they also did, and immediately after he assembled them in council. He explained to them that he came to chastise those who continued in rebellion and apostacy; that all the Indians were the subjects of his master, the king of Spain, and the land his property; and that if they did not remain peaceable and forsake their heathen customs, he would punish them severely. The priests then entered upon the discharge of their holy duties, and baptised and absolved the whole population. Vargas and the priests were then invited into an inner room of one of the buildings where a good entertainment was provided them, but they partook of the feast in constant fear of treachery.

While at Jemez, a deputation of Apache Indians came to see Vargas and made many professions of peace. He refused to hear them, but promised to return in one year and listen to what they had to say, commanding them to

live at peace with the Spaniards, in the meantime. The interview was now closed, and all the Indians were directed to return to their respective pueblos. That afternoon Vargas descended the mesa and pitched his camp in front of the old pueblo, directing the Indians to bring him provisions to that place the next morning, but they only furnished him with a few sheep and a little pinolé. He resumed the march that day, and at night encamped at the ruined pueblo of Santa Ana. The following day he rejoined the remainder of his forces at the deserted farm of Mejia.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE ARMY NOW MARCHES FOR THE PROVINCES OF ZUÑI AND
MOQUI.

SINCE Vargas had entered New Mexico for its reconquest, he had reduced to complete subjection seventeen provinces, while the priests who accompanied him baptised upward of one thousand five hundred and seventy persons. The provinces yet remaining in a hostile attitude were those of Zuñi and Moqui, the latter being about an hundred leagues West of Santa Ana. For the reduction of these he made immediate preparations.

Before taking up the line of march he made disposition of all his superfluous forces, so that they would not encumber his movements. The citizens and friendly Indians, who had accompanied him to this point, were sent to El Paso del Norté with an escort, pack animals and wagons being provided for the transportation of themselves, families and provisions. Among those who were sent to El Paso were the following prisoners, to be kept in charge by the lieutenant-governor until their fate should be decided by the king. The list, as here published, is a copy of the original record, and was handed to the officer in command of the escort, viz:

“1. Captain Roque Madrid conducts Patrona Casada, with Cristoval her grandson, citizens and residents of Sonora, with five sons and two daughters.

“2. José Dominguez takes his sister, Juana Dominguez, with four daughters and one son.

“3. Juan Olguin takes two daughters of José Nevares, a soldier at Jemez.

“4. Francisco Marques takes aunt Luzia, wife of Pedro Marques, resident of the Casas Grandes, with a daughter grown.

“5. Francisco Almazar takes a mulatto woman, called Maria, with three daughters and one son.

“6. Diego Garcia, soldier, takes a woman called Juana, with three children.”¹

The escort having left for El Paso, Vargas took up the line of march for Zuñi on the afternoon of the 30th of October. His force consisted of eighty-nine soldiers, rank and file, and thirty Indian runners, these being all the troops at his command for the conquest of two powerful provinces. The same day he marched to Isleta where he encamped for the night. He found this pueblo abandoned and in ruins, except the walls of the church and convent, which were in a good state of preservation. The following day he reached the river Puerco, which he found swollen and of difficult passage. He was obliged to cross the camp equipage and provisions by hand; and he pitched his camp that night near the bank of the stream. Pursuing his march across a barren country, in a course a little South of West, on the 3d of November he came within view of the peñol of Acoma, and saw smoke arising from the camp fires of the Queres enemy. Vargas now

¹ Although these persons seem to have been prisoners, the journal of Vargas is silent as to the nature of their offence.

mounted a fresh horse, and, riding forward with a small escort to reconnoitre, he found the Indians assembled in considerable numbers upon two rocky eminences. When within gunshot of the one on the right, the Spaniards charged the enemy, crying in a loud voice as they rushed toward them, "blessed be the Virgin Mary." The Indians made no hostile demonstration, but as the soldiers approached they responded to their cry by shouting "forever." Vargas, seeing that the enemy exhibited signs of peace, sounded a parley, and through the medium of an interpreter explained the reason of his presence among them with an armed force. He told them that he came to punish those who still remained in arms against their king, but to pardon all who would acknowledge their guilt and surrender. As evidence of his pacific intention, he showed them an image and a cross. A friendly Indian was now sent up to the mount to hold an interview with the enemy. He told them of the manner in which the pueblos had been treated who had already laid down their arms, and called two warriors of the Zuñi and Moqui village to witness the truth of what he said. The priests joined their assurances with those of the friendly Indians in testimony of the peaceful intention of the Spaniards. The Indians at last professed to be satisfied, and directed Vargas to march his command to the opposite side of the hill where he would be able to make the ascent.

The Spaniards reached the summit by traversing a narrow and difficult pathway. The Indians, however, refused to come forward to meet them, but instead withdrew within their entrenchments, the entrance to which they stopped up with stones, and declined to hold any further intercourse with them. This strange conduct and

apparent hostility greatly provoked Vargas. The messengers sent up to hold the parley, being still in the enemy's camp, demanded to be set free, but the Indians refused to let them go. After a little delay a half-breed went up to the entrenchments and talked with the Indians, but what he said produced no effect upon them. They refused, positively, to entertain any proposition until after they had held their grand council. They told Vargas that the Apaches were watching an opportunity to attack his camp, and begged him to be upon his guard. The Spaniards, being unable to accomplish anything, withdrew into the plain below and encamped.

Early the next morning the half-breed Zuñi Indian was dispatched to the Queres camp upon the mount with a cross and a message in writing. He was again directed to assure the Indians that the Spaniards had come into their country for no other purpose than from a desire to bring them back to christianity, and that the priests who accompanied the expedition would baptise and pardon them. He returned about ten o'clock with the answer of the Indians. He had given the cross to one who understood Spanish, and who read the letter to the others, who listened to it attentively. They kissed the cross, and expressed uneasiness because they were alone and unprotected, having no other friends than the Nabajo Apaches, whom they promised to inform of the situation of things. They desired that Vargas should continue his march to Zuñi, and when he returned, they promised to be prepared to hold a talk with him.

Being now convinced that he could not open negotiations with the enemy at this time, Vargas concluded to resume his march to the West. Before he set out he made search for a convenient watering place at which

to establish his camp upon his return, but was unable to find a more favorable location than the one he then occupied. Seeing that the Indians watched him closely from their entrenchments, and perceiving, as he thought, some signs of their coming to terms, he made a last effort in that behalf. For this purpose he returned within speaking distance of their position, accompanied only by a few soldiers, and requested a parley. The principal chief, who spoke Spanish, came forward and invited him to ascend the mount, which he did. When they had come together, the chief said that he had been advised not to treat with him, upon the ground that it was feared he desired to get them into his power under the cloak of christianity, and would afterward hang and shoot them. The captain-general assured him that this was false, and after some time he succeeded in making the Indians believe in the sincerity of his professions, when they laid down their arms and submitted. To seal the treaty Vargas and Mateo, the chief, embraced, and the latter erected a cross in the middle of the pueblo. The priests now entered upon the discharge of their functions, and absolved the whole population, kneeling, and afterward baptised eighty-seven persons. This pueblo was quite extensive,² with two plazas and three immense rows of buildings. The church was large and in good repair, with walls a vara and a half thick, some of which had been loop-holed. Having accomplished the object in view Vargas returned to camp, where he offered up thanks for the capture of the pueblo without loss of blood.

² The old manuscript journal of Vargas states that this pueblo was "the size of a long horse race," (*Tamaño de una carrera larga de caballo*), but as neither the size nor length of a horse race of that day has come down to us, we are unable to determine how large it was.

The Spaniards resumed the march for Zuñi on Wednesday, the 5th of November, and the same evening encamped at a spring a few miles beyond. The third day they marched within twenty-five leagues of their destination, when a messenger was sent forward to the pueblo to announce their approach, and forbid the inhabitants leaving. He bore with him a cross and a rosary as evidence of the peaceful and friendly intention of the Spaniards. That night the command was compelled to encamp without water, as there was none to be had nearer than the Moro, twelve leagues beyond. They encamped there the following day, and found an abundant supply. They marched the next day through a heavy storm to the small spring of Zuñi. During the afternoon ten mounted Indians, and two on foot, came to the camp and informed Vargas, that in consequence of his friendly letter the old men of the pueblo had sent them out to welcome him, and to say that they were well pleased at his coming. They brought a present of a sheep, and some tortillas and watermelons. They remained in camp that night. Thence the Spaniards marched five leagues, and encamped in the vicinity of Zuñi preparatory to entering it the next day. In the night the Apaches attacked the guard in charge of the animals, and in consequence of the darkness succeeded in running off seventeen head of cattle. Vargas was unable to send a party in pursuit of the thieves because of the bad condition of his horses; but he determined to make a campaign against them as soon as possible.

He took possession of the pueblo the next day. The road up the peñol or mount upon which it was situated was so steep and difficult of ascent, that he was obliged

³ Supposed to have been the same tribe now called Mogollones.

to dismount and ascend on foot.⁴ When he entered he found a large number of the inhabitants waiting to receive him. He chanted the Alabado, when the Indians approached and embraced him, and proclaimed their friendship. The pueblo consisted of three sets of quarters. The inhabitants being assembled he explained to them the object of his visit; that the king, his master, was also their master; that they and the whole country belonged to him; and that in his name he took possession of the pueblo, as he had done of all the others. They were then absolved, and two hundred and ninety-four were baptised. He ordered a large cross to be put up in the plaza. The principal chief then invited Vargas into his house, and upon entering it he found a small altar erected and two large tallow candles burning thereon. Upon removing some pieces of church ornament he discovered two brass images of Christ, fifty-six inches in length, attached to which were crosses of wood; another image of Christ, crucified, fastened to a wooden cross, with San Francisco Capuchino at his feet; a painting of Saint John the Baptist, on canvas, three-quarters of a yard long; a silver custodia inlaid with gold, and other articles; besides a number of books on christianity, among which was one on confession, in the Mexican and Spanish languages. The books and sacred ornaments were delivered to Vargas, who promised to return them to the holy father at El Paso. He and the priests, upon invitation, dined with the head men of the pueblo, and were entertained in the most hospitable manner. They were much

⁴ The situation of Zuñi, and the steepness of the road that led up to it, with the difficulty of its ascent, agree with what Castañeda says about the entrance to Cibola when Coronada was there in 1541. It is additional testimony in favor of the identity of these places.

pleased with their reception and entertainment, not having seen anything equal to it among the Indians of New Mexico. The exercises of the day being concluded, Vargas returned to the Spanish camp about sunset.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE MOQUI INDIANS BEING PACIFIED VARGAS RETURNS TO
EL PASO WITH HIS ARMY.

WHILE the Spaniards were encamped at Zuñi, a Moqui Indian brought information to Vargas that that pueblo had become alarmed at his approach and fled to the mountains with their families and stock. Their alarm was caused by the Nabajo Apaches, who had been to the villages and told the inhabitants not to believe a word that Vargas had written them from Jemez, nor to accept the cross, as his only object was to get them in his power and then destroy them. The Indians believing this would be the case had sought safety in flight. To assure them of his peaceable intentions the governor wrote them a second letter, which he dispatched by the runner who brought the information ; in which he stated that he had already pardoned them for their participation in the rebellion, and requested them to return to their villages and await his arrival. He also sent them another cross.

¹ A tribe still living in New Mexico, West of the Del Norte river, and known as the Nabajo Indians.

On the 13th of November a deputation of eight or ten Saline Apaches,² headed by a chief, came to the Spanish camp with many professions of friendship. Vargas embraced them and extended his hand in token of peace. He told them that he would be their friend so long as they behaved themselves well and remained at peace; but that if they were really desirous of being friendly with the Spaniards they must make war upon the Faraon Apaches and bring back the cattle the latter had stolen from him. He then accused them of being the thieves, and having run off his cattle, which they denied, and said their only object in coming to his camp was to make peace, and notify him that he could pass through their country in safety. He wanted them to be baptised as evidence of their friendship, which they declined, when he closed the interview, and giving them a little tobacco, sent them out of camp.

Vargas now made his arrangements to continue the march to the Moqui villages. He had two objects in view in going into that country; one, in order to explore the mountain where it was said red ochre abounded, and the other, and more important, for the purpose of reducing the Indians to subjection. He had reported the abundance of quicksilver said to be found in that country, and he also was desirous of proving the truth of this to the viceroy. He sent all the disabled soldiers and worn out horses to El Paso under a guard of twenty-five men in command of captain Rafael Teyes Jiron, and he caused the cattle and other stock, not necessary for the expedition, to be placed in a secure place under a guard at Zuñi, until he should return.

He left this pueblo with sixty-three soldiers and two priests, on the 15th of November, and encamped that

² Supposed to have been the same as the present Mescalero Apaches.

night in the middle of the timber, six leagues beyond. On the fifth day, while on the march, two Indians, named Salvador and Sebastian, from Aguatubi, came to him to inquire when he would arrive at the pueblo. The father of one of them was on the look-out the day before, and waited until sunset, but as the Spaniards did not make their appearance, he returned. Vargas received them with kindness, and put a rosary upon their necks. About four o'clock the same afternoon, four other Indians, well mounted and armed, met him two leagues from the village and bade him and the soldiers welcome. They accompanied him about a league and then returned to their pueblo. When he arrived near the mesa, upon which the village was situated, he was met by seven or eight hundred Indians, some mounted and others on foot, and armed with arquebusses, and bows and arrows, and singing their war songs. They surrounded the Spaniards; and the manuscript journal of Vargas states that they endeavored to provoke him into a fight by asking him "diabolical questions." He assured them that he had come upon a peaceful mission, having been sent by the king to pardon them for the part they had taken in the rebellion, and that he had brought with him an image of the Holy Virgin, and the royal standard. He then directed the chief, Miguel, to dismount and order his people to do the same and lay down their arms. The chief did as he was required, and in a short time the Indians were pacified and order restored.

This village was found to be well fortified, and the entrance to it was so narrow that but one person could pass in at a time. Vargas caused the soldiers to dismount, when, with the royal-flag flying, and himself at their head, they entered on foot and took possession in the name of

the king. He compelled the Indians to receive the Holy Virgin on their knees, and repeat the act of possession. The two interpreters, Miguel and Francisco, were then directed to tell them that the friars would absolve and baptise them the next morning; until which time they must return to their homes, and that if they remained quiet they would not be molested. Miguel invited Vargas to go to his house and partake of refreshments, which he declined to do, as he was not willing to separate himself from his soldiers, but he requested the interpreter to bring to him what he had prepared. He retired for a short time and returned with a supply of provisions for the whole command. The Indians requested the general to remain in the pueblo that night. This he declined as he preferred encamping outside, and having obtained a good location, he pitched his camp.

The next morning the ceremonies of absolution and baptism were performed. Vargas and the priests entered the pueblo with an escort of fifty men, well mounted and armed, who were cautioned to be upon their guard during the religious exercises. In the first place the Indians were ordered to erect a large cross upon the plaza, which being done, they were assembled around it, when one hundred and twenty-two were baptised, and a great number were absolved of their sins. Vargas stood sponsor for a son and daughter of Miguel. These ceremonies having been concluded, the general appointed a governor for the pueblo. His choice, for this position, fell upon Miguel, to whom he caused the proper oath to be administered, gave him the necessary instructions, and commanded the people to obey him. He now dined with the new governor, after which he returned to camp.

The next afternoon Miguel came to the camp and

related what took place among the Indians when they heard the Spaniards were marching into the province. He said that he had read the letter he received from Vargas to the Indians of Aguatubi and sent word of its contents to the pueblos of Gualpi, Jongopabi, Monsonabi and Oraybi, and that the inhabitants of all the villages assembled on a Sunday and held a council, the leading man being one named Antonio, of Gualpi. When informed that Vargas had left at Zuñi the principal part of his forces, they resolved to kill him and his whole command. The chief Antonio was the leader of all the hostility; he it was who caused all the disturbance in the province, and induced the Indians to arm themselves upon the arrival of the Spaniards. They determined not to permit any of them to enter their pueblos. The new governor, according to his own account, stood up manfully in defence of the Spaniards and opposed the hostile intentions of the Indians; he told his countrymen that Vargas and his troops had come a long distance upon a mission of peace, mainly to pardon them for the offences they had committed in the late rebellion; that they were good Christians, and himself and the inhabitants of his pueblo would receive and treat them well. The Indians commenced collecting together, the next day after the council, to put their plans into execution. He said they were much enraged against him for the part he had taken in the reception of Vargas and his troops, and threatened to put him to death as soon as the Spaniards should leave the province.

The relation of Miguel did not cause any alarm to Vargas, and he determined to carry out his intention of visiting the other pueblos. He accordingly marched for Gualpi, the nearest village, with forty-five soldiers, well

mounted, leaving the balance of his animals at Aquatubi, with a guard of fifteen men. The soldiers marched in fours, and were ordered to have their arms always ready, but not to fire without orders. In three leagues they reached the mesa upon which the pueblo was situated; and as soon as the Indians saw them approaching they sallied out in great numbers, some mounted, and others on foot, and armed with various kinds of weapons. Vargas directed the half-breed, Antonio, to ask the Indians to lay down their arms and come and meet him; which those of the pueblo of Gualpi immediately complied with, but the others refused. One-half the command then entered the pueblo, while the remainder kept guard outside. Vargas then went through the same ceremony of explaining the object of his visit, and taking formal possession of the village, as I have before narrated. He caused a cross to be erected on the plaza, and commanded the Indians to repeat the four prayers every morning, and to build a church and convent. The priests then absolved and baptised eighty-one persons, old and young. The doors of the houses were on the top. Vargas entered the house of captain Antonio and took some refreshments, after which he retired from the pueblo.

The Spaniards next marched to Monsonabi, otherwise called Buenaventura—Ventura, situated upon a high mesa three leagues distant. As soon as he took up the march for this pueblo, all the Indians who were at Aquatubi belonging to it, left the latter village and returned to their own homes. The entrance to Monsonabi was more difficult than that to all the other pueblos. Here Vargas met the Indian named Pedro, whom he had dispatched to the Moqui country, from Jemez, with a cross as evidence of his peaceful mission. He was standing upon

the plaza with the cross in his hand, in company with the two captains, Joseph and Sebastian. He caused the Indians to lay down their arms, bring their families to the square and erect a cross, when he took possession of the pueblo, after which the priests baptised and absolved the whole population.

Leaving Monsonabi, the Spaniards marched to the pueblo of San Bernardo de Jongopabi, a league distant, situated upon a mesa still higher than that of Buenaventura. A number of unarmed Indians were met at the entrance to the village, many of whom had their women and children with them. Vargas ordered a large cross to be erected in the square, when the usual ceremonies of taking possession, absolution and baptism were performed, after which he returned to his former camp near Aguatubi. From the latter place he had marched twelve or fourteen leagues without water, and many of his horses were broken down for the want of it. He seems not to have visited Oraybi.

Having completed the pacification of the province Vargas next turned his attention to the red-ochre mines, the discovery of which was one of the objects of the expedition. They were said to be situated in the Red Mountain, (Cierro Colorado,) and in order to obtain information about them, he examined one Pedro, a Zuñi Indian, who had twice visited them. He had been a servant of friar Joseph de Espleta, a missionary among the Moquis. He said they were ten days' travel from Aguatubi in a high and steep mountain, difficult of access; that it required a day or two to go up and get the ochre out of the earth, having to descend into a deep hole, and that it was necessary to remain in the mountain all night without water. The road from the Moqui pueblos was a difficult one to travel.

and water was only found at long intervals, the first watering place being ten leagues distant from Aguatubi. A river lay in the route, the banks of which were so steep that horses could not be taken down them, but must be left on the East side.³ It was necessary to pass through the country of the Cominas, who were represented as a very strong and warlike nation. Upon being asked the size of the vein, the Indian answered that it was "about as large as a watermelon,"⁴ and very solid, and sometimes changed its color. The Indians used this earth to paint themselves and also for the preservation of their skin, which kept it smooth and soft, and obliterated marks of the small-pox. After learning the distance to the ochre mine, and the difficulties to be encountered in reaching it, Vargas concluded to give up the expedition and return to the pueblo of Zuñi.

It was his intention to return to Zuñi by the way of Oraybi, but because of the great scarcity of water on the road and at that pueblo, and of the broken-down condition of the animals, he determined to proceed direct to the former place. He took up the line of march on the 24th of November, and the same evening encamped at a watering place called Magdalena. The second day a number of his animals gave out, and he was obliged to leave them behind on the road. A messenger from the grazing camp at Aloma met him with information that the Apaches had stolen three head of horses, and threatened the destruction of the troops stationed there as guard, which induced him to push forward as rapidly as possible. He left camp on the evening of the 26th, about nine o'clock,

³ This river is the same as the Rio Colorado, which formed the Western boundary of New Mexico as originally established by Congress.

⁴ "Por comparacion de una grandia."

with twenty-six of his best horsemen, for the relief of Aloma, and by making forced marches he arrived there about the same hour the next evening. His command, with the horses and mules, arrived the next day, when he moved his camp near the peñol of Zuñi.

Having now fully accomplished the object for which he had entered New Mexico, the pacification of the Indian provinces, Vargas resolved to march for El Paso, and made immediate arrangements to set out. He met with an Indian who promised to conduct him by a new and shorter route to the pueblo of Cenecu (near the present Socorro), and along which there was an abundance of wood and water. The name of this guide was Cabezon, (Big-head,) and he and his two companions, named Bermejo and Alonzo, were each to receive a horse for his service besides his provisions. He commenced the march on the 30th of November, by the way of the Ojita de Zuñi, where he was overtaken by an Indian runner, with information that the Apaches intended to attack him that night. He ordered his men to sleep upon their arms, and be ready at any moment to resist the enemy. Here he was joined by two soldiers left in the pueblo of Aloma; who were accompanied by their two sisters, who had been made prisoners in the rebellion, and lived among the Indians since that time.

The Spaniards encamped at the Moro on the night of the 1st of December. Their course was now changed to the South, and lay through an unknown and barren country roamed over by bands of hostile Indians. They broke up camp the next morning in a heavy storm of snow and rain. After marching a league they came in sight of the Black Mountains, and the guide pointed out Long Rock, near which the Red Apaches lived and planted corn.

Here flowed a fine stream of water. At the base of the mountains the road changed to the South-east, and passed over a country of volcanic formation, and very rough. In a march of four leagues they entered a mountainous region and encamped. During the night, in spite of the vigilance of the guard, the Apaches succeeded in stealing fourteen horses, and lanced one which died the next morning. The camp was entirely surrounded by them, and the presence of the sentinels alone prevented them from making an attack.

The Spaniards continued the march in the same direction. In the distance of two leagues they left the mountains and struck upon a prairie which they crossed, and then came among hills of volcanic formation, which they traversed for more than a league, when they entered an extensive valley bounded by hills covered with the royal pine, and thence descended into another valley, where they encamped for the night. The next day they continued their march down this valley, which they found well wooded and covered with fine pasture, in a storm of rain. Having traversed the valley several leagues, they crossed a rolling prairie and entered upon an extensive plain, on which they encamped without water. They continued their march in the same direction until the 9th of December, when they reached the ruined pueblo of Socorro. The next day they proceeded down the West bank of the Del Norte, and, making easy marches, reached El Paso the 20th of the month, without further detention. During the expedition Vargas had recaptured seventy-four Spanish women and children, who had been made captive in the rebellion, and the priests had baptised two thousand two hundred and fourteen Indians, who had renounced their idolatrous worship.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF VARGAS INTO NEW MEXICO, AND
HIS MARCH TO SANTA FÉ.

THE Spanish government in Mexico determined, the following year, to send another expedition into New Mexico, to be accompanied by emigrants, for the purpose of establishing permanent settlements, and effecting a more complete conquest of the country and subjugation of the Indians. This was, likewise, intrusted to the command of Vargas, who received the necessary instructions to fit out the expedition, and funds to provide for the wants of the settlers on the march.¹ The whole command, including every description of persons, numbered

¹ On the 24th of November, 1692, by virtue of an order of the count of Galves, and the ministers of the Royal Junta, at Mexico, there was paid to Vargas the sum of \$12,638.50, and on another order from the same officer, there were paid to him on the 8th of April, 1693, \$29,783.62, in all \$42,461.12, for the purpose of recruiting settlers for the Presidio of Santa Fé, and for their support for one year. Of this whole amount of forty-two thousand dollars and upward, it is alleged that Vargas only expended seven thousand for the use of the emigrants; the remainder probably being spent for his private purposes.

fifteen hundred, with over three thousand horses and mules. To each family there was given a sum of money, amounting to from ten to forty dollars, to purchase necessities on the way. The emigrants were placed under the immediate control of captain Juan Paes Hurtado.

Vargas took up the line of march from El Paso on the 11th day of October, 1693, and followed his former course up the valley of the Del Norté. The sufferings of the families were very great. Each person was allowed one pound of flour and a little beef per day until they arrived at a place called Louis Lopez, when the provisions gave out, after which their condition was wretched. They were compelled to sell their arms and horses, and every thing else they could dispose of to the Indians, for food. Thirty persons perished from hunger and exposure alone. The march was so much retarded by the wagons carrying the effects of the emigrants, that Vargas was obliged to leave them behind to come up at leisure, while he pushed on with the troops.

I have not been able to obtain a complete record of his march up the valley, and therefore am not acquainted with his operations until after he arrived at the pueblo of Isleta. The valley of the Rio del Norté is narrow in its widest part, and lies on both sides of the river, extending from the stream back to the barren hills which follow its course. In many parts it is sandy and desert-like, and the march of troops, and the transportation of supplies is necessarily a laborious and tedious operation. Up the valley the Spaniards pursued their toilsome way, meeting all the incidents and dangers to be encountered in a march through an enemy's country.

When Vargas reached the pueblo of Isleta, less than a hundred miles South of Santa Fé, he encamped his

forces for a time, in order to prepare for a further advance into the interior. He sent a runner to the village of Cia, to obtain information of the condition of the country and such other news as might be useful to him in his future operations. Upon his return he reported that the Indians of Santa Fé had held a council and resolved to resist his advance, and had provided a large number of lances and arrows. Their plan was to make an attack upon the troops and animals at the same time, hoping by dividing the attention of the Spaniards, to meet with success. The Pueblo Indians invited the Apache tribes to join them, and the latter had expressed their willingness to do so. There was great scarcity of provisions in the country, on account of the damage done to the crops by grasshoppers. Much division and dissension prevailed among the inhabitants of Cia, some being in favor of war, while others were as anxious for peace. This information put Vargas upon his guard, and he moved and acted with extreme caution.

Having made the necessary disposition of his forces to resist an attack upon the march, he moved from Isleta with his command and proceeded to a farm within fifteen leagues of Santa Fé, where he arrived on the 12th day of November. He halted here in order to reconnoitre the surrounding country; and as the position was a favorable one for that purpose, he threw up some slight works as a defence. The next day, with an escort of fifty soldiers, he marched up the valley to the pueblo of San Felipe. Upon his approach the Indians formed in two lines, with a large cross between them, and when he entered the village they received him friendly. He told them he had again brought priests with him, and that they must say Mass according to the form of the

Spaniards. They expressed themselves satisfied with this, and offered refreshments to him and the whole of his command. Here he met some of the chiefs of Cochiti, whom he told he intended to visit their pueblo, and directed them to return and talk with their people, and come and see him again the next day.

From this place Vargas sent captain Cristobal with eleven head of cattle to the pueblos up the river to trade with the Indians for corn and other grain. Four leagues from camp he met an old woman who told him that the Indians were assembled for the purpose of destroying the whole command about seven leagues from Santa Fé. They had sent two fleet young men to Cochiti to ask the assistance of the inhabitants of that pueblo, but the latter being divided in opinion had not yet decided upon the course to take. This information was immediately communicated to Vargas, who ordered the troops he had left behind to join him. Shortly afterward he was informed, that because two nations had refused to join this combination against the Spaniards, the Indians had returned to their pueblos, but that they were determined to resist any attempt to enter Santa Fé.

The command was united on the 19th. The same day Vargas took a squadron of sixty well-armed men and proceeded to the mesas overlooking the valley of the river, where he found assembled Indians of the pueblos of Santa Ana, Cia, and Cochiti, who appeared to be friendly disposed, and, as the old manuscript expresses it, "obedient to the Divine and human Majesty." A few of the children were baptised at the request of the Indians; and after obtaining some provisions he and his command returned to camp.

The Spaniards now resumed the march for Santa Fé.

They arrived at Santo Domingo the 1st of December, and found that pueblo deserted. Here Vargas met and had a talk with the governors of Tezuque, San Lazaro, and San Yldefonso. Don Louis, the leading man of all these pueblos, appearing much dejected in the council, was asked the cause of it. He replied that when the Spaniards left the country, the year before, the governor's interpreter told him they would return some feast day, and order all the chiefs and principal men engaged in the rebellion to be put to death; and that the idea of such a thing taking place caused him trouble. Vargas quieted the fears of the chief, but, at the same time, told him this second attempt to conspire for the destruction of his forces merited the severest punishment, even to the extermination of their whole kingdom. He then sent Don Louis on a mission to the Indians of Santa Fé and San Lazaro, with instructions to inform them that he had brought with him the images of Jesus and the Holy Mother, and a cross, and that he would not break the promise of pardon he had made them the year before; and that these holy things were much better than their estufas. He promised the Indians that when his interpreter, Pedro de Tapia, should return he would cause him to be shot for deceiving them. Don Louis took with him a few goods to trade with the Indians for provisions, and was accompanied by four soldiers as a guard. He returned to the Spanish camp on the fourth day with a good supply of corn, in addition to twelve mule loads sent him by the inhabitants of Santa Fé, as a present.

Vargas marched from Santo Domingo on the 11th of December in a violent snow storm, and the same evening encamped on the mesa at the farm of Roque Madrid, within two leagues of Santa Fé. He was visited that

evening by a deputation of Indians from the town, headed by the governor and accompanied by the chief of Tezuque. They manifested great friendship, and, as evidence of their good feeling, they brought the Spaniards a supply of tortillas.² They informed him that the report put in circulation by the interpreter had caused great commotion among them, and given much alarm; but that the old men and women had denied its truth, saying that Vargas was their father, and would not injure them.

He remained encamped at this place until the 16th, when he resumed the march for Santa Fé. With his troops formed in martial array, and mounted and accompanied by the ayuntamiento,³ with the same colors flying that had waved over Don Juan de Oñate, the first conqueror, when he had entered the place, he marched into the town and took possession of it. The population assembled upon the plaza to receive him, the men being drawn up on one side, and the women on the other. When the priests, who were in rear of the troops, approached the plaza, they commenced chanting hymns and repeating prayers. The soldiers were formed in open ranks to allow them to pass through, and when they arrived upon the square they knelt down before a cross the Indians had erected, celebrated the Te Deum, and chanted the Litany. Vargas now delivered a discourse to the Indians, in which he explained to them the object of his second visit to Santa Fé; all that he said being confirmed by the friars. The town was in about the same condition as when he had left it the year before, the works and entrenchments being still in good order. The ceremonies having been concluded, the troops were

² Thin cakes made of corn meal.

³ Town council.

marched to a hill a short distance out of town, where the Indians had prepared accommodations for them.⁴

The soldiers and emigrants remained encamped upon this hill until the 25th of the month. The weather had set in very cold in the meantime, and there was great suffering in the camp, many of the troops and colonists dying from hunger and exposure. Vargas called upon the Indians for one hundred bags of corn, which they furnished; but when afterward required to furnish two hundred more, they refused to supply it, and declared their willingness to fight sooner than give it up. They had been allowed to remain in actual possession of the town up to this time; but the weather had now become so severe, that the priests petitioned the general to be allowed to occupy their houses. The corporation also begged for permission to take possession of the public buildings, then occupied by the Tanos Indians, requesting that the latter should be sent to their pueblos on the Galisteo.

In the meantime there were various rumors of a conspiracy among the Indians, and the Spaniards became more guarded in their movements. As a matter of precaution Vargas permitted the town council to occupy the palace, but declined acting upon the petition of the priests until the return of the men who had been sent to the mountains to cut timber for the repair of the church of San Miguel. They returned in a few days, without timber, alleging that the weather was too cold for them to bring it in. He now determined to take possession of the public buildings, and ordered the Tanos Indians to vacate them immediately and return to their pueblos.

⁴ Supposed to be the hill on the left hand side of the Taos road, about three hundred yards from the plaza.

Upon receiving this order they appeared excited and dissatisfied, but said nothing; they asked permission to remain in the buildings until the next day, which was granted them. Their conduct upon the occasion created suspicion in the mind of Vargas that they desired the delay in order to accomplish some hostile purpose, which had the effect of putting himself and followers more upon their guard.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE INDIANS DEFEND SANTA FÉ, BUT IT IS TAKEN BY THE SPANIARDS.

DURING the day and night of the 24th of December, the Indians counceled among themselves and resolved to oppose the entrance of the Spaniards into Santa Fé, and made preparations for that purpose. In the evening a soldier, who understood their language, was in town and overheard them talking upon this subject. He returned to camp about ten o'clock, and reported to Vargas what he had heard, and the movements that were going on. The latter immediately assembled the troops under arms, collected the cattle, and made every preparation to attack the enemy at daylight.

As soon as it was light enough the next morning to see, he marched the troops to the assault of the entrenchments, which he found manned by the Indians, who saluted them as they advanced, with shouts of defiance. When the noise and confusion had subsided so that he could be heard, he sounded a parley, and asked for a conference with them, being anxious to reduce them to peace without bloodshed. He persuaded them to lay

down their arms, which they refused, but said they would like to hold a council to determine what to do. Vargas was not willing to allow them much time, for he was well convinced they were awaiting reinforcements from the Jemez, Nabajo Apaches, and Taos Indians, but nevertheless he granted them until that afternoon to come to terms. In the meantime he drew off his troops and stationed them as near the town as practicable: while he took the precaution to send the governor of the Pecos pueblo for his warriors to reinforce him and assist in the reduction of the place. The enemy failing to return an answer to Vargas's proposition in the afternoon, as agreed upon, the Spanish forces were kept under arms all night close to the entrenchments. The Indians spent the night in scenes of revelry and rejoicing. They made the town resound with their war-cries and songs, and performed their various dances with all the pomp attending such ceremonies; mingling their festivities with the most insulting language and shouts of derision to the Spaniards. At early dawn the next morning, Vargas commanded his troops to stand to their arms preparatory to an assault upon the works. The priests absolved anew the whole command, and chanted the *Alabado*. When the Indians saw the Spaniards in battle array and witnessed the religious exercises, they raised their war-cry and discharged a shower of arrows from the port holes, and threw stones with slings from the entrenchments. The action was now fairly commenced.

Vargas divided his troops into two divisions, one being ordered to mount and attack the only door which communicated with the works, while the other was directed to carry the entrenchments. They rushed to the assault amid a shower of missiles, shouting the old Spanish war-

ery of Santiago. The first division approached the door and tried to cut it down, but finding it too solid to be thus disposed of, they set it on fire and burnt it down, when they entered and took possession of a house that communicated with the principal estufa. To reach the plaza it was yet necessary to scale the walls, which was hazardous and could only be accomplished with considerable loss; but Vargas, knowing there was a large reinforcement close at hand, determined to lose no time in the attempt, and, if possible, secure the plaza before assistance could arrive for the garrison. He immediately set to work making scaling ladders, and providing beams to assist in climbing the walls: but while thus engaged the reinforcements for the enemy were seen approaching. When the Indians saw their countrymen coming to their assistance, they renewed their war-cries and made a more furious resistance than before. From the first assault, a severe and constant fire had been kept up on both sides, to which the Indians now added boiling water which they discharged upon those who were trying to undermine their works.

Vargas now made disposition to resist this new force and prevent it joining the garrison. For this purpose he detailed five squadrons of cavalry, which were ordered to attack and disperse them before they should reach the town. The cavalry charged and drove them back with the loss of five men, but they soon rallied and came much nearer than before. The Spaniards now attacked them a second time, with the loss of four warriors, when they dispersed and did not again return to the charge. The battle had now continued all day and neither party had gained any important advantage over the other, and, as evening drew nigh, they mutually ceased fighting.

When it grew dark Vargas stationed a strong guard around the town, commanding all the approaches, so as to prevent the enemy leaving, or reinforcements entering without his knowledge. One squadron garrisoned an estufa which had been taken during the day. During the night the Indians permitted some of the soldiers, with whom they were acquainted, to enter their entrenchments, but no attempt was made to harm them, although they were completely in their power. The Indians had become much disheartened because their reinforcements had been repulsed and their chief badly wounded. Both parties slept upon their arms, but the night passed away without further conflict.

The contest had proved disastrous to the Indians, who had lost heavily in killed and wounded. They were now well convinced that it would be useless to contend longer against the Spaniards, and therefore suffered Vargas to take possession of their entrenchments without opposition the next morning. He marched in with colors flying and music sounding, drove the enemy from their works, and took formal possession in the name of the king of Spain. He caused the royal banner to be hoisted upon the highest point of the entrenchments, and erected a cross over the door. The town was now searched. In many of the houses warriors were found concealed, some of them wounded, who were first absolved by the priests and then executed by a party under the command of Roque Madrid, the adjutant of the general. Four hundred women and children were captured, who were distributed among the Spanish families, professedly for the purpose of converting them to christianity, but in fact to reduce them to slavery. The property of those executed was confiscated, among which were two thou-

sand fanegas of corn, besides a large quantity of beans, wheat and other articles of food. The grain was placed under a guard to prevent it being destroyed, and it was afterward furnished to the garrison and citizens. The whole number of Indians killed in the capture of Santa Fé was one hundred and sixty, including the seventy who were executed after it was taken. Two men were found hanging in the houses, one of whom was the governor, whom the Indians had hung that morning after the town had fallen.

Although Santa Fé was in the possession of the Spaniards, the Indians by no means gave up the contest, but commenced a system of harassing operations which they continued during the winter. In truth the victory was a fruitless one, for although Vargas and his command were safe behind the defences of the town, they were beset by the Indians the moment they ventured into the country. They made frequent attacks upon the grazing camps and stole a number of the animals. The settlers and soldiers were both badly armed, and many of their guns had already been broken and rendered worthless in their conflicts with the enemy. The Indians took advantage of this condition of things, and their attacks were so often repeated and so violent that Vargas became alarmed for the safety of the garrison. In these conflicts a few soldiers were killed and wounded, but the loss of the enemy was greater; several of them were taken prisoners, who, after being absolved, were invariably shot. To add to other misfortunes the provisions and ammunition began to fail. A fresh supply was expected soon after the capture of the town, but the wagons not arriving at the appointed time, Vargas sent a party of soldiers to Parral, in Durango, to fetch them. The

winter passed away in unceasing conflicts between the contending parties. When spring opened, and the weather would permit operations in the field, the general made preparations to march against the Indians to punish them for their hostility, and likewise to endeavor to recover the stolen animals.

He marched from Santa Fé upon this expedition in the beginning of March, 1694, at the head of twenty soldiers. It began to snow the morning he started, and the storm continued with great violence for three days. He came up with the Indians on the third day on the mesa beyond the pueblo of San Yldefonso, but the storm was so severe that he could not engage them. In the afternoon he captured seventy head of horses. Toward evening he retired to the pueblo with his troops, where they took up their quarters for the night, and threw up some slight defences to protect themselves and animals in case of attack. The weather was so inclement they were obliged to remain shut up in the village for three days, during which time the enemy constantly annoyed them.

When the storm had ceased Vargas again took the field in pursuit of the Indians, who fled to their stronghold upon the mesa. He followed them thither and reconnoitred their position, which he found to be strong, and could not be taken without much difficulty; but notwithstanding the peril that must attend the enterprise, he ordered it to be attacked. The Indians received him with a shower of arrows and stones, and defended their camp with great bravery. The Spaniards soon possessed themselves of a small hill near their trenches and wall, and

¹ This is a short stretch of table land that lies on the east bank of the Del Norte, near the pueblo of San Yldefonso, and was a place of great resort for the Northern Indians.

would have gained the works but for a deep ravine that intervened and arrested their progress. The action continued until late in the afternoon, when Vargas was compelled to withdraw his troops, with the loss of two men wounded. The enemy had fifteen killed and wounded. The next day he sent his wounded, with an account of the action, to Santa Fé.

Vargas now changed his plan of operations. Leaving a small guard in charge of his animals, he marched with the main body of his troops to the opposite side of the Del Norte, where they would be in a position to give greater annoyance to the enemy, and at the same time would be more secure from attack themselves. He remained in camp here a few days, when the cold became so intense that he found it necessary to change his position for the safety of his men. He now ordered a second attack upon the mesa. He divided his command into two parties, and caused the attack to be made at as many points at the same time. The soldiers, eager for the fray, rushed to the assault, shouting their favorite war-cry. The ascent up the mesa slope to the works of the enemy was very steep, and the savages received them with shouts of defiance and hurled down upon them a storm of arrows and stones, which for a time checked their advance. Vargas encouraged his men to renewed exertions, both by word and example, but it was impossible to overcome the resistance of the enemy, and the troops were obliged to retire with the loss of nine men, wounded. The loss of the Indians was eight or ten men killed and several wounded. The wounded Spaniards were immediately sent down to Santa Fé, together with a considerable quantity of supplies obtained from the neighboring pueblos. The Indians, knowing that part of the Spanish

force had been detached as escort, and supposing Vargas to be too weak to resist them, determined to surprise and overcome him in the night. The Spaniards, who were informed of their intention, were on the alert and had the camp and animals both well guarded. Sometime before morning the Indians rushed to the attack in great numbers, and seemed determined to carry all before them; but the soldiers met them with such determination and courage they were compelled to retire to the mesa with the loss of two killed, and several wounded. Being unsuccessful in this attack, they made no further attempt that night.

Vargas, seeing there was no hope of defeating the Indians in battle, on account of their greatly superior numbers—they being about five hundred strong, while he had not more than fifty effective men—determined, if possible, to bring them to terms in some other manner. For this purpose he cut off the supply of water they obtained from the river, a league from their camp, which put them to inconvenience, but did not have the desired effect. He maintained this condition of things until the 19th of March, when, seeing that the enemy still held out without any indication of coming to terms, while his own men were sick from exposure, and their ammunition nearly exhausted, he was obliged to return to Santa Fé. During this campaign more than thirty of the enemy were killed, and a large number wounded. Vargas destroyed or consumed all the provisions found in four pueblos, and captured one hundred and fourteen horses and mules.

CHAPTER L.

VARGAS MARCHES TO COCHITI, AND AFTERWARD MEETS
THE INDIANS ON THE MESA OF SAN YLDEFONSO.

IMMEDIATELY upon his arrival at Santa Fé, Vargas dispatched an express to meet the party in charge of the ammunition that was on its way up from below, with orders to hasten their march. About this time a deputation arrived from the pueblos of Cia and Santa Ana, with information that the enemy threatened the destruction of their villages, and asked for assistance to ward off the blow. With this request the general was not able to comply, for he had lately been informed that the enemy threatened an attack upon Santa Fé, and the whole of his force would be required for its defence. The attack, however, was not made. Vargas was now convinced that as long as the hostile Indians were in arms it would be impossible for him to afford adequate protection to the citizens and friendly Indians, and therefore he concluded to take the field against them with all his disposable force, and compel them to sue for peace if it were possible.

He now marched for the camp of the enemy with a considerable body of Spanish soldiers and some Indian allies. Arrived there without accident, he halted his

forces at the foot of the mesa and made his disposition for the attack. He divided his command into three divisions, and at the word they assaulted the works upon as many sides simultaneously. The conflict was long and obstinate, but at last the Spaniards succeeded in gaining the mesa, when the enemy broke and fled in every direction. Seven Indians were killed and a large number wounded, and thirteen men and over three hundred women and children were made prisoners. Among the spoils of war which fell into the hands of the victors were nine hundred head of sheep and over seventy horses and mules. The sheep and some other property were turned over to the friendly Indians, and the branded mules and horses were given up to their owners. The thirteen warriors who were taken were shot. The next day an Indian came down from the mountains in search of the women and children, and as security against injury from the troops, he carried a large cross in his hand. When brought into the presence of Vargas and questioned, he said the Teguas and Tanos Indians had induced his people to go to war, and that the latter were not to blame. He was told that all the pueblos would be destroyed unless the inhabitants returned and lived in them. He was directed to inform his people, when he should return to them, that they must bring in the principal men of the rebellion, and come back to their villages and live like Christians. An Indian named Zepe was a leading man in the present disturbance.

The following day another warrior came into the Spanish camp, and reported that all his people were weeping at the loss of their families; that they had already made Zepe and five other leading men prisoners, and were only waiting to capture a few more when they

would bring them in. The fourth day after the fight Vargas sent a pack train and the wounded down to Santa Fé, under an escort. He established a grazing camp three leagues off, where he placed a guard, and the balance of his men, only thirty-six in number, occupied the pueblo the Indians had built upon the mesa. The enemy seeing the Spaniards in this weakened condition, and thinking they might be easily overcome, made an attack upon them. It was so sudden and unexpected that they gained the mesa and had possession of all the outlets of the streets of the pueblo before their approach even was known. It was a complete surprise, and Vargas found himself surrounded by the foe. The Indians continued the assault for some time, but the Spaniards rallying and defending themselves with great bravery, some of the captives being put to death, and the enemy seeing they could not gain possession of the place, drew off and retired to the mountains. During the combat one hundred and fifty of the prisoners effected their escape and joined the enemy. The general succeeded in holding the mesa until the 24th, when he was reinforced by the guard which had been in charge of the grazing camp on the west side of the river. In crossing the river corporal Almazan, one of the best soldiers of the little army, was drowned, a loss which caused great grief to Vargas.

At this time Vargas received information from the officer in command at Santa Fé, that the town had been attacked by a very large body of Indians, which determined him to return immediately to that place to give assistance to the garrison. He loaded his wagons with grain, set fire to the pueblo, and took up his march with the prisoners. That night he encamped at the old pueblo

of San Yldefonso, where he liberated the relatives of the friendly Indians taken in the fight. Here he gave the command of the troops to captain Roqui Madrid, and set out for Santa Fé, with a few soldiers as an escort, where he arrived the next day, the 25th, at three o'clock in the afternoon. He received the most flattering reception from the clergy, the citizens and soldiers. The enemy had retired before his arrival, and the inhabitants were relieved of their fears. Captain Madrid, with the remainder of the troops and the train, arrived there on the 27th, without molestation from the Indians.

There was now a short interval of peace, for the first time since the second entrance of Vargas into the country. After everything had been properly arranged, the prisoners disposed of, and the animals sent to secure grazing ground, he turned his attention to peaceful pursuits of equally pressing importance. As spring was about to open, seed-time claimed his attention, and he made the necessary preparations for putting in the crops. Lands around Santa Fé were assigned to the soldiers for planting purposes, and a guard was detailed to protect those who worked in the fields. He also visited Tezuque, three leagues distant, to ascertain whether the inhabitants were putting in their crops; but he found the pueblo deserted, and no indication that the Indians had been there for some time. He saw no fresh trails of the enemy in that neighborhood.

In the early part of April Vargas visited the pueblo of Cochiti, in the valley of the Del Norte for the purpose of settling the inhabitants of that, and the villages of Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and other neighboring ones, in their old pueblos; and also to procure a supply of corn for the use of the garrison and citizens of Santa Fé.

While at Cochiti he received a letter from friar Francisco Forfan, dated Los Patos, sixteen days' journey below El Paso, April the 3d. The reverend father, who was on his way, from Mexico to Santa Fé, with several families of emigrants, complained heavily of the severe hardships he encountered. He says, among other things: "I have lost over one hundred and fifty mules; some have been stolen, some strayed, and others have died; and the wagons are so heavy that it requires two pair of mules for the empty ones." The poor friar attributed all his mishaps on the road to the "devil with many legions, by Divine permission, in punishment of my sins." In speaking of the scarcity of provisions at El Paso he states that corn was not to be had there, and says that the fathers wrote him, that if they dined they did not sup, and if they supped they did not dine. These are but few of the severe trials these self-denying men were compelled to undergo in settling New Mexico, and converting the heathen to christianity.

On the morning of the 18th of April an Indian of the pueblo of San Marcos visited Vargas at Cochiti, with a cross in his hand, and told him that his people were anxious to re-inhabit their pueblo, if they were permitted to do so. He was directed to return and tell them they might re-occupy it upon condition that they would bring in Zepe and all the other principal men of the rebellion, tied. The next day two other Indians came to him with information that nearly all the principal men had been captured, and were then tied, and they were only waiting to catch a few others they were then in pursuit of, when they would bring them all in. Presents were distributed among them, and they departed well pleased.

In the absence of Vargas, they had had more stirring

times at Santa Fé. The Indians appeared before it in force on the 19th, and commenced an attack about nine o'clock in the morning. Some were mounted and others on foot. The garrison was weak, but defended itself with determined bravery. The troops marched out under the command of Louis Granillo, the commandant, to meet the enemy, and after a fight of three hours succeeded in beating them off. They pursued them in their retreat as far as Tezuque, but being poorly mounted, while the Indians had good animals, they were unable to overtake them. The Spaniards sustained the loss of one man killed, a friendly Indian named Bernardino, and had fifteen horses run off from the Cieniga.¹ The enemy also stole the stock of Eusobia de Vargas. Granillo sent word of the attack to the general the same day, and besought him not to be alarmed for the safety of the town.

In the meantime Vargas remained at the pueblo of Cochiti. On the 20th the war-captain of San Felipe came in and informed him that they had captured nine of the leaders of the rebellion, including the chief Zepe, and asked that the prisoners belonging to his pueblo should be liberated. This he declined to do until the captives were delivered to him, alleging that the Indians had deceived him once, and he would not trust them again. The war-captain tried various means to accomplish his object, but failed. He went away promising faithfully to bring in and deliver up the captive chiefs.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day a large body of Indians made an attack upon Cochiti. At the time there were but thirty-six soldiers in the village, the remainder having been sent out with the animals to graze, and as an escort for the train that went to Santa

¹ Meadows near the town.

Fé, loaded with corn. The troops were entirely off their guard, and had not their armor on when the attack was made, and the prisoners were engaged in shelling corn. They flew to arms at the first alarm, and fought the Indians man to man, and after a desperate struggle succeeded in beating them off, but owing to their small number they were unable to pursue them. More than half the prisoners made their escape during the fight. Vargas immediately called in the troops from the grazing camp, and took the necessary measures to resist a second attack. The horses were placed in the plaza, with a strong guard over them, and twenty were ordered to be kept saddled all night, to be ready to mount in case of a sudden assault. Loop-holes were cut in the houses in which the soldiers were quartered, to enable them to defend themselves with more security. The enemy, however, did not renew the attack.

Vargas now held a council with the principal captains of the pueblos of San Felipe, Santa Ana and Cia, and afterward liberated the prisoners belonging to these villages. He furnished them with a small escort to protect them on their way home, and also a guard while planting their corn, cotton, and other crops. They took their departure much pleased with the treatment they had received. Having accomplished the object of his visit to this place, Vargas left Cochiti on the 22d, for Santa Fé, where he arrived the same afternoon. The train, with corn, came in soon after his arrival. Upon his return he completed the distribution of the lands abandoned by the Indians among the citizens and soldiers, which he superintended in person.

The war-captain of the pueblo of Pecos, accompanied

by a deputation of eight Faraon² Apaches, from the plains, made him a visit on the 2d of May. After holding a talk with them he gave them chocolate served upon a silver plate. He asked them if there was any of that kind of metal in their country, and told them if there was he would like them to bring it to him, "as it was very good for sore eyes and disease of the heart." They replied there was plenty of it at the foot of a small hill, where it was found in large rocks; that it was very hard, and they had no means of breaking it; but if he would give them an ax they would bring some of it to him. He asked them many questions about their country, particularly the distance from it to the country of the Tejas, which they said was six or seven days' journey to the first villages. He next inquired if there were any Spaniards in that country, to which they replied there had been some there; but as they, the Indians, had not been there for some years, they could not tell whether they were there at that time. Vargas thought this information of importance, as he believed the Spaniards spoken of belonged to the expeditions which counts Monclova and Galves, when viceroys, had sent into that country. The Indians said there were many watering places and a number of large rivers on the road, large herds of buffaloes, and an abundance of fruit in the summer season. On being asked the distance from their country to that of the Quivira, they said it was from twenty-five to thirty days' journey; that they knew that country well, as they went there for captives to buy horses with. The general then made them a present of an ax, and told them to return by roasting-ear time to meet him at Pecos, when he would give them permission to trade with the Spaniards

² Probably the same as the Faraon Apaches.

and Pueblo Indians. They left well pleased, saying they would return at the time appointed.

The Indians made another attack upon Santa Fé, and attempted to run off the animals, on the 25th of May, but the cattle being scattered among the hills, and the guard making a stout resistance, they did not succeed. None were killed on either side, but a Taos Indian was made prisoner. The garrison was kept under arms, on the plaza, until seven o'clock in the evening, when the guard and animals arriving in safety, they were dismissed. No further hostile demonstration was made. The prisoner, upon being questioned, informed Vargas that the ten pueblos of the Teguas and Tanos, the three pueblos of Taos, with the Indians of Jemez, Picoris, and a few of the Queres nation from the mesa of Cochiti, had risen in arms and were assembled ready to commence hostilities.

Upon receipt of this information Vargas resolved to anticipate the attack of the rebels, and the same evening he left Santa Fé with his disposable force for the mesa of San Yldefonso, where they were assembled. He arrived there about four o'clock in the morning, and made immediate dispositions to attack their camp. He stationed his troops at different points of the mesa, and sent his horses over the river so they would be secure from capture. In making a reconnoissance of the enemy's position he succeeded in capturing one of their principal chiefs, a boy twelve or fourteen years of age, and several horses. The charge being now sounded, the troops rushed to the attack. The Indians met them half way up the slope, when a long and severe struggle took place for the possession of the mesa, which resulted in Vargas being obliged to retire, leaving the enemy in possession of the field. The Indian loss was one killed and one wounded,

the latter being carried to the Spanish camp where his wounds were dressed, and twenty-eight head of animals captured. The troops retired a short distance, to draw the Indians down from the mesa so they could meet them upon more equal grounds. They pursued the retiring Spaniards into the bottom, where a second fight took place, in which the latter were completely victorious. The loss of the enemy was one killed and one wounded, that of the soldiers not being mentioned. The same night the general returned to Santa Fé with the animals he had captured, and delivered them to their respective owners.

Vargas remained but one day at Santa Fé, when he returned again to the mesa of San Yldefonso, for the purpose of driving the Indians entirely from it, as he had left many there after the last fight. He hoped to be able to draw them down again upon level ground where he could engage them to better advantage. He arrived within three leagues of their position about two o'clock in the morning, whence he could see their camp fires burning brightly. He continued his march to a creek near by, where he halted and threw out spies to reconnoitre their camp. They returned about nine o'clock, and reported that the Indians were still upon the mesa, and from the stir and bustle in their camp they must have discovered the approach of the troops. Vargas determined to attack them without further delay. He divided his force into three divisions and marched them to the river, hoping to be able to capture a straggling Indian from whom he could obtain information. He saw two of the enemy a little way off, but both of them were killed while attempting to escape. Here the Spaniards halted and breakfasted. He now made a careful reconnoissance of the sur-

rounding country, and succeeded in capturing a Tanos Indian. The prisoner gave information that a large number of the Taos, Picoris, Jemez, and other Indians had left the mesa and returned to their respective pueblos to plant their crops; and that those who remained had planted in the valley of the Del Norté. As the Indians had generally returned to their villages, and seemed disposed to plant, Vargas deemed it most prudent not to molest them. They had been a good deal harassed since hostilities commenced, and had lost many men, and he judged they would be more likely to come in and make terms if allowed to put in their crops in peace. He therefore returned with the troops to Santa Fé, to give them rest after the hard service they had performed, as also to afford proper protection to the town in case it should be again attacked by the enemy.

CHAPTER LI.

THE INDIANS AGAIN BECOME HOSTILE, AND VARGAS MARCHES
AGAINST THE TAOS PUEBLOS.

AFTER the return of Vargas from the mesa of San Yldefonso to Santa Fé, as narrated at the close of the last chapter, there was again a short interval of peace. The Indians were engaged in planting, while the Spaniards also prepared their fields and put in their crops, and recruited themselves after the severe service of the past winter and spring. About this time a considerable reinforcement of settlers arrived from El Paso, who were quartered and supported in the town until lands could be assigned them and they were in a condition to raise crops and support themselves. The wagons, with a supply of ammunition and provisions, did not reach Santa Fé until late in June.

The Indians having finished planting, resumed hostilities. On the 14th of June a party from Jemez made an attack upon Cia and Santa Ana, two friendly pueblos, and ran off their stock. The inhabitants sent word of it to Vargas, and asked for protection. He dispatched ten mounted men to assist in their defence, but when the soldiers reached the Del Norte they found it so much

swollen by the melting snow and rains, that they were unable to cross. The river continued high for several days, and on the 30th it was still impassable. In the meanwhile, however, the Teguas and other Indians, on the east side of the river, having committed depredations Vargas determined to march against them. He left Santa Fé, with his disposable force, in the direction of the mesa of San Yldefonso, and the same day he came within sight of a party of fourteen of the enemy, to whom he gave chase. He succeeded in killing eleven, while the remainder made their escape to the mesa. In the evening he encamped upon the bank of the Del Norté. The Indians he was pursuing had been joined by those of the pueblos of Taos and Picoris; and he was satisfied, from the trails and other signs, that the enemy were around him on all sides. Leaving his camp he marched directly to Picoris to chastise the inhabitants of that village, in case they should be hostile. Upon entering the pueblo he found it deserted. He caused a cross to be erected on the plaza, when he retired some little distance and encamped; thus giving evidence to the Indians that he did not intend to injure them. During the night the fires of the enemy were seen burning along the base of the mountains in many directions, but his camp was not disturbed.

The next morning he resumed the march for Taos. His route lay through a country very rough and difficult of travel, and the Indians made several hostile demonstrations, but did not attack him. He pursued his course without opposition, and entered the pueblo on the afternoon of the 3d of July. He found all the houses deserted, but in most of them crosses had been erected as a protection from pillage. Fearing an ambuscade, he took the

necessary precaution against it. Supposing the Indians had fled to a very deep gorge, in a neighboring mountain, he marched thither to explore it. On his way he was met by a party of friendly Apaches from the plains, who informed him that the Taos Indians had left their pueblo that morning, and sought safety in a mountain ravine called the funnel. They had requested the Apaches to go and meet the Spaniards, telling them they would not be harmed. Vargas continued his march, and as he drew near their place of refuge he discovered their camp at the entrance of the gorge. Some of the Indians made their appearance, whom he invited to come and hold a council, pledging himself not to injure them. The chief, Pacheco, responded and came out to him, but he could not be persuaded to return, with his people to the pueblo. Seeing the effort fail, the governor of Pecos requested permission to remain all night with the rebels in order to have a talk and endeavor to persuade them to return to their village. The Indians, with their arms in their hands, were now seen descending the mountain in great numbers, and Vargas fearing they might do some injury to the governor, should he remain among them, endeavored to dissuade him from staying; but persisting in his request permission was at length given him. It was now late in the day, and Vargas returned to his command, which had halted and encamped a short distance in the rear. Upon bidding adieu to Pacheco he told him he would expect to see him at camp the next morning, but the chief made no response.

Some time in the night after the troops had retired to rest, a confused noise was heard in the direction of the enemy, and in the course of an hour four or five rebel Indians came in and informed Vargas that the governor of

Pecos had sent for his warriors to assist them in fighting the Spaniards. This he did not believe, and was incensed at the deception they wished to practice. He told the messengers to inform the Taos Indians that if they were not in their pueblo by one o'clock the next day he would destroy it, with its contents, and if they should do the least injury to the governor of Pecos nothing could save them from his wrath. He further directed them to release him immediately if they had him prisoner. There was no further alarm during the night. The Indians not coming down from the mountain and occupying the pueblo by the time fixed by the general, he gave his soldiers orders to sack it, which was accordingly done. They found in it a considerable quantity of corn, which was shelled and put into sacks for the use of the troops. Some of the Indians came down to get corn for their families, and Vargas allowed them to carry a part of it away for this purpose. On the night of the 5th a great number of fires were seen blazing around, and the general thought the enemy meditated an attack, but none was made. He now prepared to return to Santa Fé. The friendly Indians advised him that his only chance to carry the corn with him was to march through the Utah country, as the roads were so bad on the other routes that he would not be able to get along with the packs. He followed their advice, and took the course they pointed out.

He left camp at two o'clock the next morning, choosing this hour as the one when the enemy would be less likely to observe his movements. When he had marched about a league the Indians made signal fires, which were answered by others on the mountains, along the base of which he was marching. Six or seven leagues further on

he came to a creek, on the bank of which there was an Indian ambuscade about an hundred strong. Some attacked his advance, while others attempted to capture the packs, but they were repulsed on all sides, with the loss of five killed and several wounded. A warrior, badly wounded, was made prisoner, who stated that the whole of the enemy were on the road waiting for the Spaniards, and that the chief, Pacheco, had thirty spies watching their movements. They were seen to leave camp, and the fires were kindled to give notice to the Indians. Having obtained this information from their prisoner, he was absolved and then shot.

Vargas marched through a mountainous and well-timbered region, and at six o'clock the same afternoon, reached the Colorado, the first stream of the Utah country. He caused a number of fires to be built to invite the Indians to his camp, but none came. He continued his route, and on the 9th reached the Del Norte, down which he marched about three leagues to a point where the river divides and forms an island. The next day he crossed the river and marched four leagues to a beautiful valley filled with buffaloes which furnished food for the Utahs. These Indians allowed no other people than the Spaniards, with whom they traded, to enter their country. They had expelled the neighboring tribes which caused a long and bloody war. When he reached this point his provisions were exhausted, and the troops had to subsist upon corn, which they parched; he halted here for the day, to allow time for the Utahs to come in, and also to afford the soldiers an opportunity to procure a supply of fresh meat. He sent out a hunting party of eighty men in pursuit of buffalo, but they only succeeded in killing fifteen, and a few large deer. They

saw immense herds, but when they were fired at, they ran away with such swiftness that but few could be overtaken. That night they had a grand feast in camp and made the mountains resound with their merriment. The next day Vargas, with an hundred men, went out hunting, but they were not able to kill as many as the first party, and only brought in ten buffaloes and a few deer. He caused the meat to be cut up and packed to be ready to move early in the morning.

About daylight, as the Spaniards were preparing to march, the camp was attacked on all sides by about three hundred Indians. They sounded their war-cry and discharged a shower of arrows. As they were supposed to be Utahs, the soldiers had orders to act only on the defensive, as Vargas did not desire to come to blows with that powerful tribe; but five of his men being already wounded and the Indians still continuing their fire, he ordered a general attack, in which eight Spaniards were killed. The guard being now mounted, charged the enemy; and meanwhile the remainder of the soldiers had time to mount and come to their support. The Indians immediately commenced a retreat. A river was near the camp, which they were obliged to cross, and as it was difficult of passage, and they carried their killed and wounded with them, they met with considerable loss in crossing. They succeeded, however, in getting over, and when they had reached the opposite side they hoisted a deer-skin in token of peace, and cried, in the language of their country, *Anche*, *Paviche*, the first meaning "brother," and the second "friend." From this signal they were recognized to be Utahs, and were invited to come to the Spanish camp, where they were kindly received.

Upon being asked why they had made the attack upon the Spaniards, they gave the following reason in excuse. They said the Indians around Santa Fé had often invaded their country dressed and armed like Spaniards, and under this guise had done them a great deal of harm. They had come upon the camp in the night and were not able to distinguish whether or not they were Spaniards, and therefore they made the attack. They expressed a desire to live upon friendly terms with the Spaniards, and as evidence of this had called them brothers and friends. They had suffered some loss in the action; and among the killed was a brother of one of their captains, but they manifested no regret at his death. Vargas gave the captain of the Utahs a horse and some other articles, at which he was much pleased. In return he invited the general to go to his camp, telling him he had a good deal of peltry, and would like to trade. This invitation was declined, but the chief was invited to bring his skins down to Santa Fé, where he could barter to better advantage. The Indians then left the Spanish camp well satisfied with their treatment.

CHAPTER LII.

AN EXPEDITION MARCHES AGAINST JEMEZ, WITH THE
RESULT; CONCLUSION.

RESUMING the march after the skirmish with the Utah Indians, the Spaniards in two days reached the Ojo Caliente river without opposition; and in two days more they passed the boundary of the Utah country. The general moved with great caution along this part of his route, being apprehensive the Indians might attack him in retaliation for those killed in the late action, but he was not molested. He passed on the way an abandoned pueblo which he supposed to be that of San Gabriel, the same at which Don Juan de Oñate had encamped and named. It was situated six leagues from the junction of the river Zama¹ with the Del Norté. Continuing down the western bank of the latter river to a point just above the pueblo of San Juan, he crossed over to the eastern side and encamped. As soon as his presence was known, the rebel Indians of that vicinity kindled signal fires on the mesa to give information of his approach to those of San Yldefonso. He broke up his camp the next morning, and putting the main body of his troops en route for

¹ The same as the river Chama.

Santa Fé by the direct road, he proceeded with a guard² of forty men to reconnoitre the mesa. On approaching it he found a large number of Indians assembled there, who received him with their war-cry and shouts of defiance, and being strongly posted they tried to draw him into a fight. This he declined because of the small number of his force and his being encumbered with his pack-mules. He continued his march to rejoin the main body across a rough and rocky country to the pueblo of Pojuaque, being pursued by the enemy, who made many demonstrations of attack. The troops encamped that night at the pueblo of Tezuque, while Vargas marched to Santa Fé, where he arrived at three o'clock the same afternoon, the 14th of July. He had been absent seventeen days, and during the time had marched one hundred and twenty leagues.

By this time the Del Norté having fallen so as to be fordable without danger, Vargas determined to march into the Quéres nation, to protect them from the threatened attack of the Jemez Indians. Another motive which induced him to make a campaign thither, was to obtain a supply of corn for Santa Fé. He left the capital with a force of one hundred and twenty mounted men, but did not inform his officers of the object of the expedition until he arrived at the pueblo of La Cieneguilla. Thence he proceeded to Santo Domingo, where he left a small force under the command of his lieutenant-general. At this place he received information, by an Indian express, that on the day before the Jemez and Apache

² The exact situation of this pueblo is not known at the present day, but it was somewhere between Santa Fé and Santo Domingo. Some ruins are found in the cañon of the river of Santa Fé, and these may be the remains of La Cieneguia, as it is sometimes spelled.

Indians had made an attack upon the pueblo of Cia and killed four of the inhabitants. He immediately sent the express back with word that he was on his march with relief. He crossed the Del Norté in sight of the mesa of San Felipe, and marched direct for Cia. He had not proceeded far when he was met by captain Bartolome de Ojeda, a friendly Indian, who thanked him in the name of his people for the assistance he was about to render the friendly pueblos. Vargas dispatched Ojeda back to Cia and directed him to tell the inhabitants that he would march to Jemez, in the first instance, to chastise these Indians, and that they must be ready to accompany him by the time he should arrive at their village.

He reached the pueblo of Santa Ana, on Friday, the 23d of July, and entered Cia the same afternoon at sunset. The inhabitants awaited his coming with great anxiety, and welcomed him as their deliverer. He resumed the march for Jemez, without delay, accompanied by a number of Indian allies; having arranged his plan of attack upon that village with the governor and cacique of Cia before he started. The Indians of Santa Ana and Cia, with twenty-five soldiers, were to make the attack on the side next the cultivated fields, and on the road that led to the Teguas nation, while the balance of the force, under the command of Vargas in person, was to assault the opposite side of the town. Upon reaching the pueblo he found the Indians had abandoned it, and gone upon the hill, near by. They had moved everything up, even to the timber of their houses, intending to build a new village there. The Spaniards reached the foot of the hill about sunrise, when Vargas ordered his division of the forces to dismount preparatory to making the ascent, at the same time directing the command of Eusebio Var-

gas to go round to the opposite side and make the ascent there. The Indians discovered their approach, but by reason of the assault being made at two points, at the same time, their attention and force were divided, and they were not able to make so good a defence as they might have made under other circumstances.

The Indians, however, offered a determined resistance. They discharged a shower of arrows, and also rolled down large stones upon the assailants. After a spirited contest, captain Antonio George succeeded in possessing himself of one of the entrances to the works, when the Indians retreated, some throwing themselves headlong from the top of the hill. The troops pursued the enemy, but owing to the roughness of the country they could not be overtaken. As soon as the soldiers had taken possession of the peñol, or hill, they entrenched themselves and prepared for defence. In the meantime several of the Indians who had been driven from the hill had manned their houses and again opened a fire upon the Spaniards. The houses were fired, and four warriors and one woman were burned to death; fifty-five were left dead upon the field, and two made prisoners who were afterward shot. The whole number which fell before the place was taken was eighty-four, and three hundred and seventy women and children were captured. Eusebio Vargas killed fifteen with his own hands. There were taken from the enemy one hundred and seventy-six head of sheep, of which number one hundred head were given to the governor of Cia for the use of his people, and the balance were divided among the soldiers. The four horses captured were given to the officers. Among the spoils was a large quantity of corn, which was first taken to the old pueblo and shelled, and was afterward sent to

Santa Fé, a present supply for the troops. The prisoners, under a guard of forty soldiers and eighty friendly Indians, were marched to the old pueblo, and a guard of twelve men and a corporal was left in command of the peñol. In his report to the viceroy Vargas says: "This action having been fought the day before Santiago day, I believe that that glorious apostle and patron interceded in our behalf, and which was the cause of our signal success."

Vargas remained encamped at the pueblo several days, in which time he collected and sent three hundred fanegas of shelled corn to the inhabitants of Santa Fé. On the evening of the eighth day the guard on the peñol captured an old Indian, who was conveyed to headquarters and interrogated. Upon being asked where his people were, he replied that they were scattered over the country; but the response not suiting Vargas, he ordered him to be absolved and then shot. The next day another spy was brought in, who, upon being questioned, said that he belonged to the Queres nation, and knew where the Indians had concealed their corn; he was placed in confinement to be of future use. When the friendly Indians who had convoyed the corn to Santa Fé returned, they informed Vargas that this prisoner was a war-chief of the enemy, and had been sent to Acoma and Zuñi to persuade these Indians to declare war against the Spaniards.

Vargas was anxious to obtain the remains of friar Juan de Jesus, who was killed during the rebellion, but had some difficulty in finding his burial place. An old man and woman professed to know the place where he had been buried, and Vargas accompanied them to the old pueblo to have them point it out. They designated a spot near the estufa, and upon examination being made bones were

discovered, which, from their size, were declared to have belonged to the deceased priest. A portion of his clothing was found in the grave; and a piece of an arrow, about six inches long, was sticking in the back-bone. The remains were disinterred which, after proper religious ceremony had been performed, were taken to camp.

Vargas marched from Jemez on the 8th of August, the guard on the peñol first setting fire to the houses and joining the main body in the pueblo below. He arrived at Santa Fé on the 24th,³ without meeting the least opposition from the Indians. The next day after his arrival the remains of father Jesus, which they had brought from Jemez, were interred in the parish church with appropriate religious services. They were placed in a coffin lined with yellow damask, together with a certificate setting forth the circumstances of their discovery, a duplicate of which was forwarded to the custodian in Mexico. Priest Jesus had been killed on the second day of the rebellion, and it was just fourteen years from his death to his burial at Santa Fé. On the 15th two Jemez Indians came in with proposals of peace, who said they had been sent by the governor and the whole nation to ask for peace, and the restoration of their wives and children. A treaty was made with them, and again the conqueror and the conquered were on friendly terms with each other.

Peace being now restored, the two races for a time maintained amicable relations, and no further disturbance

³ There must be an error in the day of the month when Vargas arrived at Santa Fé from Jemez, as the distance between these points is only a little more than fifty miles, and the troops, being all mounted, should have marched it in two or three days. They probably arrived there on the 10th, and buried the remains of the priest on the 11th. The old MSS. give no further information on this point.

took place until 1696, when a partial rebellion broke out. In that year the Indians took advantage of a famine, that prevailed to an alarming extent, to rise in arms. This famine is noted in the annals of New Mexico, and Vargas himself is charged with being the cause of it. The year before, priest Antonio Farfan brought to the country seven hundred fanegas of corn intended for the support of the garrison and citizens of Santa Fé. It was delivered to Vargas who, instead of appropriating it to its legitimate object, made use of it for his private purposes. He issued a little to the citizens, as a special favor, giving them a plateful, each, at a time. There was corn enough to last four months, had it all been distributed, but the general retained so much for his own use that the balance did not last more than one month. The consequence was, that a severe famine took place the following year. The people suffered terribly. They were reduced to such want that they ate all the dogs, cats, horses, mules, and bull-hides they could lay their hands on, and also boiled and roasted all the herbs they could collect; and the dried bones of horses and mules were picked up and boiled for soup. After they had consumed all the filth they could find they went to the mountains and roamed about for food like wild animals. Many persons, both citizens and soldiers, to save their lives hired themselves and their wives to the Indians to bring wood and water and grind corn. During the famine over two hundred persons died of starvation and from eating filthy and unwholesome food. Four of the citizens deserted during this trying time and made their way to El Paso, from which place they were brought back by Juan Paes Hurtado, the commanding officer at that place. Vargas caused them to be hung, and even denied them the last

consolation of religion. Their wives and children were left in a most destitute condition.

The Indians, beholding the distressed and weakened condition of the Spaniards, considered it a favorable moment to take up arms, and accordingly, in the month of June, 1696, they broke out in rebellion. The conspiracy extended among fourteen pueblos. They put to death thirty-four Spaniards and five priests—many of the former having been driven among them to find subsistence—and burnt the churches and desecrated the sacred vessels. During the rebellion more than two thousand Indians perished in the mountains, while as many more deserted their villages and joined the wild tribes, leaving the country in many parts nearly depopulated.

In the year 1695 the corporation of Santa Fé, and the regiment in garrison there, presented charges to the viceroy against Vargas, for peculation. He was accused of using the public money for his private purposes, instead of expending it for the benefit of the citizens, for which object the government had appropriated it. In their petition they set forth numerous sums of money that he had drawn from the public treasury at divers times to purchase corn and other provisions, and horses and mules for the settlers, and they charged him with selling the animals and putting the money into his own pocket. He was also accused of having drawn drafts and received money for expenses never incurred. For these causes he was removed from office in 1697, and Don Pedro Rodriguez Cubero was appointed in his place. How long Cubero remained in office the records do not inform us; neither have I been able to find any account of his administration. In 1703, however, Vargas was again sent into New Mexico, as the military commandant of the province, which would

lead us to infer that he had been acquitted of the charges made against him eight years before, and once more enjoyed the confidence of the viceroy. The Spanish conquest of New Mexico may be said to have been completed at this period, and the power of the Indian nations completely broken. The authority of the Spaniards was acknowledged in all the pueblos, and both civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was extended over them.‡

‡ The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, once so numerous and powerful, at the present day inhabit twenty-six villages situated principally in the valley of the Del Norte, and the whole population does not exceed ten thousand. Anciently they composed four distinct nations, speaking as many languages, namely, the Piro, Teguas, Queres, and Tagnos or Taños, but the villages of the latter have gone to ruins and the population passed away; or if any of them remain, they have become incorporated with other pueblos. They still live in little communities, distinct from the Mexican population, and are governed by their own local customs and laws. Each village is distinct from the others, and there is no common bond of union between them. Their officers are a governor, a justice of the peace, or *alcalde*, styled *cacique*, a *fiscal*, or constable, to execute the laws, and a "council of wise men." These are the civil officers, and in addition there is a "war-captain," who attends to military affairs. They have been made to embrace christianity and worship according to the forms of the Roman Catholic church, priests being stationed in many of the villages. They are a quiet and orderly people, and form a meritorious class of the population of the territory. They are industrious and frugal, and live in harmony with each other and the surrounding Mexican population. A few hundred acres of land belong to each pueblo which, for purposes of cultivation, is parceled out to the respective families. They raise grains, vegetables and fruits, manufacture some wine, and possess considerable flocks and herds. They cultivate by means of irrigation. They have retained, in a great measure, their aboriginal costume, and dress either in skins, or woolen goods of their own manufacture. Their food is simple and wholesome, consisting mainly of beans, peppers and corn-meal, which are prepared in a manner peculiar to these people. They are ignorant and superstitious, but brave; and instead of increasing in numbers appear to be gradually decreasing.

It is the belief of many persons that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico were reclaimed from a wild state and were settled in villages by the Spaniards, an error it is hardly necessary to combat after the proof to the contrary to be found in this volume. This race is identical with the one the Spaniards found in New Mexico on their first exploration of the country—in manners, customs, mode of living, &c., and differs but little from the aboriginies of Mexico proper. Early after the conquest, the Spanish government became sensible of the wisdom of a policy that would conciliate a people so numerous and so powerful as the native inhabitants of Mexico; and accordingly, in 1523, the emperor Charles V. authorized the viceroys and governors to grant a certain quantity of land to each village. In 1533 the mountains, pastures, and waters were made common to both Spaniards and Indians. The decree of Philip II., dated June, 1587, confirmed, to the various pueblos, or villages, eleven hundred varas square of land, which was afterward increased to a league square. Some of the decrees state that the Indians were not to have any higher title in the land than the right of possession; and the ordinance of Philip IV., of March 16th, 1642, provides that the lands, which the Pueblo Indians have in any manner improved by their industry, shall be reserved to them, but that they shall neither have power to sell nor alienate the same. The decree of the Royal Audience of Mexico, of February 23, 1781, confirmatory of that of Philip III., of October 20th, 1598, prohibits the Pueblo Indians selling, renting, leasing, or in any other manner disposing of their lands to each other or to third parties, without the consent of said Royal Audience. These authorities prove two facts—if there were no other evidence on these points—first, that the Spaniards found the Indians already settled in villages, and confirmed land to them to conciliate them; and second, that said grants of land were held by right of possession only, the fee-simple remaining in the crown of Spain, from which it passed to the government of Mexico, and subsequently to the United States, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

If space permitted, it would be interesting to inquire the probable origin of the Pueblo Indians and whence they came. There are two theories on this subject—one, that they are of Aztec origin, and the other, that they are the remains of a Toltec colony. According to tradition, when the Aztecs peopled New Mexico they came from the North or North-west, and only reached their new homes in the valley of Anahuac after a period of an hundred and fifty years—halting from time to time, and building villages and cultivating the earth. Castañeda was of opinion that the Pueblo Indians came from the North-west. If this were the case some of the migrating Aztecs must

have remained in New Mexico and not moved on with the main body. There is a tradition among them, that they are the people of Montezuma. The survivors of the Pecos pueblo believed that he would return to deliver them from the Spaniards down to the time they became extinct—while the God of Laguna is called by his name. All the pueblos keep up the *estufa*, because it is said to have been instituted by Montezuma. A Jemez Indian told lieutenant Simpson that God and the sun were one and the same. Baron Humboldt contended that the Aztec language differed essentially from that of the Pueblo Indians, and Castañeda declared that the latter were unknown to the inhabitants of Mexico until Vaca and his companions brought information of them. The late Albert Gallatin believed them to be of Toltec origin.

Notwithstanding there are many facts in opposition to the theory that the Pueblo Indians and the Aztecs belong to the same race, the similitude between their manners and customs, and their mode of building and living would argue an identity; and if, upon careful investigation their language shall be found substantially the same, the evidence on the subject would appear quite conclusive.



APPENDIX.



RECORD

OF THE CAPTAINS-GENERAL, GOVERNORS, political chiefs, and other rulers of New Mexico, who governed that territory while it was a province of Spain, and afterward of Mexico, from about the year 1600 to 1846, when it fell into the possession of the United States, with the years they were in office, and such information touching their appointment as could be found in the archives at Santa Fé. This list, with the exception of a few names added by the author, was prepared for the report of the surveyor-general of New Mexico, of 1862, by Mr. David J. Miller, a clerk in that office, and has since been corrected by him. The dates of their incumbency were taken from the papers purporting to have been executed by them, but there is no evidence showing the time of their appointment, when they entered upon the discharge of their duties, or when their functions ceased, except in a few instances given.

NAMES OF OFFICERS.		RANK.	IN OFFICE IN THE YEARS
1.	Pedro de Peralta.....	Governor.....	1600.
2.	General Arguello.....	"	1640.
3.	General Concha.....	"	1650.
4.	Enrique de Abila y Pacheco.....	Not mentioned.....	1656.
5.	General Villanueva.....	Governor.....	Year not known.
6.	Juan Francisco Frecenio.....	Governor and captain-general.	1675.
7.	Antonio O'termin.....	"	1680, '81, '82, '83.
8.	Bartolome de Estrada Ramirez.....	"	1683.
9.	Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate.....	"	1684, '85, '88, '89.

1. He was governor nine years after Oñate entered the country, which was in 1591.

4. Referred to in the archives of 1683, as having "governed" New Mexico in 1656.

5. He was governor of the province between the time of Concha and Frecenio, but the exact time is not known.

7. Between the years 1640 and 1680 there were fourteen governors over New Mexico, but I have only been

able to learn the names above given. 1682 is the oldest date any of the archives bear.

8. "Bme de Estrada Ramirez, knight of the order of Santiago, governor and captain-general of New Mexico," &c.

9. "Governor and captain-general Don Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate."

NAMES OF OFFICERS.	RANK.	IN OFFICE IN THE YEARS	
10. Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León	Governor and captain-general.	1692,	'93, '94, '95, '96 '98, 1703, '04.
11. Gaspar de Sandoval Zerde Silva y Mendoza.	"	1694,	'95, 1722.
12. Pedro Rodríguez Cubero.....	"	1697,	'98, '99, 1701, '02, 03.
13. The name of this individual does not appear.	"	1703,	'06, '07, '08, 09, '10.
14. Juan Paez Hurtado.....	"	1704,	'12, '16, '17, '35.
15. Francisco Cuelbo y Valdez.....	"	1705,	'06, '07.
16. José Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor.....	"	1708,	'09, '10, '11, '12.
17. Fernando de Alencaster Noroña y Silva.....	"	1712.	

10. "General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján, Ponce de León, marquis de la Naba de Brazinas, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and province of New Mexico, its new restorer, conqueror of its coast, reconqueror and populator of it, and warden of its forces and garrisons for his Majesty." This title has reference to his reconquest of the country after the great Indian rebellion of 1680.

11. "Don Gaspar de Sandoval Zerde Silva y Mendoza, count of Galve, lord of his majesty's bed-chamber, prelate of Salamea and Zedavin in the military order of Alcantara, viceroy, and governor, and captain general of this New Spain, and president of its royal audience," &c.

13. "The duke of Albuquerque, viceroy, governor, and captain general of this New Spain," &c.

14. Lieutenant governor in 1704, and also in 1735. Commissioned by the marquis of Peñuela governor and captain-general in 1712, and inspector-general in 1716.

15. "General Francisco Cuelbo y Valdez, knight of the order of Santiago, official judge, royal treasurer, factor of the royal domain, and cashier of the city of Guadalupe,

in the new kingdom of Galicia, governor and captain-general of this kingdom of New Mexico and its provinces, warden of its forces and garrisons, by his majesty," &c. Appears as governor and captain-general *ad interim* in 1705 and 1706.

16. "The admiral Don Joseph Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, knight of the order of Santiago, marquis of Peñuela, governor and captain-general of this said kingdom (New Mexico) and its provinces, and warden of its forces and garrisons, for his Majesty," &c. Signed sometimes "El Marquis of Peñuela," and sometimes "Peñuela."

17. "Don Fernando de Alencaster Noroña y Silva, duke of Lenares, marquis of Valdefuentes and of Govea, count of Portalegre, grand commander of the order of Santiago of Portugal, lord of his majesty's bed-chamber, and of his council, his viceroy, lieutenant governor and captain-general of New Spain, and president of the royal audience," &c. He was viceroy of New Spain in 1714 and 1715.

NAMES OF OFFICERS.		RANK.		IN OFFICE IN THE YEARS	
18.	Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon.....	Governor and captain-general	1712, '13, '14, '15.		
19.	Antonio Balberde Cossio.....	Gov. and capt.-gen. ad interim	1714, '18.		
20.	Felix Martinez.....	Governor and captain-general	1715, '16.		
21.	Juan de Estrada y Austria.....	Gov. and capt.-gen. ad interim	1721.		
22.	Juan Domingo de Bustamente.....	Governor and captain-general.	1721, '22, '23, '24, '27, '28, '30, '31, '38.		
23.	Gerracio Cruzat y Gongora.....	"	1730, '31, '32, '33, '34, '35, '36.		
24.	Henrique de Olavide y Michelena.....	"	1738.		
25.	Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza.....	"	1739, '40, '42, '43.		
26.	Joaquin Codallos y Rebal.....	"	1744, '45, '46, '48, '49.		
27.	Francisco Huenes y Horcasitas.....	"	1747.		

18. Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, commissioned civil and military governor of New Mexico, by the king, Felipe V., at Madrid, September 27, 1707, for five years; salary \$2,000; qualified at Madrid October 9, 1707, and went into office at Santa Fé, capital of New Mexico, October 5, 1712; commissioned by the viceroy, at the city of Mexico, captain-general for the balance of the term, February 9, 1712, and went into office October 5, 1712. Tried at Santa Fé in 1721 for malfeasance in office; sentence sent to the viceroy at the city of Mexico for revision; governor Mogollon in the meantime to pay \$100, costs of trial. No effects were found to satisfy the costs, and the governor himself was reported absent, supposed to be in the city of Mexico.

19. " Don general Antonio Balberde Cossio, captain during life of the royal fortress of El Paso del Norte, governor and captain-general *ad interim* of this kingdom and province of New Mexico."

20. Commissioned at the city of Mexico, by the viceroy, for and during the pleasure of the king, Felipe V., as governor and captain-general of New Mexico, *vice* Mogollon, who was relieved from office by command of his majesty October 5, 1715. Governor Martinez qualified, at Santa Fé, December 1, 1715.

21. His majesty's residuary judge, acting governor, and captain general during the trial of ex governor Mogollon for malfeasance in office.

22. " Governor and captain-general of this kingdom of New Mexico, and warden of its forces and garrisons for his Majesty," &c.

23. " Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of New Mexico," &c.

26. " Sergeant-major Don Joaquin Codallos y Rebal, governor and captain-general of this kingdom of New Mexico."

27. Governor and captain-general *ad interim*.

NAMES OF OFFICERS.	RANK.	IN OFFICE IN THE YEARS.
28. Tomas Velez Cachupin.....	Governor and captain-general.	1749, '50, '51, '52, '53, '54, '62, '63, '64, '65, '66, '67, '73.
29. Francisco Antonio Marin del Valle.....	" "	1761, '62.
30. Manuel Portillo Urrisola.....	" "	1761.
31. Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta.....	" "	1759, '62, '67, '68, '69, '70, '71, '72, '75, '76, '77, '78.
32. Juan Bautista de Ansa.....	Civil and military governor...	1780, '82, '84, '86, '87.
33. Fernando de la Concha.....	" "	1788, '89, '90, '92, '93, 1800.
34. Fernando Chacon.....	" "	1794, '98, '99, 1800, '03, '04, '05.
35. Joaquin del Real Alencaster.....	Governor.....	1805, '06, '07, '08.
36. José Manrique.....	" "	1808, '09, '10, '11, '12, '13, '14, '19.
37. Nemecio Salcedo.....	Commanding gen'l of dep't....	1811.
38. Alberto Maynez.....	Civil and military governor...	1815, '16, '17.
39. Pedro Maria de Allande.....	" "	1816, '17, '18.
40. Facundo Melgares.....	" "	1818, '19, '21, '22.

28. "Don Tomas Velez Cachupin, governor and captain-general of this kingdom of New Mexico, and warden of its royal presidio, for his majesty," &c.
29. Acting governor and captain-general.
30. Governor and captain-general, civil and military.
31. "Don Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta, of the order of Santiago, colonel of the royal armies, governor and captain general of this kingdom of New Mexico, and warden of its royal forces and presidios, for his majesty," &c.
34. "Don Fernando Chacon, knight of the order of Santiago, lieutenant-colonel of the royal forces, civil and military governor of the province of New Mexico," &c.
26. "Lieutenant-colonel Don José Manrique, governor," &c. Sometimes appears as governor *ad interim*.
37. Headquarters at the city of Chihuahua. Appears also to have had civil jurisdiction. There is a proclamation by him, reserving certain lands in New Mexico from location, and an order requiring the citizens of Cevollita to return to their settlement, (abandoned on account of Indian hostilities), or forfeit their right to the lands.
38. Appears also as governor *ad interim*.
39. " " " "
40. The last incumbent under the crown of Spain. Ceased as civil governor July 5, 1822, under law of Mexico of May 6, 1822.

NAMES OF OFFICERS.	RANK.	IN OFFICE IN THE YEARS
41. Francisco Xavier Chavez.....	Political chief.....	1822, '23.
42. Alejo Garcia Conde.....	Inspector-general.....	1821.
43. Antonio Viscara.....	Political chief.....	1822, '28.
44. Bartolome Baca.....	"	1824, '25.
45. Antonio Narbona.....	"	1825, '26, '27.
46. Manuel Armijo.....	"	1827.
47. José Antonio Chavez.....	"	1828, '29, '30.
48. Santiago Abreu.....	"	1831, '32.
49. Francisco Sarracino.....	"	1833, '34, '35.
50. Mariano Chavez.....	"	1835.
51. Albino Perez.....	"	1835, '36, '37.
52. " ".....	Governor.....	1837.
53. Pedro Muñoz.....	"	1837.
54. Manuel Armijo.....	"	1838, '39, '40, '41, '42, '43, '44, '45.

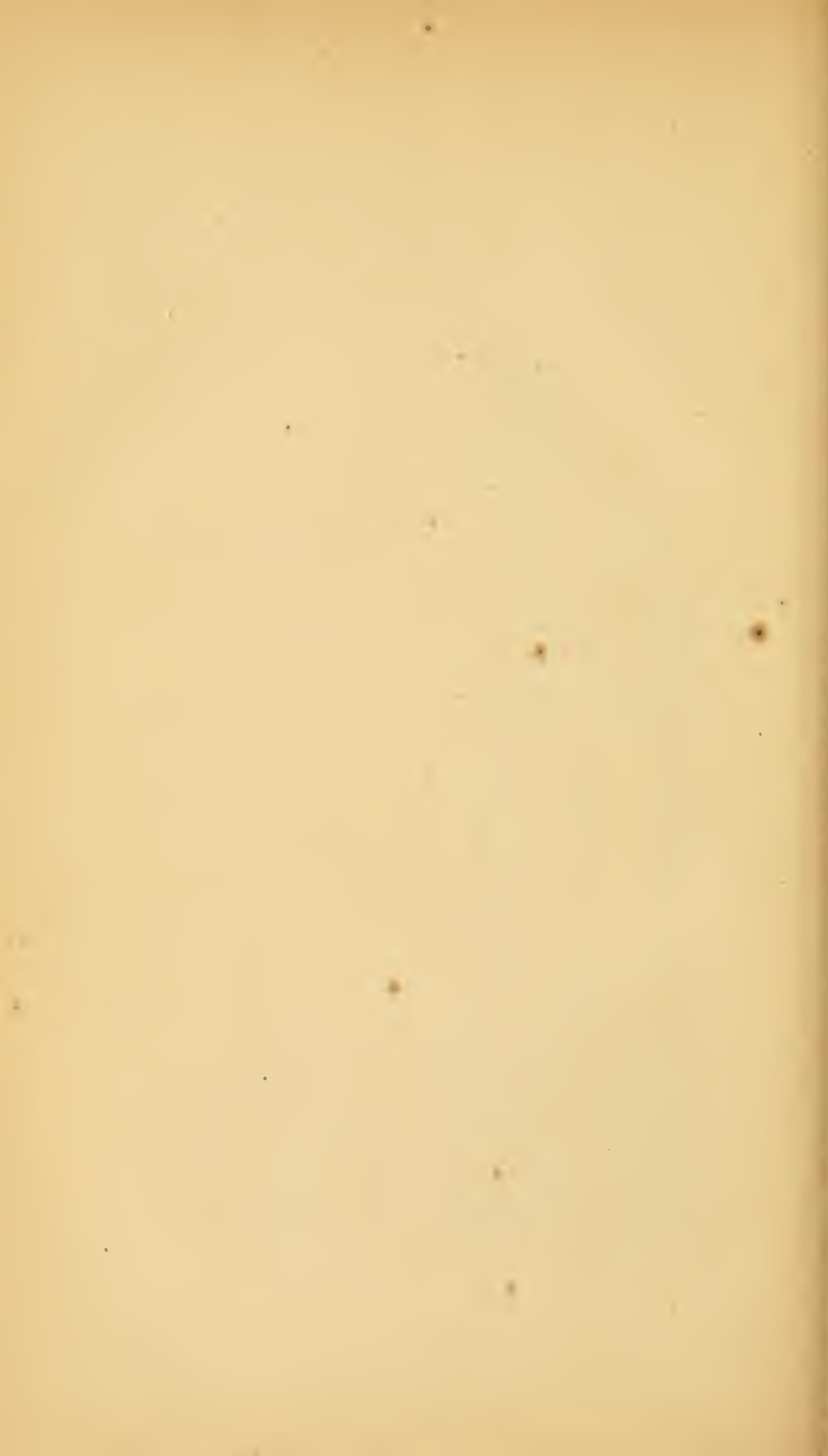
41. Entered on discharge of his duties as political chief, July 5, 1822, and appears also as acting civil governor from June 17 to July 21, 1823.

42. "Don Alejo Garcia Conde, knight of the grand cross of the military and national order of San Hermenegildo, major-general of the national armics, governor, commanding general, and superior political chief of these four internal provinces of New Spain," &c.
 44. In office until September 15, 1825.
 45. A native of the British province of Canada. In office from September 15, 1825, to May, 1827.
 46. Qualified May 20, 1827.
 49. In office until May 15, 1835.
 50. Acting political chief three months.

51. In January, 1837, New Mexico was changed from a territory into a "department" of the Republic, the new government going into operation in May of the same year.
 52. Assassinated by the Pueblo Indians, at Santa Fé, August 9th, during an insurrection. On the 10th José Gonzales was proclaimed governor of New Mexico, by the insurgents, and placed in possession of the palace at the capital. Gonzales was deposed by the military, under Manuel Armijo, and executed on the gallows, with several of his followers, January 28, 1838. Armijo having established himself as governor, was soon recognized as such by the national government at the city of Mexico.
 53. A military officer, colonel, appears as acting governor during the insurrection of 1837, and he also appears to have acted as such in March, 1843.
 54. Suspended from office in January, 1845, by the inspector-general.

NAMES OF OFFICERS.	RANK.	IN OFFICE IN THE YEARS
55. Antonio Sandoval.....	Governor.....	1841.
56. Mariano Martinez.....	".....	1844, '45.
57. Jose Chavez.....	".....	1845.
58. Manuel Armijo.....	".....	1846.
59. Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid.....	Acting governor.....	1846.

55. Appears as acting governor.
 56. Acting governor from January to September 18th.
 57. Acting governor from September 18 to December, when Armijo was elected governor.
 58. Fled from Santa Fe, on the approach of the United States troops, in August, 1846.
 59. Appears as acting governor after the flight of governor Armijo, and delivered the capital to the United States troops, under general Kearney, August 18th.



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