FORGOTTEN FRONTIERS

A STUDY OF THE SPANISH INDIAN POLICY OF DON JUAN BAUTISTA DE ANZA GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO 1777-1787

FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF SPAIN, MEXICO AND NEW MEXICO

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY

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TO

MOTHER AND FATHER

should admit these families who had voluntarily presented themselves and wished scrupulously to carry out the above terms.[53]

The peace offer, as Croix and Rubio both predicted, came to nothing, but it reflects the lengths which Spain was willing to go in this matter, and the nature of the problem on this frontier. For the next few months, reports of Apache depredations were frequent. A party fell upon twenty-five Spaniards near Janos itself and badly wounded a soldier. Others raided the presidio of San Buenaventura and attempted a foray at El Paso and San Elezeario. Shortly after, those who sought peace there in February murdered a settler near the fort. On August 5, only four leagues from Chihuahua, the Apaches stole one hundred and thirty-three animals, mules and horses, from El Sacramento. Accompanying news of these outrages was Captain Gil's report from San Buenaventura elaborating the extensive damage done there by Apaches from nearby sierras. Sent by Croix to effect reprisals, Gil found Apaches who were to exchange captives unwilling to come down from the hills. After some dickering an Apache chief finely mounted rode out to meet Gil and his body-guard. Brusquely he told the Spaniard to keep their captives, to warn the big chief in Chihuahua the Apaches would destroy the presidios of Janos, San Buenaventura, the Hacienda del Carmen, and all forces sent against them; that with sufficient and good horses they were beginning now. With an insulting gesture, not awaiting a reply, he whirled his horse and regained the hills. Gil fell back to protect the outlying settlements and report to Croix. Reprimanded for not attacking the enemy on such opportunity, and ordered to pursue them, the captain pushed beyond Janos in vain. A further attempt, on reports of the enemy moving as usual toward the Sierra de Encinilla, though aided by special detachments sent by Croix, likewise failed.[54]

After this date, Croix, realizing the unstable character of the Gilas, projected a new policy. The design was to push the war into their country by a constant stream of detachments north from New Vizcaya, Sonora, Coahuila and by establishing a new presidio on the Gila River already so commanded, and if possible another in Moqui. In this way he proposed expeditions from Santa Fe, Zuñi

53. Croix to Gálvez, No. 174, Chihuahua, April 3, 1778, Guad. 276, A. G. I. Rubio and Croix were both suspicious of the Apaches resorting to their trick of making peace while they gathered food supplies and then later, disregarding their obligations, attacking Spanish settlements at leisure.

54. Croix to Gálvez, No. 293, Chihuahua, October 23, 1778. Guad. 275, A. G. I. Regarding the *Casita del Gila*, see Editorial Note No 101.

and El Paso, New Mexico could cooperate with others from New Vizcaya and Sonora and thus, ringing in the Apaches, force their reduction. A further feature characterized his plan, namely utilizing a direct route through the Apache country to be discovered by Anza southwest from the Rio Grande pueblos. Finally, an alliance with the Comanche to make mutual war on the Apache buttressed the scheme. Thus in 1778 a definite policy had been decided upon with regard to Spanish relations with Apaches and Comanches, and Governor Anza, proceeding to take command at the moment in New Mexico, brilliantly attained the principal objectives of this policy in the ten years of his rule.

Governor Anza's Expedition to Moqui, 1780[55]

Governor Anza who had just put down an Indian revolt in Sonora,[55] after his return from California, carried in his pocket to New Mexico strict orders to open the route to Sonora. However, finding the Comanche desolating the province in the north he wrote his Commander-General he must punish these enemies at once. Croix consented and the governor in two sharp brilliant moves crushed the Comanche power.[56] When he returned to his province in the fall of 1779, however, a second emergency, a terrible drouth among the Moqui, demanded further postponement of the Sonoran expedition. The governor hoped both to succor these Indians and to seize the opportunity to reconquer their province long desired by the Spanish government. Urging prudence, Croix sanctioned the delay of the reconnaissance to Sonora until 1780.

Governor Anza's proposal at this time to conquer Moqui was one in the long history of Spanish interest there ever since the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. At that time the Moqui led by one Espeleta murdered three Franciscan fathers and shook off a vassalage dating from the early seventeenth century. During the Re-Conquest, several martial attempts failed to establish Spanish power. Thereafter until

55. The Moqui or Hopi. These Indians, throughout the two hundred year period of Spanish control in New Mexico, are always referred to Moqui, Moquis, or Moquinos. In the documents presented herein these terms appear; to avoid confusion they have been retained in the Introduction. The terms, sometimes with the variant "Moki" are apparently of alien origin; for this reason recently the name Hopi has been adopted which itself is a contraction of *Hópitu* or *Hópitu-shinumu* meaning "peaceful people" their own name. Hodge, *Handbook* I, "Hopi." Cf. also Dr. Hodge's Note No. 38, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, Chicago, 1916.

56. For details cf. *infra.*, Doc. No. 4. Croix wished to keep Anza in Sonora. He suggested Ugarte y Loyola for governor of New Mexico and also recommended Don Pedro Garibay for the office. Croix to Gálvez No. 17, Mexico, February 26, 1777. Anza however, had been appointed by the king before the receipt of Croix's letter.

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1716 control was sought by the arts of peace. In 1699 Father Alvarez with permission from the Custodian set out for Moqui but the governor ordered him back. In 1700 three religious converted all the natives at Awatobi and persuaded Espeleta to bring his people there. For six hours the fathers preached but the Indians finally went home "remiss and stubborn." After the Spaniards left, they petitioned the governor to put a garrison at Awatobi to protect the converts there. But Espeleta returned beforehand, killed all the men and carried off the women and children, leaving the pueblo deserted. In 1701 Cubero punished some of the Moqui for this outrage.[57]

Six years later Governor Cubero Valdez sent a squad of soldiers to the province accompanied by Father Fray Juan de Mingues, but achieved no results. In 1716 Father Custodian Fray Antonio Camargo, and two *frailes* accompanied Governor Don Feliz Martínez to Moqui.[58] They hoped to conquer the province, but to the Spanish offer of peace and the Christian religion the Moqui turned a scornful ear.[59] Seven years later Miranda and Irazábel again entered as far as Oraibe. They preached but reaped only promises. In 1730 the father Francisco de Archundi exhorted them, but the obdurate Indians gave no more sign of conversion than previously.[60]

In these years 1680 to 1741, the Jesuits of Sonora hungered to add Moqui to their fold. After the Revolt the Company had claimed these Indians within their Sonoran jurisdiction. Early in the next century (1719) they actually won the region by royal order though they did little to warrant the assignment.[61] Later in 1741 the royal order was repeated, confirming Jesuit control in the north. Two years afterwards, Father Keller sought the region but the Apaches

57. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 225. For other details regarding Awatobi, consult Editorial Note No. 76.

58. The documents of this expedition are translated and published in "A Campaign Against the Moqui Pueblos under Governor Phelix Martínez, 1716." An annotated translation by the late Ralph E. Twitchell; edited by Lansing B. Bloom. *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. VI, April, 1931.

59. Another source gives the following summary of Martínez' expedition. Having learned of the governor's arrival at Moqui, the natives gathered at Gualpi, then ruled by four Caciques, since Espeleta had died. Three, at the instance of the custodian and the governor came down the hill half way. Don Christobal Chirgina, the chief, obliged the custodian to come half way up the steep rocky slope at the risk of his life to parley. The custodian told them of the dangers to their persons if they did not make peace, and the governor made them proposals. The Caciques returned to talk with their people. Five days later the chief carrying a gun came again part way down the hill. He abused the custodian, the governor and the religious and opened fire. Testimony of Fray Francisco Yrazábal, Mission of San Antonio de Senecú, October 7, 1730. *Documentos de Nuevo Mexico*, A146, f. 220, Museo de Boturini. Real Academía de Historia, Madrid.

60. Testimony of Fray Joseph Navarez Valerde, *ibid.*, f. 222.

61. Chapman, C. E., *The Founding of Spanish California*, 23-24, Cf., also "Padre Luis Velarde's Relación of Pimería Alta, 1716." Rufus K. Wyllys (ed.) *New Mexico Historical Review*, Vol. VI, April, 1931.

waylaid him. In 1744 Father Sedelmayr again tried with less success though he reached possibly, up the Colorado River, the mouth of the Bill William's Fork.[62] Finally in 1745 the king revoked the 1741 order and the field passed again to the Franciscans.[63]

The reason for this change was doubtless the activity of the Franciscans themselves. In 1741 two fathers, Pino and Delgado, journeyed to Oraibe and other settlements where the Indians received them so well that they brought out four hundred and forty-one converts. Explanations are lacking for this sudden shift. The distribution of the converts in the pueblos of the Christian Indians of New Mexico occasioned so much inconvenience that the fathers sought a royal order from the viceroy, since without express authority the governor had refused it, permitting the new converts to be restored to their old pueblos, namely Pajarito, Alameda, and Sandia whence they had revolted in 1680. Moreover, Fray Cristoval de Yraeta complained the governor was remiss in looking after the religious, since if he had given aid before the Moqui would sooner have been converted, and they would have, in this instance, brought out more converts. Indeed, he concluded, the fathers, having sown the Holy Word many times among the Moqui, lost the harvest of souls because of the ill-intentioned ministers who served the king, interested in their own affairs![64]

Later journeys to the Moqui proved less fruitful, for Father Fray Delgado reported bringing back from Moqui in July, 1744 the bodies of the fathers martyred there. However, persistent as ever, in 1745 Father Delgado, with Fathers Yrigoyen and Fray Juan Joseph Toledo, was well received, preached with great fervor, and on his return estimated ten thousand eight hundred and forty-six souls among the Moqui.[65]

With the restoration of the Moqui to the Franciscan field in 1745, the growth of interest in an overland route and the need of controlling the Apaches, the Moqui problem took on a new significance. In

62. Bancroft, H. H. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 365-66.

63. P. Fray Pedro Yg.o Pino to M. R. P. N. Comisario Gral. Mision de San Felipe de Albuquerque, November 16, 1742. *Documentos de Nuevo Mexico*, A146, f. 224, Museo de Boturini: Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 246.

64. Fray Christobal de Yraeta to R. P. N. Comisario Gral. Paso del Rio del Norte, November 24, 1742, *Documentos de Nuevo Mexico*, A146, ff. 225-226 Museo de Boturini.

65. Delgado to Fogueras, *ibid.*, ff. 254-56. At first thought the figure 10,846 might be considered a copyist's error: however, when it is recalled that the Moqui population between 1777 and 1780 dropped from almost 7500 to less than 1000 (*infra*, Doc. No. 36) there is a possibility that the province contained the population attributed to it here in 1745, and that it had suffered a similar decline, between 1745 and 1777.

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1747 the region was one of the objectives of the general campaign against the Apaches. The southern commanders did reach Zuñi, while an expedition from there found a pass to the Gila river basin.[66] In 1754 the latter exploit was repeated when a campaign was made against the Apaches.[67] During the next decade the explorations of Garcés once more brought Moqui into focus, this time as a possible point of departure to reach California from New Mexico. Anza's successful expedition to California in 1774[68] stimulated this interest, so that in the next year Governor Mendinueta required of Father Escalante at Zuñi information concerning the Moqui in relation to a possible California and Sonoran route. At the moment also his superiors ordered the father to seek such an opening from New Mexico to California. Accordingly, in June of 1775 Escalante went to Moqui endeavoring to reach the River of the Cosninas, which he rightly believed was the Colorado. Frustrated, he spent eight days in the province and upon the basis of his observations sent Mendinueta an invaluable account of conditions there and the measures he thought necessary to subdue the Moqui.[69]

Escalante found Moqui composed of seven pueblos totalling seven thousand four hundred and ninety-four souls who devoted themselves to raising mustangs, horses, sheep, cattle and other animals besides abundant crops of maize, beans and chile and some cotton. Their neighbors were the Navajos, the Cosninas, west and northwest, the Utes on the north and the Gila Apaches on the southwest, with others called in New Mexico the Mescalero and in Moqui, Yochies and Tasabuess. Analyzing the peculiar stubbornness which characterized these Indians, he concluded it was due to the inordinate religious control which the caciques, their chiefs, exercised and who represented to their people that Christianity would bring an intolerable slavery. In spite of this influence, the good padre insisted, there were many individuals there who wished to be baptized so that the caciques were thus preventing the true religion from entering and that that could only be consummated by removing the chiefs by force.[70]

66. For details, see *Infra*, Doc. No. 9.

67. *Infra*, Doc. No. 9.

68. Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Anza's California Expeditions.* 5 Volumes. Berkeley California, 1930. This monumental study of Anza's expeditions to California besides its exhaustive treatment of its subject throws important light on Sonoran-Arizona frontier problems.

69. Bancroft's doubt as to the date of this expedition by Escalante to the Moqui is here laid. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 261. The document is translated *infra*, Doc. No. 9.

70. Escalante to Mendinueta, Zuñi, October 28, 1775, *infra.*, Doc. No. 9.

Escalante then proposed the means. Recalling the expedition of 1747, he pointed out that its mere presence there was sufficient to cause the caciques to come to Zuñi and prostrate themselves before the religious and the commanders. From this incident, he intimated, the defense of their peñoles was apparently not sufficient so that their conquest should be easy, though their conversion could be attained permanently only in the shadow of a presidio. Such a force he believed further very useful, as a basis for expeditions against the Apache, and to make the route to Sonora less dangerous. Finally, he concluded, it would open the way to conversion of the Cosninas, Indians already friendly to the Spaniards and who had tried for years to induce the Spaniards to colonize among them.[71]

Of the new discoveries and connections with Sonora and California, Escalante observed further in the details of the 1747 expedition the possibility of a route to the former province by way of the Rio de San Francisco. As to the latter he advised rather going by way of a northern route through the Payuchis Ute.[72] In the next year, 1776, Garcés attempted to reach New Mexico from Sonora, but also frustrated at Oraibe had to content himself by sending a letter to the padre at Zuñi.[73]

Such was in brief the history of Spanish-Moqui relations up to 1780 when Anza proposed the conversion of the province. His interest in them was motivated by his hope of re-conquest and succoring the province. Doubtless he had in mind, too, the part Moqui would play in opening a route to Sonora, though he does not in fact mention the subject. Writing Croix on November 1, 1779, he revealed a deplorable state of affairs there from the drouth which had begun in 1777.[74] The Moqui, he noted, were deserting their pueblos, seeking the hills, uniting with other Indian groups and even selling their children for sustenance. He had sent Father García to invite them to New Mexico, offered the pueblo to El Sabinal and promised them necessities. Further he explained that by taking advantage of the conditions there to force the people to forswear their country, he might more cheaply gain their conversion. As a

71. Escalante to Morillo, Zuñi, May 16, 1776, *infra.*, Doc. No. 10.

72. Escalante to Mendinueta, Zuñi, October 28, 1775, *infra.*, Doc. No. 9. Escalante did in fact attempt this northern route taking with him Father Domínguez and a party of soldiers. *Diario y Derrotero . . . de . . . Domínguez y Escalante. Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda série*, Tomo I, 375-554.

73. Coues, Elliot. *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, 1775-1776.* 2 Vols. New York, 1900.

74. Mendinueta had referred to the sterility of New Mexico in 1777. Thomas, "Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778," *loc. cit.*, 35-36. Anza's reference is *infra, p.* 145.

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tentative plan he enclosed Escalante's letter, indicating his confidence in the padre's project because of his "piety, energy of mind and zeal."[75]

In a second letter of the same date he elaborated his Moqui policy. First he cautioned Croix to the greatest secrecy regarding all plans, that such be kept particularly from the religious, "who for sincerity or other reasons, divulge and publish everything!" To bringing the Indians to New Mexico or reducing them in Moqui itself, Anza preferred the former, since it would secure the population of the kingdom without extending it and the Spaniards could better protect them, whereas in Moqui it would be necessary to establish extraordinary forces. On the other hand by situating them in El Sabinal which he had proposed to them, not so much force would be required since they would be entirely cut off from retreat to their country. Finally, Anza proposed, if Croix did not agree to the above, to supply them with food, re-stock their herds and put an end to their abandoning the country, thus estopping the Moqui from becoming accustomed to a different life and drawing strength from the Apaches with whom they differed little.[76]

On November 13 Anza wrote again to Croix enclosing a resumé of Father García's journey to the province, and a report from the Alcalde of Zuñi to the effect that at the moment García left Zuñi, a Christian Indian and others arrived with thirty-three Moquis, seeking permission to go to the New Mexican settlements. The Alcalde himself took them to the pueblo of Sandia. Further solicitations brought news that all the people at Gualpi had agreed to submit and occupy a site chosen by Anza in New Mexico and that the rest of the nation had intimated they would do likewise in the spring if no rain fell. The Moqui were even then, Anza added, living on an unsubstantial food, a gruel made of pulverized zacate and other herbs, and this was beginning to fail.[77]

Father García discounted rumors that the Moquis were taking refuge among the Navajos, although he reached neither, proposing however, further attempts in the spring, and had to return to Zuñi because the Moqui for whom he was waiting lacked horses. Anza on his own part advised Croix that since the road to Zuñi would soon be closed, he was forwarding supplies there to win more of

75. Anza to Croix, Santa Fe, November 1, 1779, *infra.*, Doc. No. 7.
76. Anza to Croix, Santa Fe, November 1, 1779, *infra.*, Doc. No. 8.
77. Anza to Croix, Santa Fe, November 13, 1779, *infra.*, Doc. No. 11.

the apostates and reward the chiefs recently converted, thus to encourage further submission.[78]

Croix on December 31, recognizing the gravity of the situation, referred Anza to the king's orders requiring kindness in dealing with the Indians. The Commander-General felt that force used now to reduce these natives would violate his Majesty's will. Moreover, he pointed out, if arms failed a Moqui-Apache alliance would be certain. Nor was that all. The Navajo and even the Utes might possibly declare war and the saddest results could follow, the least of which, Croix warned, would be that of losing forever hope of conquering the province.

Accordingly, urging the humanity his sovereign had commanded, Croix directed Anza to Moqui, ostensibly to make a reconnaissance of a route to Sonora or to pursue Apaches. With him should be either García or Escalante and reliable interpreters. Having reached the region, the governor was to detach a small body and a religious to go to the first pueblo with the reasons for his presence, there to reassure the Moquis of Spanish good faith. Once in Moqui, Croix continued, Anza was to modify his proposals according to the temper of the people. On the one hand if they wished honorably to embrace the Spanish religion and vassalage and abandoning their land to settle in El Sabinal,[79] there was no doubt in his mind as to the benefit to New Mexico. On the other hand, however, Croix commanded that if true to their homes and soil, they yielded to the Spaniards' proposals only through fear, either in New Mexico or in Moqui, considerable force would be necessary to insure the fulfillment of the promises. If they came to New Mexico under such circumstances, Croix felt they would desert at the first opportunity, pervert the Indians already converted, and void the expenses now incurred in their behalf.[80]

The value of Moqui friendship Croix thus prized highly, for these Indians formed an important consideration in his policy affecting the Apaches. He accordingly assured Anza he would be content if he only won their good opinion, made them sensitive to the conservation of Spanish friendship, restored them to their pueblos, induced them to accept supplies for their present necessities, opened their trade to the Spaniards, and permitted a Spanish garrison in

78. Fray Andres García, Zuñi, November 3, 1779, *infra.*, Doc. No. 12.
79. Present Sabinal somewhat north of the junction of the Rio Puercos and Rio Grande.
80. Croix to Anza, Arispe, December 31, 1779, *infra.*, Doc. No. 13.

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their country.[81] Developing his idea further in his report to Gálvez, Croix protested that he was guided not only by the King's wishes regarding gentleness but also that he took into consideration possible deplorable results if the Moqui took refuge among the Gila Apaches, Utes, and Navajos. Such a consideration had been urged when the project of conquering Moqui by arms was proposed during the time of O'Conor. At that time, Mendinueta wrote as governor of New Mexico that violence might cause the Utes and Navajos to fear similar war might be made upon them, as the Moqui were, in fact, at peace. Such an eventuality, Mendinueta further cautioned, might consolidate the forces of the three nations and put an end to New Mexico.[82]

More, Croix urged, the Moqui should not only be attracted to religion and vassalage by generosity but should remain where they were, where they might be persuaded to admit a mission and presidio. Then being established the presidio already commanded by his Majesty at the junction of the Gila and Terrenate or San Pedro Rivers, the Apaches of the West would be surrounded by the settlements of Santa Fe, El Paso, Carrizal, San Buenaventura, Janos, the presidios of Sonora and that indicated for Moqui. In that way the subjugation of the western Apaches would be assured more effectively than by the operations directed against the eastern Apaches. Finally, Croix insisted that these same considerations regarding Moqui itself would serve to establish communications between New Mexico and Sonora and the province of California, besides extending reductions to the Cosninas, and offer good example to both the Ute and the Navajo of whom the latter, being settled, sowed, raised herds and wove cloth.[83]

In May 1780, Anza acknowledged receipt of Croix's orders, stating that he had sent emissaries to the Moqui offering them shelter. In the meantime, Father García, having visited them as he had promised, brought back to Santa Fe in March seventy-seven Moquinos. Anza placed them in various pueblos, gave them presents and charged the residents with their maintenance. Before May this number had increased to one hundred and fifty all of whom had adopted Christianity. An even larger number would have come out,

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-171.

82. *Ynforme del Gov.r dn Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, sobre communicación con Sonora.* Historia 52, ff. 140-144. A. G. N.

83. Croix to Gálvez, No. 476, Arispe, February 23, 1780, *infra.*, Doc. No. 31.

he explained, had not a Navajo attack upon one group intimidated the others. Anza promptly warned the Navajos not again to break the sworn peace. After this, the latest news Anza received was that those Indians were in refuge among the Cosninas where all who did not go to New Mexico might be sent. Moqui itself was now almost depopulated, the many thousands of sheep having been reduced to a few hundred no longer cared for.[84]

On August 25 the Moqui replied to Anza's messenger that at least forty families would go to New Mexico, provided the governor himself convoyed them. Accordingly Anza prepared supplies, mounts and adequate forces to maintain the charges in security, and on the 10th of September set out for Moqui. With him he took one hundred and twenty-six men, including forty-eight Indians, and the Reverend Father Fray Sebastian Fernandez.[85] Going to the southwest, they passed through San Felipe and Santa Ana. Ten leagues farther on the Rio Puerco the governor caught up with his supply train, where he also startled a number of Navajos who first took flight. When they ventured back he urged upon them peace and presents. The next day, the 12th, they pushed on to Zuñi along a little used trail past the pueblo of Laguna where Father García joined them. At Zuñi Anza found a deplorable situation resulting from the two years' drouth. The previously numerous inhabitants were much reduced; the ones left subsisted on the pastures where their small stock was kept, while the rest of the people had gone to live in other pueblos of New Mexico.[86] From Zuñi the expedition turned northwest and after a twelve league march halted at a watering hole called La Casa. There Anza despatched emissaries to announce his arrival within four days and his peaceful intentions. Having advanced to the abandoned pueblo of Awatobi,[87] Anza received the reports of his messengers on the 22nd that a favorable welcome awaited the command, but that the caciques begged him not to force their people to abandon their pueblos where they desired to end their lives. Forty families, it was further learned, had set out for Santa Fe to await Anza's arrival among the Navajos who had assured them a safe-conduct. However, the Apaches had proved

84. Anza to Croix, Santa Fe, May 26, 1780, *infra.*, Doc. No. 32.

85. Diary of the expedition . . Governor Anza of New Mexico made into the province of Moqui 1779, *infra.*, Doc. No. 36 (Hereafter cited, Anza. *Moqui Diary*).

86. Cf. Morfi, *Geographical Description of New Mexico, 1782*, for population and other statistics in 1779, *Cf.* Editorial Note No. 27.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 232 for Awatobi, or Abattobi; also Cf., Editorial Note, No. 76.

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faithless, had murdered the men and seized the women and children, two only having escaped to recount the disaster.

The principal object of the expedition thus frustrated, Anza decided to visit the province to secure information for his own and Croix's government. Accordingly, with the fathers, interpreters, twenty soldiers and fifteen Indians, he set out for Oraibe eight leagues away, distributing food to the poor Moqui who met him enroute. In Oraibe the cacique embraced the Spaniard, who urged the chief to accept the true God and recognize the king of Spain; then neither he nor any other chief would lose his command and control as cacique, but would have greater authority. Nevertheless, the king being just, if the Moqui were hesitant, he would not compel them, but would open the trade of the pueblos to them.

The cacique affirmed that he and his nation had always recognized as their God the very one the Spaniards had, although they were not baptized; that though most of his people were among the heathen, he and those who remained had so resolved to die, except the ones who wished to go to New Mexico and become Christians. With regard to trade, the chief assured the governor that he appreciated his kindness and would take advantage of it if they re-established themselves. However, this he thought was impossible because they had lost so much from drouth and, he added bitterly, from the continuous war made upon them by the Utes and Navajos. Anza at once offered to mediate but the hardy old chieftain spurned the idea, preferring death at the foes' hands. Even Anza's proffer of a horse loaded with supplies the cacique refused, lacking the wherewithal to return the gift in kind as his customs demanded.

Additional conversation only revealed further the stiff-necked pride of the cacique. To Anza's suggestion that the fathers present would gladly tell them of the Christian faith the chief turned a deaf ear. Rebuffed, Anza decided to leave, reiterating simply that the Moqui would be protected, aided and defended if they would become vassals of the Spanish king and God, and that the king and Croix had no other intention than to extend to them these temporal and spiritual blessings. During the next two days, Anza arranged to take back those who wished to accompany him. On the 24th a considerable number joined the command at Gualpi Spring where they engaged in a brisk barter and where the Gualpi chief, having heard of the Spanish offer from the Oraibe cacique, proclaimed to all the Moqui there that those who wished might go with the Spaniards.

Before leaving the province Anza examined its condition. The 1775 report of Escalante disclosed seven pueblos, the first populated with 110 families; the 2nd, 15; the 3rd, 200; the 4th, 50; the 5th, 14; the 6th, 60; and the 7th, 800, totalling 1249, or 7494 persons. Anza found the seven pueblos reduced to five; the 1st and 2nd with but 40 families; the 3rd, 45; 4th, 10; 5th, the capital Oraibe, 38 to 40. The estimated total was 133 families equal to 738 persons. According to Anza's calculation in three years 6698 individuals had died or had scattered among the heathen.[88] Though at the time of Escalante there were many cattle, he counted no more than five horses in all pueblos, no cattle and about three hundred head of sheep, though these previously had exceeded more than all the rest in the province of New Mexico. Most of these animals were at Gualpi. What they had planted in such poor soil, the governor estimated would yield less than two hundred fanegas of all grains.

Anza put forward three causes for their terrible condition: hunger, and disease from lack of rain since 1777, and the wars of extermination waged upon them by the Utes and Navajos. They themselves advanced a supernatural one: that they were suffering famine, pestilence and misfortune in arms because of their rejection in 1776 of Father Garcés who had predicted the vengeance upon them. Now the Moqui eulogized him! Finally, Anza observed that where they were sowing there were no springs and what they called fields were only sand hills; that drinking water had failed and that unless rains came final destruction was certain, as in all the country he had crossed the land was sterile.[89]

Upon his arrival in Santa Fe, Anza delayed his report to Croix to take the account with him on his expedition to Sonora for which he was now preparing. This accomplished he turned his Moqui diary over to Croix who requested elaborations.[90] The governor recommended that those Indians be left in their ancient home-land, since they would not voluntarily come to New Mexico; those embracing the offer to be supplied by the various communities among whom they settled with land, houses, livestock. More the Navajo as Anza pointed out being so strengthened by the addition of Moqui refugees and having been the declared enemy of the Spaniards,

88. For comment on discrepancy see Editorial Note No. 77.

89. The above summary of Anza's activities are based up Anza, *Moqui Diary*, infra, Doc. No. 36.

90. Croix to Anza, Arispe, January 12, 1780, *infra.*, Doc. No. 37. The year "1780 should be 1781; it is merely a copyist's error. Anza reached Arispe on December 18, 1780 bringing his Moqui diary with him.

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now savoring a new power, might so aspire again. Accordingly, he advised whatever measures Croix deemed best be taken to subject the Navajo, who would soon forget their animosity, as two hundred of their tribes had been converted and none had ever proved remiss.[91]

Croix submitted the diary and correspondence to his Assessor General, Galindo Navarro, who having considered the problem in relation to the general frontier, reported back on April 30, 1781. Therein he advised the policy of enticing the Moqui be continued under Anza's direction, avoiding such injuries to them in their new homes in New Mexico as might discountenance the venture. Secondly, Anza should despatch to the Moqui reliable emissaries, ostensibly traders, subtly to spread among them an idea of the felicity they enjoyed in New Mexico and thus stimulate the remnant to follow. Finally, he recommended to avoid friction that the converted and non-converted be kept in separate pueblos and at a distance from one another to forestall possible reunion and concerted flight.[92] With these instructions at hand Anza replied on November 15, 1781 that he had twice sent reliable emissaries to Moqui, but no results had followed, for now a serious epidemic of small-pox threatened those poor Indians, it being probable that the pest and the Navajo harrying would blot them out.[93]

The conditions at Moqui had a direct effect upon the problems of the souther frontier of New Mexico. Doubtless the drouth affected Anza's calculation in selecting a route to Sonora, for knowing the sterile conditions in the west he would have hardly considered re-opening the old route by way of the Rio de San Francisco found by Miera in 1747. In the second place the terrible destruction of life there completely removed this formerly small but powerful group from Spanish calculations when the time came soon after for Anza to break the alliance which the Gilas maintained with the Navajos.

Governor Anza's Expedition to Sonora 1780

In the fall of 1780 Anza was ready to carry out the exploration of a route to Sonora. Behind this project lay a full century of Spanish interest which sprang from the growth of the north Mexican frontier. At first this concern, dating from Kino's time, attached to Moqui

91. Anza to Croix, Arispe, January 17, 1781, *infra.*, Doc. No. 38.
92. Galindo Navarro to Croix, Arispe, April 30, 1781, *infra.*, Doc No. 40.
93. Anza to Croix; Santa Fe, November 15, 1781, *infra.*, Doc. No. 41.

conversion; later after 1769 Moqui conquest merged into the larger project of inter-colonial communication between New Mexico, Sonora and California. A variety of reasons turned the idea of such a route through the Moqui region. For one thing those Indians unconquered after the Pueblo Revolt the Jesuits claimed were within their Sonoran jurisdiction. Secondly, the Gila Apaches lying north and northeast of Sonora effectively blocked communication with the Rio Grande pueblos. Finally, Spanish commercial restrictions until late in the eighteenth century hindered the growth of normal relations between the two provinces.[94]

The earliest known reference to a route from Sonora to New Mexico is that of Father Kino who reported that before his time the Spaniards of New Mexico traded with the Sobaipuris in the San Pedro Valley.[95] He himself believed that "a settlement should be founded on the Colorado River to serve as a base for operations against the Apaches and Moquis and for the conquest of the Californias and the lands between Sonora and New Mexico."[96] More specifically he wrote in his diary at San Javier del Bac seeking "what means there might be whereby to penetrate to the Moquis of New Mexico, and we found that by going straight north the entry would be very difficult, since these Pimas were on very unfriendly terms with the Apaches who live between, although the distance and the journey was probably not more than sixty or seventy leagues, for this valley of San Xavier del Baac is in thirty-two and a half degrees of north latitude, and the Moquis and Zuñi in thirty-six degrees."[97]

Early in the next century the Jesuits did nothing to reach Moqui[98] in spite of a royal order of 1725 authorizing an expedition from Pimería Alta to New Mexico[99] and another in 1731 which called for a statement of distances between the bishoprics of Guadalajara and Durango and the Californias and Moquis.[100] In the next decade when the royal order of 1719 confirming the Jesuit control over Moqui was repeated, Padre Keller attempted in 1743 to reach them

94. A certain illegal trade, to be sure, did exist between Sonora and New Mexico. The Apaches stole horses in both provinces and frequently sold them in one or the other; Sonoran horses were often recognized by their brands in New Mexican establishments. Further, Anza refers to a trade that was carried on between the two provinces.
95. Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California*, 18, quoting Professor H. E. Bolton.
96. Bolton, H. E. *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, I, p. 53.
97. Bolton, H. E. *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, I, 237.
98. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*. p. 365.
99. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, 24.
100. El Rey a Casafuerte, Sevilla, September 14, 1731. 76-3-29, A. G. I. Certification of Fray Joseph Navarez Valerde, Senecú, October 17, 1730 *Documentos de Nuevo Mexico*, A146, f. 222. Museo de Boturini.

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May God guard your lordship many years. Villa of Santa Fe, November 1, 1779. My dear Sir, your most attentive and constant servant kisses the hand of your lordship. Juan Bautista de Anza. Señor Brigadier Don Teodoro de Croix.

8. Anza to Croix, November 1, 1779

Señor Governor and Commander-General. My dear Sir: As, according to the notice which I gave your lordship previously, No.—, matters are encouraging us to see accomplished under your happy government the conversion of the province of Moqui to God and the king. This event, I believe ought to be kept in mind with greater preference and attention than others which may occur because of the glory which may come to both Majesties and to your lordship after so many years of not having been able to achieve this conversion. I do not wish to refrain from augmenting, accordingly, this glory for the opportune measures of your lordship which I judge appropriate for the satisfaction of everything. The first may be that, if your lordship decide to force them to settle in this region or remain in their own pueblos you may have the goodness to command me with the greatest secrecy so that no one may know this; otherwise either one or the other may come to an untimely end. In proceeding against them there is the expedient of pretending the action is a survey for the opening of the road to Sonora, or better, for some expedition against the Apaches. I especially consider that this particularly ought to be kept from religious persons who because of their sincerity or other reasons divulge and publish everything. With regard to the matter of reducing these Indians to this province or to that of their own, excepting the just opinion of your lordship, it appears to me that the former ought to be preferred, considering it particularly to secure the population of the kingdom without extending it. Thus we may protect them better without [[incurring]] the inconvenience which their country will involve. There it is essential to place a superior extraordinary force. Here we free ourselves from that, or at least not so much force is employed in making them secure if the establishment of the pueblo of Socorro is effected. Thus having established them in El Sabinal, or a little farther below, which [[site]] I sent to propose to them, they will always be cut off on all sides from retreating to their country which is the only place they can attempt [[to go]].

If your lordship does not agree in what is set forth above, it occurs to me that, having given them some supplies with which to live upon, meanwhile, perhaps they can increase their herds and end the causes for abandoning their country; that the project of Father Fray Silvestre Velez Escalante be embraced to bring them down from their peñoles, serving them as a refuge, or alloting them sites with waters where it will be easy in any event to destroy with a cannon the strongest pueblo. There is, indeed, no wall which exceeds a foot of thickness. All the heights and little strongholds which are made to appear enormous are nothing more than some platforms of wood tied together, covered on the outside with mud, so temporary that one going upon them shakes the whole construction or what they call the shelter.

As for carrying out with troops and people one or the other decision, I need no more than what I have to effect the expedition. But if some must remain detached in the new province, it will be necessary to increase what may be considered timely. As usual this troop may be directed there, as, in this I agree with all the experienced individuals of the country that, the capital having been subjected, the rest of the province will follow. With regard to the foregoing, it will be necessary for me to anticipate what I set forth to your lordship in the antecedent. I shall be careful to notify you if else occurs which I consider worthy of your attention.

One of the reasons why I desire at once the effect of any one of the proposals is that I fear that if the nation becomes accustomed to a mode different from that which it has had because of reasons arising or continuing which have made them change their way, they may become strengthened by the Apaches from whom they differ little in some matters, although they have always had war. The execution of this undertaking, if it does not delay us long, I do not believe will impede the expedition to Sonora, but if this should happen it could be transferred to another year. Finally, my most worthy chief, whatever may be the wish of your lordship, mine remains subject to your wise opinions and resolutions, so quickly will I sacrifice my life in their execution in whatever is demanded in the service of both Majesties.

May the Divinity guard the important life of your lordship the many years that I pray. Villa of Santa Fe, November 1, 1779. My

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dear sir, your most attentive and constant servant kisses the hand of your lordship. Juan Bautista de Anza. Señor Brigadier Don Teodoro de Croix.

9. Escalante to Mendinueta, October 28, 1775

My dear Sir: Because of the new expedition, projected to facilitate the more advantageous establishment of certain presidios and missions in the neighborhood of the Gila and Colorado rivers, the transit overland to Monterrey, the conversion of the Moqui, and the commerce of these provinces with those of Sonora and Californias, your lordship ordered me to set forth whatever I may know and consider pertinent to the matter which certainly is worthy of the attention of our Sovereigns.[43] In this we cooperate as much as may be possible especially in those things which by reason of our apostolic ministry we alone are assigned, that is, the redemption of souls which lie in the tyrannical shades of heathenism of the common enemy because of the miserable slavery of sin. For this reason, notwithstanding the little knowledge that I have of these regions and the paucity of my abilities, I am stating that which I suppose and appears to me relative.

Beginning with the consideration of the province of Moqui, I hold it very much to the point to postulate the position before suggesting the means of its reduction. Myself particularly charged by my prelates, as your lordship already knows, to seek the opening which is projected of the route by land to Monterey, I entered at the end of the month of June, just past, the province of Moqui to attempt reaching the large river of the Cosninas which I judge to be the Colorado. Failing in this, I stopped in the province for eight days.[44]

Having inspected the location, defense, herds, waters, and supplies of its pueblos, I am in a position to speak on the present occasion with some knowledge, though it may not be with the neat clarity with which I ought. To the west, then, with very little inclination to the northwest, forty-six leagues from this pueblo of Zuñi are the first three [[settlements]] of the province of Moqui. Today, in the area of four and one half leagues, it has seven pueblos which, in a straight line from east to west, are distributed on three mesas, or peñoles. On the western point of the first and on its most narrow eminence are situated three of the pueblos. The first is that

of Janos (there thay say Teguas) who use a tongue different from that of the Moqui. It is an ordinary pueblo with its little plaza in the middle and will include one hundred and ten families. The second is to the east about a stone's throw. It has only fifteen families because of the new settlement which the Moqui are making at Gualpi. This is within gunshot of the second. It is larger than the two preceding ones and accommodates two hundred families. The three pueblos have little horseherds, some cows and many flocks of sheep.

To the west of this mesa is the second pueblo. In the intermediate distance is a league and one half of desert. This reaches into the pueblo a little and divides it into two arms. On the north which is nearest to Gualpi there are two little hills distant a stone's throw from each other. On the top of the first is situated the fourth pueblo which is Mossasnabi, composed of fifty families more or less. On that of the second is the fifth pueblo called Xipaolavi, with fourteen families. This is half deserted because its inhabitants have moved over to the southern arm of the mesa on which they have formed the sixth pueblo with the name of Xongopabi. It enjoys a better site than all the rest. It has three dwellings very well ordered and about sixty families.

These three pueblos have more horseherds than the first and also more sheep. Two leagues and half to the west of this mesa is the third on which is situated the seventh pueblo called Oraibe which is the best formed and larger than any known in the Interior Provinces. It has eleven habitations or blocks of houses quite large and well arranged with streets laid out for all winds. It would have about eight hundred families. They possess good horseherds, droves of sheep and some cattle. Although it has only little spring water, distant more than a mile towards the north, it has on the mesa itself, very near, six large cisterns in which when it snows and rains much water collects.

This province is bounded on the east by the Navajos, on the west and northwest by the Cosninas, on the north by the Utes, on the south by the Gila Apaches and on the southwest with others whom they call here Mescaleros and in Moqui, Yochies, and Tassabuess. On this road and along that of the west there are raised cattle herds and mustang horses which are utilized especially by those of Oraibe. The Moqui are very civilized, apply themselves to weaving and cultivating the land by means of which they raise abundant crops of maize, beans and chile. They also gather cotton although not much.

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They suffer from scarcity of wood and good water, all of which I have referred to in order that an exact idea may be formed of what Moqui is and what is agreeable for the glory of God and the good of so many, their prompt conversion to the Faith.[45] For this achievement I propose the only means which I judge adequate.

Understanding that the Moqui, although rebels, are really vassals of our sovereign, that they bowed for some time their arrogant heads beneath the gentle yoke of our Lord, Jesus Christ, that in as many years as they count their rebellion and apostasy, it has not sufficed to conquer their obstinacy by the suave exhortations of many religious who have entered from this Custody to preach to them, and finally that in them the apostates of Christianity may have foundation and even a defense against the Christian religion of great prejudice to it, it appears to me that the proper means that can and ought to be taken is as follows: with forces of the projected expedition they be subdued by arms to the dominion of their legitimate sovereign; that they be brought down from the pueblos to a plain and proper site, and whatever measures considered imperative be taken to require of them the necessary compliance.

As they are subjects and are without hope of giving up their ignorant licenciousness, I hold for certain their prompt and complete conversion inasmuch as the principal obstacle with which Infernal astuteness has always frustrated the Christian zeal of those they have tried to convert to the fold of the Church, is the inordinate religious control which the caciques and chiefs have, the absolute dominion which they usurp to the injury of both Majesties. For this reason they prevent by terrible threats any of their people from seeking conversion or even addressing a religious, or harkening to him when he preaches, reserving to themselves solely the faculty of hearing and speaking on points of religion. To disguise their ambition more they show themselves highly interested in the infamous liberty of their pueblos, representing to them that Christianity necessarily brings an intolerable bondage, although as almost all the religious have noticed who have entered that province, and even I myself latterly, that today there are many who desire holy Baptism. The fear of incurring the anger of their respective chiefs and the penalties imposed by them makes them suppress and many times hide such holy desires. Accordingly, it is seen clearly that in a positive manner they impede the preaching of the Gospel. That obstacle removed by means of converting all as stated above, the freeing and persuasion of all will

be achieved in a short time by the preaching of those religious who dedicate themselves to this end. Thus as I have intimated it is no especial prejudice that they have against the faith which estops them from its acceptance. They are highly influenced by the ambition of their superiors and the deceitful enslavement of the rest of them, and by false tales of some apostates. Although at first view the pueblos present themselves as almost impregnable because of the inaccessible eminence of their respective situations, they have only the supplies near them. By our seizing and defending the water holes of which they daily avail themselves, because of thirst and need of their flocks, they will be forced to surrender without great fatigue to ourselves.

No more than the single unexpected sight of an armed force like that which may be formed is capable of surprising them so much that they may yield on the spot and without resistance, as probably would have been done in the year [17]47 if we had proceeded with more precaution. Thus a detachment from those of the General Campaign was directed in that year to Moqui, at the order of the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy and with permission to convert its inhabitants in the manner proposed and erect one or two presidios in the said province if they should be seen necessary. The Moqui, having learned of it previously, with only that news all their caciques, chiefs and old men came to this pueblo of Zuñi where they found the camp. They prostrated themselves before the religious and commanders. They promised whatever was desired assuring that they were already subject as before their rebellion.[46] Accordingly, the expedition retired and they revealed their deceit, failing in the pledges which fear of surrender forced from them which, with other fortune, they judged inevitable. From this precedent, it may be inferred that in the face of our arms, the defense of the peñoles does not encourage them to await the attack and that the establishment of this camp could gain more than the report of the other and subject them without misfortune. It has appeared proper to me to outline this situation in order that some supposition may not delay an undertaking of so much importance, by pretence there are lions on a road on which there are no more than traces of wily but weak vixen foxes.

I am certain the conversion of the Moqui thus attained can only continue in the shelter and respect of a presidio because of the opportunity which without it they would have again to revolt. I judge it so necessary in Moqui that without the presidio it will be little less

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than impossible to re-establish there and conserve the Christian religion. Although it be without other object than this, it is sufficient to establish the presidio without delay because it is apparent that in the estimation of our Catholic Monarch the conservation of souls is of the highest import. Thus the province of these has 7494 according to the computation made (without exaggeration). It even may be added that this province is bounded on the south and southwest by the Apaches indicated above who live on this side of the Gila and who do not attack as the rest do. The presidio may serve to contain those on that side and punish their presumption with expeditions deployed from there in company with the Moqui already pacified and subjected.

Accordingly, the presidio may also contribute to render less dangerous the route from Sonora to those provinces because the Apaches seeing that they are not secure and free from our arms from Moqui (if they succeed in punishing them), will not commit such repeated depredations. The other object of no less importance with regard to this new presidio is the reduction of the Cosninas. As with the Christianization of the Moqui, the way to them is opened without the least embarrassment to announce the Gospel to them. It is very probable they may receive it quickly both because they have already shown great affection for the Spaniards and inclination to the Faith, and because of the inconvenience which the Tomajjabas and Chirumas cause them by their hostilities. Because of this menace they have themselves solicited at various times for forty years that the Spaniards colonize in their land to defend them from the said enemies. The Spaniards' interest having been piqued by the mineral resources of gold and silver which appear in the land itself, they [[the Cosninas]] have promised to aid them in the construction of houses and sowing and to build churches and admit religious to teach them in order that having been Christianized they might all live as brothers.

Even in the time that Don Francisco Marin del Valle was governing this kingdom, the Cosninas began to take the road to this Villa for this very purpose, but the Devil frustrated such a beautiful end for he brought about unjustly the death of four of them in the land of the Christians.[47] Because of this fact, notwithstanding that the Moqui had been involved in this fatality for reasons originating only out of his infernal policy, they have probably taken advantage of it to dissuade the Cosninas from the intimated project of their

conversion and to prevent intercourse with the Spaniards as today they are impeded. Thus when I was in Moqui, as soon as the Cosninas had from one of their nation news of my arrival, the chief of a ranchería with all the men from it took the road to see me and talk with me. On their approach to Oraibe, the Moqui forced their return swearing falsely that I had already gone. Notwithstanding this they sent a lesser chief so that if he reached me, as happened, he should express to me in the name of all their affection. From this it is to be inferred that even yet they conserve this amity which they had for a long time for the Spaniards and they are in a very good mood to be converted to the Faith and to the Crown when the reduction of Moqui occurs.

I am going to set forth the information that I have been able to acquire with regard to the route from Sonora to those Provinces according to what I have learned from the general campaign of the year [[17]]47, and from the particular campaigns which the Zuñi have made towards Gila. I consider this route possible and practicable. After a four days' march south of this pueblo of Zuñi is encountered a small stream which they named on that campaign San Francisco. It is composed of two arroyos, one of which runs from the northeast to the southwest and the other from north to south. The latter is a little larger than the first and because of its river-bed, the Sierra de Gila may be crossed with ease. Together they form the Rio de San Francisco which in the canyon of the sierra runs north to south and having come out of the canyon takes to the west. At a little distance it enters a little hollow which because of its humidity becomes very pleasant and fertile. In it there are various rancherías of Apaches who cultivate the valley and with the aid of irrigation, harvest much yellow corn. Six leagues to the south of this little valley is the Rio Gila which here is sixteen leagues distant from the place they call Las Mimbres. I have learned this through Don Bernardo de Miera, a settler of this Villa who went on the general campaign in the capacity of engineer and captain of the militia.[43] He traveled through all the above-mentioned region from Las Mimbres to the Gila River, the Rio de San Francisco, the Salines of Zuñi and the pueblo of Ácoma. He also said that from the valley and stream of San Francisco, the pagan Pima auxiliaries returned and asserted that along the other bank of the Gila, along the route from the west, they would reach

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in two days Cañada Honda where they have their dwellings and that the presidio in Terrenate is only a day and a half's journey distant.

With this account, those of the Zuñi agreed who have reached as far as the Sierra de Gila. Of these reports I shall only indicate the principal and most credible from a campaign which the Lieutenant-Alcalde, Don Marcial Barrera made with them in years passed. For its greater correctness, as soon as I received the cited order of our lordship, I applied by letter to my present prelate, the Vice-Custodian, Reverend Father Fray Mariano Rodríguez de la Torre who was then minister in this pueblo. He knew all about the event and was not at variance from that which the Zuñi had told me previously. He deigned to write me saying that in the year [[17]]54 Don Marcial Barrera with two other Spaniards and one hundred Zuñi Indians set out in pursuit of some Apaches from this pueblo of Zuñi. Having marched three days to the south, he attacked the ranchería of Chief Chafalote, a Gila Apache, destroyed it and brought back a Christian mestizo Indian called Manuel Tomás who was a captive in it. The latter stated his master, Señor Don Juaquín Rodríquez, chaplain of this presidio of Terrenate, went out to look for the above-mentioned ranchería to receive a confession. Having killed the father and the escort which he was taking with him, they made [[Tomás]] captive, and blindfolded led him alone for six days to the very site on which the Spaniards had found him. The Zuñi, having listened to Manuel Tomás, added that near where the ranchería was when they destroyed it, is a little river and on its banks various Apaches who do not roam about or have horses but much yellow corn. This may indicate the above mentioned Rio de San Francisco and accordingly it seems not to be very extensive nor difficult to communicate frequently from Sonora and Pimería Alta to New Mexico and Moqui. This route, if one succeeds in clearing away the enemies and making it passable without risk, will be of great use to the inhabitants of both regions.

With reference to the principal object of the expedition which is the discovery of a communication by land to Monterrey, I possess so little news that it does not merit the attention of your lordship. Thus, as not to consume time with accounts little or of no use I omit them.

Moreover, concerning what Captain Don Francisco Antonio Crespo says, that is, that on the return from Monterrey the expedition direct itself to Moqui, it has occurred to me that perhaps

he was thinking of returning to cross the Rio Colorado through the Talchedunes and from those to go to the Cosninas and Moqui.[49] This is quite difficult because from the account of that land which the Cosninas gave me, being exact, there are more than one hundred leagues of impassable road, there being for a large part much rock and most of it pebble and flint, and water and pasture is scarce. To this is added meeting with the Chirumas and Tomajjabas, warlike nations and savagely inhuman, unavoidable in reaching the Cosninas by that route. Accordingly, they can embarrass or at least delay approach to Moqui with appreciable injury.

This reflection indicates that if more certain information does not controvert the inadequacy upon which the report is founded, the chief of the expedition may have some light of the inconveniences indicated, thus to avoid them on his return from Monterrey, directing himself to Moqui by another road which is considered better and less obstructed. I hold as better and shorter that which can be taken without going below the latitude of Monterrey, until after fording the river among the Payuchis Utes. These are near Moqui on the north and may serve as guides for the expedition to come down in a straight line to this province.

Because according to the maritime route of Vivas published in Manila in the year of 66 the port of Monterrey is in 37 degrees and [[omitted]] minutes latitude, and the Villa of Santa Fe in 36 degrees 11 minutes according to the latest map of Don Nicolas de la Fora, the Payachis Utes are thus, as I think, in the same latitude as Monterrey.[50] For this reason I wrote to my prelates that the trip to Monterrey through the Utes appeared more feasible to me than through the Cosninas. The fathers conjecturing that the Spaniards, of whom these two nations have given news, especially the Ute, perhaps would be from Monterrey have entrusted, by circular letter, to all religious of this custody and to me lately the testing of this information. I set forth to the fathers that the investigation was unattainable by means of any pagan Indians and that supposing the Spaniards referred to are on the other side of the large river which they call El Tison, if they exist in fact one could only learn who they are by an expedition of twenty men, well armed and prepared to go as far as it might be convenient with a daily allowance which is given to soldiers of the presidios. Notwithstanding my sickness I offered to accompany them in order to aid them in matters spiritual and keep a diary

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with the greatest exactitude which I could. For this undertaking, which I consider always as conducive to the service of both Majesties, I am ready.[51]

This means I held and hold as sufficient for the above-mentioned investigation, but not to reach as far as Monterrey which as I conjecture is greatly distant from the Rio del Tison and the kind and number of intermediate nations unknown. It must be forty years since reports of the said Spaniards were first had. It was printed in the diary of the journey of the year of [17]51 which Father Fernando Consag made through California.[52] Because the settlement of Monterrey is much more modern, it is inferred evidently that the Spaniards who have been seen on the other side of the great river of Tison cannot be from there. In circumstances wherein two nations so different as are the Californians and the Utes find themselves in accord, I myself, not having received further reports for so long a time, suppose that some shipwreck or other contingency threw upon the coasts of Monterrey some European people and that they, having penetrated inland, established themselves on the banks of the said river and that finally their descendants are those whom the Utes and the rest, perhaps because of the color and dress, call Spaniards. Their discovery would be very useful to religion and the crown both to prevent any attack upon this kingdom, if they are foreigners, and to incorporate them with ourselves if they are, as they say, Spaniards.

This is as much as has occurred to my limited percipience in fulfillment of the order of your lordship and of the desire which I have to sacrifice myself in the service of the Catholic Majesty, or king and the supreme Majesty of our great God whom I pray may guard the important life of your lordship many years. Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi, October 28, of [17]75. Your affectionate servant and chaplain kisses the hand of your lordship, Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante. Señor Governor Don Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta. It is a copy of its orginal of which I certify today. October 30, 1779. Anza.

10. Escalante to Murillo, May 16, 1776[53]

Our very Reverend Father Provincial Minister, Fray Ysidro Murillo. Our Very Reverend Father: After I had already despatched

the letter in which, obeying the precept of your Reverence, I included the copy of the report which the Señor Governor of this kingdom asks of me the past year concerning the communication of these provinces with those of Sonora and Californias, the communication by land to Monterrey and the conversion of the Moqui, it occurred to me that I ought not to have omitted in a separate paper to set forth to your Reverence with more elaborations than in the report the reasons which, notwithstanding others to the contrary, can at once be opposed to them, and founded in which, as I have just intimated, I hold as imperative and appropriate, compulsion to overcome obstacles otherwise insuperable that always have obstructed the Christian zeal of the Religious of this Custody, who since its restoration have gone from it to the province of Moqui and have used the most efficacious means of evangelical persuasion to conquer obstinacy and rebelliousness of its dwellers.

In the glorious undertaking we singled out Father Fray José Antonio Miranda who lived and died in this kingdom with a great reputation for holiness, Father Fray Carlos Delgado and Fray José de Yrigoyen, the first of whom on many journeys which he made did reap the benefit of nothing by the merit of his apostolic zeal. The other two succeeded in bringing down some families from Oraibe, and the Tiguas who since the general Revolt were living as pagans in that province, because God, in order to save these souls, allowed a grave discord over the election of a chief in Oraibe. On this account the pueblo was divided into two parties, who took arms against one another. The least powerful (which was composed of the said families and others which either desisted in time or perished) being hated because of its temerity or fearful of other encounters took refuge on the little mesa on which the Tiguas were already, these also previously indisposed with the rest of that province. Of such a good occasion the above-mentioned fathers availed themselves opportunely, and, when Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza was governing this kingdom, they brought into the fold of the Church the Moqui and the Teguas referred to who today compose the pueblo of Sandia. Further the common enemy, seeing what havoc he himself was causing for the greatest ruin of those miserable souls, won the highest chief by means of his ministers and directed his malice to prevent the fructification of the evangelical seed for the benefit of those souls. He persuaded those who were governing that if they permitted the conversion of their respective subjects,

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they would lose the absolute dominion which they usurp; that they would not have the liberty which they have now both with regard to their interests as well as their lawless appetites; that if they did not resist united they would see themselves defeated little by little, the province dismembered and themselves finally reduced to the Spaniards. These provoked with the lust of command put forth all effort so that their subordinates should be filled with these same misconceptions and others which, in order to create more obstinacy, they suggested to them, namely, that the Fathers and Spaniards solicit their conversion, not unfortunately, to take them out of their miserable state but because they covet their goods and services. Accordingly, since the year [17]41 on which the Moqui and Tiguas mentioned above came down, the Reverend Father Fray Miguel Menchero, Fray Juan Toledo and Fray Mariano Rodríguez de la Torre, present Vice-Custodian of this Custody, have worked without fruit of conversion. They have as your Father knows gone in repeatedly to preach to them. Although the Fathers Fray Tomás Murciano de la Cruz and Fray Pedro Piño had an opportunity very similar to the one referred to, to convert the Tanos, and endeavored to omit no measure to take advantage of it, because of what was mentioned above, they only succeeded in bringing down eight families of the said Tanos. From this the reduction of that rebellious province has become more difficult because the principal men seeing that in spite of their deceitful influence and advice, those families had come down, promulgated by common agreement formidable penalties not only against those who brought about their conversion but also against those who, not being captains, caciques, or Old Men of Authority, were proved to have been talking with intent with the fathers in matters of religion. Thus all these religious have experienced the same thing, here and in the report I refer to, and have not received obeisances, other than those which I have indicated. It is to be fully inferred that while these subsist, the conversion of the Moqui cannot be achieved with the means of kindness and persuasion only.

At the time that I did not know all this nor had experienced it, it appeared to me that though at the moment the conversion of the Moqui should be most difficult, it should be facilitated by presenting to the caciques and captains, whom I have said obstruct it, some gifts of things appreciable among them. But after I knew for certain that Father Fray Miguel Menchero offered gifts to them, I consider this

means not only unsuited but more likely even to produce, because of malice of the rebellious and apostates who are among them, new difficulties. Accordingly I think there are no other efficient means to subdue them all than that which I propose in the report.

I say then the suitable steps which can and ought to be taken are that with a presidio of the projected expedition, or with another formed for the purpose, they be reduced by force to the domination of their legitimate sovereigns, be brought down from the peñoles to a plain and fit site, and the rest of the measures be taken which may be necessary to contain them in their due subjection. Thus as subjects and without hope of returning to their hateful licenciousness, I hold for certain their quick and complete conversion by the preaching of the religious who may be destined for this end. These last words, with those in the report preceding, show clearly that my proposal is by no means opposed to the pontifical conciliar dispositions concerning the object of it, because as your Father well knows,the mind of the highest Pontiffs and Councils, according to the most holy theologians and canons is that none other than that the conversion of the Infidel and Jew, which they principally treat, may be totally free and voluntary. This is entirely compatible with the means proposed because this only is directed to remove the barriers indicated in order that the preaching of the Gospel may be heard by all and its efficacy enjoyed among the chosen. Accordingly, there also disappears the scruple that the Royal Laws of the Indies are contravened because on different occasions our Pious and Catholic Monarchs have restrained either the excessive zeal which some have manifested in the name of Conquerors or the indiscreet ardor with which others have tried to convert Indians and infidels with the sword before preaching.

Besides it having been determined, as it was in the year [17]47, by the former Most Excellent Viceroy Don Francisco Huëmes de Orcasitas to try this means with all the rest which I suggest in the report, it does not seem to me to have any opposition to the said laws. This appears from the despatch of his Excellency sent in the said year by Father Menchero referred to above and which he delivered to the former Captain of the Rio del Paso del Norte, Don Alonso Rubin de Célis to whom was entrusted the command of the expedition.[54]

Although in the New Regulation of Instruction of Presidios, Title 1, Paragraph 6, his Majesty (may God guard him) ordered that

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as to the nations who maintain themselves quiet and neutral, the fairest treatment and relationship be conserved, overlooking for them any faults or light excesses and trying to induce them by good example and persuasion to receive missionaries and become converted to his Dominion, it appears to me that here his Majesty spoke of those nations who never have been subjected to his Dominion nor sworn to the religion nor to the crown. Among them the Moqui cannot be numbered because with regard to the first they are legitimately vassals of his Majesty and deny for as long a time as they have been in rebellion the obedience which they not only promised but even gave many years. No capitulation has been celebrated with them in which they may have been absolved from the fealty they owe their sovereign nor does his Majesty in the place cited give up the right which he has to force his vassals to recognize him as their king and lord. Thus the Moqui cannot be called neutral because an obstinate rebellion is a very improper neutrality. With regard to the second they outrage religion because as I have said they shelter the Christian Indians who go from the pueblos of this Custody to them, both to enjoy impunity from their crimes and to live with the laxity of conscience which is permitted there, and which the zeal of the ecclesiastical and secular ministers disciplines here. Not only do they shelter them, they even defend them and prevent them by arms from being taken from there, as happened not long ago when some Indians went from the pueblo of Santa Clara to Moqui for the purpose of bringing down another of their people and pueblo called commonly Antonio the Twin (whom I know and exhorted as much as I could to convert him to the fold of the Church). This one having resisted they urged him ardently and the Moqui judging that they meant to take him by force attacked and would have killed them if the very unhappy apostate himself had not restrained them, vowing they had come only to see him and not take him down. The very grave dangers which have come from this, and if it be not repaired, will follow to the tender Christianity of this kingdom, are easily inferred. For this reason I do not stop to set them forth. They prejudice the Crown also and can injure more in the future, because, speaking of the Cosninas, as I said in the report, they have made that province the common asylum of the evil ones. Accordingly there is very little security even for what has been conquered and reduced in these regions at considerable expense for the royal treasury. Because of everything

inconsiderable to my understanding the said ordinance ought not to cause the least embarrassment.

Neither should the following consideration which may conceivably occur be regarded. That is, that the neighboring pagan nations seeing the Moqui subjected by force of arms, notwithstanding that they have not attacked us since the year [[17]]17 or [[17]]18 when war ceased between them and the Zuñi, will fear the same thing may happen to them and will suspect always the peace and friendship of the Spaniards, from which it may come that some general league may be originated that may forecast grave injuries for the kingdom and constitute a greater risk than that from which it actually suffers. I say this consideration ought not to embarrass us because I am assured what appears [[false]] and what I have verified as false, that is to say, that these nations are aware that the Moqui were for a long time the vassals of the Spaniards and that they revolted like the rest of the pueblos of the kingdom, that these were subjected by force of arms and that many of them were punished because of the second revolt which they made and finally that not even once was the same thing attempted with the Moqui. All this I hold certain. It is meet to anticipate with some probability the obstacle, if there were any to be removed, for clearly if the pagans fail to discover among themselves the reason the Moqui incur our arms against them, they will never conclude themselves may suffer the same. Having supposed that the Apaches and Comanches are not their friends, nor is there hope that they may be while they can attack us, the matter suggested touches the friendship of the Utes and the blameless quiet of the Cosninas. The Utes have held for some years union and friendship with ourselves but the Moqui never have had it and now they [[Utes]] have declared war on the Gualpi with whom they were accustomed only to make their exchanges, or as they say here barter. He who has any understanding of these Indians knows very well that, as to them, if a war does not touch them directly, they have no concern in what molests their neighbors and much less will they bother themselves with what is directed against their enemies. Furthermore with the Utes aware that the Moqui were Christians, subject to the Spaniards, and that among them there are many of our people, it can be said of them that for these reasons they are subject to force and in this manner suspicions of our conduct and friendship that can remain are destroyed.

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The Cosninas, although they trade with the Moqui, according as they manifest themselves more inclined to us, have not only to me indicated being ill-contented with the friendship and specious conduct of the Moqui. Accordingly the subordination of these latter is so far from disturbing the Cosninas that it will be, I think, a means by which their conversion may be advanced greatly. In the year of [17]47 the Moqui, supposing that we were going to conquer them were so troubled that they came down to this pueblo from Zuñi, pretending to the armed forces humble subjection. It is quite believable that before they communicated their fears to the Cosninas and with the utmost persuasion tried to secure their aid for it was important to them no less than to the Moqui to resist the Spaniards. In spite of this in the year of [17]54 the Cosninas determined to be Christianized and to subject themselves to the Spaniards. For this purpose they even sent to the Villa of Santa Fe an old captain of the highest authority with five other individuals who never arrived because influenced by the Moqui the [Christians] took their lives. By sympathy born of ignorance of the facts, the principal of this crime was released from the jail of Mexico to the dishonor of a very important truth. I have heard it many times from them without discrepancy that they bathed their arrows in the innocent blood of the Cosninas and seized the gold, silver and *chalchihuites* which they were taking to Governor Don Francisco Marín del Valle. This is the supposition to show why we shall distrust them, but I admit that it is unconvincing. Attend to what I am going to set forth and what none who has advice of these regions ignores.

This kingdom from its spiritual conquest until its general Revolt has included the same nations which there are today except the Comanches. All traded with the Christian pueblos; from all the revolters had assistance. Then all knew that the pueblos were subjected to the Spaniards fourteen years afterwards. The insurrection was in the year of [16]80 of the past century. Don Diego Bargas entered upon the conquest. Most of the pueblos pretended to be prompt to obey him and admit missionaries, without doubt to dissuade him from constraint with forces superior to theirs. He entered again in the following year of [16]95 with some people to re-settle the lands and found rebels ready to defend themselves against all those whom he judged subjected. Some revolted again and the principal agitators were punished with the severity which such

excesses demanded. Would the neighboring pagan nations be ignorant of this? Was their aid perhaps implored? With what Spaniards did the rebels war? Did they not maintain themselves fourteen years and some of them even twenty without other disturbance than their internal discords? Was it not more easy then to re-establish the league made for the revolt, or had the kingdom then more Christian forces and fewer enemies than today? It appears that the respect of our arms might have been able to prevent them then but not now. What suspicion has the violent subjection of these rebels engendered in this nation? They have refused because of their misgivings to make peace with us.

There is no doubt, Our Father, that when the restoration of this kingdom was undertaken there were declared enemies even those whom today we have as friends, and more than this, the rebels who today are a great part of our resources. Thus if then this apprehension did not frustrate the conquest of so many pueblos, why must it now that of the Moqui? It appears to me, Our Father, that today there is no inconvenience in the application of the means proposed. Because of their efficacy and appropriateness in similar circumstances, it appears to me I cannot record more apt testimony than the reduction of the Nagerites[55] where from the first years of this century, the same difficulties were encountered as those which I have indicated in the case of the Moqui. For a space of twenty years insuperable barriers were raised to suavity and persuasion until the year [17]22. This [force] of which I am going to speak was resorted to with the result that all the difficulties were overcome. The conversion of so many souls was secured that today they are reduced to seven missions quiet and constant in the faith. This example relieves us of the hesitation which one might feel in subjecting the Moqui by violence. The conversions which may follow may be grudging and for this reason unsubstantial. Yet the Nayerit were humbled by force, their conversion was not arbitrary but each one was converted to the Faith when impelled by grace, persuasion and example. It came to be free and spontaneous. Why will this not happen in the same way to the Moqui? Thus, Our Very Reverend Father, so zealous for the good of souls, may you try to advance without loss of time that of the Moqui, and may you pardon the annoyance and prolixity which I have manifested in favor of them so far as my want of understanding does so.

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May the name of God be known and glorified by all the nations of the world. In His name I ask that he guard your Father many years. Mission of our Lady of Guadalupe of Zuñi, May 16, 1776. The most useless of your servants kisses the hand of your Reverend Father, Fray Silvestre de Escalante. It is a copy of its original of which I certify today, October 30, 1779. Anza.

11. Anza to Croix, November 13, 1779

Señor Governor and Commander-General. My dear Sir: As a consequence of what I am submitting to your lordship dated the 1st of the present month in my official report No. 105, I am including this which I have just received from Father Francisco Andres García whom I charged with going to the apostate province of Moqui. Accordingly he will set forth what embarrassed his journey. To this news the alcalde to whom the said father refers adds the following.

That at the moment of his departure from the pueblo of Zuñi, the Christian Indian, whom the father referred to mentions in his letters, and other emissaries of his own class returned; that thirty-three pagan persons accompanied [[the Christian Indian]] from the capital of the above mentioned province, who from time to time proposed that they be allowed to come to our pueblos. For greater safeguarding the alcalde himself conducted them to and left them in Sandia. By means of these new converts and more by the efforts of the indicated emissaries, who succeeded in winning various groups of apostates, and whom we solicited to intimate to them my divine invocations and proposals, it is known that as a result all the pueblo of Gualpi (whose number and circumstances are recounted in the documents which I am including in the reports cited) have agreed to submit. They are doing so all this month, establishing themselves in the site which I showed them. The greater part of the nation itself even offered to do this after winter had passed, as they affirm that they said to our emissaries: "Where must we go if it does not rain but to the Spaniards. At least they will save us from dying as they [[our relatives]] have died. Many of us are suffering from hunger. They will make us Christians like yourselves, what we have before resisted." As they expressed it to the governor, "there we shall go confident that he will fulfill his promises and will show himself to be our Father as he sent you to say."

To this they add that the remaining houses of all the pueblos of the province referred to are deserted, their dwellers intending for the first time to pass the winter in the field, to live and subsist on the miserable unsubstantial food ferreted out, gruel made of zacate and other herbs which they pulverize. This recourse has failed them and all means of existence because of the continued drouth even in the vicinities distant from their abandoned pueblos.

The very few still alive informed our emissaries they were so remiss in the apostacy that they preferred not to concede the proposal that the emissaries send a father to baptize them there. To this offer which the emissaries, moved to behold them more dead than alive, made to the Moqui, they rejoined that even were it thus, by not becoming Christians as the emissaries wished, they had not left behind the land where they wanted to die. Having confidence in all that Alcalde Don Pedro Sisneros stated to me, as it may increase the hopes which I set forth in my previous letters, I have resolved to send this letter to overtake the caravan to advise your lordship of these findings at the same as the news which caused them.

Notwithstanding that since the roads will be closed with snow, little hope remains to win quickly more of these Apostates, I am going to provide for the transportation of some supplies to the pueblo of Zuñi, to see if by this means it can be achieved: both by ordering the new emissaries well repaid, whom I think may be two of the chiefs recently converted, so that they may tell those who are not converted what they are experiencing, as well as by the assistance which they have ready with all royal support and resources if they submit to its domination. To this I shall add whatever opportunity requires for its consummation. Now I cannot determine without reserve if it is necessary, until the wise measures of your lordship reach me. I hope you may be pleased to approve my limited undertakings, both present and contemplated, in which I hold no other purpose than the glory of the highest compliance with the apostolic Catholic royal wish of our superior monarch and the honor of the happy government of your lordship. This I have considered in whatever I have done with the satisfaction that, as much as God is pleased to concede us concerning such an important affair, no other person has accepted and advanced the matter beyond the little zeal I have.

May God guard your lordship many years. Villa of Santa Fe November 13, 1779. My dear Sir, your most attentive and loyal

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servant kisses the hand of your lordship. Juan Bautista de Anza. Señor Brigadier Don Teodoro de Croix.

12. Garcia to Anza, November 3, 1779

Señor Governor and Captain-General, Don Juan Bautista de Anza. My very dear Sir: On the 20th last, I set out from La Laguna, taking my route for the Navajo because I had been advised many Moqui were in various regions of the said Navajos. This proved false because those who had arrived some days before had returned to Moqui. I had to wait in El Joso six days for a Christian Moqui of those who accompanied me from Zandia. He asked license of me to go ahead with his brother, an infidel, to bring out his mother and sister. He told them that in this spot I was awaiting them. Seeing their delay because they lacked horses according to information I had from a Navajo, I had to march for Zuñi, regretting I was not able to continue to the province of Moqui, because of the lack of pastures and water. There is not enough for the animals to drink. Accordingly, I have decided, excepting the opinion of your lordship, to enter in the springtime. Francisco, the apostate, tells me that I shall be well received and many will come down if it does not rain. I left the latter in company with others awaiting the alcalde. To him I am referring everything, the journey which we made and the reason for not having talked with the said Francisco, until your lordship determines what must be done.

I remain, Sir, entirely pleased with the favors of your lordship extended to me by the Señores Alcaldes so that everything be furnished me by their graces to whom I am very thankful. Being as it is, Sir, knowing that this pueblo is very short of supplies and seeing my support necessary and lacking protection other than the charity which his Majesty gives us, I must be obligated for this to your lordship, if you are pleased, who must supply me from the commissary a small quantity of provisions and other stuffs to barter with the Navajos for some fat sheep to provide the mission with fodder, butter and meat. Even though these poor Indians look after the sheep willingly, from the scarcity of pastures they are very lean. May your lordship pardon the annoyance with which present necessity forces me to molest you.

I shall be happy if your lordship maintains your health, robustly. I offer you my assistance that you may command me, as my desires are no other than to serve you.

May God, our Lord, guard you for me many years. Zuñi, November 3, 1779. Señor Governor and Captain General. Your most humble Chaplain who venerates you, kisses the hand of your lordship. Fray Andres García.

They are copies of their originals to which I certify. Arispe, February 23, 1780.

Antonio Bonilla
[rubric]

13. Croix to Anza, December 31, 1779

No. 3.

In letter No. 114, 115, and 129 of November 1, and 13 last, your Grace refers to the sad situation of famine and misery in which the Moqui exist, the abandonment of their pueblos, the prudent consequent measures of your Grace and their results, proposing to me with well-founded reasons the means to take advantage of the opportunity thus to conquer those Indians.

It is certain that that could not be more desired and that the affair is very interesting and worthy of attention. But being so, its gravity likewise does not permit such prompt resolutions as urgency demands; that I ought to conform scrupulously more to the holy Christian and judicious maxims which the king wished may be the guide of my conduct in the war with the Indians in the pacification of these independent provinces which his sovereign piety has deigned to confer on me. It appears to me that the best instructions which I can give to your Grace in the present case of the Moqui are the copies of the two royal orders of [17]74 and February 20 of the year [17]77, and of that just ended.

I understand that they would be violated if we availed ourselves of force to reduce these Indians; that if this undertaking fails of success the alliance of the Moqui and Apaches would be more certain and fearful; that this nation re-enforced we would suffer greater hostilities; that at the example of these, the Navajo and even the Utes could also declare themselves and the saddest consequences could result, the least being that of losing perhaps forever the hope of reducing the Moqui.

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In order not to risk it, it is necessary to utilize kindness, good treatment, and soft actions which his Majesty justly prefers to the greatest and most rapid conquests, the shedding of human blood, even though it may be that of the most barbarous enemies. In consequence of all, I hold it seemly that your Grace, undertaking the reconnaissance of the route to those provinces or a campaign against the Apaches, go to the Moqui in opportune time, that you take in your company, preceding with the necessary letters of request and well instructed, possibly the Reverend Father Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, if he is in the province, or the Reverend Padre Fray Andres García or two other religious satisfactory to your Grace; that you take also one or two faithful interpreters who understand well the language of the Indians and Spanish; that before your Grace enters with your camp the land of the Moqui, detach a religious with a small body of troop to announce your arrival to the Moqui, the reasons which are bringing you to this province, and at the same time those which may lead to the remedying of their miseries. I charge your Grace that these may be the first notices given to the Moqui, with assurances of good faith to avoid their taking flight impressed with an opposite idea.

Your Grace having found them docile and with signs that they may trust our promises, may devote yourself to entertaining them. According to the idea that your Grace may form of the Indians, make them your proposals, withholding those which you may know must be received with repugnance, for they will observe these only while necessity and fear forces them.

If they embrace with good faith the cause of religion and vassalage they will be very fortunate, and if they choose that of abandoning their territory and settling in the pueblo of Savinal, or in others of that province, there is no doubt that the province may be benefited by the increase of their population, a class of natives more inclined to work and to industry than the rest of the pagans. But if lovers of their home, and soil and blind in the errors of heathenism, they do not show themselves pleased to embrace the above-mentioned propositions, but accept because of fear or of necessity, those of religion and vassalage, whether they remain in Moqui or transfer themselves to New Mexico, your Grace well knows that in the first case considerable forces are necessary to require of them the fulfillment of their pledges, or maintain them in subjection and defend them from their enemies. In the second case, it is feared that having

accorded them their liberty we may see them deserting their pueblos, perverting perhaps the Indians converted, making useless the expenses which now are invested in their entertainment, and increasing those which these provinces, its necessities and hostilities, are causing the royal treasury.

All these results are possible. It is necessary to avoid them and for that [reason] the guide of the measures and purposes of your Grace ought to be the two cited royal orders. I conclude by reminding you because time does not permit more elaboration, that I shall have the most especial pleasure if your Grace attains completely the important ends to which your zeal may conduct you, converting the Moqui by kindness to religion and vassalage, and re-peopling that province. But I also shall be content if your Grace wins their good opinion and makes them view kindly the conservation of our friendship, and their reunion in their pueblos so that they may receive with manifest gratitude the gifts for the alleviation of their present indigence, so that they may open frankly their trade with our settlements and so that they may be pleased to allow some establishment of Spaniards in their country, as I understand that these benefits would supply with less time the rest which ought to be sought in worthy observation of the service of God and of the King.

Finally, your Grace may advise me of that which may occur concerning this important matter, despatching me by special mail, provided you may consider it proper. In the light of this, I shall exert all conceivable efforts so that your fortunate labors may not be jeopardized because of the lack of necessary assistance.

May God guard your Grace many years. Arispe, December 31, 1779. El Caballero de Croix. Señor Don Juan Bautista de Anza.

In accord with its original which I certify. Arispe, February 23, 1780.

ANTONIO BONILLA
[*rubric*]

V. *Governor Anza's Expedition from New Mexico to Sonora, 1780*

14. CROIX TO GALVEZ, MARCH 26, 1781[56]

No. 628

The Commander-General of the Interior Provinces of

Most Excellent Señor:

My dear Sir: As in letters numbers 53, 111, 387, and 462 of

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and 140 of the First Part of the General Report which accompanied letter No. 735, I reported the results of all these matters. In this I enclose a copy of the latest proceedings of the affair, supported by the official letter in which the governor of New Mexico, Don Juan Bautista de Anza, makes evident the obduracy of the Moquis, and their inevitable extermination by the ravages of the epidemic of small-pox and of the war which the Utes and Navajos make upon them. Notwithstanding, Anza is about to extend to them possible aid to attract the remainder of the unhappy Moqui nation to a knowledge of the true religion and to the mild rule of the king. I beg your Excellency will be pleased to remind his Majesty of all this.

May our Lord guard your Excellency many years. Arispe, April 23, 1782. Most Excellent Señor, your most attentive and faithful servant kisses the hand of your Excellency.

El Cavallero de Croix

Most Excellent Señor [[*rubric*]]
Joseph de Gálvez

32. Anza to Croix, May 26, 1780

Señor Governor and Commander-General. My dear Sir: With the superior order of December 31, of last year, I received the copies of royal orders of February 14, 1777 and of the 20th of the same of 1779, by which I am charged with the pious, Christian and judicious rules with which his Majesty desires that the Indians be treated, not only those who declare war upon us but also those who may intend to reduce themselves to his vassalage. From these sovereign purposes I shall not divert my conduct in anything that may present itself to me on this point, as in their execution and punctual fulfillment I shall enjoy the success that I desire.

In consequence of this and anxiety for what your Excellency may order, I am on the point of going to the province of Moqui. I have despatched to those natives, immediately upon the receipt of the orders indicated, safe and faithful emissaries to tell them that I am ready to go to them and lead them to these pueblos provided they wish to establish themselves in them. This end I hope to accomplish for them if they reply favorably. In that case, I shall carry into effect all that your Lordship may order on this point, not having resolved

to do so without taking this antecedent action because of the calamities of hunger and pestilence. It is certain these are great and will continue increasingly. The reports assure me that this province may be almost depopulated. It is the one also which in general rebels against submitting to us.

Notwithstanding this, by favor of the mercies of heaven, I have succeeded with the same diligence previously shown in the month of February of this year in having conducted seventy-seven in one group. With them Reverend Father Fray Andres Garcés, to whom I had entrusted this expedition, arrived at this Villa on the 20th of March, not having managed to secure a larger number for lack of means. These persons have established themselves in the pueblos which they have selected, where I have given them the same favors, gifts and privileges which their own residents enjoy. The latter have been charged to maintain them at their own expense for this year because of the benefit which comes to them from this increase of people. They now live in their new stations contentedly without longing to return to their old country. Their number has already increased to one hundred and fifty, in which are included twenty to twenty-five dead. All of them have had the benefit of the water of baptism. Though having been born in apostacy, not one has failed to ask it, when he learned the necessity of this succor.

We could have regained a larger number of the above-mentioned if we had not met the Navajo nation established on the road half way between here and Moqui. Because the latter had murdered and made prisoners of two parties of these unhappy Moqui seeking our aid, leaving others disposed to do the same, the Navajo have intimidated them so that they have suspended and blocked the movement of the second [[group]] with others, who it was consequent, should have followed their example.

Because of this and of various robberies, though small ones, I have demanded that this nation [[the Navajo]] observe the capitulations under which peace was granted to them. What happened was that the nation excused their bad conduct with insubstantial pretexts. I learn it is not reformed so that I intend to strike terror among them and their allies, the Gila, as I have said in another communication of the same date, No. 139.

Only some great raid of the Comanches can embarrass this last plan, or I may see myself forced to proceed to the province of Moqui. I shall do this if it is necessary to secure the results commensurate

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with the enterprise and not continue to make use of the same means used previously, namely, that of going and coaxing them out in small parties.

Accordingly, for these as well as for the larger party that I mentioned, which Reverend Father Fray Andres Garcés conducted, I have provided some horses from those I have in this presidio as remounts. There have been some losses among them owing to the great distances and the severity of the weather. To this aid I have added other staples, tobacco and some other little gifts to please those converted, the cost of which I have met myself. Having no order for those supplies which may be expended in the future on these natives, as well as among the other heathen nations, who give us some recognition and remain quiet, I beseech your Excellency please to inform me in what way and manner I must observe this matter in the future.

The latest news reaching me as to the condition of the Moqui is that the majority of them are taking shelter with the Corina [Cosnina] nation, one of those inhabiting the Rio Colorado, to enjoy the fruits of such crops of corn and wheat as may be planted there. There they assure me that they are inclined to remove all those who do not join us, in case it should so happen that there be no rain this year as in previous years, because it is impossible for them to continue to live in their old pueblos, owing to the lack of seed of every sort, and even stock which was abundant. They assert now that the many thousands of sheep are reduced to a few hundred, because they ceased caring for them as before, so that they could join with the Apaches.

This information with that of the preceding, is called to your Excellency's attention in order that you may be pleased to order me concerning it all.

May our Lord guard your Excellency many years. Santa Fe, May 26, 1780. My dear Sir, your most devoted and faithful servant kisses the hand of your Lordship. Juan Bautista de Anza. Señor Field-Marshal Don Teodoro de Croix.[75] Arispe, July 22, 1780.

To the Assessor with the preceeding papers.

De Croix

33. Galindo Navarro to Croix. July 29, 1780

Señor Commander-General:

Lieutenant-Colonel and Governor of New Mexico Don Juan Bautista de Anza renders an account of the unhappy condition to which drouth has reduced the Moquis, the effect produced by the proceedings to induce them to submit themselves and join the settlements in those provinces; of the number he has succeeded in gathering up and reuniting, which would have been much greater had they not been prevented by the Navajos' capturing and destroying two bands on the way to the same destination and frightening the others who were similarly disposed and resolved to do likewise. He further sets forth that to aid, conciliate and facilitate their removal he has released some horses from among those he had in reserve at the fort; that the distance and severity of the weather occasioned some losses; also that he has contributed provisions, tobacco and other small souvenirs paid for out of his own salary, and having no orders or means with which to meet these expenses and those which in the future may arise in his efforts to attract this nation, as well as to the making of gifts to other pagans who yield us some recognition and remain at peace, he asks that your Excellency be pleased to designate in what manner he is to carry on this business in the future.

Although in the order communicated by your Excellency on December 31 of 1779, it is virtually commanded that to attract the Moqui they should be aided and satisfied, and as a consequence the royal treasury would meet the expenses thereby incurred, it appears that Anza does not require his reimbursement, in as much as he confines his inquiry to those arising in the future, in this matter as well as in that of bestowing presents and contenting the heathen nations who remain pacific. There being no fund from which to draw supplies, the garrison enjoying only its allowance, or equipment which according to regulations is assigned to the company, it is indispensable that expenses for this end which may be unavoidable and necessary, be drawn from the contingent fund, and that failing, the royal treasury. Thus I judge that your Excellency may allow it, ordering the governor to avoid all not imperative or certain of efficacy and to offer an account and voucher for those of this class that he may make, so that your Excellency may require their payment, according to your judgment, notwithstanding that which your

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