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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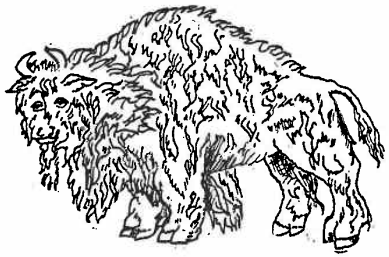

NORMAN
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS
1932

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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. *Informe 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, 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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Excellency will resolve above all may be that of your pleasure. Arispe, July 29, 1780. Galindo Navarro.

Arispe, July 30, 1780.

As it appears to the Assessor and let him despatch the accompanying official letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza. De Croix.

34. Croix to Anza, July 30, 1780

By your letter of May 26th last, I am informed of the number of Moqui you have succeeded in attracting to that province and of the projected arrangements to induce the rest of the nation to follow their example. This undertaking, through your efficiency, promises favorable results.

The expenses necessarily contracted for those Indians, as for savages at peace, will be defrayed from the contingent fund of that garrison, you furnishing an account and an itemized list of all those so occasioned, so that passing through my hands, I may authorize their proper reimbursement. But I must advise you to avoid all that are not of accepted use or unavoidable because his Majesty wishes the greatest economy observed in the increase of expenditures that these provinces occasion to the treasury.

May God grant you many years. Arispe, July 30, 1780. Señor Don Juan Bautista de Anza.

35. Anza to Croix, November 9, 1780

Señor Commander-General. My dear Sir: According to the adjoined diary your lordship will be informed of the reasons which I had for going to the province of Moqui, of the measures I have taken for the purpose of humbling its dwellers voluntarily to the vassalage of his Majesty, and the unhappy state of affairs to which this province is reduced. Regarding these matters which I set forth more in detail in the above mentioned diary, I shall add what I conjecture concerning them when I shall enjoy the honor of presenting myself to your person.

May our God guard your Lordship many years. Villa of Santa Fe, November 9, 1780. My dear Sir, your most attentive and devoted servant kisses the hand of your lordship. Juan Bautista de Anza. Señor-Field Marshal Don Teodoro de Croix.

DIARIO DE LA EXPEDICIÓN QUE HAZE A LA PROVINCIA DEL MOQUI EL INFRAESCRIPTO TENIENTE-CORONEL, DON JUAN BAUTISTA DE ANZA, GOVERNADOR Y COMANDANTE DEL NUEVO MEXICO.

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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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Diary of the expedition which the undersigned Lieutenant-Colonel Governor and Commander of New Mexico is making to the Province of Moqui in which are set forth the classes of troop and people who are accompanying him for the purposes which are indicated hereafter.

Statement of the troop, Father-Ministers, and Indians who are going on the said expedition:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Presidio of Santa Fe	2	2	1	2	31	0	38
Father-Ministers		2					2
Converted Tegua Indians						40	40
Idem Queres						40	40
Idem Moquins						8	8
Totals	2	2	1	2	31	88	126

A, Officers; B, Father-Ministers; C, Sergeants; D, Militia Sergeants; E, Soldiers; F, Indians; G, Numbers.

After having diligently engaged in the preceding year and in the beginning of the present, as I have reported to my superior chief, the Señor Governor and Commander-General, for the benefit of the province of Moqui to persuade its afflicted inhabitants that they should make their dwellings in our pueblos as the only means of saving themselves, which was in accord with the pious purpose itself and with more advantages provided by royal and superior orders, it came about from the first that the said Superior Chief held it well to communicate to me [the orders] under date of December 31 of the same year. In their required obedience and in accord with the predominant spirit, I despatched on two occasions to the Moqui themselves trusted emissaries. Through them [the Moqui] were to indicate to me those who might wish to accept voluntarily the said division of land with the understanding that the persons so pleased would be conducted with all possible comforts [to New Mexico]. To this they replied to me on August 25 last that at least forty families would do so on the condition that I personally should go to bring them out at the end of the month. For this purpose I prepared supplies, men, and the horses necessary to their maintenance, security and transport. With this total I undertook this expedition to the terms which are set forth below.

Résumé of Leagues
From Santa Fe to San Phelipe 12 leagues

At six in the morning I set out from the Villa in company with the Reverend Father Fray Sebastian Fernandez on the Camino Real in a southerly direction. Twelve leagues were marched to the pueblo of San Phelipe.

From Santa Fe to the Rio Puerco 22 leagues (sic)

At seven in the morning I continued on the same road and route for three leagues to the pueblo of Santa Ana. From here I inclined another ten leagues to the west through a country little frequented. I halted at the Rio Puerco where I met the train of supplies, carts and mounts that had set out from the Villa on the 8th.

Although upon our first arrival at this place several Indians of the heathen tribe of the Navajo Apaches took flight, having recovered from their first suspicion and seeing that they were approached in a friendly manner, two of them came to investigate. They remained the greater part of the night among us. On the following day they returned in company with one of their captains and a dozen persons of both sexes. I exhorted them to live peaceably guaranteeing them that under such conditions they should enjoy our friendship always. After this I presented them with some tobacco.

From Santa Fe to La Laguna 32 leagues

At a quarter of seven our train was moving along a little used trail and over mostly broken country. Ten leagues were marched to the west upon which we arrived at the pueblo of La Laguna, where I was joined by the Reverend Father Fray Andres García, who is the superior of the two accompanying me.

From Santa Fe to Nacimiento 38 leagues

A little after seven on the Camino Real to the pueblo of Zuñi, the route was followed to the west through good country during which six leagues were marched to the neighborhood of Nacimiento.

From Santa Fe to El Gallo 43 leagues

At half-past six the march was pressed in the same direction, making two leagues over broken ground, after which, the latter improving, we traversed another three leagues in the same direction, the journey ending at the Paraje del Gallo.

From Santa Fe to La Tinaja 52 leagues

At six in the morning the route was set to the west over fair country along which lies the canyon

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and sierra called Zuñi, on which we covered nine leagues to La Tinaja.

Saturday 16

At the same hour as on the preceding day, we began our march in the same direction through level country over which we covered six leagues to Ojito where our train remained until the following morning.

In the evening of this day I went to the pueblo of Zuñi, not only to attend to some matters of justice for the natives, who, being the last and farthest to the west of the provinces under my charge, seldom hold intercourse with their governor, but also to advise myself of their condition and circumstances. Their existence I found to be most deplorable in every particular owing to the lack of rain in these parts for the last two years. On this fortune their comfort depends, as all the crops they raise are seasonal. The failure of these has reduced the number of inhabitants to a very few from being the most numerous in the province. The preceding [conditions] have forced them to continue living at the ranches where they pasture their fairly large flocks of sheep. The others, a larger number, are in our interior pueblos. It may be hoped that from the misfortunes they are suffering, the greater part of them may recover this present year with the abundant crops they now have. This will be if Divine Providence entirely withholds this month the frosts that usually occur at this time.

Sunday 17

Our train left the vicinity of Ojitto at six and marching six leagues to the west over good country, arrived at the pueblo of Zuñi. There, stopping to water the horses and rejoin them we changed our route to the northwest. In that direction and over level country we made three leagues more and concluded the journey at the waterless place of Las Pastorias.

Monday 18

At six the route was continued over fairly good ground to the northwest. After making two leagues we passed a good watering place from which we turned off for another larger one, distant from the former six leagues more, and called La Casa.

On the evening of this day I ordered an Indian trusted by me and acquainted with the Moqui language, well known on account of commissions he has had from me and other governors, accompanied by four of his own nation, who have submitted to us this present year, and by five former Christian [Indians] of equal understanding and intelligence, to announce to the inhabitants of the country to which we are marching, our peaceful arrival within four days and that particularly to those who had summoned and sought us to deliver them from the misery they are suffering. Of this favor it is noted we shall make participants all those who wish to enjoy it voluntarily. For their greater satisfaction, I offered to repeat these announcements to them through one of the Reverend Fathers who are accompanying me prior to my absolute entry into their pueblos. As a present to them as well as to those in command among them, I gave the agent commissioned my share of rations and tobacco, in order that, as is customary among them, the conversations might be inaugurated more easily.

From Santa Fe to La Tinaja 80 leagues

At twelve o'clock in order later to reach water, we returned to the trail which led to the northwest over good country until we had made five leagues. There we found abundant rain-water in a place called Las Tinajas, and there we passed the night.

From Santa Fe to the plain without water 88 leagues

At six o'clock we followed the route in the direction of west-northwest, over fair ground, covering four leagues. At the end of these we arrived at La Agua or Navajo Spring, from which, having watered the horses, we continued four leagues farther to an arid plain.

From Santa Fe to to Gualpi Spring 96 leagues

At six we resumed our march over varying ground and in a direction west and northwest in such manner that eight leagues were consumed before we arrived at Gualpi Spring, which we found somewhat scant.

From Santa Fe to Vattobi 99 leagues

For this reason and because it was necessary to remain in these regions, I had various routes searched to ascertain if rain-water could be found as it was the

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season for it. Some was found at a distance of a little more than three leagues.

At six o'clock we began the march in a southerly direction to the place before mentioned which we understand the natives call Abattobi, which is known to have been peopled by them very long ago.[76] There I determined to wait the result of the mission of the emissaries. This place might be considered as the first pueblo of Moqui on account of what has been related as well as because it is on a line with that which today exists there.

At two in the morning some of the emissaries before mentioned returned with news that they had been cordially received in all the pueblos of their commission and that most of the caciques told them they would be pleased to see me among them, but begged me not to force any of their people to abandon their pueblos, as most of them desired to end their lives there, notwithstanding the misfortunes of war and hunger which they were experiencing. They added that the forty families, which had first summoned me, left fifteen days before my departure to await my arrival in the country and possessions of the Navajo Apaches, persuaded that they would give them shelter as friends, as they had done at other times, their having offered what was formerly assured. In this belief they had put themselves in the power of the Navajo, but these barbarians had committed the crime of murdering all the men and making prisoners of the women and innocent children. This lamentable event was learned through two of the former who had succeeded in fleeing and returning to their country. But, notwithstanding this grievous accident, some persons had presented themselves, begging that I lead them to our territory, not to remain and perish in their own.

Seeing that on this account my expedition was unsuccessful in its principal object, I arranged in its place to inform myself at least of the situation and circumstances of the pueblos of this province for what might occur

in the future, and likewise, to advise myself with certainty as to what may be of use to the Superior Government, hoping, at the same time, that my presence might possibly succeed in attracting to our authority more of the unhappy people.

In order to do this, I immediately arranged in agreement with the Reverend Fathers that one of them go with me that same afternoon to the two principal pueblos to say to the chief cacique of them all that, having supposed as he had signified a desire to see me the other day, he would be informed that I would do nothing which might be against his wish. This I repeatedly declared to them, nor need he have any fear as to any other particular, inasmuch as the number of troops and Indians accompanying me were only those indispensable to guard me from the common Apache enemies. With this commission, the Father left the camp accompanied by four interpreters.

Having decided that the camp should remain where it was since yesterday garrisoned with the larger number of people, I set out from there at five in the morning for the purposes previously and hereafter stated, in company with an officer, the other Reverend Father, twenty soldiers and fifteen Indians, for the pueblo of Oraibe which is the capital of this province of Moqui. It is situated to the northwest of the camp, eight leagues distant. On this journey I went by the neighborhood of two other pueblos, meeting many of their dwellers of both sexes, who, overjoyed, saluted us. We returned the greeting with the addition of food and other gifts.

At eleven I arrived at the pueblo of Oraibe, and its cacique having received me with some show of spirit, although in the presence of all his people, encouraged by the Father and the interpreters who had already told him that I was there to reassure him. When I came up I told him: That the Most Pious Sovereign and the Supreme Chief, whom I have the honor to serve and obey, expects no other thing from him, like all who have the misfortune of being separated

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from his dominion, than that they should before all recognize as the true God, the Creator of man, of the heavens, and of the sun, and of all that is visible, and to recognize also his Majesty as their king and master, it being understood that the recognition of both must be voluntary. Because of this acceptance neither he nor anyone else would lose his command and the dignity and dominion as a cacique, but as before he will carry on with greater authority and liberty in all that was right; that his Majesty being in the highest degree just, as he is pious, if they still did not wish to become his vassals, he would not compel them. But that they may not fail to receive the benefits they would enjoy thus, I offered them our friendship and trade with the assurance they will be treated with the greatest kindness and to their satisfaction.

To all of the preceding he replied that he and all of his nation have always recognized and known as their Lord and King the One whom we the Spaniards have as such. With regard to God, although they were not baptized, yet they are turning to his divine Majesty in their present afflictions, more since they were almost exterminated, so it appeared to me. He [the chief] seemed to feel himself dying, and accordingly as he saw of his little nation the greater part of them in the state of heathenism, he had resolved to die in the same manner with those who remained with him, except those who may be pleased to follow me to become Christians. On his part neither in the present nor in the future would they be impeded; that with regard to the opening of trade he esteemed that very greatly of me and that they would enjoy coming and carrying it on in our country, if some day they succeeded in reestablishing themselves well; that he held it impossible because of the extermination of his nation and so much of their goods which they suffered because of lack of rains and pastures in addition to continuous war which the Utes and Navajos make on them. Of these he complained to me bitterly. For this reason I offered to mediate with both nations. However, the perversity

of this nation is, and according to old accounts has been so great, that he requested I refrain from that because he was firmly resolved to die at the hands of his enemies.

Notwithstanding what has been referred to, I proposed to this cacique that, either going or sending to my camp, I would give him to alleviate his present necessities a horse loaded with supplies. That he refused on the pretext that he had nothing with which to return the gift, for without such his customs would not allow it.

Having passed considerable time in conversation over other particulars not distasteful to him, I returned to those of religion, adding that if he desired to hear about them he would learn with great pleasure through the Reverend Fathers who were accompanying me. To that he immediately replied that it was not agreeable to him to hear any of them. With this final refusal and assuring myself he would remain in my friendship, I decided to leave without any other success than to reiterate to him the pious, gentle means through which he could enjoy the understanding of both Majesties, provided he should wish like those very ones who had sought it, to be protected and defended in the time of their greatest calamities and when all the nations of his kind are conspiring for the total destruction of the few [Moqui] who exist. In constant proof of this, my Catholic king and illustrious Superior aspired to no other end than to extend to him the greatest of their spiritual and temporal goods with which Christian desires are completely pleased.

With the last conversation, which, in my opinion, convinced the understanding of all those present, yet it did not alter his will [because that he has put in the hands of divine Providence], I went from these pueblos, leaving on the road to Gualpi the Reverend Father Superior with sufficient company of our people to indicate to the rest that those who wished freely to

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be converted and follow us should come to him. With this measure I returned at nine o'clock at night to my camp.

Sunday 24

I waited so that to it could come those people whom finally I knew at the end of the afternoon to be thirty. For them I commanded sufficient riding horses with the order that tomorrow afternoon they join me at the Spring of Gualpi.

This morning a considerable number of Moqui joined us, the larger part from Oraibe seeking the opening of trade. This I did for them with advantages they had never experienced. Because of this they mingled among us so long that even with barter ended they stayed all day.

In as much as we are in this so called province of Moqui, which with its dwellers has always had a considerable reputation in these interior regions, it does not appear to me inept to refer to the state in which it was in the past year of 1775, when the Reverend Father Silvestre Escalante surveyed it exactly and in detail, together with that which it has today, so that one may understand its dark desolation. It is noted that its natives deposed that this state of affairs commenced in the year of [17]77.

The reverend father in his aforesaid examination reports that the province of Moqui consists of seven pueblos containing the following families; the first of 110; the second of 15; the third of 200; the fourth of 50; the fifth of 14; the sixth of 60; and the seventh of 800. The total of this amounts to 1249, and of persons 7494. The livestock large and small, he does not give at a fixed number; it is common knowledge that this exceeds in all this province three hundred sheep and many of the first [cattle].

Today, the seven pueblos are reduced to five. The first and second have 40 families; the third, 45; the fourth, 10; and the fifth, the capital, Oraibe, from 38 to 40, which by the usual rule [which today cannot be applied] of six persons to a family would make the

preceding 133 familes, equal 798 persons.[77] This is the most that will be found. From this it follows that in the three years previously noted 6698 have died, if some are not concealed from us living among the heathen nations, their friends. They have some horses; they assured us they have no more than five head in all the pueblos, no cattle and about three hundred sheep. The greater number of these we observed in the pueblo of Gualpi. The crops they now have are numerous, but have done badly as much as being in sandy soil as because it has not rained. We calculate they will not harvest in all two hundred fanegas of all grains.

The causes which have contributed to the extermination of these pueblos or provinces, all its natives agree, have been hunger and pestilence, the first because it has not rained since the year [17]77, and from that has resulted the second. To this may be added the war which the Utes and Navajos make upon them cruelly. Others referred to are not lacking, which appear supernatural, although they did not make it known to me, but to the converted Indians of my command with whom they have held trade with the greatest satisfaction; that is, that the above mentioned plagues have fallen upon them because of the ill treatment and haughty attitude which they exhibited in the past years of [17]76 towards the Venerable Apostolic Father, Fray Francisco García [Garcés]. Of him, they say that they had not wished to hear the evangelical preaching which he tried to bring them. He predicted for them that the three above mentioned calamities which they are experiencing would not fail them. Because of this they eulogized him now. I consider that this zealous religious has always merited it.

Continuing with what has been described, my limited consideration marvels that the province or pueblos spoken of had existed so many years in the fortune that the old chronicles show us. Today we see it in the last stages of its extermination, because it lacks the most fundamental things for its preservation since, in the four leagues or a little more in which Moqui is

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situated, where they are sowing there is no spring with which to irrigate ten bushes of any plant whatever. What they call fields are sand hills which consequently need double rains. Drinking water for the people and animals is extremely scanty and the most of it stagnant. Fire wood and trees, too, are scarce. With this condition it is not to be wondered, favorable rains having failed for a few years, that they have fallen away from that abundance only with which can there be existence. As to the natives themselves under these conditions if they continue, we are witnesses, as I certify, to their final destruction without hope that they can recover again by other means, as all the country which I have crossed is sterile and the lands are without indication of minerals or any other use or appreciable natural resource, with the exception of rock carbon which we found midway of the day's march that was made on the 21st.

Monday 25

At twelve o'clock I began my return which being through the same place and region is not described, unless some event occurs calling for special mention.

At five in the afternoon of this day the Reverend Father Superior joined me with the number of those who had voluntarily submitted, as described the day before. In their company came the chief of the pueblo of Gualpi, who, after having greeted me with the greatest demonstrations of affection, told me that the superior chief of Oraibe had come to see him the night before. The Oraibe chief having informed him of what I had talked about, the latter indicated that he understood, although he [the Gualpi chief] had no inclination to accept any allotment of land of those proposed. He adds that he [the Oraibe chief] replied to him that notwithstanding that he commands today the largest pueblo of his nation, he is ready to go and live with him [the Gualpi chief] among the Spaniards, if their misfortunes continued, because they were only perishing in their country which did not afford them anything upon which to subsist, and that he himself was minded to suggest in his region to the whole of his people,

because of the knowledge and experience which aided him, that the Spaniards only desired their well-being. With this belief, in the presence of the father, who was an onlooker, he had proclaimed to his people that they were free to follow us now as many as wished to do so.

In view of the reasonableness of this man, I showed my appreciation and on that account I made him acquainted with all that I had done at Oraibe, in order that he, with all his tribe, might reflect upon it. I offered to mediate with their enemies, the Utes and Navajos, that they might permit them to live in peace. Lastly I impressed upon him that he and all the rest must understand they will be received on the terms I have signified to them, at any time. To this reply I added the gift of a horse loaded with provisions and other trinkets with which he was most content. He stayed the night of this day in our company.

Tuesday to Friday, we took in reaching the pueblo of Zuñi. During this time no event occurred worthy of mention.

Having finished the matters which came up in this pueblo, I set out this day and passed the night in the vicinity of La Tinaja.

Sunday, October 1 to Friday were spent in reaching the Villa of Santa Fe. Juan Bautista de Anza.

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