was evident, the reader might still remain unaware that the biggest trial of the pioneer woman was lack of privacy despite the big open spaces.

Whereas the internecine quarreling in the American Board mission to Oregon is not denied, it is played down somewhat. Spalding, probably very properly, is treated fairly and not unsympathetically, but the cantankerous William H. Gray and Asa Bowen Smith escaped too easily by being almost ignored.

Surprisingly, though not improperly, the two facets of the Whitman legend usually accented, the events leading to the massacre and the massacre itself, receive less space than ordinarily. Indian apprehensions about the size of the migrations and their panic over the epidemics are clearly presented. Not so the intensity of the Indian's concern with the blood-feud and the Indian's knowledge of the disastrous results of federal Indian removal during the 1830's and early 1840's. As has been true throughout history, irritations, whether local or broader in their implications, are likely to be attributed to agitation by outsiders, in this case Joe Lewis, and not to deep seated grievances. The post-massacre developments are concluded somewhat abruptly.

Readers might get wrong impressions about Fort Leavenworth being "outside the boundary of the United States" and the precise year Colter had the experiences in his "hell." More serious is calling Sacajawea the guide of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The bibliography shows more research than that which goes into many fictionized writings, yet certainly key items are missing. Clifford M. Drury's edition of the Spalding-Smith papers was published a year before this book. References to Catholic and Anglican sources are conspicuous by their absence.

The reading public will enjoy this work, but historians will regret that the project was not expanded into a comprehensive and definitive biography of a significant woman.

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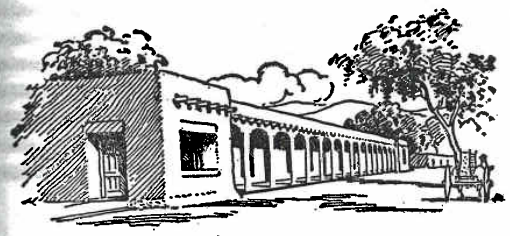
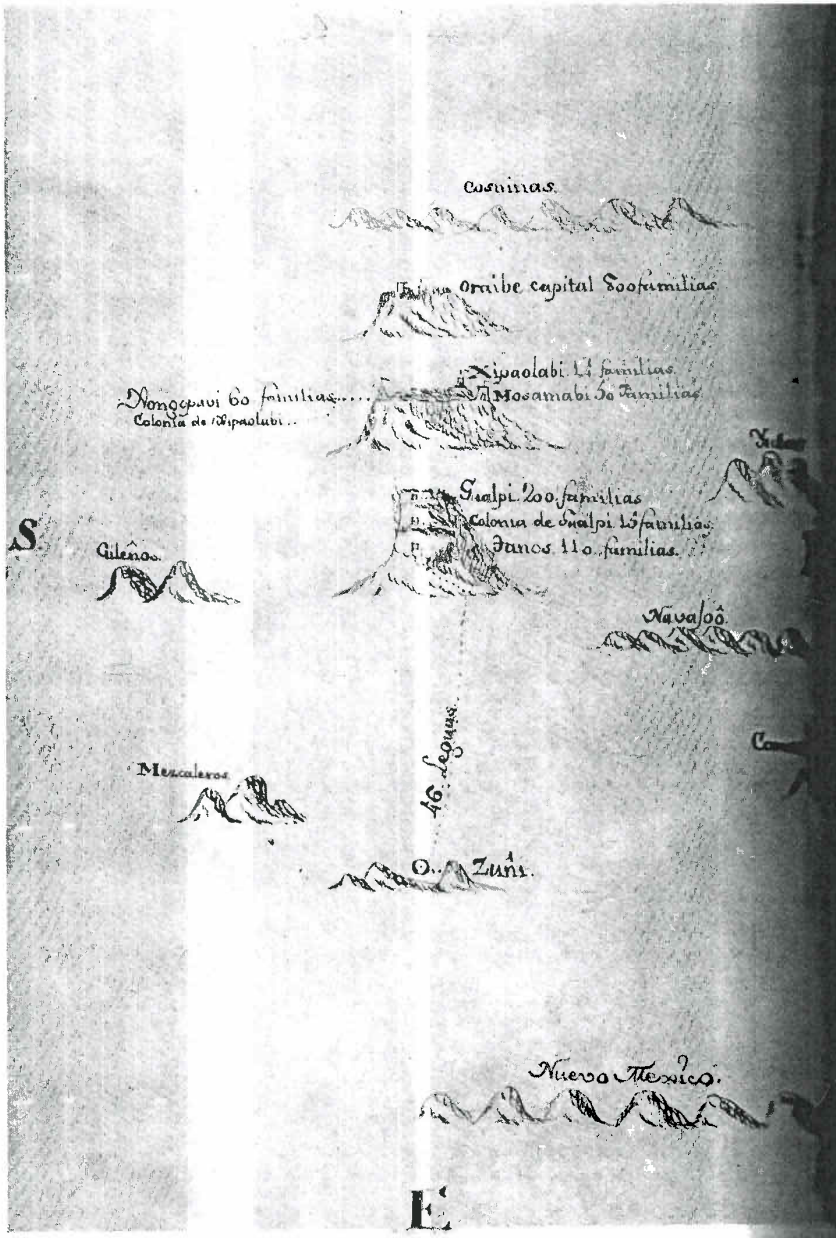


Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

April, 1963

HP22756



Reproduction of a map in the Biblioteca Nacional México, legajo 10, no. 61, where it accompanies [illegible] made by Governor Juan Bautista de Anza for subduing the Hopi pueblos, 1780. The population [illegible] that it was based on reports made by Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. Apparently it is the same [illegible] listed in Woodbury Lowery, *The Lowery Collection. A descriptive list of maps of the Spanish [illegible] within the present limits of the United States, 1502-1820* (Washington, D.C. 1912), no. 579, p. [illegible] Moqui Province. Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Col. Boturini, tomo 25, accompanying "Informe [illegible] la entrada que en junio de 1775 hizo a la Provincia de Moqui el P. P. Silvestre Vélez Escalante.

HP22757

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FRAY SILVESTRE AND THE OBSTINATE HOPI

By ELEANOR B. ADAMS*

SOMETIME in 1774 a young Franciscan missionary arrived in New Mexico and in due course was assigned to the remote pueblo of Zuñi, described by his companion of a few months there, Fray Damián Martínez, as "the end of Christendom in this New World."[1] About six years later Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante left for Mexico City and died at Parral on the way. He was scarcely out of his twenties, but by then his place in history was secure. He was a *Montañés*, born in the old Villa of Treceño, Valle de Vandáliga, in the rainy green mountains of Santander, Spain, about 1750.[2] When or when he came to New Spain we do not know, but once in a while he uses an expression reminiscent of his northern Spanish origin, and he may well have had some childhood recollections of the place of his birth. In 1767 he took the habit in the Convento Grande at Mexico City, headquarters of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel, to which the New Mexican missions of the Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul were subordinate. Two years later he appears on a list of the students of philosophy. On October 6, 1772, he had professed to the study of theology, but was still *an hermano*

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1. Fray Damián Martínez to Don Hugo O'Conor, Zuñi, April 1, 1775, Archivo General de la Nación, México (cited hereinafter as AGM), Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9.
2. Museo Nacional, México (cited hereinafter as MN), Asuntos, vol. 165.

corista, a term specifically used for the brothers serving in the choir from the time of their profession until their ordination as priests.[3] Presumably he was ordained within the following years and sent to New Mexico not long after.

His first signatures in the surviving parish books of colonial New Mexico are at Laguna, where he performed two baptisms on December 21, 1774, and another on New Year's Day, 1775. By January 13 he had taken up his duties at Zuñi for the books show that he performed eight marriages and one burial there between that date and the first of May.[4]

Unlike most of the mission pueblos of New Mexico, in which a single resident friar usually had to suffice for lack of personnel, Zuñi, whenever possible, was given two because of its isolated situation. For a time Father Vélez de Escalante enjoyed the company of Father Damián Martínez, sometimes called Martín, although it is not clear whether the latter was already there when Fray Silvestre arrived in January, 1775. In any case he did not stay long. Fray Damián was in poor health, and on August 18 his companion wrote that he had returned to El Paso, "and by the date of this letter he must be at least as far as Chihuahua on his way to the Province." Another letter dated November 7 indicates that Father Damián's condition had improved, for word had come that he was still in El Paso and serving as minister there. Meanwhile Fray Silvestre, in none too good health himself, praised Zuñi as the best pueblo in the kingdom and found its peace and quiet to his liking, but he was not resigned to living like "a solitary anchorite" and begged his superiors to send another friar to join him. He did not get his wish until late in April, 1776, when Fray Mariano Rosete came as his assistant.[5] By that time Vélez de Escalante was engrossed in wider problems than the tranquil administration of the Zuñi mission.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Data kindly supplied by Fray Angélico Chávez, O.F.M. Fr. Chávez adds that Vélez de Escalante finished the Marriage and Burial Books of Zuñi mentioned. The following year and the Book of Baptisms for this period are missing.

5. E. B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956), pp. 281, 302; Biblioteca Nacional, México (cited hereinafter as BN), legajo 10, no. 19.

Father Vélez de Escalante's fame rests chiefly on his explorations into Utah in 1776 with his superior, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, in search of a land route from New Mexico to the new California establishment at Monterey. The story of the Domínguez—Vélez de Escalante expedition has been told in abundant detail and will be mentioned here only in passing.[6] This journey and most of Fray Silvestre's other activities and writings during the few years he served in the Franciscan Custody of New Mexico were the result of a far-reaching effort to expand and consolidate the northern borderlands of New Spain, a major preoccupation of the Spanish authorities since the 1760's.

As the years of the eighteenth century passed, the depredations of the hostile infidel tribes in the ill-garrisoned and sparsely settled northern provinces had become an ever-increasing menace to their security. Local and large-scale campaigns to chasten them had achieved no lasting success. Meanwhile foreign threats to Spanish claims of sovereignty developed from British expansion on the east and the arrival of the Russians in Alaska and their sealing expeditions along the Northwest coast. Spanish settlement in Upper California brought new problems and made the solution of the old ones even more urgent. The discovery of practicable land routes between the frontier provinces and to the new establishments in California seemed indispensable from many points of view. The California settlements needed a dependable supply system to ensure their continued existence. Wider opportunities for trade would foster the stability and prosperity of the older provinces. Missionary fervor envisioned the spread of the Gospel to countless heathens, or as Fray Francisco Garcés put it: "I praise God because it seems that in our times that ancient Spanish enthusiasm for discovering and taking possession of new lands lives again, sacrificing lives and fortunes in this enterprise for the gain of such precious pearls as

6. Herbert E. Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness (Utah Historical Quarterly,* vol. XVIII, 1950), gives manuscript and published versions of the diary of this expedition and related documents will be listed in a bibliography of Vélez de Escalante's writings to appear in a forthcoming issue of the NMHR.

HP22758

souls."[7] A great deal depended upon the efficiency of the military organization in dealing with the refractory tribes and upon the strategic location of presidios, for once discovered, the new routes would fail of their purpose if they could not be made comparatively safe.

To further this enormous undertaking the governing authorities enlisted the aid of all who might have, or be in a position to acquire, any knowledge of the mysterious regions beyond New Mexico and Sonora to the Pacific coast. At the request of the Viceroy, the Mother Province of the Holy Gospel directed her sons in New Mexico to seek out and send in whatever information they might deem helpful, and issued specific instructions to individual friars thought particularly well equipped to gather useful data. When an opportunity arose, the military leaders often sought the assistance of the religious, and in 1774 Commandant Inspector Don Hugo O'Conor, learning that Fray Damián Martínez had been assigned to Zuñi, asked him to employ "every means his intelligence and prudence might dictate in an endeavor to learn the truth" of "the flying reports I have picked up on this frontier about the existence of a settlement of Europeans on the opposite bank of the river named Tizón [the Colorado], which is to the northwest of New Mexico."[8]

Like so many other fabulous rumors current in the Americas from earliest times, this odd tale had no basis in fact. The most satisfactory explanation of its origin is a theory proposed by Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante a couple of years later: "Without any great doubt these people are the Yutas Barbones [bearded Utes] of whom the Reverend Father Custos and I spoke in the diary of the journey we made through those lands in the year 1776."[9] Don Bernardo Miera

7. E. Coues, *On the trail of a Spanish pioneer*, 2 vols. (New York, 1900), vol. 2, p. [illegible].

8. Don Hugo O'Conor to Viceroy Bucareli, San Fernando del Carrizal, August 8, [illegible], AGM, Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9.

9. Vélez de Escalante to Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, Santa Fe, April 2, 1778, [illegible] manuscript and published copies. See note 6, *supra*. The Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante [illegible] says: "In features they look more like Spaniards than like the other Indians hitherto [illegible] in America, from whom they are different in the foregoing respects. . . . It is they, [illegible] who gave rise to the report of the Spaniards that live on the other side of the Río de [illegible]

Pacheco, who accompanied the friars, had been sufficiently impressed by the novelty of heavily bearded Indians to feature them as a decoration of his map of the expedition. Fray Silvestre was always less gullible than many of his contemporaries, and the report, however unsubstantial, was taken seriously enough to occasion the waste of a good deal of speculation, paper, and ink, and to justify a digression here to relate Fray Damián's contribution. Incidentally, this also sheds some light on Fray Silvestre's life during his early days at Zuñi.

On April 1, 1775, Martínez wrote to O'Conor apologizing for not communicating with him sooner: "My poor health as a result of this exceedingly frigid climate and the lack of food suited to my constitution, the necessary care in ministering to so rude a population, the roads made impassable by risks [of attack by enemy Indians] and snowfalls, the catechizing of some pagan Navahos, whose reduction it was God's will we should attain, were powerful reasons for the delay in fulfilling my promise." Obviously he was far from sharing his companion's good opinion of Zuñi. He summarized his findings about the supposed European settlement as follows:

> First, the account of a Navajo Indian who, after being baptized and acquiring some facility in our language, returned to his people. On one of the forays he made with them they travelled between north and west (he puts it thus) as far as the river called El Tizón, on the shore of which he found a white man on horseback with clothing and armament of the type we use. He spoke to him in Castilian and in his Navajo language, and he says that the man did not reply but only smiled to himself when he used our language. This Indian and his companions observed among the groves on the opposite bank of the river a number of smokes, as if from chimneys, and some plantings. Because the river is very wide they did not make out the kinds of trees and crops. They waited a while to observe the ford and the route which the white man was taking, but the said man remained motionless on this side until, tired of waiting, they

[illegible] according to several coinciding reports is the Río Grande, formed from the Río de [illegible] and others and which joins the Navajó." Bolton, *Pageant*, pp. 189-190. [This [illegible] is the present day San Juan, F. D. R.]

HP22759

turned back. This Indian returned to us and lives in Belén in Bernabé Montaño's house. He is considered truthful, and on all the occasions he has told the story he has not varied a word.

But in my opinion the most authoritative account in this regard is that of the pagan Yutas, whose veracity and constant friendship with us is sufficiently proved. They agree with the foregoing relation and promise to guide the Spaniards to find, or rather to take them to the lands bordering on these people, asserting that there is no obstacle to our passage nor any other tribes except Moachis and Paiuchis, who belong to their own nation and are therefore our friends, although they have no communication with us because they live in the interior. They say that the trip takes twenty days. This extremely important discovery has not always been looked upon with indifference, but I believe that means adequate to so noble a design have not heretofore been applied. I am aware of some measures taken during the administrations of previous governors, but the individuals to whom they were entrusted have been some poor settlers who are incapable of raising their thoughts very high or appreciating the importance of the matter in the service of both Majesties [God and the King]. These unhappy wretches have been content to reach the Yutas and bring back four pelts in exchange for trifles, and to find pretexts at their fancy to excuse their evil doing. No one can comprehend the importance of this discovery as well as your Lordship; no one with more knowledge or experience acquired at the cost of so many risks and hardships, no one with greater zeal. Let your Lordship weigh my arguments, and if they deserve some attention I will try in another letter, if you like, to express in more detail at length all I think conducive to said purpose.[10]

Fray Silvestre was more skeptical. Over a year later, on July 29, 1776, he wrote to his Provincial that "although there is some information about the country the Yutas occupy as far as the Río del Tizón and about the tribes who are on the other bank of this river, it is not all credible, for long experience has shown that not only the infidel Indians, but even the

10. AGM, Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9. Fray José Damián Martínez was an Andalusian who took the habit in the Mexican Province of the Holy Gospel during the 1760's; the dates in MN, Asuntos 165 are inconsistent. He remained in El Paso at least until 1779, where he served as Vice-Custos. BNM, leg. 10, no. 47. In 1792 he was guardian of the Convento Grande de México and described as *ex-lector de filosofía*. AGM, Historia, vol. 25. He seldom used his first name, José.

Christians, in order to raise themselves in our esteem, tell us what they know we want to hear, without being embarrassed by the falsity of their tales."[11] Meanwhile the Commandant Inspector was assuring the Viceroy that Father Damián's report seemed to confirm the existence of the European settlement, and proposing to make an expedition in search of it in May of the following year. Bucareli replied a month later approving O'Conor's zealous conduct, but indicating some reservations about the value of Father Damián's information and the need for clarification before taking any action based on it. On the other hand, he was misguided enough to give serious consideration to the possibility of reaching Monterey from Santa Fe in a matter of twenty days, and to suggest that the white man seen by the Indians could belong to the California presidio.[12]

Father Vélez de Escalante's writings often show his irritation at the all too prevalent tendency to jump to premature conclusions on the part of officers and administrators whose experience should have taught them to be more cautious. He deeply resented the consequent misinterpretation of his own reports and opinions, by Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta and others, and on occasion tried in vain to point out that he had done and said nothing to justify the optimistic predictions of easy solutions attributed to him. If he was ever the rather naïve dreamer of the Escalante legend, his experiences at the Hopi pueblos in late June and early July, 1775, gave him a rude shock which brought him to his senses in short order.

Fray Silvestre was one of those who had received special instructions from his superiors to assist in the discovery of a route to Monterey. The order came to him through the secretary of the Province of the Holy Gospel, Fray Fernando Antonio Gómez, who also forwarded the relevant information at his disposal. Vélez de Escalante's first reports, some of which have not been found, were therefore addressed to Father

11. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, p. 307.
12. AGM, Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9.

HP22760

Gómez, and this resulted in a rather distressing misunderstanding with the Provincial, Fray Isidro Murillo. He also corresponded on the subject, and perhaps discussed it, with Don Diego Borica, then first lieutenant of the presidio at Santa Fe, whom Governor Mendinueta appointed as his lieutenant general in 1775.[13]

During Lent, 1775, a number of Hopi Indians came to Zuñi to trade. Fray Silvestre made every effort to win their friendship, and some of them invited him to visit them. He was more than happy to accept for several reasons. In spite of repeated attempts during and after the Reconquest, the Spaniards had not succeeded in reconverting the apostate Hopi and various dissident groups and individuals from the Río Grande pueblos who had taken refuge there since the great Revolt of 1680, except for a number who had been resettled in New Mexico, mostly at Sandia. Like many a friar before him, young Vélez de Escalante was encouraged to hope that he might be the one to persuade them to submit at last to the authority of Church and Crown. The invitation also opened up the possibility of going on to preach the Gospel to the Cosnina (Havasupai) Indians, and perhaps obtaining some definite information about the Colorado River tribes and the purported Spanish or European settlement on the far side. The Vice-Custos, probably Fray Mariano Rodríguez de la Torre, one of the friars who had visited the Hopi province in years past, gave him permission to go. He decided to do so accompanied only by a guide and an interpreter. However, Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, alcalde mayor of Zuñi, and the Indians of the pueblo insisted that the Hopi were not to be trusted, and the friar was obliged to accept an escort consisting of the alcalde, a Hopi convert from Sandia to act as interpreter, and seventeen Zuñi Indians. It is quite likely that they were glad enough of the opportunity to do a little trading.

13. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 305-306; AGM, Provincias Internas, vol. 103. Fray Silvestre, Fray Fernando Antonio Gómez was a *Montañes*, and he was guardian of the Convento Grande and *lector de prima* of theology when Vélez de Escalante was completing his studies; these could be additional reasons why the latter corresponded with him rather than with the Andalusian Provincial Murillo. MN, Asuntos, vol. 165.

The party set out from Zuñi on June 22, 1775, and reached Walpi, where they were well received, on the morning of the twenty-fifth. The father had planned to hasten on to Oraibi, the largest and most important of the Hopi pueblos, and begin his efforts to win them back to the Faith there, but the amiable inhabitants of Walpi persuaded him to stay with them another day. He undoubtedly needed the rest, for he was suffering from a bothersome chronic ailment which travelling must have aggravated. While he was there many Indians came to see and talk to him in friendly fashion. One came especially to tell him that the Navahos were planning to ambush the party when it started back for Zuñi. Fray Silvestre's calm reply to the effect that God was quite capable of protecting his servants, whatever the odds, effectively silenced the astonished Indian, who was inclined to feel that his warning was not appreciated.

On June 27 he went on to Oraibi with the alcalde, three Zuñi, and the interpreter. His reception there was cold to the point of hostility. The Indians did not come near him, and the cacique managed to avoid meeting him at all. His attempt to preach to the ruling clique met with outright scorn, and the chief captain told him "not to weary myself in going about giving advice to his people, for none would give ear to me because he had already given orders to this effect and they must perforce obey him." Fray Silvestre's discouragement was in proportion to his earlier high hopes, but he was determined enough to make an earnest effort to reach the hearts and minds of the common people. In general he found them indifferent, stubborn, or at best, too intimidated by their leaders to follow any inclination they might have to succumb to his influence. Among the last group was the interpreter's uncle, who was one of the few who dared to treat the friar with friendliness. He and another Indian who had visited the Cosninas were willing and able to answer the father's questions on this subject, but not to make any satisfactory response to his religious exhortations.

The word had already gone out before he reached Shon-

HP22761

gopovi, Mishongnovi, and Shipaulovi. The Indians were polite, but uncompromising in their determination to abide by the decision of Oraibi. He found the same situation at Walpi when he returned there on the thirtieth. Again he tried his luck with the common people, but "I found, as in the other pueblos, some rebellious and others intimidated, although the malicious faction is everywhere larger and more numerous."

Here the Zuñi joined the Hopi in an unsuccessful attempt to frustrate his desire to get in touch with the Cosninas, and perhaps go on to their land. The news of his arrival in the Hopi province quickly reached the nearest Cosnina ranchería, and a delegation immediately started for Oraibi to see him. The Oraibis turned them back, telling them that the father had already left. Nevertheless the Cosninas decided to send a petty captain to overtake him if possible, and this man was at Walpi when Fray Silvestre arrived for the second time. The Zuñi were not on good terms with the Cosninas and had no desire to visit them. Fearing that the friar might expect them to accompany him, they made a desperate effort to prevent the Cosnina from reaching him. The alcalde realized that something underhand was going on, and owing to his intervention Fray Silvestre did not lose the opportunity to have the traditional smoke and make friends with the Cosnina, and to acquire more information and a crude map, which the Indian drew for him on the sudadero of a saddle.

On July 2 his cup of bitterness overflowed. He had taken some forethought to avoid countenancing with his presence "the idolatrous abominations associated with their most solemn dances," but that afternoon, going out to learn the reason for a disturbance in the street, he was suddenly exposed to a "horrifying spectacle" that "saddened me so that I arranged my departure for the following day." It is unlikely that this had anything to do with his presence in the pueblo. He probably had the misfortune to time his visit to coincide with one of the regular summer ceremonials.

Fray Silvestre was not long out of the cloister and new to the mission field. His experiences in the Hopi pueblos were

clearly a profound shock, and the fact that he was in acute physical pain much of the time must have added to his emotional distress. From then on, although the eager young missionary lost none of his sincere evangelical fervor, his faith in the efficacy of conversion by gentle persuasion alone was seriously undermined. In the case of the apostate Hopi, at least, he was convinced that military conquest was the only way to set their feet on the road to the light. Ironically enough, the friar's conviction that a show of force was justified, advisable, and legal was not at that time shared by the civil and military authorities, who even used his reports of his journey to support recommendations that more friars be assigned to complete the reconversion of the Hopi. Vélez de Escalante was probably right in feeling that long experience had demonstrated the futility of preaching to them, but he may well have under-estimated the obstacles to an all out campaign to subject them. In comparison to the urgent demands upon their services, the military forces on the frontier were inadequate in numbers and equipment. Moreover, the Hopi, like some of the Navaho, were by now adept at a little game of blowing hot and cold with the Spaniards as circumstances dictated. When drought, famine, or active hostilities by their enemies pressed them hard, they would make overtures to the Spanish authorities and religious, leading them to believe that they were on the point of returning to the fold. Then they would prolong the negotiations until the crisis was past, whereupon they returned to their usual intransigeant attitude. Their real desire seems to have been to remain on mildly friendly terms with the Spaniards and enjoy the advantages of their trade and protection, but only so long as this could be managed without political or religious ties. The isolation of the province and Spanish preoccupation with keeping more belligerent tribes in check were in their favor, of course. There could be no meeting of minds, and in the long run the Hopi strategy succeeded. From 1680 to the end of the colonial period the Spaniards never achieved any lasting results in their intermittent attempts to reduce them by persuasion or by force.

HP22762

When Vélez de Escalante and his party left Walpi on July 3, the captain of the pueblo insisted upon sending forty armed men to make sure that the Navaho who had threatened to ambush them were not lurking in the vicinity. Perhaps for this reason they took a different route on the return journey. On the way they passed the ruined mission of Awatovi and saw the peach trees planted by the friars there many years before.[14] After a hot and tiring, but uneventful trip, they reached Zuñi safely on the morning of July 6.

The father's first report of his Hopi adventure is a short statement in a letter to Fray Fernando Antonio Gómez, dated August 18, 1775.[15] It is mentioned only as an introduction to some observations based upon what he had learned there about the Cosninas and their neighbors and the most feasible way of reaching Monterey. Copies of this letter went to the Viceroy, who forwarded it to Fray Francisco Garcés at the Río Colorado. Garcés had already gone upriver and did not receive it until a month after he got back to his mission of San Xavier del Bac, or in mid-October, 1776.[16]

It was not until nearly four months after his return to Zuñi that Vélez de Escalante submitted a fuller account of his journey to the Hopi pueblos. In 1774 Don Francisco Antonio Crespo, governor of Sonora, had written to Viceroy Bucareli proposing a plan for a full-scale military operation to back up the California enterprise. Among the objectives were the conquest of the Hopi and opening a road between New Mexico and Sonora. On August 2, 1775, Bucareli sent a copy of Crespo's proposals to the governor of New Mexico, Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, for his opinion. Because of Vélez de Escalante's special knowledge of the subject, the governor sent him a copy of the viceroy's order and required

14. The Awatovi mission has been the subject of intensive research. See R. G. Montgomery, W. Smith, and J. O. Brew, *Franciscan Awatovi (Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, vol. XXXVI, Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

15. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 302-304.

16. Coues, *On the trail*, vol. 2, pp. 468-475.

him to make a full report at once.[17] Father Silvestre got permission to do so from his Vice-Custos, but could not submit his reply to him for correction because of the urgency of the governor's request. He was not even given time to revise it to his satisfaction. This report is the well-known letter to Mendinueta of October 28, 1775, sometimes referred to as Escalante's Hopi diary. He made at least one copy of it himself to send to Father Gómez in a letter of November 7, and there are a number of others in existence. It was widely circulated and used (or misused in Fray Silvestre's opinion) for some years because of its interest to those formulating frontier policy.[18]

On November 9, 1775, the governor sent his own report to Don Hugo O'Conor. After summarizing Fray Silvestre's description of the Hopi province and describing his informant as a "religious of exemplary life and unusual talent," he continued as follows:

> To wish to reduce them to the Catholic religion by force would have the serious drawback that the Yutas and Navajos (the latter are right now on the point of concluding a peace with us, hostilities having already ceased) would fear that the same might be done to them, because from their point of view we should be unjustly declaring war on Indians who were living at peace with us and were giving no cause for complaint. It could be feared that the consequences would be disastrous, for if these three tribes reached the point of making an alliance, they would very soon finish off this kingdom, and they could keep us as busy as the Apaches Gileños do now. My feeling is that three or four missionaries, known and chosen for their ability and truly apostolic zeal, should immediately be assigned there, giving them, in addition to their royal allowance, some goods of small value to present to the chieftains, who (as sons of their own interests) would permit them to teach the mysteries of our religion.[19]

17. H. E. Bolton, *Anza's California expeditions*, vol. V, *Correspondence* (Berkeley, [illegible]), pp. 238-248 and *passim*; AGM, Provincias Internas, vol. 169, exp. 6.

18. A new translation of this letter and bibliographical data will appear in a future issue of the NMHR.

19. AGM, Provincias Internas, vol. 169, exp. 6.

HP22763

These were some of the very arguments which Vélez de Escalante had tried, at much greater length, to refute in his report to the governor. Whatever the rights of the matter in regard to general policy, the governor was mistaken in thinking that gifts would win the Hopi leaders. They made no secret of their scorn for such petty attempts to gain their favor and refused them haughtily. If any misguided inferior did take a gift from the Spaniards he was made to return it. This had happened before and it was to happen again, and each time Spaniards or friars bearing gifts served only to strengthen their suspicious attitude. No wonder then that Father Silvestre was incensed and later used strong language in his protest to his superiors:

> And as a result of ill-founded fear of unusual difficulties, the very reflections I impugn in the aforesaid paper were represented to his Excellency, showing great ignorance of how much our missionary brethren have labored to reduce those rebels. It is falsely stated that they are docile people ready for reduction by those who might wish to undertake it, and that they will be more easily subdued by gentle methods than by subjecting them first. . . . God indeed knows that my only purpose is that His Majesty be better served and worshipped where he is insulted and outraged. There is no need for me to represent to your Paternity how important any possible activity in this matter is to the greater glory of God, benefit of so many poor wretches, and honor of our teaching. . . .[20]

It was not until April 30, 1776, that Vélez de Escalante sent a copy of the journal he had kept during his visit to the Hopi pueblos to Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, with a covering letter indicating that he had been reluctant to do so until ordered because of his mortification at his failure. A complete translation of this interesting document will be found at the end of this article. Probably Fray Francisco Antanasio Domínguez, who had arrived in Santa Fe on March 22 to make

20. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, p. 306. Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, the cartographer of the Utah expedition, was one who agreed with Vélez de Escalante about using force to subdue the Hopi. Bolton, *Pageant*, p. 246.

a visitation of the New Mexico missions, brought Murillo's order.

Father Domínguez had also received special instructions to work on the problem of the route to Monterey. At his summons Father Vélez de Escalante joined him in Santa Fe on June 7, and they made definite plans for an exploring expedition in that direction. Their departure was delayed for various reasons. On June 20 the Comanches raided La Ciénega, killing ten people, and Fray Silvestre went as chaplain with the scouting expedition sent out to pursue them. Ten days of this and three days' rest and he was off to Taos to attend to some urgent business there for Father Domínguez, who was fully occupied elsewhere. In November he had told Father Gómez that his urinary trouble had improved, but in Taos he was seized with an acute pain in his side which temporarily incapacitated him. By the time his superior arrived he was on the way to recovery, but still weak. Domínguez ordered him to rest for a week before returning to Santa Fe.[21]

In July an event of considerable importance occurred. Word came that the remarkable Franciscan explorer, Fray Francisco Garcés, had reached Oraibi from the west on July 4. The Hopi would have nothing to do with him, but there were a few Zuñi, and at least one Acoma Indian in the pueblo, one of whom spoke to him in Spanish, telling him about the priest at Zuñi and inviting him to accompany them there the next day. Although he thought of doing so, in the end he felt obliged to refuse the invitation, as we shall see. Meanwhile his guides busied themselves about their own affairs at Oraibi. Apparently they had brought mescal to trade. Yet the Hopi would neither take the father's offerings of tobacco and seashells, valuable items there, as gifts, nor in exchange for a little maize, which he badly needed for himself and for his mount. They were even unwilling to give him shelter, and he spent his two nights at Oraibi huddled in a corner of the street, where he gathered a few of the cornstalks lying about to build a little fire to heat his atole. The first night was filled

21. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, *passim*.

HP22764

with the eerie sounds of singing, flutes, and high-pitched harangues from the rooftops. Like Fray Silvestre the year before, he had arrived at the time of a ceremonial. At daybreak on July 4 the dancers swarmed into the street to the sound of drums and flutes, and a tall chief accosted the friar: "For what hast thou come here? Get thee gone without delay —back to thy land!" He was not so shocked by the spectacle as the young friar from New Mexico. After all, he had had much more experience with "wild Indians." But in his diary he makes no secret of his fear. He was ready to leave, and since his Yabipai, or Cosnina, guides had refused to go to Zuñi and he dared not risk losing their services when he could not be sure what lay ahead, he turned back in the direction from which he had come. But he did send a letter to the priest at Zuñi which was to cause considerable excitement when it arrived.[22] The whereabouts of Father Garcés had been a matter of concern to the authorities in Mexico City and on the northern frontier for some time, and news of him was very welcome. More than that, he had, in effect, broken a trail from the Pacific coast to New Mexico.

Nevertheless Fathers Domínguez and Vélez de Escalante believed that the journey they planned to make by a more northerly route would still be useful. They left Santa Fe on July 29, and returned to Zuñi on the twenty-fourth of the following November.

On the way home they had reached Oraibi on November 16, in very bad weather. A crowd of Indians tried to prevent them from entering the pueblo, but Juan Pedro Cisneros, the alcalde who had accompanied Fray Silvestre before, persuaded them to provide lodging for the night and sell them provisions. This time the cacique visited the friars. They had no interpreter, but they managed some communication, with the result that the cacique sent word to the other pueblos to "lodge us, listen to us, and sell us provisions, cultivating our

22. Coues, *On the trail*, vol. 2, pp. 357-391; Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 281-285. Garcés did not realize that there was at least one Acoma Indian with the Zuñis, and it was he who took the friar's letter to Zuñi. Garcés used the term Yabipai in a rather broad sense, and here the reference is certainly to Vélez de Escalante's Cosninas.

friendship without treating of or admitting any other subject, since they wished to be our friends but not Christians." At Xongopovi they were well treated by the Indians of this pueblo, Shipaulovi, and Mishongnovi, but when they made the mistake of trying to show their gratitude to their host by giving him a cloak for his wife, the gift was thrown back in their faces. Their attempts to explain their disinterested motives ended in confusion, but somehow the episode was smoothed over although the cloak was still refused.

At Walpi they learned that the Hopi were at war with the Navaho, who had killed and captured many. So their informant, one Pedro, a Tano apostate from Galisteo, said that they had been "hoping that some fathers or Spaniards would come to these pueblos in order through them to beg from the Spanish governor some aid or defense against these enemies." Pedro offered to accompany the friars to Santa Fe to arrange for the Hopi and the Tano established in their province to make an alliance with the Spaniards. The fathers could not help but hope that this was an opportune time to bring about the long-desired reduction of the apostate province. Still, they were cautious. They told Pedro that they would be happy to take him, but that it was necessary for someone in authority to be sent from each of the pueblos. On November 19 the caciques and chiefs met on the Walpi mesa in a kiva of the Tano pueblo there. Antonio el Cuate, an apostate from Santa Clara, acted as interpreter. The friars told them that their troubles would not cease until they obeyed God's will and embraced Christianity. Once they did so, they, like the Christian pueblos of New Mexico, would enjoy the assistance of the Spaniards against all their heathen enemies. But in any case the fathers were willing to do all they could to help them. The discussion continued for a long time, but in the end the Indians stuck to their old arguments:

> . . . they knew the governors were sending the fathers to persuade them to submit to their authority but that they had not and still did not wish to. . . . They gave us to understand

HP22765

> that, since there were many more heathen nations than Christian, they wanted to follow the more numerous party, and that besides this, they lived in a country which was very inconvenient for the service which, once converted, they would have to render the Spaniards. . . .
>
> . . . they related the traditions of their ancestors and exhorted that they be observed, concluding that it was better for them to suffer their present troubles and calamities than to violate these traditions. So they replied that they wished only our friendship but by no means to become Christians, because the old men had told them and counseled them never to subject themselves to the Spaniards.

Moreover, they refused to allow Pedro to go to Santa Fe, lest the governor prevent him from returning. On November 20, then, Father Vélez de Escalante left the Hopi province for the last time, "realizing that the obstinacy of these unhappy Indians was invincible."[23]

Monday, November 25, the day after their arrival at Zuñi, the friars composed a letter to the governor: "Because our great weariness after such long hard travel and the excessively cold weather do not permit us to go on to the Villa as soon as we should like, we are sending your Lordship beforehand an epitome of the most important happenings of our journey until such time as we shall be able to give you a full report of everything." An almost identical letter of the same date was addressed to Provincial Murillo under Domínguez' signature alone.[24]

For various reasons they lingered at Zuñi until December 13, when they set out for Santa Fe, taking with them the Laguna Indian they had brought back from Utah and a token from his people. They reached Acoma on the sixteenth, and there a storm kept them snowbound for four days. They left the "Sky City" on the twentieth, and, after several stops on the way, spending Christmas at Isleta, they finally reached Santa Fe on January 2, 1777. On January 3 they presented their journal of the expedition to the governor.[25]

23. Bolton, *Pageant*, pp. 232-238.
24. AGM, Historia, vol. 52, exp. 9; Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, pp. 286-289.
25. Bolton, *Pageant*, pp. 238-239.

Not long after Father Vélez de Escalante went to Santa Ana for a short time. Fray Manuel de Abadiano, the missionary there, died in early January after a long illness, and Fray Silvestre noted the fact when he recorded two baptisms there on January 19.[26]

From our point of view, his most important activity during 1777 and 1778 was the gathering of further information about geography and history. In June, 1776, Father Domínguez, replying to a letter from Provincial Murillo, made the following statement: "Even before Father Morfi wrote to the Lord governor so that he would give Father Vélez Escalante access to his archive, I had already undertaken the necessary preliminaries to seeing and examining it. And although the Lord governor has replied to him (and also to me) that it contains nothing but old fragments and that he will find all he needs for his purpose in the captaincy general, nevertheless it will be examined and your Very Reverend Paternity will be notified of what is found."[27] There can have been no time to do much, if anything, about this project then, but Vélez de Escalante worked on it whenever more urgent business allowed during 1777 and 1778, On April 2, 1778, he sent a preliminary report to Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, saying:

> Because of the obligatory occupations of my office [of Vice-Custos], which I have already renounced twice, but in vain, and because of the journey I made to El Paso this winter, I have been unable to read and summarize more of the manuscripts in the archive of this government than those beginning with the year 1680 (there are no older papers here), when this kingdom was lost, up to the year 1692, when Don Diego de Vargas began the recovery. I hope to be free in next May or June to examine the remaining documents. All I may find useful I will send in one batch wherever your Reverence may order me. And although I do not have the necessary leisure now, this epitome of the information taken from the papers . . . [seen so far] goes in order that your Reverence may see that these delays are

26. Fray Angélico Chávez, *Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1678-1900 (Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Bibliographical Series*, vol. 3, Washington, D. C., 1957), p. 210.
27. Adams and Chávez, *Missions*, p. 280.

HP22766

not mere excuses, but that I sincerely desire to accomodate you.[28]

The extant versions of the notes Fray Silvestre made for Father Morfi carry the story up to about 1717, and probably this was as much as he was able to finish. Morfi used some of the information in his own writings, and an incomplete copy of Vélez de Escalante's notes, usually known as the *Extracto de Noticias,* was first published in 1856 and remained a major source for New Mexico history until comparatively recent times.[29]

The scattered information we have about Vélez de Escalante's other activities during 1777-1779 indicate that he was as busy as he claimed. On May 5, 1777, Father Domínguez, who had received notification of his election as Custos, left for El Paso to make his visitation there. He appointed Fray Silvestre, who was then at San Ildefonso, Vice-Custos to take charge of the missions of New Mexico proper. "He is the only person who can carry out my just plans and decisions," said Fray Francisco Atanasio.[30] Vélez de Escalante's entries in the baptismal books of San Ildefonso are dated May-September, 1777.[31] On August 17, 1777, at San Ildefonso, he issued a patent as Vice-Custos "announcing his visitation of the northern missions in the name of Father Domínguez, Provincial Visitor recently made Custos, who had to go to the El Paso missions; apologizes for his youth; outlines very important matters to be investigated and corrected; writes a fine discourse on Ch. XI of the Franciscan rule."[32]

He probably made the trip to El Paso mentioned in his letter to Father Morfi with the cordon that annually went to El Paso and on to Chihuahua to trade in November, returning

28. See note 9, *supra.*

29. In *Documentos para la historia de México,* Tercera sér., tomo 1 (México, 1856), from a copy in AGM, Historia 2. There is a more complete version in BNM, which I am preparing for publication.

30. Adams and Chávez, *Missions,* p. 294.

31. Chávez, *Archives,* p. 257.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 164.

to New Mexico in February or March. In 1778 it returned earlier than usual, in late January. Probably he had been summoned by Father Domínguez to discuss the serious problems encountered in the lax administration of the missions. There were also some difficulties with the governor concerning the certification of newly-arrived friars in order that they might receive their full stipends.

In October, 1778, Domínguez mentions that "Fray Silvestre served the King by spending some time in searching the government archive, and although Lord [Governor] Mendinueta wanted to certify to this, the father did not permit it because of the rumors that many of the religious were already spreading about."[33] Father Domínguez uncompromising determination to correct faults wherever he found them had made him unpopular with many of his less energetic brethren, and his good friend and companion, Fray Silvestre, probably shared the consequences.

Our next reference to Vélez de Escalante is at Santa Fe, December 12, 1778, when he baptized a two-year old Apache girl taken in battle. Then, on February 15, 1779, he performed a marriage at the Chapel of Our Lady of Light, the military chapel or Castrense, with the permission of the chaplain.[34] And in 1779, according to a list of friars and where they were serving drawn up to submit to the authorities for payment of the royal allowance, we find Fray Silvestre Vélez again assigned to Zuñi, with Fray José Carral as assistant.[35] If he actually returned there, it cannot have been for long. His uncertain health was failing fast, and a year or two later Father Morfi wrote his epitaph:

> Father Fray Silvestre Vélez Escalante, a friar, despite his youth, among the most meritorious of the Custody because of his talent, his erudition, his hard labors, and above all because of his virtues, which led him to sacrifice his hopes, health, and

33. Adams and Chávez, *Missions,* pp. 300-301.

34. Details supplied by Fray Angélico Chávez.

35. BNM, leg. 10, no. 56.

HP22767

life for the conversion of those souls, for, going back to the Province [of the Holy Gospel, i.e., to Mexico City] to recover his health, he died at Parral in April, 1780.[36]

DIARY

Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante to Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, Zuñi, April 30, 1776, with a literal copy of the diary he kept during his journey to the Hopi pueblos in 1775.[1]

Very Reverend Father Minister Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo. Our venerated and most beloved father:

The constant affliction of my chronic ailment and certain unavoidable occupations have not until now permitted me to give your Paternity a more illuminating and detailed report of my expedition to Moqui than the one I made on August 18 of last year, 1775. And although the knowledge that my sins were responsible for its failure causes me great chagrin and mortification when I speak of it, nevertheless, since your Paternity orders me to do so, because your prudence and zeal for the salvation of souls, when you have been informed about the present state of those of the Moqui, can send more effective workers than I or devise more efficacious methods to convert them, I am now going to give a frank account of everything that has happened.

During the next to last week of Lent the Moquinos began to come down to this pueblo [of Zuñi] for their barter, or *cambalaches* as they say here. They kept on arriving up until Holy Saturday. I took them to my cell, I treated them with

36. Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, *Descripción Geográfica del Nuevo México*, AGM, Historia, vol. 25; translation in A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1932), pp. 87-107. The translation used here is mine.

1. BibliotecaNacional, México, Legajo 10, no. 28a; P. Otto Maas, O.F.M., *Viajes de misioneros franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo México* (Sevilla, 1915), pp. 64-80, from a copy in the Archivo General de Indias Sevilla, 154-7-16 (modern designation Audiencia de Guadalajara, Legajo). Before making this translation I collated the two versions, supplying the letter to Fr. Murillo from Maas because the Mexican manuscript, which may be an original, comprises the Diary alone. In the translation I preserve the spelling of Indian names as they appear in the manuscript, including Moqui for Hopi, always used by Spanish colonial writers, who do not seem to have been aware of its derogatory implications.

affection, and I showed them every attention I could. They displayed their gratification, especially one, who, rising from the seat he was occupying with some others, said: "Father, how could we have believed, when your house is worth so much and we are so poor, that we should be invited to enter it and to sit where you sit? I am a poor man, but if you go to my land, as soon as I know about it I offer you my house and all I have in it." I thanked him for the invitation and told them all that I would go to visit them in the summer, and for them to greet their caciques and captains on my behalf, telling them all they had heard from me. A short time later the captain of this pueblo [Zuñi] went to Moqui, and I sent further messages by him, which he delivered in all the pueblos of that small province. Their respective leaders replied that they should be very happy to see me there and that they were expecting me as soon as possible. I am particularly pleased by this, for, very bad though I am, I do desire the conversion of these souls; moreover, I considered that it would greatly facilitate my going on to the Cojninas, which I had already thought of doing, in order to proclaim the Gospel to them and to find out the nature and number of the tribes who dwell on both sides of the Río Grande, and finally, to acquire more accurate information than we have about the Spaniards rumored to be on the far side of the Río del Tizón. With this object in mind I decided to go alone with a guide and an interpreter, but neither my Zuñi sons nor their Alcalde Mayor, don Juan Pedro Cisneros, permitted me to go with so little protection. The Zuñis said that although the Moquis made a howl of affection, they were heathens and might take my life, and so they wished either to defend me or to die with me. And when I told them that their suspicions were unfounded, they replied that in years past a father (I have been unable to find out which of those who have gone there) had entered accompanied only by a Zuñi interpreter, and that the Moquis kept the two of them in a cistern for twenty-four hours with the intention of taking their lives. Therefore, in spite of my excuses, the said Alcalde Mayor

HP22768

and seventeen Zuñis accompanied me. And now that we have come to the journey, I shall set down a literal copy of the diary I kept:

On the twenty-second day of June of the year 1775, under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin of Guadalupe, Mother of God and Our Lady, Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, Alcalde Mayor, seventeen Indians of this mission [of Zuñi], and one of the Moqui tribe from the Sandia mission who was going as interpreter, and I, Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, set out from this pueblo of Zuñi toward the northwest. And after travelling more than four leagues we stopped at a watering place called Topakia in order to escape some of the great heat. After resting a little while I took out the needle to determine the direction the road takes from here, but I could do nothing with it because it pointed directly west northwest, which is almost exactly where the sun sets at this season. No doubt there is some mineral deposit of loadstone or iron in the vicinity in that direction. In the afternoon we continued our journey, and after travelling two and a half leagues west southwest we reached a site called Río Puerco after an arroyo of this name. In the arroyo bed, which is dry most of the time, about a mile to the south of the road, there are three wells of water, but it is not very good. We spent the night here because there was good pasturage and because the next watering place was a long way off.

On the twenty-third we set out from here to the west northwest, and after travelling three and a half leagues through a pleasant wood we reached a watering place which the Zuñis call Kinaituná because many yellow flowers useful for making dye grow on the meadow it waters. In our language this means Spring of the Flowers. It is also called Ojo de San José. Here we saw many farmlands with little ditches for irrigation. I asked the Zuñis who cultivated them, and they replied that the Navajo Apaches did. This spring rises at the foot of a slope right on the road, which now turns to the west, flows east for about a half a league, and then through the whole area that can be seen from there and turns north. The water

is very good, and sufficient to irrigate the farms of a middle-sized pueblo. Such a town would find here all a settlement needs, for it would have good and sufficient lands, water to irrigate them, stone, timber, and firewood nearby, and in addition good pasturage. Later I learned that there is a large pine tree here, completely petrified, but I did not see it.

We stopped at this watering place an hour and a half while the animals refreshed themselves to go on. During this time a family of Navajos arrived. As best I could I told them about the eternal well-being they could gain by holy baptism, and, seeing that I was not going to get anywhere with the adults, from the displeasure with which they heard me, I tried to redeem a child they had with them, but I could not.

The Zuñis did not want to set forth until afternoon, pointing out to me that the next watering place was very distant and that it was necessary to break the journey, going halfway through the sierra which begins right there during the afternoon and part of the night so that the animals might arrive without getting overtired. Nevertheless I decided to go on without further delay. We climbed the slope and travelled about fifteen leagues to the west. I succeeded in quickening the pace, and so we reached the watering place and site named Cumaa at Sunset.

From the first watering place to here it is all an almost unbroken sierra with pines, piñones, small oaks, and some of the trees they call red cedars here. But they are not actually cedars. It is an aromatic tree, with the wood of a purple color very similar to the brazilwood used for dye, but it is different in that it loses some of the color with use and the odor evaporates completely. Between Kinaituná and Cumaa the sierra also produces a good deal of flax which, although it is the real thing, does not have a very good fiber for lack of cultivation.

Very early on the twenty-fourth we left Cumaa toward the northwest. Two leagues from there two roads branch off or leave the one we were taking. One goes in the same direction and takes a very roundabout route. The other goes west through many cañadas, mesas, and wooded patches. We chose

HP22769

this one as the most direct, and about nine leagues from Cumaa we halted in a small canyon which is a quarter of a league to the north of the road. There is a watering place here at which very fine water trickles from a crag, but it is so scanty that after the few people with me drank, only enough for two animals remained. There was no pasturage either, and so we went on and travelled more than five leagues in the same direction we had been going. Then we turned west southwest, and after two and a half leagues we reached the watering place called Ojo de Cañutillo about ten o'clock at night. The water emerges between large rocks. It is good, and sufficient for many people and horses. It is necessary to take the horses a short distance from the stopping place so that they may have fairly good pasturage.

On the twenty-fifth, before they rounded up the mounts, I sent two Indians to Gualpi to greet the caciques and captains of these three pueblos and to give them the news of my imminent arrival. Shortly before seven o'clock in the morning we set out from El Cañutillo to the west northwest, and after four leagues we began to climb the peñol of Gualpi. The cacique of the Tanos (they say Teguas), who is an apostate Christian named Pedro, and the chief captain of Gualpi, accompanied by Tanos and Gualpis, received us. They themselves made their people take the saddles and other appurtenances of the Alcalde's horse and mine to the lodging they had already prepared for me with order and cleanliness. It was the house of the cacique of Gualpi. They escorted us to it and gave us a very affectionate welcome. I had already heard about the idolatrous abominations associated with their most solemn dances, and to avoid their performing them for me, after expressing my gratitude through the interpreter, I admonished them not to neglect their sowings, which they had not yet finished, in order to celebrate my arrival with dances, and that even if they did so, I could not be present because I was suffering from a urinary ailment. Thus they were satisfied, and I was freed from countenancing by my presence (for never with God's grace would I do such a thing) the very thing that

deserves to be and I wish to see scorned by those who esteem it. About one o'clock in the afternoon they went away, leaving the Alcalde and me happy with our good reception, which gave us great hope for the success of our journey. In the afternoon, after reciting the appropriate canonical hours, I went out with the Alcalde and the interpreter to view the three pueblos at my leisure.

On the twenty-sixth I decided to leave for Oraybi, but they urged me to rest that day, telling me that I was the same as in my own pueblo and not to drive myself so hard. I consented in order not to offend them. The leaders of both pueblos were with me all the greater part of this day, along with many private individuals who came in to see me one after another. I talked to them in the way that I thought best calculated to soften their spirits toward the purpose for which I had come, which I did not wish to reveal to them then because I had decided to begin my preaching in Oraybi, which is like a provincial capital. The pleasure with which, in my opinion, they listened to all I said gave me great joy.

At midday a Moqui Indian of Gualpi entered in haste. Through the interpreter I asked him what he wanted, and he said that he had witnessed a meeting of the Navajo Apaches who were there (they numbered over a hundred) and that after a long discussion about the motive of my visit to Moqui they had decided to attack us when we started back and to take our lives. And in order to make sure of doing it without missing the mark, several messages had already gone to all the rancherías who could assemble within four days. Other messengers remained behind in order to take definite information about the day set for my return and the road I planned to take. He added that a captain called El Menchero had tried to dissuade them from so unjust a resolve, and, not having been able to do so, he withdrew in great anger. And finally, because of his great esteem for the fathers and his pity for me and my companions, he was giving me this warning so that it would be possible to avert the misfortune that threatened us. I replied that I was very grateful to him for the warn-

HP22770

ing, and that if he should hear the Navajos discuss the same thing again, he was to tell them from me that even all of them were too few to carry out their intention; that if they liked, they might seek the aid of other tribes, but even if many went forth, they would have an exceedingly costly trial of their weakness and my safeguard. He wanted to call upon witnesses to the truth of what he had said, thinking that I did not give him credence, and I allayed his suspicion, saying that although I believed him, I was not worried, nor should he be, because I trusted in God Who is infinitely more powerful than all the men there ever were, are, or will be. The Alcalde made the same reply, which astounded the Moquino.

On the twenty-seventh I set out to the west northwest for Oraybi, accompanied by the Alcalde, three Zuñis, and the interpreter. And after travelling two and a half leagues over a very troublesome stretch of sand, we entered a little pass with many rocks, beside which, half a league to the south, is the mesa where the Tiguas who are now Christians at the pueblo of Sandia formerly lived. There are still traces of their houses on the mesa. The pass has some difficult patches. On either side of the road at the beginning of the descent, which is short, there are three small watering places with good water. From here I sent two Indians to Orayribi [*sic*] to advise the cacique and the others that I was on my way to visit them. After travelling a league and a half, also very sandy, we reached Oraybi shortly before eleven o'clock in the morning.

Here there were no manifestations of courtesy and pleasure as in Gualpi. A young Indian received us and escorted us to the coi, or little house, they had cleared out for us to spend the night in. I was surprised that no one came to see me during the whole afternoon, not even for the sake of novelty. I went out with the Alcalde to take a look at the pueblo. The light did not last long enough, and I returned to my lodging. Then I sent for the cacique and captains to prepare them for the sermon I wanted to preach to them the next day. Only the chief captain and his lieutenant, or companion, came, with some

old men. Through the interpreter I indicated my good will, to which they did not correspond as they should have. I inquired for the cacique, and they said he was out hunting (which I later learned was untrue) and so I should tell them once and for all what I wanted to discuss with them. I replied that when the cacique came we would talk about it, that I was in no hurry, for my sole purpose in coming was to see them and converse with them about things which were very important to them. The chief captain (with obstinacy) said that he was superior to all, that the cacique would approve whatever he might decide, and that if I did not state my purpose in coming then and there, they would not come to me again. In order not to lose the opportunity of their hearing me, I rose among those assembled, I made the preliminary remarks that I considered appropriate, telling them to listen to me with the attention required by a matter so weighty as their eternal well-being or perdition, and that when I had finished speaking they should reply telling me all that occurred to them. And suspecting that for fear of some outrage the interpreter might omit some of the things I had to propound to them, I again reminded him briefly of the repeated instructions I had given him. He assured me that even if he were to know for sure that it was going to cost him his life, he would say everything he understood from both parties, and thus I might speak to him without misgiving. Then I began to explain to them the most essential points of our religion and those most conducive to my purpose in terms that the interpreter could understand and translate into the Moqui language. When I had finished, I gave them to understand that I had been sent by God to proclaim for Him the eternal glory to which He was inviting them even though they had offended Him for so long, and the torments with which He would punish them if they did not abandon their abominations and, becoming Christians, keep His Holy Commandments. I exhorted them with all the force and clarity I could, and they replied briefly that even if what they had heard from me was true they had no desire to be Christians. I urged them again with new arguments, telling

HP22771

them among other things that they would suffer far greater torments than the rest because, in addition to damning themselves voluntarily, they were the cause of the eternal perdition of their inferiors; and even if they did not wish to be saved they should not prevent the rest from hearing me so that those who freely and voluntarily might wish to do so could take advantage of what they stubbornly scorned. The said captain replied with haughtiness and arrogance that he was ruling as governor, as king, and that he did not want the Spaniards ever to live in his land; and for me not to weary myself in going about giving advice to his people, for none would give ear to me because he had already given orders to this effect and they must perforce obey him. Again I told him not to hate the light, saying everything that could remove from his mind the falsities inherent in so malicious a reply. And realizing from his further replies the stubborness of his will, I reproved him for it, no longer gently as I had been speaking before, but with the bitterness and anger with which (without my being able to help myself) the sorrow of seeing so great a multitude of souls lost by the ambitious malice of a few had filled me. I left the meeting without taking leave and even without finishing the last word on my lips. They thought some harm might result to them from my anger, and so they begged the interpreter to calm me down, saying that conversion to Christianity should not be by force, that although being Christian was repugnant to them, they wanted to remain on friendly terms with me and with the Spaniards. I returned, having recovered my equilibrium, and explained that I had not been angry with them, but that my profound sorrow because they did not want to be saved, when they could be, was breaking my heart, in which I cherished them all. At this point the meeting came to an end, and I retired to my lodging feeling very sad. Immediately after they left there, they proclaimed that no one was to listen to my counsels because my aim was to subject them to the Spaniards. They also sent the same admonition to all the other pueblos, telling their leaders what reply they were to make to me.

Nevertheless, I did not want to start back on the twenty-eighth before seeing whether I might accomplish something with individuals, or at least find out whether all were equally stubborn. About six o'clock in the morning an Oraybi Indian very quietly entered the room where I was, expecting to find me alone, and since there were two others with me, he was somewhat startled. Then, no doubt to dissimulate the reason for his coming, he asked me in sign language whether I had brought any goods to trade. In view of what I had noticed about him before he asked it, I found the question mystifying, and so I indicated to him that he should wait. He sat down very close to me and tugged hard at my habit in such a way that the others could not note it. Then I got the notion that he had private business with me. The interpreter was not with me; I quickly sent to find him. And in order to entertain and gratify the Oraybi I had some chocolate beaten up for me. I gave him some sips of it and left more than half the cup for him, He took it, torn between pleasure and uneasiness. We remained alone together, and by signs he indicated that I should summon the interpreter quickly. When the latter came, many people had already gathered on the azotea of the house, and the Indian was throwing up the chocolate, which had upset his stomach because he was not used to it. They said something to him, I do not know what, and he then went away without my being able to discover the purpose of his mysterious arrival, and I did not see him again. Many came to see me out of curiosity, but no one entered the room, and the few who did come in, because they found me alone, became uneasy as soon as they heard people outside and left in haste.

I was looking for some Cojninas Indians in order to obtain information about their land and find out whether I could go there alone with them. And when I learned that even two who had been in Gualpi the day I arrived had already left Moqui for Cajhuala, which is their land, I commissioned the interpreter, if any of his relatives or friends were acquainted with it or the route to it, to try to bring him to me with circumspection so that I might get information from him. He

HP22772

brought me an uncle of his, telling me that he had gone to Cojnina many times and that he would inform me better than anyone else of all he knew. Indeed, his words and countenance showed that a good soul had fallen to his lot and assured the truth of what he might relate. While I was questioning him someone approached from the house in which I was lodging, and when he excused himself from continuing lest this person be aware of it, the very one about whom he was nervous urged him to go on, saying that since the two of them were alone, there was no one to denounce them, that he too knew the land and wanted to satisfy me and reply to my questions. Then, between them they gave me an extensive account of everything.

I devoted the afternoon of this day to viewing the pueblo at my leisure, including the watering places from which they get their daily supply and the ascents to the mesa. A little before nightfall I went out with the interpreter with the intention of going up to some houses, pretending to do so for diversion and out of curiosity, but really in order to preach to their inhabitants. We entered the house of the aforementioned uncle of my interpreter, and, finding him alone with his family, I instructed him and exhorted him to become Christian. And since he had confidence in the interpreter because of their relationship and their mutual love, he spoke without disguise and said: "Tell the father that I am very grateful for his counsels and that I should be very willing to do what he tells me, if I could, for there is nothing I desire more than to be baptized and have my family do the same. But if I declare myself now (you already know this), I cannot remain here except in great danger and losing everything I have. Neither can I leave, because the father brings no arms to defend me." I tried to persuade him to go down with me, but I could not allay the fear that prevented him. And seeing that I was about to take my leave he added: "If the father could bring Spanish people, build a church, and remain here, I and most of the pueblo would become Christians because many of us wish it. Perhaps it will be God's will that fathers come." After this I

lost hope of attaining my end by these means, and I decided to leave Oraybi the next day.

On the twenty-ninth I set forth on the return journey, and about ten o'clock in the morning I reached the pueblo of Xongopaui. Here they received me with more courtesy and affection than in Oraybi. They took me to the most spacious and decent little house there was. I went out early to see the pueblo, its watering places and entrances. Then I said for them to try to assemble the cacique, captains, and others for the afternoon, because I wanted to talk to them about something very important. They assembled, and the cacique, captains, and old men of Masajnabi and Xipaolaiby also attended. I made the same speech to them as I had to the Oraybes, adding what seemed best to me in refutation of the embassy they had received from them. They replied that they were already aware of what I had said in Oraybi, and that they did not and could not give any other reply to it all than the one they had given me there. I could not get another word out of them. They said that if I and my people were short of supplies for the return journey, they would provision us. I thanked them for this and the meeting broke up.

On the thirtieth we went to the other two pueblos, Mosajnabi and Xipaolabi, and although the ascent of the two hills is very difficult, I went up them without getting off my horse because my urinary ailment had been aggravated by the rough road, and the pains were such that I could not walk at all. So I rested a while. I spoke to them on the same subject without profit or hope of it, and I inspected both pueblos. We went on to Gualpi. We arrived after midday because my horse wore out completely in the middle of the plain. At sunset I summoned the caciques, captains, and old men of both pueblos, who promptly gathered at the appointed place with many private individuals. I did the same as I had with the Oraybes and the others, not without hope of some success, but it was no use, for they replied, perhaps to excuse their own malice, that they could not go against the decisions of Oraybi. I made an effort to make them realize how unjust and harmful this

HP22773

subjection was to them. They replied that with regard to my aim they had made a pact by mutual agreement always to stand united, and therefore their reply was not inspired by fear, for if I had begun in Gualpi, the Oraybes would have conformed to whatever had been decided here, since it would always have been the same. Then the meeting broke up, and an Oraybi Indian, who had been awaiting the decision of these pueblos, ran to take the news of it to his pueblo. From this hour on I tried to find out the sentiments and inclination of individuals, instructing and exhorting those I could when there were no people about to prevent them from declaring themselves. I found, as in the other pueblos, some rebellious and others intimidated, although the malicious faction is everywhere larger and more numerous.

Before sunrise on the first day of July I instructed the Alcalde and the interpreter, if they should see any Cojninas, or find them in the pueblo, to bring them to me. The Zuñis had found out that I wanted to go to the Cojninas, and, suspecting that I was going to take them with me (the fact being that I had intended to send them back to their pueblo and proceed with the Alcalde alone since I knew about the feeling the said Cojninas have had against them for some time), as soon as they saw that one of this tribe was looking for me they tried to send him elsewhere. Not succeeding in this, either because they knew neither the Moqui nor the Cojnina language, or because the other did not trust them, they made use of an apostate who knows Zuñi and Moqui in addition to his own language. They told him of their unfounded worry and to accompany the Cojnina in order to persuade me that he was not such, but a Moqui of Oraybi. The Alcalde noticed the concern with which the Zuñis were preventing the Cojnina from reaching my presence, and, inferring their motive, he came down from the azotea whence he had been observing them and brought the Cojnina, now accompanied by the said apostate, to me. [The Alacalde] told me what had been happening, and armed with this information I began to ask the Cojnina about his people. The apostate immediately replied that the man was

not a Cojnina, but from Oraybi. I reproved him as he deserved and sent him home. Then I told the Cojnina that I loved his people very much because I already knew that they had good hearts, and that for this reason I wanted to see them and talk with them; that he was not to believe what they [the Moqui] could have told him, for they had doubtless deceived him. I lit a cigarette, I drew on it first, and then I gave it to him so that he might also smoke. Passing them back and forth we smoked two cigarettes, and now he emerged from his perplexity, showing himself serene and happy. By this means suspicions of deceit are mutually dispelled, and they make known that they simply esteem one another, especially the Yutas and Cojninas. And so he began to answer all my questions, through the interpreter. After we had conversed for nearly two hours he made me a rough but clear map of the road that goes from Oraybi to his land, indicating turns, stages, and watering places, the area his people occupies and inhabits, the distance from the last rancherías to the Río Grande and the direction in which it flows, and the bordering tribes. He drew all this with charcoal on the sudadero of a saddle. I do not reproduce this map now because I hope that God is going to allow me to do so after I have already seen all this. When the sketch and our discussion of it was finished, he said: "Father, now my heart is at ease, and therefore I want to tell you why I have come. When you reached these pueblos two of my people were here, and as soon as they had taken a good look at you, they went without stopping to my rancheria, which is the nearest, with the news that a father with some Spaniards had arrived at Gualpi. They had scarcely finished telling this when my chief captain proclaimed that all the men who could travel were to get ready to go to see you before you returned. We journeyed in great haste, and the day before yesterday me met the Oraybis. When they asked us where so many of us were going together, we replied to see you and to talk with you. Then they told us that you had already left and that we should not be able to overtake you. My captain was sorry and all of us were sorry. We dis-

HP22774

cussed what we should do. And my captain said that at least one of us should go to see you, if he caught up with you, in order to greet you in the name of all. We thought this was a good idea. My captain then ordered me, who am also a petty captain, to leave swiftly, and if I was fortunate enough to overtake you, to tell you what had happened and tell you that my captain and all my people desire that you, all the fathers, the great captain, and all the Castilians (that is, Spaniards) were to be good and content, that my people are very fond of them, and that you are to say so to all of them." I replied in terms corresponding to such an expression of good feeling [and said] that if he had not found me so ill and without an animal to ride, because the only horse I had was completely incapacitated for so long a journey, I should have gone with him to see his people, whom I already loved as my sons, but that perhaps God would cure me and we should see each other there. And as a token of my affection, with my own hands I placed a ribbon about his neck and gave him some of the tobacco of the kingdom, which they prize highly, telling him to deliver it to his captain and that the principal men of his ranchería were to smoke it together in my name as if I were present. He remained with me until I left Gualpi. He descended the peñol with me and took his leave, embracing me tightly.

On the second, after midday, I heard from the room or cor where I was, a great noise and disturbance in the street. I hastened out to learn the cause and saw some of the masked men they call *entremeseros* here, and they are equivalent to the ancient Mexican *huehuenches*. The frightful and gloomy painting of their masks and the height of indecency with which they ran in view of many people of both sexes were very clear signs of the foul spirit who has their hearts in his power. The only part of their bodies that was covered was the face, and at the end of the member it is not modest to name they wore a small and delicate feather subtly attached. This horrifying spectacle saddened me so that I arranged my departure for the following day.

And in order to follow the course of my return journey without interruption, I will tell about Moqui first. But because I must set down the approximate number of families each pueblo has, I note that the Indians of these provinces mean by a family mother, father, daughters, husbands and children of the daughters, because the mother and not the father bestows the surname. The origin of the house comes from them, as well as everything else that stems from the masculine trunk with us. And so when they marry, the daughters and granddaughters do not leave the mother and grandmother, even if they come to have many offspring. Therefore three, four, and sometimes five married couples compose a single family, and the families I enumerate are of this kind.

MOQUI

There are no more than four and a half leagues from the first pueblo of this small province to the last, which is Oraybi. Today there are seven pueblos. The first three are on the mesa, or peñol, of Gualpi. The first of these consists of Teguas and Tanos who have been living there since the general uprising [of 1680]. Their language is all one, but different from the Moqui language. This pueblo is located upon the very pass which divides the peñol from the mesa, and it has about 110 families. It has its two captains and the cacique, who is an apostate Christian and is called Pedro. The second pueblo is of Moqui Indians. It does not have its own government because it is like a hamlet of Gualpi. It has two small tenements and about fifteen families. The third pueblo is Gualpi, and it must have at least two hundred families. The people of these three pueblos have no watering place for their daily supply except the one which lies at the foot of the peñol and on the east side right on the only road by which the mounts can go up to the pueblos. The water is bad tasting and so scarce that the Indian women take turns to get it and usually stay there several hours before their turn comes to fill their water jars or gourds. There is another watering place west of the peñol at

HP22775

the foot of a little hill, but it is farther away and so serves only for the stock. A little more than a mile away, on the plain to the nothwest of the pueblos, there are three small springs of perennial water. To the northeast, in a canyon at the foot of the mesa, there is a more abundant spring of better water. On this side mounted men can climb the mesa, but only up to the pass, and if necessary cut off fugitives here. All the other approaches are footpaths and difficult going. A mounted troop can reach all these watering places and defend them without its being possible to attack them with arrows or stones from any eminence.

There are three more pueblos on two arms of another mesa to the west of the above-mentioned. On the north, Mossajnabi and Xipaolabi. The former has about fifty families and the latter fourteen, because the inconvenience of the site has forced its inhabitants to move to the south arm of the mesa. On the east side of Mossajnabi, on the road which goes from Gualpi and already on the plain, is the water supply of these two pueblos. And it consists of three abundant wells of good water, one of them perennial and running. There are three entrances, even on horseback. One on the east northeast, and this one is hard going for riders. Another on the south is not very bad. And the third along the mesa itself from Xongopabi. There are several footpaths. The ancient pueblo of San Bartolomé de Xongopabi has been rebuilt on the south arm. Today it keeps only the name Xommapabi (those who are not Moquinos say Xonogopabi). It has three well-arranged but not very large tenements and about sixty families. The only watering place which supplies this pueblo is on the north skirt of the mesa. They have two more nearby on the plain. One toward the south, and this is perennial. The other to the east and this is a middle-sized well which usually dries up. The mesa has two ascents for mounted men. One is on the west and has some difficult stretches. The other on the east northeast, and this one is good even for pack animals, but it is easy to defend it, even with a very small force.

The third mesa is to the west northwest. The pueblo of

San Francisco de Oraybi (just Oraybi today) is on it. It has eleven rather large and well-arranged tenements, with streets to all directions, and there must be at least eight hundred families. It is governed by two captains and a cacique. It has two main entrances, one on the east and the other on the northwest. Both are easy, even for people on horseback. At the beginning of the first are two watering places of bad water, which serve only for the animals, but it is necessary to draw it from the wells so that they can drink from some depressions which the people of the pueblo have made in stones. At the beginning of the second about a mile to the north of the pueblo, is a spring of good water, This is the one which, although small, supplies the pueblo. Very near to the pueblo on the west they have six large cisterns in which a great deal of water can be collected when it rains or snows, but when I saw them they were dry.

All the pueblos have an abundance of sheep, whose wool is usually black. They also have some cattle, and there is much more of this at Oraybi. This includes a good herd of horses. They plant maize, frijoles, chile, and cotton. Of this they make very fine textiles in their style, and they weave the wool to trade and to clothe themselves. The fruits here are melons, watermelons, and peaches. At a considerable distance they have piñon.

They dress like the Christian Indians of this kingdom. The Moqui women do not wear their hair on the forehead in a bang like the other Indian women here, but comb it in the old Spanish fashion, although with a certain difference, that is among themselves, because the married women and widows are distinguished from the girls and unmarried women by the manner of dressing the hair.

They told me that one day's journey north of Moqui there is a middle-sized river with good meadows. There is another west of Oraybi, whether large or small I do not know, and it cannot be very far because the Oraybes use it to irrigate some plantings they make on its banks.

The religion of the Moquis today is the same as before they

HP22776

heard about the Gospel. The chief god they worship is the sun. In addition they have a multitude of innumerable idols, which are no more than petrified and painted pieces of wood. In Gualpi especially they keep some snakes, which become tame with handling. They take them out of the estufas for their most solemn dances and perform many idolatrous ceremonies with them. I have heard tell that the Oraybes preserve with great esteem the body of the Venerable Father Trujillo, complete and flexible, but I could not find the least trace of this, nor does it seem credible to me.

On the third day of July we left Gualpi for Zuñi by a different road than the one we took when we came. Although I tried to avoid it, the captain of Gualpi sent forty armed men to find out whether some smokes that had been seen in the direction where we were going were of the Navajos who planned to kill us. I was most grateful for this action. After travelling about five leagues we reached a site called Aguatobi. The watering place is at the foot of a little hill right on the road. It is a middle-sized spring of good water, sufficient to provide for many people and horses. There are many peach trees near its source. We remained here until five o'clock in the afternoon in order that after drinking at this hour the horses would be able to reach the next watering place, which is about twenty-two leagues from this one. At the said hour we went on, and as soon as we had climbed the hill we sighted the ruins of the old mission and pueblo of San Bernardino de Aguatobi. It was on a height a little more than a quarter of a league to the south of the place where the said spring rises. We travelled southeast until about two o'clock in the morning. We halted near a hill which stands alone on the plain to rest a while and let the animals feed. Before sunrise we continued our laborious journey to the east. Shortly before noon the animals began to tire so much that some were unwilling to go on even without riders. Finally, at two or three in the afternoon we reached the watering place called Ojo de la Jara. It is an abundant watering place with good water. There is very good

pasturage on the piece of land it bathes and in the vicinity. At this stopping place there are also some great trees, whose shade was a great relief to us, for the sun, which was very hot, had tired us out. We rested and the horses recuperated.

On the fifth we set out from this place, and after travelling nine leagues east northeast we reached the watering place called Ojo del Almagre. Shortly before we arrived we saw six horses there. We thought that the Gila Apaches (who frequent this road a good deal) were there. The Alcalde went on ahead with three Indians and found that the animals belonged to a well-known Navajo. The watering place is of medium size and has good pasturage. We rested there, and at four o'clock in the afternoon we continued in the same direction. At nine or ten o'clock at night we halted in a thicket of sabinos and piñones, having traveled six leagues to the east. There was no water here, but there was good pasturage.

On the sixth we made an early start and reached this mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zuñi about nine o'clock in the morning, very happy because Our Patroness and Lady had by her intercession delivered us from the misfortunes that threatened us, and others that might have overtaken us on so dangerous a road as the one we took, because it is the nearest to the Gila and Mescalero Apaches. I found that none of my sons at my pueblo had died. God be forever blessed. Amen.

This, our father, is what happened, where I went, what I did and observed during my journey to Moqui. And although I relate it with the roughness of my style, I do not deviate from the truth in any way. I shall be pleased to accomodate your Paternity in any way and [to know] that you enjoy physical and spiritual wellbeing, in which I pray God to preserve your important life for many years. Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zuñi and April 30, 1776. Your most affectionate and useless subject kisses your Reverend Paternity's hands. Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante.

The foregoing agrees with the original, which is in my charge in this Secretariat. And in order that it may be of

HP22777

record where and when it may be necessary, by verbal order of our Very Reverend Father Minister Provincial Fray Isidro Murillo, I issue the present writing, sealed with the small seal of the Province.

Done on the 12th day of the month of August of this year of 1776 in this Convent of Our Father St. Francis of Mexico City.

Fray Miguel Martínez, Secretary of the Province (rubric) There is a seal.

THE BENJAMIN COOPER EXPEDITIONS TO SANTA FE IN 1822 AND 1823

By KENNETH L. HOLMES*

WILLIAM BECKNELL was called by Hiram Chittenden "the founder of the Santa Fe trade and the father of the Santa Fe trail."[1] Becknell's expedition from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1821, the year of Missouri's statehood and Mexico's independence, helped to make known the new attitude of the New Mexicans toward Yankee traders. His trip of 1822 with wagons revealed greater possibilities than might have been realized if the trade were to depend on pack animals.

There has been a tendency, however, to emphasize the Becknell trips at the expense of several other Missouri travelers who played a significant part in opening the Santa Fe trade. Important among these venturesome men from the Boonslick country were the Coopers: Benjamin, Stephen, and Braxton, who went out with parties in 1822 and 1823.

The real leader of these expeditions was "Colonel" Benjamin Cooper. Ben Cooper was a Revolutionary War veteran,[2] having taken part in the Bluelick fight in Kentucky.[3] He had fought in Indian skirmishes in Kentucky[4] before emigrating to the Missouri frontier in 1808. He led a few members of the Cooper clan into the Boonslick country in that year. They were among the first settlers in that important area.[5] They settled about a mile below Arrow Rock, for many years the meeting place of the Indian tribes for obtaining

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1. *A History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Stanford, California), II, p. 50.
2. Mary Louise Dalton, "Names of Revolutionary Soldiers Known to Be Buried in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, II, No. 1 (October, 1907), pp. 55-56.
3. Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), III, p. 121, fn. 38.
4. *Ibid.*
5. John L. Thomas, "Some Historic Lines in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, III, No. 3 (April, 1909), p. 213.

HP22778