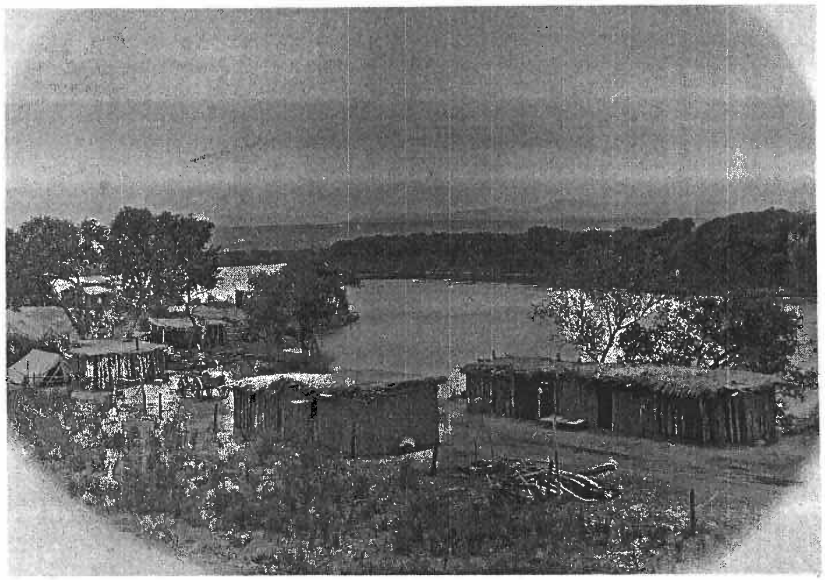


Along the Rio Grande north of El Paso
Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library

To the Royal Crown Restored

The Journals of don Diego de Vargas,
New Mexico, 1692–94

John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and
Meredith D. Dodge, EDITORS
The Journals of don Diego de Vargas

J. Ignacio Avellaneda, Associate Editor
Larry D. Miller, Assistant Editor
José Antonio Esquibel, Research Consultant

A Volume in The Journals
of don Diego de Vargas

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO PRESS : *Albuquerque*

HP23743

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Vargas, Diego de, 1643–1704.
To the royal crown restored : the journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692–94 / John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, and Meredith D. Dodge, editors.
p. cm. — (The journals of don Diego de Vargas)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8263-1559-3
1. New Mexico—History—To 1848. 2. Spaniards—New Mexico—History—17th century. I. Kessell, John L. II. Hendricks, Rick, 1956– . III. Dodge, Meredith D., 1950– . IV. Title.
V. Series: Vargas, Diego de, 1643–1704. Works. English. 1989.
F799.V285 1995
978.9´02—dc20 94-36599
CIP

© 1995 by the University of New Mexico Press
All rights reserved.
First edition

The preparation of this volume was made possible in part by grants from the Division of Research Programs of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

Maps drafted by Jerry L. Livingston
Illustrations by Maria Carmen Gambliel

HP23744

1225792

Contents

Illustrations and Maps ix
Preface xi

Part 1 1
Introduction 3
Abbreviations 23
Notes to Introduction 25

Part 2 31
The El Paso muster, December 1692–January 1693 33
The Conde de Galve thanks Vargas, November 1692–February 1693 99
Diego de Vargas in Zacatecas, March–May 1693 127
Power of attorney of the El Paso presidial garrison, April–June 1693 165
Diego de Vargas to the king, Zacatecas, 16 May 1693 181

Part 3 221
Recruiting the Velasco-Farfán colonists from Mexico City and Puebla, March–November 1693 223
Diego de Vargas in Durango and en route to New Mexico, June–October 1693 345
The recolonizing expedition, El Paso to Santa Fe, October 1693–January 1694 373
The cabildo of Santa Fe to the viceroy, January 1694 555
Glossary 565
Works Cited 567
Index 581

UNIVERSITY OF WA LIBRARIES

Griego. Lorenzo de Madrid, Certification, Santa Fe, 26 Mar. 1694, ZCCL.

48. Miguel Maese, son of Alonso Maese and Catarina Montaño, married María Perea Varela de Losada, daughter of Juan de Perea and Aldonsa Varela de Losada, in 1693. A daughter, Catarina, widow of Juan Antonio Domínguez, married Francisco Rendón in 1727. Two other daughters were Antonia and Francisca. Antonio was the wife of Mateo Martín, and Francisca married Simón Nieto.

Miguel was listed as serving with the presidial troops at El Paso in 1691 and as late as 1697, though his place had been taken for the previous year. After he was killed by Apaches, his wife married Agustín Luján, in 1701. AASF, DM, 1693:20; 1701:4; 1727:12. Diego de Vargas, Certification, El Paso, 30 Mar. 1696, ZCCL. Accounting of the salaries for the fifty soldiers of the presidio of El Paso from mid-April 1696 to the following June, Santa Fe, 25 July 1697, AGN, Historia 37:1. Diego de Vargas, Certification, El Paso, 19 Apr. 1692, ZCCL. NMF, 217.

Diego de Vargas to the King, Zacatecas, 16 May 1693

Not content to leave in the hands of his grateful countryman, the Conde de Galve, responsibility for bringing the glory of his deeds to the king's ear, Vargas dictates an endless memorial to his majesty from Zacatecas.

He recapitulates in dramatic detail the reconnaissance of 1692, emphasizing his personal diplomacy with Pueblo leaders and his efforts to make peace among Indian groups. He recalls the impressive statistics—23 pueblos of 10 nations repossessed, 2,214 souls baptized, and 76 captives rescued—and resorts to the common half-truth that he achieved all this at his own expense. This gift he lays at his sovereign's feet. Finally, at the very end of the document, he ventures appropriate rewards: a noble title of Castile and the governorship of Guatemala, the Philippines, Chile, or the Río de la Plata. He is, that very day, setting out from Zacatecas to refound the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico. The king does not respond for five years.

Zacatecas
To his majesty
16 May 1693
Don Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján
Delivered to lord don Antonio Ortiz on 18 July 169[?]

About the restoration and conquest of New Mexico and its provinces
He sends a copy of the proceedings made in this report. There are vari-

HP23745

ous papers about this in the possession of the viceroy's lord fiscal among which this should be included, as the lord secretary ordered.

Examined by Camargo, Solórzano, Bustamante, Castro, Salazar, and Solís on 4 February of 1697 [rubrica]

Diego de Vargas to the king, Zacatecas, 16 May 1693, LS.

Don Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León, governor and captain general of New Mexico, castellan of its fortress and presidio, its restorer and reconqueror at his own expense, informs your majesty about the restoration and conquest of New Mexico and its provinces that he made at his own expense, putting into effect and advancing what his predecessors in that office, with great cost to the royal treasury, were unable to achieve. He sends a copy of everything and of the approval and thanks the Conde de Galve, viceroy of New Spain, gave to him in the general junta for the successful outcome. He asks your majesty to see fit to order examination of those copies in which everything that happened on that conquest is recorded at length and that he happily submits in honor of the Divine Majesty and the royal crown. He asks your majesty to see fit to approve what the informant, as a loyal vassal inspired by the manner in which his ancestors have served your majesty, has sought to advance in that conquest.

Sir,

At your majesty's royal feet, my triumphs, victories, and conquests repeat their successful outcomes, from which your royal crown has benefited so much and that have been among the greatest gifts to your royal spirit. You have shown this by your repeated royal cedulas and charges to your viceroys not to stop, but to attend to the recovery of the kingdom of New Mexico and its villa of Santa Fe. I entered to take possession of its government on 22 February 1691, wishing to relieve your majesty of that concern. Having carried out your royal will, I immediately took it upon myself to seek out victuals, horses, mules, pack animals, and the other necessary military provisions, in order to be within sight of the villa of Santa Fe, principal city and capital of that kingdom, at the opportune time in the summer.

I was already prepared to leave to carry out my wish—the campaign and entrada—when your viceroy's superior mandate, order, and directive, with the agreement of the royal junta of war and the treasury, prevented me. With regard to the fact that the citizens and missionary fathers of the provinces of Sonora have demonstrated and presented information about the hostilities, thefts, and deaths with which they are continually vexed and terrorized by the Apaches and Pimas, as well as other enemy nations, I pass over this in silence so as not to bother your majesty. I was ordered to postpone the aforementioned entrada to that kingdom, rebellious against your royal crown, apostate and uprisen against the brotherhood of our holy faith. I was to go immediately to aid the frontiers of Sonora, waging an offensive war with fire and sword against the enemies who infest it. I was to direct the troops of the three presidios—the one of El Paso for which I am responsible, the troops from the presidios of Janos, and the one for which the governor and lieutenant of the captain general of the province of Sinaloa is responsible—as they were ordered by that directive. They were my responsibility, just as the military leaders of those companies mentioned were under my orders.

Having immediately carried out such a superior mandate in your majesty's service, I employed on the campaign all the means with which I found myself prepared without removing or reserving anything from those supplies. Naturally, I gave an account of my departure to your viceroy and royal junta, presenting, as occurred to me, the serious disadvantages that could result and follow from the troops under my orders from the presidio of El Paso going out to a different province and kingdom, since it was the principal frontier and protection of the kingdom of New Biscay. Lacking a garrison and defense, it would not only run the risk of the surrounding enemy nations having free passage to that kingdom, but also, with the knowledge that the outpost of El Paso and its district were undefended and without a garrison of troops for their defense, of their having the audacity to attempt its ruin, which they would achieve, as that outpost's settlement is in the open and not walled in.

To give your majesty an account of the operations that were carried out on that campaign, they were to discover the enemy's water holes, sources of food, and hunting grounds and reconnoiter the trails and how they come and go to make war on the frontiers of Sonora. In the places where the enemy was found, I also killed some, and others surrendered. The campaign covered 450 leagues, rather more than less,

HP23746

which is of record in the copy of the war proceedings I sent to your viceroy and royal junta. More than 150 leagues were through unknown, enemy territory where your majesty's troops made their entrada. I trampled the enemy, and in this, they suffered even greater losses than they did when they were discovered, inasmuch as the troops from the province of Sonora knew with certainty how the enemy comes and goes when they attack them. The captain of the presidio of Janos, as he is nearer those frontiers, would be better able to aid them.

As a result of this news and the sending of war proceedings, I withdrew with my El Paso troops. I did the same at the outpost where, with the agreement of the war junta I held beforehand for that reason, I had military leaders do likewise, each one of them giving aid in the areas that were their responsibility. After examining those war proceedings, your viceroy ordered me to inform you about the conquest of the kingdom of New Mexico and the villa of Santa Fe, its principal city. I immediately made that report in April 1692.[1] The royal junta of war and the treasury examined and concurred with it, recognizing the resolution and promise with which I offered myself in your royal service, full of regret, notwithstanding, for having been used humbly and obediently for the Sonora campaign.

My heart, however, was summoned by the current campaign, whose course I relate for your majesty. Led as your loyal vassal and by my legal obligations, I was called (as I repeat) with yearning and ardent fervor to immediately carry out the entrada to that kingdom. Although I was answered by the order that was decided upon for the governor of New Biscay to aid me, without reply or excuse, with fifty soldiers from the presidios of that kingdom (which order and directive with the agreement of the royal junta I received last 13 July 1692) when I was ready to depart, I broke it off. I sent a courier to that governor, so that in compliance with that order, he could immediately send me those fifty soldiers. He advised me that he had the order and the men and was ready, upon word from me, to order them to leave immediately. I adjusted the time by the length of that journey as well as that necessary for the courier, who brought me the verbal reply from that governor, telling me he was not answering my letter then, but would do so when the military leader brought the fifty soldiers.

Since it was already 21 August of that year and neither they nor a report of their having left had come; seeing that not forty summer days remained in which to make that lengthy march with the encumbrance of moving a company and transporting victuals, livestock, mules, horses,

wagons, and the carriages for hauling the artillery, besides the Indian allies; and with the arrangements I made and that are of record in the war proceedings, I decided to leave on that campaign with the three missionary fathers from the custody of our father, St. Francis, from the pueblo of El Paso on 21 August at four o'clock in the afternoon.[2]

After successfully crossing the Río del Norte despite the high water, and traveling 5 leagues, I was obliged to call a halt in a cove along its bank, pondering about and almost giving up on the arrival of the men-at-arms from New Biscay. Continuing its march until 10 September, I was forced to decide when I was 25 leagues away from the villa of Santa Fe and next to the enemy's first borders, to sally forth to make a dawn attack at once, going ahead and anticipating the advantage of traveling lightly, in accord with the small number of men I had with me, the freight, the pack animals, the wagons, and the cattle. Since the company consisted of only fifty-nine people for such an arduous operation, it was necessary for me to leave fifteen in that outpost with their military leader as escort, convoy, and guard of what has been referred to, making them safe on their ramparts and with a palisade in order to be able in part to protect and defend themselves against the enemy Apache. They had already detected us, judging from the continuous smoke signals that rose above the mountains. I left an order and letter so that in case the fifty soldiers arrived, ten should remain with the fatigued horses they would bring so that they might be added to those I was also leaving from my camp. The other forty soldiers should come as soon as possible with their military leader, following my trail to catch up with me.

After they had been well instructed about everything, I left on that day in the afternoon for that kingdom and those frontiers. I made a dawn attack on the first frontier at Cochiti Pueblo. I had a certain report from the Indian allies that it would be inhabited because it was stronger than the principal city, the villa, but the night attack and effort were for naught. I ran the risk of crossing the Río del Norte twice, and the narrow passage was equal to the risk from the enemy. We made the dawn attack in the plaza at the pueblo, and although I found a very large milpa at its entrance, not a soul was found, despite the fact that most of its cuarteles and dwellings were sound.

Changing horses and continuing at full speed to the nearby pueblo of Santo Domingo 3 leagues away, again crossing the Río del Norte twice at great risk, I entered the plaza. The pueblo, although abandoned, was walled and very strong, its cuarteles and most of its houses of moderate size. We went that afternoon to make the entrada to the

HP23747

villa. On the following day, the roughness of the road and darkness of the night, which ended being very cloudy, caused us to halt until the next day.

Following the day's march, it was necessary to quarter ourselves until sunset in an abandoned pueblo and outpost called Cieneguilla. I posted a sentinel and sent out scouts to reconnoiter the terrain. They made out fresh tracks from the rebel enemies, who had crossed through that district on foot and horseback. Considering the time and that necessary precautions had been taken for the arrangements for the entrada to the villa, I departed with forty soldiers and fifty Indian allies, taking the three missionary fathers along with me. Because that night had been cloudy again, it was necessary, given the mountainous country, to take our time so that the men, the body of the horses, and the rest of the packtrain would not get lost.

God saw fit for us to enter the villa at daybreak, in spite of that one hindrance. Exchanging the password at dawn and within sight of their fortress, we said "Praise be the most holy sacrament" five times. We surrounded it, saying the Praise be loudly, and all the enemies went into their fortress, occupying it so that although it was extensive—its facade about a musket-shot long—it was completely filled. Although it seemed that its people and their furious screams could have caused a lack of confidence, I nevertheless did not experience any. I was instead confident of the protection of Our Lady of Remedies, whom I brought as my guide on the royal standard, and of your majesty's arms to assure those rebels that I had come in your royal name from where the sun rises just to pardon them, bringing our divine Lady as a witness and symbol better to combat their disbelief. Being obstinate and stubborn, they proceeded to burst into very mournful cries, as though the devil possessed them, living totally at liberty. At that, I sought (as is of record from the war proceedings) to scorn the well-known danger I was in, at times, of losing my life.

As soon as they realized how few men we had and how advantageous and secure it was for them on the wall, they efficiently set about preparing themselves for battle. With great care, they filled the gaps and again fortified their ramparts with thick stones, also piling up their hooked instruments and other weapons they use. They had everyone proceed noisily at the same time with harsh shouts, war cries, and chants, saying they wished for us to come so they could destroy and kill every one of us once and for all. They would fight five days until they left us all dead, once and for all, without our leaving as we did the first time.

Since the sun was already up, I left the cordon with the captain, the royal alferez, and my secretary of government and war, approaching to within sight of the principal entrance, which is the only one it has, sheltered by an exterior fortress that serves as the foundation to support the rampart that defends the gaps of the entrance by means of dead-end angles. The Indian leaders and captains, the bravest ones they have, occupied the ramparts. I told them again about my coming and the pardon I was granting them in your royal majesty's name. After many and repeated questions and the responses I made to them—some very firmly and others gently—and in which I satisfied them completely, they had me take off my morion so that they could look at me and be certain I was who I said I was: the new governor whom your majesty had sent.

Ignoring my defenselessness in view of so many enemies, I immediately took it off, halting even closer. Standing up in the stirrups, with the fervent zeal of a humble, Catholic vassal of your majesty, I took the royal standard from the alferez's hand.[3] I exhorted them at length in order to convince them of the trustworthiness of my intent and the certain promise of pardon, all of which they scorned. I looked at the mountains and hills that surround the villa and its fortress.

A short while later, those who were attentively on guard at the corners of the fortress again broke out into shouts. Short of men as they were in the fortress, they said that the men of the other pueblos were coming to aid them. Doubtlessly, they were warned by the Indians who were sleeping in the milpas through which I passed. When I made out and recognized the great number coming on foot and horseback, I had to arrest their pride at all costs. I ordered some squadrons from among the small number of people who were part of the cordon and siege laid against the fortress to go out. Their continued approach grew such that at times only four people remained with me on that line.

I had the good luck to notice the water reservoirs, recognizing the conduits they had for their fortress and the people walled up in it. I immediately ordered them cut with the tools I had brought and supplied and the water diverted. They noticed at once that without the water coming in, they would be done great harm. Reproving me, they asked me how I could say to them that I came in peace and then cut their water off? I answered them, saying that the swampy terrain and the difficulty of managing the horses were the reason, not that of harming them. They should be assured I wanted to do them good.

HP23748

Although they went on again to burst out, speaking about making war, I persuaded them with arguments to restrain their treacherous hearts. I told them I was giving them a period of one hour during which they should decide which was better for them: the pardon or dying with their children and wives burned and roasted alive within their fortress and pueblo. They replied they would do so.

In order properly to carry out courageously the battle by fire and sword, I withdrew to the plaza de armas I had designated. I changed horses there, while the men took refreshment and prepared munitions and battle gear. In this manner and with the resolve to carry this out against those rebels, I went down within sight of their fortress. Their repeated questions delayed me until four o'clock in the afternoon. As I was about to do battle, an Indian came out to render me his obedience. I received him kindly and gave him a rosary, which I put around his neck. Dismounting from my horse and embracing him, I told him to go and tell them all to come down to see me and humbly give me their obedience, since I would receive them as I had him. The ones who were there in the plaza looking at me decided to come down from their ramparts and came in the same manner. I received them and spoke to them so that they might be content.

Later, I went to the enemies who were occupying the surrounding hills and mountains with a squadron of twelve soldiers. I made them surrender their weapons there, treating them with the same kindness and informing them of my coming as well as the pardon I was offering them in your majesty's name. They replied that they would tell the rest of their pueblos to see what they decided. So that they would be reassured that I had come in peace, would hear them in peace, and about the certainty of the pardon, I put rosaries around the necks of those I determined to be their leaders and captains.

I took my leave of them, again passing below the ramparts of the fortress, telling the Indians who were on them that I was going in full view to the plaza de armas I had designated, which was a musket shot away. Having taken up my lodging in it, I saw that it was necessary to assure for the rest of the day that the horses recovered some of their strength, as should the men, in order to stand being mounted all night, ready with their weapons because of the enemy's great strength. The good fortune of their submission in the obedience they acknowledged to me, the governor and captain general, who had received it as such in your majesty's name, had been achieved. I was trusting to fortune that they would also recognize the confidence and certainty I had in them,

and not the fear or mistrust of their treachery or of the main body and number of their people who, summoned, were coming to the area in successive troops. To let the men refresh themselves, having no reserve that could alternate, to say nothing of awaiting aid that might come from outside, by means of what was referred to, I commanded and ordered them to raise the siege and cordon they were maintaining and withdraw to the plaza de armas.

Once there, I gave orders for the maximum defense commensurate with the risk and obvious danger in which we saw ourselves that night. We had to restrain the horses so that they would remain in a small space. Thus quartered, the company occupied the plaza de armas the whole night, alternating watches. With the silence of the night, the nearness of the fortress, and the noisy racket from the dogs, the herd of horses could be clearly made out. The enemies nearby, and coming from outside, were coming to garrison the fortress.

With this preoccupation, I spent that night in the same fashion until the break of day, which was the celebrated Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Sunday, 14 September. On that day, I stripped off my weapons and dressed for going out to reconnoiter and enter the plaza of the fortress in order again to restore your former possession to your majesty. To do so, I ordered the men-at-arms to mount their horses. Marching as a well-ordered squadron to the sound of military instruments, I arrived within sight of it. A great number of the rebels came out to receive me at the same time, coming out through the gate of the fortress. The ones who had been summoned and had come from the nations and pueblos were within the walled pueblo. They had entered that night with their weapons ready, because they were suspicious. It seemed to them that I had a secret intention. Because of that, their captains, the ones who came out from among the rebels, asked me to enter their plaza by myself, or with only a few men, so as not to frighten the women and children of their pueblo.

Acceding to their wish, although at some risk, and trusting the success of my going to the Divine Majesty, I dismounted and entered with nine soldiers, which is the number I refer to in the war proceedings, and the three missionary fathers. I left an order for my men to cordon off the facade and not fire without an order from me. I had scarcely entered when they shut the portcullis to the gate, on which some Indians were standing. I ignored this and allowed it, so that they might see that I was neither paying attention nor disturbed by their mistrust or at all afraid of the many people.

HP23749

They were occupying all four of the cuarteles of the plaza. Each has four stories, and this is how their dwellings are built. They had their weapons on the ramparts at ground level and on the terraces. I ordered them all to come down immediately, telling them to leave their weapons in their dwellings. They did so, although they took a long time to come down, because of the large number of people and their having to come down the movable wooden ladders they raise and lower from their windows and doors. The rooms inside are connected by trapdoors, which those who live in the upper three floors use to go up and down.

When they had come down, they kissed my hand. I embraced them, greeting them and saying the most holy name and the Praise be to all the women, children, and the rest of them. I noticed and pointed out that they were wearing around their necks the holy crosses I had sent them the previous day and that they also had placed one in the patio of the plaza and pueblo. I separated the men on one side from the women there and went among them with the alferez, who was carrying your royal standard. I took it from his hand and as a symbol of again returning your former and original possession of that kingdom to your majesty, praised your royal name and repeated three times, "Long live his royal and supreme majesty," and other praises and words. My heart swelled with pleasure at the successful result and my good fortune that those Indians had submitted to being your vassals. Afterward, I asked the father president of the missionary fathers to absolve them from the sin of apostasy, which was done. I knelt, and they did also. Then, the Te Deum Laudamus was said. They received me as your governor and captain general. I told them that mass would be said for them the following day, and all the children who had been born to them would be baptized, as well as any other people who might not be and children who were unbaptized, to which they agreed. I took my leave of them, warning the men-at-arms not to fire the customary salute, so that the Indians who had come from that district might not think that I had begun to fight and in order to better protect against any risk.

With that precaution, I left to return to my plaza de armas, where my men celebrated the entrada and your majesty's possession. I spent the day receiving various Indian leaders and captains from many of the pueblos. I treated them kindly, gave them gifts, sent them messages, and gave them rosaries, which I put around their necks as a demonstration and sign of peace and of the pardon I was offering them in your royal name.

On the following day, Monday the fifteenth, the father president celebrated and pronounced the first mass. Through an interpreter, he

preached a fervent sermon to move them to return sincerely to the yoke of our holy faith and exhorted them to present their children and other people who were unbaptized so that the father and his companions could baptize them. Because it was a very stormy day and there were many people, he told them he would do it some other day. I took my leave of them.

During the second entrada to their plaza that day, in the afternoon I received their cacique and principal governor, don Luis el Picurí, who came to see me with a squadron of three hundred fully armed Indians on foot and horseback. I received them peacefully in their plaza de armas, treated them kindly, and gave them gifts. They did the same, giving me various animal skins from elks, buffaloes, and seals. They agreed to return to see me at length, and I told them I would wait for don Luis on the following day, Tuesday.

He arrived in the morning with his people and many of those who had surrendered. Mindful of his proposals, they came so that they might be informed about everything. After he and his men were made welcome, don Luis opened the matter by saying that he felt content about my presence in the villa and the surrender of the Indians of its fortress and pueblo. It was a matter of such importance that I should leave again, for in the coming year after the present one, I could return. He would have gathered in the pueblos the people of all the pueblos who, on hearing of my entrada, had gone and left them empty and uninhabited. Rising, I answered him very frankly that your majesty had sent me to conquer not only the villa, but also the whole kingdom; that your royal power was great; and that if he killed me (although they might be many, I was unafraid), your majesty would send many people to kill them all. Although I had come with few men, it was so that they would believe I was coming to pardon them. With only those men, I was to see and enter the kingdom in order to be able to give an account to your majesty, who had ordered me to do so.

When he had seen my resolution and the honesty with which I spoke to him, I told him that your majesty was the absolute lord and sovereign monarch of this whole world and that from where the sun rises to wherever I might be, I had to have them all render their obedience to your majesty and humble themselves at your feet as your vassals, which they were. Although they had rebelled, your majesty had not therefore lost them or ceased being lord of them and their kingdom. You sought this so that they might become Christians. You sent me with the three missionary fathers for that reason: so that they might be absolved, their chil-

HP23750

dren and the rest of the unbaptized people might be baptized, and the fathers and Spaniards might enter and preserve it.

To that and the many other arguments I effectively made he replied to me that since it was necessary to make an entrada to reconnoiter all of it, I should first go to the Pecos nation, their enemies. He would help me make war against them with his men. In response to all that, I told him that to please him, I would make that entrada and go there first. If they received me peacefully and rendered the necessary obedience to your royal majesty, I would also make them his friends. If they did not agree to the first point about obedience, I would resort to fire and sword. He asked me for six days to go gather his men and see to their weapons and horses. He took his leave reassured, content, and informed about everything, having spent the whole morning with those proposals, questions, cross-examinations, and replies. I answered them all for him and made proposals according to what was advantageous for your royal service.

He arrived on the twenty-first with his men and, since it was Sunday, attended and heard mass along with me, the governor and captain general. I left with the entire company along the road for Galisteo. Calculating the time it would take to cover the distance to the pueblo and nation of Pecos so that it could be humbled, I was forced to spend the night, quartering on the banks of its arroyo at a distance of 9 leagues.

As day was breaking, I had already mounted and given the orders to continue the march when we were detained by hearing the sound of repeated salutes being fired. A group from the troop of fifty soldiers from New Biscay, already mentioned, was coming in accord with the order in my letters, following my tracks. Their captain and military leader dismounted and explained to me about how they had gone ahead to the villa of Santa Fe in search of me in order to give me word of their arrival. He received my second letter and order there, which I had secretly left prepared with one of the soldiers. I had him pretend to be sick so that the Indians who had been brought back to the faith might not be suspicious about his staying. That soldier, the bearer of that letter, also came, saying that the sudden arrival of the new squadron had startled many of the Indians.

By midday, everyone had joined the men under my command, and, after arranging their departure so as not to fail to carry out the entrada at once, I began the march that night. I quartered on a mesa in the midst of the monte and rough mountainous country to continue the march when the morning star rose. When it was in sight, we discovered at a distance of 1 league signs that the Indians had detected us. Although

the smoke that was rising could apparently assure us that the rebel Pecos enemies were in their pueblo, I soon surrounded their cuarteles and plazas, distributing the men for the siege with the two companies and leaving some to overtake fugitives. Although the terrain was examined as if it had been reconnoitered, for the present our work was in vain, since the enemies' plazas and cuarteles were seen to be abandoned. It was necessary to track them down. With the men thus spread out in flanks through the hills and mountains, the ravines and rough country separated us.

Having traveled a great distance, I captured the people who were following me and the governor of that pueblo. I had arrived in time to prevent them from killing him. When the Indians had removed his clothing and told me he was the governor, I placed a rosary around his neck. I also ordered him to make a cross so that, as a sign of peace, his people could come together, his personal safety could be assured, and those who accompanied me would not kill him.

To the sound of the trumpet, I went about gathering the men who were coming with the spoils and enemy prisoners. Seeing that it was already late, I ordered them to withdraw with the prisoners to that pueblo, calling them together repeatedly with the trumpet. When I arrived there, within sight of our quarters and outside, from the hills and mountains, I laid siege to the pueblo, also setting up the artillery there and designating it the plaza de armas. During the five days I laid siege, I made various patrols, arrangements, orders, and efforts, which are of record in the war proceedings. I successfully captured thirty of the enemy and rescued six captives who had been their slaves since the uprising.

It seemed advantageous to me to make the rebels safe in their pueblo to attract them and the rest so that they would not withdraw, going away with our enemies, the Navajo Apaches. For a distance of 8 leagues, their bordering rancherias are located in the hills and mountains. In this way they conduct their trade and friendship, which is why they live so much on guard.

So as not to waste time, I decided it would be convenient to free the prisoners, distributing rosaries to them and leaving large crosses set up in their plazas. I treated them very kindly and reassured them about the pardon. I left them a letter with a cross on it, in which I assured them that if all returned to their pueblo, they should advise me as soon as they had, and I would return to see them.

Once the siege was raised, I left with the men-at-arms and captives. I divided the company, one section going by the road and the other by

HP23751

the new one through the monte that the Indians use to travel to and from the villa on foot and horseback. I arrived there and left for the pueblos of the Tewas, Tanos, and Picuris. I was received with every courtesy in them all. Their names are as follows: Tesuque, Nambe, Cuyamungue, Pojoaque, Jacona, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, San Juan, San Cristóbal, and San Lázaro. These belong to the Tewa and Tano nations. I humbled and conquered them all for your royal crown, again returning to revalidate royal possession in your royal name. The Indians rendered their proper obedience. Once their children and the other people were baptized, leaving them governors and war captains chosen, I ordered them all to be present in the morning and afternoon to pray before the crosses I ordered them to erect, which they had in their plazas. I ordered and told them many other things regarding service to God Our Lord and pleasing to your majesty.

On 4 October, I went on to the pueblo and nation of the Picuris. Entering on the fifth, I also humbled and conquered them. Once they were absolved and baptized, I stopped in their plaza, where I again ordered the royal alferez to raise your royal standard three times for your majesty and as a symbol of possession.

The snow was very heavy that night, continuing on Monday, 6 October. I needed to go on to the rebel Taos nation, enemies not only of your majesty, but also of those already conquered. The men-at-arms from my company were joined by various troops of Indians from those nations, who were customarily allied with those from Picuris, against all of those with whom the Taos Indians were waging war. I had been informed about the distance, 10 leagues, and the rugged hills and mountains, which are extremely cold and have a lot of snow, whose drifts prevent traveling that road. Fearful that the snow might impede me, since the storm was continuing at the time, and so that the entrada might not be prevented, I ordered the men-at-arms to mount as rapidly as possible. When they had done so, with their weapons and horses ready, I went out to make half the journey. Despite the harshness, the difficulty of the road, and the storm, I successfully covered the distance and halted at an outpost they call Miranda's, which is comfortable and sheltered in those mountains, to spend part of the night.

With the order I had given, since we were about to march at two in the morning on the seventh, I mounted, leaving with the company at full speed to arrive at daybreak to lay siege against that pueblo. When we were within sight of it, we did not notice any smoke, although their many milpas gave us the hope that there were people in it. In order to

win the laurels of conquering it, pressing the horses on, we found we were so well arrayed that we were able to occupy the entire site. I entered its plaza and found it uninhabited, as were all the houses of its cuarteles. A short while later, reconnoitering the high mountains, some indistinct smoke was seen; it was thought to be fog or clouds.

In order to have enough time to gather together the Indian warriors and the horses to change mounts to reconnoiter and cross the mountains and hills referred to, I sent on ahead the cacique, don Luis el Picurí. This was so that as head of those nations, he could go ahead and penetrate that country and then send me word. I was only waiting for a change of mounts, as were the men-at-arms, to go overtake them. I encouraged him, treating him kindly, and he went willingly to do it, calling his men.

After two hours, he sent word for me to come as quickly as possible. Without waiting for the change of horses, I did so immediately, leaving the order that only the horses should follow me. I went as far as the base of the mountain, where I found don Luis talking to a Spanish-speaking Indian. I shook his hand and treated him kindly, telling him that I regretted that the people of his pueblo did not believe that I was coming only for their good. He should go and tell them immediately. As a sign of peace, I was giving and putting a rosary on him and would wait for him there. With this, he left.

A short while later, various Indians, who surrendered their weapons, began coming down to talk to me. I spoke to all for their better understanding and satisfaction, with that Indian serving as interpreter. Recognition of my affection obliged those who were hidden on the peñoles watching to begin coming down, their troops continuing to come down to see me. I assured them all, and their women and children came down. So that they would believe me, I distributed rosaries, placing them around the necks of most of them. When it seemed that most of the people were there, I had them go down to their pueblo with me. This was fortunate, since a soldier came at a full gallop to tell me that the enemies of those who had returned to the faith were trying to set fire to the pueblo and burn their grain. In that way, they were seeking vengeance for the damage and deaths they had suffered.

With that, I decided to send a squadron under the command of the sargento mayor to help stop them from doing so. I assured them that I would make them friends of one another, since once humbled, they would come down with me and be willing to do whatever I might order them. This incident caused me to hurry, and I arrived a short time later.

HP23752

I comforted and calmed them once we were all together. After many explanations passed from one group to the other and everyone was satisfied, I had them shake hands and be friends. I told them that your royal majesty also pardoned them, which was a way for them to know one another willingly.

I spent that day on what has been referred to, on how the women and children might come down. Most arrived at about sunset. I shook hands with and embraced them all, ordering them to retire and go to their houses, since I was there so that they might be safe in them and no one could harm them. That night, I left an order for their governor, Pacheco, to find the people who were missing early on the following day, because it was necessary for them all to be together so that they might be absolved and baptized. The younger captains were thus sent to the mountainous country.

The following day, they had a great dance around a cross. All came to see me with great festivity. When they been called up and assembled on the plaza, the missionary fathers and I did what we had done in the rest of the pueblos. In the afternoon, as is of record in the war proceedings, I declared that I was summoning the nations of the Keres, the Pecos in this one, the Jemez, Apaches, Zunis, and Moquinos.

For three days and nights, some young men from this their pueblo and the Taos nation were in the junta held by the Indians who had joined together to kill me. They had supplies prepared for the ambush to strike at me as I passed through the hills and mountains, attacking to kill my men and me, some from among the mounted men and at the same time, others from among the body and main part of the vanguard that was in charge of your royal standard. I told them that having already been in the Pecos nation and ordered and left the crosses set up in its plaza as a sign of peace, it was necessary for me to go to that pueblo again. So that the people there would not be afraid, I was ordering them to go tell them that I had been with them and what had happened. This was so that they, as such good friends of theirs, would be assured of my good intentions and that I would await them in the villa of Santa Fe.

After all that, I left the following day, the eighth. I was very busy until 16 October, when I returned to the villa, having again gone by and made an entrada to the pueblos mentioned and confirmed the certainty of their humble obedience. I took my leave of them and found that the men-at-arms and artillery I had left, because of the difficulty of the road, had accepted the kindness of the Indians of San Juan, where I was detained for two days because of the stormy weather and two successive days of snow.

I left for the villa and went through the remaining pueblos. In them, as in the villa on the day I entered, I encountered nothing but good relations and affection. On the sixteenth, I received the fugitive rebels from the pueblo and nation of Pecos in peace. They humbly gave me an explanation for their departure. I replied to them that they should return, advising them that I would repeat the entrada on the following day and that they should all wait for me.

Because it seemed to me that I should not delay relating what has been referred to, I sent a courier to your viceroy with the copy of the war proceedings of this conquest up to the sixteenth. I dispatched them by courier from the villa at eleven o'clock at night, for greater security. After dawn, I took my leave of the Indians of the villa, leaving them with a governor and others selected, according to their customs. I ordered them to live as Christians and plant so that the fathers and Spaniards might have supplies. Your royal majesty would send them word later this same year. I unburdened myself of the allied Indian warriors, foodstuffs, wagons, and captives who left the villa, whom I ordered to go under the command of the sargento mayor along the road that goes to Santo Domingo Pueblo.

After executing this order, I then left with the rest of the men-at-arms from the two presidios; they numbered sixty soldiers. Going along the short road through the hills and mountains, I entered Pecos Pueblo with them on 17 October. Since smoke signals rose from the heights of the mountains and the men from my company remarked that it was not for the purpose of ambushing us, I pretended not to notice, although with the news referred to about the Taos Indians on the eighth, I could understand it.

Shortly thereafter, the smoke rose again, and at that, I ordered a halt to wait for the rest of the company and the horses to catch up. Then, everyone changed horses at my command. I carried this out, giving the men ammunition. I went with them, marching at a natural pace so that the horses might be sound for whatever unforeseen event might occur because of the rough terrain and brambly undergrowth.

It must have been about three o'clock in the afternoon when, coming out of the hills and mountains, from 2 leagues away I made out the cuarteles of the pueblo. It is the largest of all, with more than fifteen hundred houses. Once I had arrived at its grounds, I ordered a well-organized squadron to direct its efforts to taking the corners of the prin-

HP23753

cipal plaza and upper cuarteles, where we had stayed at the time of the first entrada. Somewhat more than one-quarter league from it, more than four hundred fully armed Indians came out to receive me. Ordering my men to break into their midst, they did so, saying, "Praise be the most holy sacrament," five times, with most of the Indians responding, "Forever and ever." I went, ever in the lead, to receive and respond to the enemy in time. Their leaders and captains also came forward to receive me. In order to talk with me, I ordered them to lay down and leave their weapons, which they obeyed.

I went with them to their pueblo, where I found many arches and a very well made cross set up in front of the entrance, as well as two groups of Indians, and women and children of all ages. Entering the plaza, I found another smaller one, as well as old Indian men and women. The elderly Indian who is their governor came out to receive me and shake my hand. He was the one, as I noted on the same day of the first entrada, the men-at-arms who were in my guard captured. He showed me the rosary and cross I gave him and said he would obey me and give his loyalty to your royal majesty as he should. I went on to order the royal alferez to make the demonstration that had been made in the other pueblos as a sign of possession on your majesty's behalf. He did so with the same pleasure and happiness of having successfully reunited to your royal crown these Indians who had forsaken your majesty at the time of the first entrada, as is of record in those proceedings and to which I refer.

Later, the missionary fathers solemnized their absolution, baptizing all their babies, children, and the other people who were unbaptized. That night, they mingled with the company. I allowed them to so that they could judge, on the one hand, that I was not afraid of them and, on the other, that they should be afraid, seeing how vigilant the men were, being on guard with their horses and weapons and repeatedly making their rounds.

Although it was very stormy with squalls and winds, it stopped snowing until the following day, Saturday, 18 October, at three o'clock. Because of the lengthy journey to Santo Domingo Pueblo, I had to depart, resisting the strength of the storm, to join up with the company and arrive slightly later. Thus I departed, taking my leave of them affectionately, leaving named for them the governor and other leaders for which they had asked me. They gave me many reasons for contentment and remained happy at having seen me.

I ordered them and the rest to build their church and holy temple and the convento for the father. I did not order them to build a house

for me since they could see I slept outside and would continue to do so. I only ordered them to be Christians and pray. I asked nothing of them; I would pay them what they wanted for whatever might be needed.

Thus, I took my leave of them, content about all that was said, as was the company. We paid no attention to the storm we went through during the night in the mountains, coming out of it at about ten. We arrived at Galisteo Pueblo, and I found it and the larger area around it abandoned. On its circumvallation, I called a halt to pass the rest of the night, until the following day, 19 October.

Having gone more than 12 leagues, I arrived at Santo Domingo Pueblo at two in the afternoon, where the rest of my company already was. Having rejoined them, we made out smoke from the rebel enemies in the mountains. This made it necessary for me to order a squadron of Indians from the Keres nation to go out, since they were the ones I was going to conquer, so that they might bring them before me. They were to advise me whether it was necessary to send soldiers or go in person, which I would do immediately, moving the company.

After they had been treated kindly, they went away well instructed and brought me three Indians from that nation along with an Indian I had sent. It is of record in the proceedings that their governor and captain, Antonio Malacate, was living on the mesas of the Cerro Colorado. One of those who was before me, a speaker of Spanish, said his name was Francisco. He was a cantor when they rebelled. He replied to me that Malacate, his captain, was ill, and that I could go see him whenever I wanted. He said many other things. In response, I told him that since he spoke Spanish, he should go first to the pueblo and mesas of Cieneguilla, before the mesa of Cochiti and 4 leagues from his Keres nation, and assure them that I was also going there to see them in peace. As a sign and a guarantee, I was sending them the cross and a rosary I was giving him. I also put another one around the Indian's neck and on the rest of his companions, so that they all might go as witnesses and better believe it. Having been treated kindly, they left, encouraged by being told that I would wait for them on the following day, which was the twentieth of the month.

The snow and storm continued; the company had a hard time of it. In the afternoon, at sunset, the Indian and his companions returned to see me, accompanied by the military leaders and the captains of the pueblo of Cieneguilla. Because they were outside, at the crossroads and in the open country, it was necessary first for me to offer them entry. In my presence, they said they were happy to see me and that I

HP23754

should go. I gave them gifts and treated them affectionately, ordering them to go very early in the morning on the following day, the twenty-first, to advise their pueblo that I was going to visit them.

With the men already prepared in the manner referred to, I left at nine on that day, the twenty-first, with sixty soldiers. I had first sent the baggage, the Indian allies, the captives, the rest of the packtrain, and the artillery to the abandoned hacienda of Anaya along the camino real. I, the governor and captain general, arrived at the mesa. The pueblo of La Cieneguilla is in the middle of the mesa in a cañada. I made the steep ascent, going up most of it on foot with my weapons, as did most of the soldiers, for it was very rough and long, about half a league. Many Indians were spread out on the mesa and its summit, singing war chants after their manner, and many of them came down to receive the men and me. We found they had set up arches and the cross that I told them they should have.

Once I had ascended to the top, I could see a long road. The walled pueblo, with an entry and two plazas, was located in a cañada. I entered them, and I had all the Indians and people who were there in their dwellings called together there. Once they had come down and were in the main plaza, they were asked why there were so many people and why they were living at that place when the pueblos before it were abandoned. They replied to me that they were obliged to live where they were able to defend themselves, because they had suffered many raids and deaths from the Apaches and the enemies of the rebel nations that had reconciled, surrendered, and been conquered. The people living there were from the three pueblos of Cochiti, San Marcos, and San Felipe, all of which I had passed. Once the Indians had surrendered their weapons and the new possession in your royal name and for your royal crown had been ratified, the fathers absolved and baptized them.

Because it was late, I went down from the mesa. I had exhorted them and said what was referred to in the service of your royal pleasure and again departed. It was necessary to halt at a distance of 4 leagues to spend the night until the following day, the twenty-second. I went on to the hacienda, where I joined my company. Both groups managed successfully to cross the Río del Norte in various places at great risk because of its strong current. Since it was necessary to return to the west to conquer the nations of the Jemez and go on to that of the Keres belonging to Captain Malacate, I ordered the sargento mayor to proceed with the Indians, the captives, the packtrain, the artillery, and the escort that had been designated, along with the horses and mules. I separated those

necessary for those sixty soldiers, carried out that order, and took my leave. I ordered them to go to the outpost of Mejía, which, it is of record in these proceedings, I designated as a place for the reserve victuals, livestock, and horses on 10 September, as is referred to herein. They were to remain at that outpost until I returned, if Our Lord saw fit, from conquering the Keres and Jemez nations.

After retracing my march and crossing the river again about 8 or 9 leagues away, it was necessary to halt at the abandoned pueblo of Zia. Its inhabitants had escaped with their governor and captain, Malacate, at the time when General Domingo, my predecessor, made his entrada and conquered the people who were in the pueblo. When the governor went out to hunt them down, most of those Indians, when they heard about the loss of their people and the destruction of most of their pueblo, chose some mesas 3 leagues away for their safety. They are above Pelado Mountain and the Cerro Colorado, and they went there to settle for their greater defense and shelter. I was told that they would have done so in the river canyon, but the land was salty, sterile, and dry, and lacked firewood.

On the following day, the twenty-third ~~twenty-fourth,~~ I took all morning to arrive with the sixty soldiers within sight of the Cerro Colorado. I saw its rough terrain, impregnability, and likewise its disagreeable ascent. The men and I had to ascend it on foot, with our weapons in hand. The rebels on the summit were also armed and were spread out on the flanks and in the gullies of the mountains. I greeted them in the usual way. Once on top, I shook hands with their leaders. I found them completely humble and obedient and with the cross, to which I refer in this letter, that I sent them as a guarantee of peace. In the plaza, as well as from the upper parts of their houses, they showed their pleasure with their absolution and the affirmation of your royal possession. They willingly carried and brought their children so that they might be baptized, treating me and the fathers with great kindness. Malacate asked me not to leave him with the responsibility for their government, because he was already very old and sick. He pointed out an intelligent Indian to me, and in my presence and that of the Indians, I asked whether choosing him was to their liking. They said yes, and I gave him their governor's cane.

I took my leave and returned to the river bank to spend the night, in order to make the entrada on the following day, the twenty-fifth. I carried it out as far as the mesas of the cañada, 3 leagues away, where the Jemez nation is settled. They met in the junta with the nation I have

HP23755

mentioned. When I arrived within sight of the pueblo with the squadron, a great army of unruly Indians and Apaches came out to me, fighting. I calmed them as best I could, although they persisted in repeating their cries and exhibitions of their treacherous spirit. I nevertheless scorned them, storming up the ascent of that hill to win the territory of the mesa. There was another large group of about three hundred Indians there, who, joining with those from below, began a great dance and war chant. I entered their plaza, and they followed me into it. Their governor and two other Indians received me there with the cross I had sent them. These three Indians immediately gave their humble obedience to your royal majesty.

In the second plaza of the pueblo, the Apaches had prepared an ambush. Nevertheless, I ordered them all to put their weapons aside and stop their shouting, although it took some two hours to make their women, children, and the many people in the cuarteles and dwellings of those two plazas come down. This treachery, which I was confirming, was proof of their rebellion. I was the only one dismounted, so that they would be persuaded about the pardon I was offering them and that I was not afraid of them. Once the governor who was selected yesterday, whose name is Cristóbal and who speaks Spanish, arrived, I told him he should tell them that I ordered them to lay down their weapons and not anger me. Were they not Christians like the rest? They should kneel to be absolved and reaffirm your royal possession. After succeeding in having them do so, this was carried out. They then brought their children and the other people who were to be baptized, so that the missionary fathers might do so.

When this was over and I was taking my leave, they asked me and the fathers to come up to eat. I did this so that they would realize and be assured that I was not leaving angry and that they were innocent of their crime. I went up to a very tall house, and they very politely fed me. Those Indians were somewhat disturbed. I left the room, going out to the roof and corridor of the house, and nine or ten Apaches came out after me. I asked them what they wanted and what they were doing there with their weapons. They replied to me that they came to see me in peace. Responding to that, I told them that they should first lay down their weapons to pass me the peace, and if they did not, I would put them all to the sword as the enemy traitors they were. Seeing my resolve, they immediately laid them down and kissed my hand. I gently told them they should be Christians. At that, they were silent and did not reply. I asked them again insistently, and they said they would go to hunt deer.

In my political calculations, spending all this time with them in these and other, repeated questions was so that they would see how little their great numbers disturbed me, and the favor I was doing them all, not only in allowing them to live, but also in having pardoned them. I asked the Jemez why they had abandoned their pueblo, which has twelve plazas, cuarteles, and sound dwellings, as well as a very large, well-cared-for church with a high tower. They answered that they had done so when the Spaniards came, because their enemies were the Tewa, Tano, and Picuris nations and the Apaches from other rancherias who came from afar to rob and kill them. Having suffered those injuries, they had been obliged to abandon their pueblo.

Taking my leave of them, as in the other pueblos, I again departed, going in the direction away from the abandoned pueblo of the Jemez. I had gone about 3 leagues when I arrived at its arroyo and halted on its bank a musket shot away, spending that night with the men-at-arms. I arrived with them on the twenty-sixth at the abandoned pueblo of Santa Ana. On the twenty-seventh, crossing the river at great risk, I arrived to join my company at the hacienda and outpost of Mejía, already referred to, where I found all the men content. Passing muster of the captives, which is of record in the proceedings, I decided, in order to complete and formalize the conquest, to go on and send ten citizens and an escort of ten soldiers to El Paso under the command of the artillery captain and the sargento mayor, who carried the list of the captives, whose muster had been done in his presence, as well as the wagons, furnished with munitions and supplies. I also turned over the artillery to them, so that the outpost of El Paso might have that defense and garrison and be able to defend itself against the enemy Apache.

When they had departed, I also left for the peñol of Acoma with great pleasure. I arrived there on 3 November; it was an incomparable fortress. I tell your majesty that the adelantado, don Juan de Oñate[4] (whose triumph is of record to you, as is the loss of his brother, the maestre de campo, don Antonio, and 80 soldiers of the 260 he brought) did not succeed in this in twenty-one years. Even I, taking only 89 soldiers, might have hesitated at such a great undertaking. Arriving in front of the peñol, I saw it was inhabited, garrisoned by the people from the Keres nation who are there and settled on the mesa. Saying to them the Praise be as at the other pueblos, they answered me distinctly, "Forever and ever." It was about noon, and I dealt with various questions until sunset, going along the dune and way up they have. The passage for entry to the peñol is there. The ancient inhabitants made it for that

HP23756

purpose by hand and so that it might not be easily scaled; the people had graded and braced it. A soldier brought a prisoner, one of their people, and I freed him in their presence. I ordered him to tell them that night on my behalf to come down in the morning to see me, that I would hear and receive them in peace. Two Indians from those of my company who had followed me arrived at the top and replied to them that the people would meet that night and decide what would be best for them.

Daybreak arrived, although I had spent the night worried about the water hole, which was a league away, since there was no spring. Although it was cleaned with some effort, because the number of horses, mules, and cattle was considerable, it was impossible to satisfy them all. To this had to be added the repeated snow and frosts that fatigued and numbed them, as they did the men-at-arms. At dawn, since the company had no water, I realized that the undertaking was impossible. It was difficult to maintain ourselves there, since the enemy were on their peñol and in their homes with their provisions and cisterns on the mesa, with which they supply and sustain themselves. Thus, I sent two Indians with a holy cross, a rosary, and a letter in which I told and assured them of the pardon. I charged the bearers with telling them what they had seen. They asked me for gifts to take them, and I gave them, so that they would not fear that they would kill them. They went contentedly and returned with their answer, which was to tell me that everything that had been said had been carried out and that on the return from Zuni and from the province of Moqui, they would have the people see me. They were very fearful now, because the Apaches, their friends, had advised them not to believe me, because it was with the guarantee of the pardon I was offering them that I would kill them, carry off their women and children, and leave them in the district of the outpost at El Paso. That was what they had done with those who were taken from Zia and the pueblos of Santa Ana and Isleta.

I had to answer them and thus went again to see them. With that intention, I left with only the captain, the officials, and the military leaders; those who went numbered scarcely nine. I stopped within view of the peñol. Although I tried to see whether it had a way up by means of which to make a surprise attack, I realized there was no recourse, since although there were various ravines, the Indians had only some small holes in the rocks in which one could rest the tip of one's foot. I greeted them again in the same manner, and they reciprocated in the same way; I only noticed that their attitude seemed calmer. They told

me through their governor, a Spanish-speaking Indian named Mateo, that I should go where they had talked to me late yesterday.

Turning back, I went and again warned them at length. Seeing their great suspicion and distrust, and how indifferently the Indian Mateo answered me, with great fervor and borne by the glory of such an undertaking, I dismounted from my horse. I climbed onto the stone slabs and pedestal rocks of that peñol, telling them that they should shake my hand. I did not have the mistrust of them they had of me. Surprised at my resolve, Mateo said, "I am coming down to see you."[5] Unable to do so, he told me, "Return on foot by our way up, and I shall come down it."

The Indian, who had returned, was already at that place. The Indians were watching him as he decided to go down. Giving him words of encouragement, I, the governor and captain general, persuaded him so that he decided to begin to come down. My lieutenant and the captains of both bodies of troops watched him and went halfway up the path to receive him. They embraced him, and he came down with them. I was beside the way up and down, ready to receive him. He shook their hands and kissed mine, saying the Praise be and other things. I embraced him affectionately. The rest were also coming down, as well as some women.

When I saw the successful outcome, I then called for the missionary fathers at the water hole to come. They had to ascend the peñol with me so that our glory might be perfect in every way. During the time they took to come, my eight companions and I were talking with those Indians, who were lowering many watermelons, tortillas, and cooked pumpkins down to me, praising Our Lord for our great success. Had it not been pleasing to Him and His most holy will, it would not have been easy to conquer them.

When the fathers arrived, they went up with me and my nine companions. With that, I called out and advised the Indians that these were the only ones. It is true that the ascent greatly fatigued us. Once on top of the mesa, I found a beautiful, spacious pueblo with three-story houses and a very large church, whose walls must have been 3 varas thick, with two towers. I celebrated your majesty's new possession, and the fathers absolved them and baptized their children and the other unbaptized people. I left crosses set up for them and took my leave after nightfall. I descended from the peñol with everyone very content about what had been conquered for our holy faith and your royal crown.

I repeat to your royal and sovereign majesty that only miraculously can you hold this securely. My undertaking is the one I feared would

HP23757

be the miscarriage of my fortune had I not had such a successful triumph. This is because immediately, in attempting to equal it, the object would be held up only to make it vanish, had I not triumphed in obtaining the humble obedience that those Indians should give to your royal majesty.

I make this brief report to you at your royal feet, resuming the narrative and history of this my conquest. Having come down from the peñol, and with the successful outcome in addition to my distinguished, loyal character in your majesty's service making possible all that was impossible, I went on that night to the outpost and camp I established at that water hole. I found the men-at-arms exhausted from the great amount of work they had done. In order to water the horses, they had taken the mud out of it and ditched its spring, but in vain, for this only served to make it muddy. They seemed to have the same need I also suffered until the morning, when my compadre brought me a gourdful from the cistern they have on the peñol.

I left on the fourth to continue the march to the province of Zuni. I found two water holes at El Morro, which are of rainwater, and the pool, which drains back into itself and into the former, although, because of its distance, at the cost of two days's journey without water. I arrived at the spring of the province of Zuni, and its leaders and some Indians came to welcome me. I gave them gifts and treated them kindly. Some had brought their muskets and fired a salute to me before I reached the plaza de armas and outpost I had designated. Before my arrival, I had sent ahead an Indian, who was part genízaro and spoke Spanish, whom I treated kindly. He was present at the conquest and ascent I made of the aforementioned peñol. The Indians recognized that it was certain, since I had sent them a letter with a holy cross and rosaries for their greater satisfaction. They were so pleased that they brought me fruit juice and a lamb to dine on.

After those in the company had slept, some of them went very early in the morning to give the reply and report on having seen me, and others accompanied me. Arriving somewhat more than a league away and within sight of the peñol of Kiakima, I realized that it was even higher and longer than the previous one. They asked me to stop there, because there was adequate firewood, pasture, and water for the company. In order to please them and not consume the reserved pastures they had for their sheep and horses, I had to quarter in that place, where the Indians came back to see me. I told them I would ascend the peñol the following day and climb the mesa to go on to the pueblo they have

on it. They replied that they would repair the path to make it more passable, since it was necessary to go up it on foot, and left to gather the people to perform the task.

On the following day, 6 November, I went on to ascend that peñol with the missionary fathers and sixty soldiers, a distance of about a league. Once on top, I remounted my horse and saw the mesa, which they say is 2 leagues long. According to what I reckoned, that is the true distance. Going on to the middle of it, I found an extensive pueblo with three plazas with a few inhabited dwellings on it.[6] When I dismounted, I found they had set up a very well-made cross in the main plaza, as I had ordered them, as well as in their houses. The people arrived at the plaza, and I said and proposed to them what has been referred to in the rest of the pueblos, again confirming your royal possession. The missionary fathers also performed the acts of absolution and baptism.

Once this was finished, I heard that the holy vessels, a monstrance, and effigies of Christ Our Lord were on the terraced roof of a house of the governor of that pueblo who had died. Rushing to that house, I went up a wooden ladder to the roof. On the terrace, which had a small panel as a door, I entered and found a small room with an altar arranged in the following manner: On the floor two tallow candles weighing more than a pound and as white as snow were burning in two candlesticks. Some painted mantas as a frontal, some altar cloths, and four very large silver chalices with their patens were on a table. In the middle was a gold-plated silver monstrance with its crystal, just like new. This was covered with pieces of cloth from the sacred vestments that had fallen into pieces. Also on the table were three images of Christ Jesus, two excellent ones of cast bronze and the third painted on a very well made cross with a Capuchin St. Francis at His feet. In order to remove the scraps with which it was covered and uncover it, I knelt before those barbarians. With special tenderness about my good fortune in successfully finding such a divine treasure, I kissed the images a thousand and one times. I turned to my companions so that they could consider the risks and travail suffered as well worth it, with the reward of having rescued Christ Jesus.

The Indians were astonished, and I rose and told them they could trust me with everything. They had kept and preserved the vessels, monstrance, and divine images in such a way that it was necessary for me to take them to El Paso so that the father custos could reconsecrate them. When a father came to minister to them, he would bring them back for the services at the church I was ordering them to build. I em-

HP23758

braced them as a sign of my love and esteem for their having returned them. Immediately after, underneath the table, they showed and handed over to me a nearly new missal, other books pertaining to the sacristy and divine offices, and another twenty books by various authors. The signature of the father who had used them was written in his hand at the beginning. I had an inventory made of everything and received it, which is of record in the war proceedings. I collected everything and went outside. With the fathers present, the Indians took me up to a room where there was a table set and very well arranged with cloths. They served me a meal with great politeness and form, and afterward they liberally did the same for all the men-at-arms of my company.

I took my leave and returned to the outpost. Because it was a stormy night, the Apaches lay in ambush where the cattle were. Since the country was very mountainous with many mesas, they managed to carry off a group of eighteen cattle that had strayed. I was given word as soon as it dawned, but after examining the tracks and loss, I did not order their pursuit. This was so as not to risk burdening the men and losing the most important thing, which was the battle for the province of Moqui.

Since the weather continued with showers and snow, I stayed there until 13 November, when I left for that province. Because of the shortage of men-at-arms and the fatigued state of the horses, it was necessary to travel the distance of 50 leagues to the pueblo of Oraibi, since there were no more than three water holes in between. They have no source other than rainwater and the springs of their marshes. Leaving, therefore, a squad of forty soldiers, the muleteers and pack animals, cattle, and victuals at the Zunis' abandoned pueblo of Alona on the peñol and separating out the disabled horses, I left that day with the soundest and most indispensable ones, sixty-nine, soldiers and the fathers.

I arrived on the seventeenth at the first pueblo, Awatovi. Between nine hundred and a thousand Indians came out to receive me. More than three hundred were on very stout horses, with their leather jackets and lances; the rest were on foot. Some had swords as well as the weapons they use. It must have been about 3 leagues before arriving at the pueblos, on a road that had repeated, continuous harsh inclines from many mesas located successively along its length.

These Indians and some others began to provoke the few men who were serving as the guard of your royal standard and me to fight. The guard scarcely numbered twenty-three, counting one of the fathers, and most of them were mounted on mules. Because of the continued freezes and stormy weather, the three water holes referred to were so low that it

can be said that the horses, which were worn out, were maintained almost without drinking on those four days of lengthy marches. The men-at-arms were traveling so far apart from one another that they found their horses had become completely exhausted. It seemed to me that my having come with so few men was the surest security I could promise, since those pueblos and that province were the last to render vassalage to your royal majesty.

I had sent two Indians to that nation with the letter, cross, and rosary for their safe-conduct and had, moreover, been treated kindly by its governor at the last water hole, Magdalena. He had come there with his son to see me and reply to the letter. He provoked a fight, and I had the means to thwart it by bettering my terrain. I asked the Indians some lengthy questions to allow time to let them catch sight of my men. Although I ordered the bugle assembly call to be played, they were so far away that I thought it was better to continue the march. As the crowd of those rebels had inserted itself among my few men and the ones on foot had formed a close file, marching closely together in formation, it seemed they were matching my pace. Even had I brought most of my company, the triumph of beginning to fight would have been very costly. The mounted Indians arrived at almost the same time. I wanted to take their swords away from them and told them very forcefully to stop; if not, I would order my men to kill them all. My coming with so few men was so that they might better believe in my coming and your royal majesty's intention. Showing them our divine Lady of Remedies, I told them to be calm, as I had come so that they might again adore her, as the Christians they were.

I continued on that road as they kept up their rude actions of throwing dirt in our eyes and shooting some arrows, as well as taking three swords. The father chaplain was forced to leave my squadron, coming on his mule to return to the horse herd, as he did, changing his mount. Seeing that I was already on sandy terrain with very high dunes, I decided to give them the pleasure of a fight, in the event they did not obey me and surrender their weapons. Thus, I had my men stop and brought my horse forward. Confronting those enemies, I ordered them, if they were Christians, to immediately quit their shouting, lay aside their weapons, and kneel in front of the divine Lady of Remedies on the royal standard I was showing them. Miraculously, the Virgin, Our Lady, allowed the efficacy of my faith to take hold of their hearts with such force and proper devotion that most of them knelt and fell silent, as if mute. I again imperiously ordered the ones who had not dis-

HP23759

mounted to do so, and they corrected themselves, immediately imitating their companions.

Then it occurred to me, as I was about an harquebus shot away from and within sight of the rampart and walled pueblo, with all its dwellings and cuarteles inhabited by many people, to proclaim from horseback the possession in favor of your majesty. As it seemed to me that it was neither good nor worthy of me to leave anything for those of that company to object to, I dared to dismount from my horse to secure firmly, once and for all, the possession of that new province in its plaza. I ordered only the royal alferez, my secretary of government and war, and the military leaders who had come along, who were six or seven in all, to follow through a small door. I entered with them with great difficulty along that passageway and through so narrow a door that it was necessary to enter sideways and bent over. Having managed it, I found myself in that plaza and most of the rebel people there. With the same fervor and valor of my generous spirit, I repeated to them and reprimanded them with my words in honor of the divine Queen. After I made them surrender their weapons again and kneel in the plaza, I restored it completely to your royal possession with repeated acclamations in praise of your royal name. I had those rebels join together with me and the men in shouting "Long may he live" and "Long may your royal and sovereign greatness reign for many continued centuries."

Once that act of solemnization was finished with painstaking care and certainty, I took my leave of their governor, whom they call Miguel. He insisted that I go up to his house to eat. I agreed, but would not leave my men outside to do so. I would eat with them and receive his kind treatment. He fed me outside with great abundance, spreading some mats that served as a table. When I was about ready to get up, the father arrived on the horse he had saddled, expecting some mishap. The men-at-arms who, with that information, had changed horses arrived in time to enjoy the pleasure of my good fortune. They were feted with the same abundance. Since the water hole was less than half a league away, I withdrew to it, quartering my company around its edge and telling the Indians I would return in the morning.

That afternoon, the Indians came back to see me, saying that some were going to their pueblos. As if that had not occurred, I replied to them that they should tell them I would also go to see them. On the following day, I ordered fifty soldiers to mount with their military leaders and the missionary fathers and went marching off to the sound of the military instruments to reenter the plaza of that pueblo, as I had

offered. I ordered a holy cross to be set up there and asked the fathers to absolve and baptize them, which they did. I was compadre, as I was in the other pueblos referred to, of all those who gave me their children. They brought them to receive baptism. The current governor, Miguel, requested that I hold and carry a son and a grown daughter, which I did, with great affection.

Once the fathers had concluded and performed that ceremony with great love, my compadre told me to go up to his house to eat and that my comadre was calling me. I did it to please him. He also took me, as well as all the men-at-arms, to the one above. I had scarcely come down when other compadres asked me to go up to their houses, which I did, so that there might not be any mistrust whatsoever. I took my leave, leaving the same governor chosen in the plaza in the presence of all the people of the pueblo, in addition to those who were outside it.

I returned to that place, and very early in the morning on the following day, he came to see me at my tent. He knelt before the father president, who was with me, and, crying an ocean of tears, he kissed his hands and his holy habit, saying, "My father, I am coming to see my poor compadre to warn him that, first, they are going to kill me because of my great love for the Spaniards and because on the day he arrived, I went to warn him at the Magdalena water hole, where I left my daughter. I had been waiting for him, in case he arrived, to warn him not to go on, because of the great junta that was waiting for him. More than four thousand Indians were in this pueblo for three days to kill him. Because the women were unable to feed them all, they left. He saw the ones who stayed. They said only a few Spaniards were coming with the governor and that there were enough Indians to kill them. I replied to them, 'What harm had they done us?' I read them your letter and told it to them in their language, saying that you had come for their benefit, and his majesty was sending you to pardon them. You were also bringing the fathers with you so that they might absolve us from our great sin, since we had killed the fathers and all the Spaniards, torn down and burned the churches, and broken up the images of Christ Jesus, His holy Mother, and all their saints. We had also made shirts, jerkins, cloths, and bands from the vestments and other sacred cloths. We had also profaned and destroyed the holy vessels, denying God, and not naming His sweetest of all names. We put aside the women the fathers had given us in marriage, taking up with others in their place, and even killed the fowl and animals they raised in his service and that sustained the Spaniards, as a thing we abhorred."

HP23760

Thus, he also told me he had replied to them that they should not do that and that they should wait to see what I, the governor and captain general, would do with them, since it was not good for them to do that without knowing my intention. To that they replied to him that he was advising them in that way, because he was a friend of the Spaniards, and that as soon as we departed, they would kill him. In that regard, I told him I was giving him my word that I would take him along with me, and not just him, but also my comadre, godchildren, and all the relatives who lived with him. He thanked me and was consoled, telling me, "Compadre, come back; do not go any farther." Antonio, the captain of Walpi Pueblo, and his sons, the young men I had brought with me, had sent the aforementioned letter. All four of the remaining pueblos had formed the junta, and they had not, because they were waiting for the occasion when I would go to visit them, if the ones they left did not kill me at the time they received me. I should look at how many men there were and that there was water neither for my men nor the horses. At this, I answered him, "Do not be afraid, compadre. In order to return, I would not have gone through so much risk and travail just to have to leave. It is necessary to see and inspect it all. Thus, tomorrow, come early. You will go with me as interpreter. You will be free from all this worry." He was astonished at my decision.

He was obediently present when the sun came up, which was the hour I had indicated for the military leaders to order fifty soldiers to be present, mounted on their best horses, since the single one they took would have to go without being fed or watered for 14 leagues in order to make the entrada to the pueblos of Walpi, Mishongnovi, and Shongopavi. I ordered the rest of the men to stay at that outpost with the victuals and the camp without spreading out, gathering the horses and mules together to graze near them. After giving both groups ammunition, I then departed with the group of fifty soldiers in two orderly columns, marching with the two missionary fathers at my side. To the sound of the military instruments, I marched about 3 leagues to make the first entrada to the pueblo of Walpi. Captain Antonio, who wished to destroy and be done with all my men and me, was there. Arriving at the ascent to go up to its mesa, various squadrons of Indians on foot and horseback came out to meet me, with all their weapons ready. With a great racket and horrible war cries, they looked at one another, but they dared neither to engage us nor strike at me, but only looked, making a racket.

I realized I did not know some among those who came forward. I questioned them, and they told me some were from the Ute nation and

others, Coninas Apaches, their neighbors and allies, who had joined with them in the junta and conspiracy to accomplish their treachery. We ascended a very steep cuesta that, like a snail shell, was formed from the tracks of all the people, with stone slabs, some like knives and others like numerous pedestal rocks, which hindered the pace of the horses. With the outcry and confusion, as well as the clamor of the instruments of war, the horses moved with irregular jumps, stumbling because of the confusion and the ruggedness of the badly formed trail.

After overcoming this difficulty and conquering the summit, I talked to them. I called to their captain, Antonio, who arrived unarmed after a short while. He was disturbed, and his color changed as he asked for my hand. I gave it to him, shaking his firmly and not letting go. I said to him, "Look, Antonio, you should tell these sons of yours to put aside their weapons immediately. As you know, the ones from Awatovi did so when I ordered them to. It is not right for you to receive me with weapons, and more so, when I have brought the holy Virgin I am showing you. Look at this royal standard." Having lifted his eyes up for a short while, he returned to his senses. I freed his hand, telling him, "Go now and do what I tell you, because if you do not, I shall not leave here and shall order the men you see within sight of this divine Lady to kill you all immediately."

I formed a cordon in the shape of a half-moon in the center of the limited space of that area, ordering the royal alferez and indicating to him the squadron for the escort of your royal standard. I left that cordon to place myself at the front and near the entrance of that walled pueblo and gave the order for them to follow me in starting the fighting. In order to make the decision soon, I again asked Antonio, with persuasive words, why the rebel Indians did not lay aside their weapons. Why did he not order them all to stop their screaming? He answered me saying that the ones who had no weapons were from his pueblo. Those who did have them had come to see me for the first time. To assure him that my compadre, Miguel, had not given me any information, I told him, "All is well. Enter your pueblo with your people."

Leaving the lieutenant with a squad of twenty soldiers outside, I entered the plaza of the pueblo in front with the remaining group, having to bend over, as it was barely possible to enter its door in that manner. Once inside, I ordered my men to make a cordon, avoiding the ramparts and cuarteles that all the people, besides those who were outside, were occupying. In order to be able to persuade them, I dismounted from my horse, ordering only the royal alferez to do so as well, in order

HP23761

to raise the royal standard at the time of the celebration of the renewed possession of those Indians and pueblos. I did so and repeated with persuasive words that they should come humbly down to the plaza with their women and children, whom the fathers absolved and baptized. Antonio asked me to be his compadre, and I was, of a baby girl and a grown son. He had me go up to his house to eat, which I did, so that the people outside would not become agitated in their pueblos.

I came down and took my leave, leaving those Indians happy and, apparently, in a quiet state of mind. I went on with the men to the pueblo of Mishongnovi where those people were, which is 3 leagues away on another mesa and with an ascent almost identical to the preceding one. Entering its plaza immediately, leaving the men outside in the same way, I found the captain, Antonio's son, with the cross I had given him. He received me with great respect. The people came down from their ramparts and cuarteles on my order, carrying that out in your service. I took my leave, ordering them all that is of record that I did in the other pueblos.

I went on to the pueblo of Shongopavi, where there is a slope, equally rough, but longer than the previous ones. At this pueblo, I found the people coming out humbly to receive me, the men by themselves on one side and the women and children on the other. Standing in their plaza and having carried out what was referred to and said in the previous pueblos in the same manner, I took my leave.

I departed again at vespers in the direction of the outpost and pueblo of Awatovi. Along the way that night, it was necessary for some soldiers to ride on the haunches of their companions' horses, since the work referred to and the extended journey had totally exhausted theirs. I arrived at the water hole and campsite of the company before midnight.

On the following day, so that the horses could recuperate, I refrained from investigating the vermilion and red-ocher ore of the mercury mine about which don Toribio de la Huerta informed your majesty in your royal and supreme Council of the Indies. I doubt he saw and examined it. I refer in everything to the investigations I made and that are of record in the war proceedings. I only say this to your majesty, so that you may recognize my having served you by the remittance I made of the vermilion and red-ocher ore to your viceroy, so that knowledgeable people with the profession of mining that metal might assay and examine it. I carried this out, so that your majesty might be set at ease with the knowledge, since by your royal cedula you order that the discovery and examination of the vermilion should be delayed until after the conquest

and reduction of that kingdom to our holy faith. Without that first, one is not seeking after the interests and advantages of benefit to your royal crown that could result from having the mercury. Thus, for this recovery alone, the increased expense of sending a company of more than fifty men-at-arms, both soldiers and Indian allies, would be necessary, not counting the transportation, pack animals, and victuals for such a prolonged distance, a round trip of 500 leagues in uninhabited lands from El Paso to this outpost.

I departed the following day, taking my leave of the people of the pueblo. Since it was Sunday, they came down to it to hear mass. I repeated to them that they should carry out what I had ordered them in every way. My compadre Miguel was comforted in having seen the happiness referred to in his land and the entrada I had made to it.

I began the return and withdrew toward the province of Zuni, leaving on the twenty-second. After two successive days, I arrived at the second water hole, Los Mosquitos. I traveled 20 leagues toward the west, where I received a letter from the military leader I had left in that province as a reserve and garrison for the men, horses, pack animals, and victuals. He advised me that I should come aid him, because the enemies were going to strike. On successive nights, they had surrounded him. He had been warned that a great junta from the Apache rancherias was being prepared. He found this out from the Indians of the province of Zuni, from whom the Apaches had carried off nine horses. He had sent the captain of the Salineros, who had passed me the peace, as is of record in the war proceedings, to threaten them, and the nine horses were returned to him. When he was bringing them, the enemies took two of them.

Because it was late and I had just arrived, on the following day I went on to the third water hole they call El Entretenimiento, having sent word to the military leader immediately that I was coming to aid him. I changed mounts there and left, traveling all night with forty soldiers, leaving a captain with the rest, victuals and horses, so that in two marches I could arrive at the borders of Zuni, where I arrived at daybreak. I found that nothing had happened to the military leader, and everyone was happy to see themselves aided.

Although the enemy came that night to reconnoiter the camp with their scouts, they withdrew when they found it had new aid and strength. My men realized that in the morning. They advised me of the tracks they discovered, and I ordered them to follow them. A league away, they found the hiding place where the enemy had awaited word from the scouts last night. With word of my arrival, they left without attacking.

HP23762

With the company already together, I took my leave on the twenty-ninth. I departed to withdraw, guided by a scout who said if he were paid, he would lead and take me out to the Río del Norte and the abandoned pueblo of Senecú in eight days. In order to have the transport go most efficiently and quickly and reconnoiter the route, since it was also in your royal service to test it for the extraction of mercury should the vermilion referred to contain it; and since it was all unknown land belonging to the enemy Apache, it was successfully reconnoitered in order to look for it there at those times when hostilities might be occurring in your newly humbled and conquered kingdom.

I paid the Indian and left, taking him along. Staying that night at the first water hole, at a distance of 6 leagues, I had word from those conquered Indians that the enemy Apache were coming to attack me. With that warning, I had my company prepare their weapons and horses, informing them of it. I departed on the following day. After two days travel, it began to snow while I was in a dense forest, surrounded by mountainous country; the night was so stormy that the cunning enemy succeeded in carrying off a small herd of fourteen horses. They left one with an arrow in it, and it died in the morning. When the watch detected them, they took flight. Because of the storm, thickets, and mountainous country, we were unable to overtake them to punish and ruin them.

The snow was divine providence, because although the scout said there was water, none was found. Thus, the company and I took advantage of melting the snow in order to maintain ourselves. Having successively made three days' marches of some 12 to 14 leagues, it happened that scarcely any water was found for the company, so that the horses and mules were without it for four days and a night. Leaving for the Río del Norte, I noted the loss of the horses and mules, which was a necessary result of the lack of water, since they were so exhausted from that extended march and campaign of more than 600 leagues.

Despite the repeated freezes and snow, I went on to the pueblo of El Paso. On 20 December at eleven in the morning, I entered to applause for such a fortunate victory, done on your majesty's behalf. I have restored that kingdom and province to you. There are twenty-three pueblos in it, in which the Indians of the ten nations live with difficulty. I leave them not only conquered for your royal crown, but also subjugated to evangelical law, having baptized 2,214 people of all ages, male and female. I have freed and taken away 76 captives and successfully rescued the holy vessels, divine images, and books. I left four bells buried for use in the churches that will be rebuilt and found a bronze

artillery piece buried in the monte next to the villa. I have done all this in your majesty's service and by my law. Those barbarians have again recognized our holy faith and left their apostasy.

I have made a gift of the cost and expense of this conquest to your majesty, relating to your majesty at your royal feet the trophies I have acquired, which are offered and rendered to your royal, Catholic zeal. With this and through your royal cedulas, magnanimous Austrian, you have entrusted this restoration to your humble, loyal vassal, who again repeats it from the remove of this new world, its farthest region.

I hope for and am confident of reward for these my services from your sovereign and royal heart and majesty, aware that for many years and with increased expenses, your royal wish has not obtained that restoration. As an obvious demonstration, in the pueblo of Isleta alone in the year 1681, in the time of your viceroy, the Conde de Paredes, and by Father Ayeta's hand, 95,000 pesos were spent from your royal treasury on the first authorization for payment. In the time of that viceroy, another 40,000 were authorized for that battle. These two sums came to 135,000 pesos. Your royal majesty may observe that if removing the people from only one pueblo involved that expense, what would it be in the parts of the interior farther from the villa with such rebellion in the thirteen surrounding pueblos?

In the time of your viceroy, the Conde de Galve, you gave to don Domingo Jironza, my predecessor, 3,000-odd pesos for the expenditures he made for the entrada to Zia Pueblo, for which your majesty honored him in your royal cedula of last year. This pueblo was found with most of its people with their governor, Antonio Malacate, to whom I refer in this letter to your majesty. I conquered them on the mesas of the Cerro Colorado. The previous year, Gen. don Pedro Reneros de Posada had made an entrada to this pueblo and had made the enemy retreat to their ramparts, successfully capturing their sheep.

I say this to your majesty so that you may incline toward my enterprise, not only because of the cost, but also because of what I refer to. If those two governors used up two successive entradas on the pueblo of Zia so that the second would be successful in conquering it by fire and sword, and this because of the circumstance that most of the people were away with their governor, then your majesty can see that my proposal—that not even through increased expenditures from your royal wealth could that kingdom have been restored—is certain. For that triumph, six of don Domingo Jironza's soldiers were killed and more than fifty wounded. It was necessary for him to go, leaving the apostates

HP23763

burned and dead. They would have had to do the same thing in the other pueblos of that kingdom, which are as numerous as they are widespread, the provinces of Zuni and Moqui, and the peñol of Acoma. Your majesty can see that the increased expenditure of your royal wealth was without benefit and that killing the rebel Indians, your vassals, forced them to leave the kingdom and join forces with the enemy Apache nations on the mesas and in impregnable mountain ranges, seeking the most distant ones, without water holes, to prevent a war party from entering. Although your majesty, with all your royal power, might wish to expend such a sum, it would be impossible without water holes. One who has experience says this to your majesty.

I have spent all the time of my government, two years and three months and not yet complete on the date of this letter, on repeated and continuous campaigns. Your majesty will judge that, for my part, I have been successful, since neither any vassal of yours was killed nor even a shot fired. With my cunning, manner, and wisdom, I took advantage in all the pueblos of the ruse of being the compadre not only of the heads and leaders, but also of the other Indians. They and their wives insistently gave me their children so that I might take and hold them in order to receive holy baptism.

Thus, I request and ask your majesty that, should your royal prerogative see fit, I receive from your liberal and royal hand in reward for such a great service, in addition to the continuous ones of my house that are of record in your royal secretariats of war, Naples, Italy, and the Indies, as well as for my well-known ancient nobility and illustrious lineage, the honor of the title of marqués of two places your majesty has near the court, which are called Caramancheles,[7] with dominion over them, since one of the mayorazgos of my ancestral House of Vargas of that villa of Madrid has revenues from them; and in order to continue serving your majesty, the post of governor and captain general and president of the kingdom of Guatemala. I hope for the favor of this title of Castile of Marqués de los Caramancheles, with dominion over them, since they are your majesty's; and that of one of these posts: governor and captain general and president of the kingdom of Guatemala; or, if your majesty has filled the post of governor and captain general and president of the royal Audiencia of the Philippines, succession in that post to the one who now holds it, whose name is don Fausto Cruzati; or, if your majesty has filled the post, in that of governor and captain general and president of the kingdom of Chile; or, if your majesty has filled it, in the post of governor and captain general of Buenos Aires and the Río de la Plata.

I shall go on to repeat my services in the new entrada and settlement of the kingdom of New Mexico, having gone forth to your majesty's kingdoms of New Biscay and New Galicia to recruit the men-at-arms. Your viceroy, with the agreement of the royal junta of war and the treasury that resides in Mexico City, has decided on one hundred soldiers to form the new presidio in the villa of Santa Fe and on the settlers, purchase of supplies, cattle, horses, and mules, all of which your viceroy, with the agreement of your aforementioned royal junta, has entrusted to my care and diligence. So that it may be of record to your majesty, I am sending a copy of all the directives, letters, and orders from your viceroy in response to mine, from the receipt of the one I refer to in this letter to your majesty, which I sent you on 16 October from the villa of Santa Fe with the copy of the war proceedings of the conquest up until the said day of the conquest, and also up to that of today, when I am leaving in prosecution of your royal service on the new entrada and settlement.

During this time, my humble wish again repeats the risks and travails referred to, since it is necessary for me to experience them in the continuous movement of being on campaign and going to that kingdom. It is necessary to transport the supplies to maintain those families and for the reserve. For defense against the barbarous enemy nations of the Apaches, it is necessary again to make entradas to their frontiers and the rancherias they inhabit in the mountainous country that borders that kingdom.

I shall live with the hope not only of awaiting honor from your hand, for considering yourself well served by my services, but also for the favor I ask and my humility repeats. I wish for God to keep your royal person and majesty for many and repeated centuries, as is so necessary for Christianity. Zacatecas, 16 May 1693.

Don Diego de Vargas Zapata
Luján Ponce de León [rubrica]

*AGI, Guadalajara 139:5.

1. Vargas's report of 17 April 1692 is printed in BFA, 187-89.

2. The three missionary fathers were fray Miguel Muñiz, fray Francisco Corvera, and fray Alonso Barroso. Father Corvera acted as father president of the missionaries. BFA, 380–82, 412.

3. Rafael Téllez Girón served as alferez.

4. For a recent biography of Juan de Oñate, see Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate*

HP23764

and the Settling of the Far Southwest (Norman, Okla., 1991).

5. In this very unusual example of discourse, Mateo addresses Vargas in the second-person singular.

6. Following the outbreak of the Pueblo Revolt, Zunis built several pueblos atop Kiakima for protection against the Spaniards. Ferguson and Hart, *Zuni Atlas*, 35.

7. RBC, 166 n13.

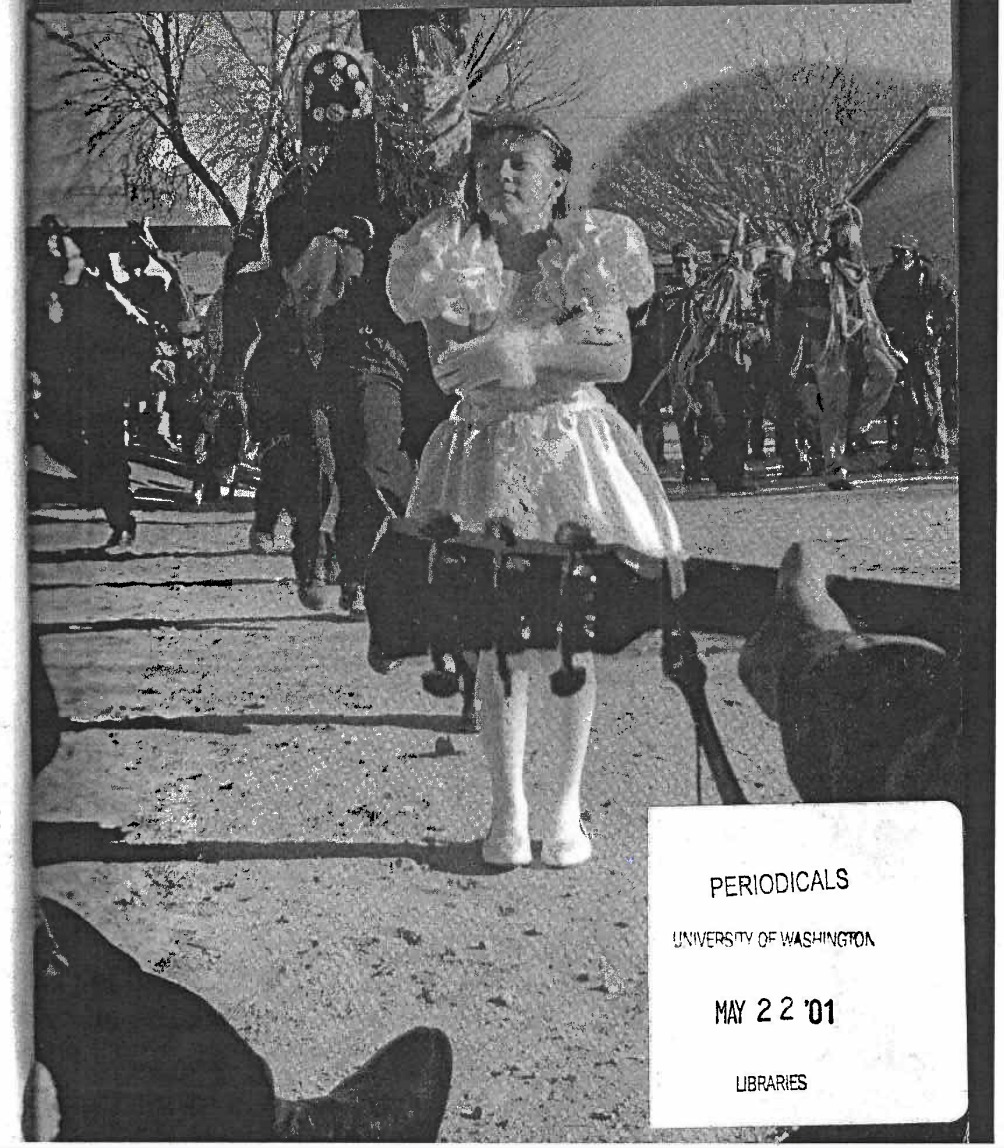
Part 3

HP23765

978.9
NE

NEW MEXICO Historical Review

Volume 76, Number 1 January 2001



PERIODICALS
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
MAY 22 '01
LIBRARIES

HP23766