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**Informaciones y recaudos que se hicieron en razón de la gente
que se volvió de Nuevo México: tercera parte**

**Interrogatorio que hizo Francisco Valverde y Mercado,
factor de la audiencia de Nueva España,
por comisión del virrey Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo,
sobre el estado de la expedición a Nuevo México
capitaneada por Juan de Oñate.**

28 al 31 de julio de 1601

Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. Audiencia de México legajo 26, 48-E. Fols. 40r-54v

Transcripción de Kirsten Ernst
Revisada por A. Roberta Carlin, Barbara De Marco, Jerry R. Craddock y John H. R. Polt
Traducción de John H. R. Polt

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Prólogo

La tercera parte del expediente 48-E es copia de un interrogatorio que hizo Francisco Valverde y Mercado, factor de la audiencia de Nueva España, por comisión del virrey Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, sobre el estado de la expedición a Nuevo México capitaneada por Juan de Oñate. Este interrogatorio, que se llevó a cabo del 28 al 31 de julio de 1601, es cronológicamente anterior a las otras dos partes del expediente, que involucran documentos originalmente extendidos en septiembre y octubre del mismo año, pero los testigos del interrogatorio ya dan bastantes indicios del grave descontento que sentían muchos de los colonos y misioneros que participaron en la expedición. Entre otras muchas cosas, los testigos dan noticias sumamente interesantes sobre las costumbres y cultura material de los indígenas asentados en pueblos, con bastantes detalles también sobre sus vecinos los indios nómadas.

La transcripción es paleográfica, pero se han desarrollado tácitamente las abreviaturas y se han modernizado la puntuación, el uso de mayúsculas y la separación de palabras, con mínimas excepciones que se podrán apreciar en la lectura del documento. Se ha regularizado el valor de las letras u y v; aquella es siempre vocálica, ésta siempre consonántica. La sigla MI significa “margen izquierdo”. Se sigue la foliación del manuscrito, o sea 40r-54v.

Posdata del 22 de agosto de 2013.

En el curso de su trabajo sobre los documentos de la expedición de Juan de Oñate a Nuevo México, apoyado por una beca del American Council of Learned Societies, Barbara De Marco tuvo ocasión de revisar una vez más el texto aquí publicado y se han incorporado las enmiendas que reveló como necesarias su excepcional perspicacia y se han adoptado varias sugerencias suyas en cuanto a la disposición tiográfica de la transcripción.

Las palabras y frases enfatizadas en amarillo se comentan en el epílogo al final de la transcripción. Se ha añadido una guía de acceso a las imágenes digitalizadas del documento custodiado en el Archivo General de Indias.

Posdata del 20 de septiembre de 2014

Se han incluido las imágenes digitalizadas del documento custodiado en el Archivo General de Indias. *26 de mayo de 2023: se han colocado las imágenes en el casillero titulado "Supplementary Material" desde donde se pueden descargar.*

[fol. 40r]

⌘

[MI] Averiguaçion | echa por mandado del | señor virrey.

Don Gaspar de Çuniga y Açevedo, conde de Monterrey, señor de las cassas y estado de Biezma y Ulloa, birrey lugarteniente del rrey nuestro señor, governador y capitán general de la Nueva

España y presidente del audiència y chançilleria rreal que en ella rreside et cetera. Por quanto a los primeros del mes de junio pasado entraron en esta çiudad algunos capitanes y soldados del governador don Joan de Oñate que esta en el Nuevo Mexico con horden de su magestad y me truxeron carta y algunas rrelaçiones del dicho governador y aunque entonces me procure ynformar con alguna particularidad del estado en que quedava el dicho don Joan y su jente y buenos e malos çusesos que avia tenido y esperaba tener y otras cossas de aquellas provinçias todabia me a paresçido que para mexor ynformar a su magestad de lo que estos capitanes y soldados an dicho y saven, conbendra que alguna persona pratica en comision mia haga llamar a los que de los susodichos hubiere en esta ciudad

y debaxo de juramento les pregunte y rrepregunte lo que les paresçiere neçesario para que de lo que assi declararen se pueda enbiar copia a su magestad con las demas rrelaçiones que e tenido del dicho governador; y confiado de vos don Francisco Balverde, factor desta caixa de Mexico por su magestad, que vien y copiosamente sabreis exsaminar estas personas, por la presente en nonbre de su magestad y mia os doy comission para que hagais paresçer ante vos los dichos capitanes y personas que al presente hubiere en esta çiudad y a cada una de por si la exsamineis y rrepregunteis debaxo de juramento y que declare lo demas que supiere y entendiere açerca de la dicha jornada, de que su magestad deva ser ynformado sobre que yo tanvien os adbirtire de palabra la rrelaçion que a mi se me an dicho y otras cossas para que mexor les pidais sus declaraciones, las quales firmadas de buestro nonbre y de los declarantes me entregareis despues en mis manos para el effeto dicho y en virtud de la çedula que de su magestad tengo para despachar por mi camara y persona que me paresçiere los negoçios que conbengan, mando que esta comision baya rrefrendada de Joan Bautista de Viera; fecho en Mexico a veinte y çinco dias del mes de jullio de mill e seisçientos e un años. El conde de Monterrey. Por mandado de su señoria, Joan Vautista de Viera.

[MI] Testimonio.

En Mexico a veinte y ocho dias del mes de jullio de mill e seisçientos e un años, don Francisco Balverde y Mercado, factor de la rreal hazienda desta Nueva España por su magestad, en birtud de la comision a el dada por el ylustrisimo señor conde de Monterrey, señor de las cassas y estado de Vierzma y Ulloa, birrey

lugarteniente del rrey nuestro señor, governador y capitan general desta Nueva España y presidente del audiençia y chançilleria rreal que en ella rreside, para la yn-
35 formaçion que su señoria manda se haga en particular del estado en que estava don Joan de Oñate, governador de las provinçias del Nuevo Mexico, y su gente y buenos y malos çusesos que avian tenido y esperavan tener despues que salieron desta çiu-
40 çuad y otras cossas de aquellas provinçias de que su magestad deva ser yn- formado, hizo paresçer ante ssi a Jusepe Brondat estante en esta dicha çiu-
45 çuad, del qual fue rreçivido juramento en forma de derecho y el lo hizo y prometio de dezir berdad de lo que supiere y le fuere pregunt[ad]o y **siendo** dixo qu'este declarante salio desta dicha çiu- çuad con don Joan de Oñate que fue a hazer la conquista de las provinçias del Nuevo Mexico por su capitan de cavallos a seis de mayo del año pasado de noventa y çinco y se detubieron por horden de su magestad
50 y del birrey desta Nueva España hasta diez y nueve de dizienbre del año de quinientos y noventa e siete, que salieron de las minas de Santa Varvora, ultima plova- çion de la Nueva Vizcaya y su governaçion, que esta desta dicha çiu- çuad dozientas leguas poco mas o menos, en prosecusion y descubrimiento de las dichas provinçias del Nuevo Mexico donde con el tienpo que se detuvieron y caminaron lle-
55 garon al Rio del Norte a veinte de abril del dicho año de noventa y siete, el qual rrio da prinçipio a las dichas provinçias y le tomaron en altura de treinta y dos grados y medio, noventa y çinco leguas de la dicha villa de Santa Barbora, toda la qual es tierra despoblada de rrazonables aguajes y pastos hasta doze leguas antes del Rio del Norte qu'es tierra sin agua de arenales y medaños y desde alli caminaron el rrio arriva del norte tres días como ocho leguas por are-

[fol. 40v]

nales, donde el dicho don Joan de Oñate governador tomo la poseçion de aquellas provinçias en nombre de su magestad con muncha solenidad y desde alli fueron el dicho rrio arriva hasta çinco leguas donde al passar del toparon los primeros yndios que a su paresçer serian hasta dozientos pescadores, porque estavam exerçien-
5 o el dicho ofiçio de paz y della los rreçivieron agasajandolos y ayudandolos a passar los bagaxes y caretas y ganados y pasaron el dicho rrio altura de treinta y dos gra(^na)dos y caminando el dicho rrio arriva, llegaron a los primeros pueblos de la dicha provinçia, que hasta ellos abra desd'el dicho vado çinquenta leguas poco mas o menos, toda tierra de pastos mui buenos salvo ocho leguas que ay
10 alguna falta de agua.

~ Preguntado que tienpo a rreçidido en las provinçias del Nuevo Mexico, dixo que desde el dicho dia que entro como dicho tiene con el governador don Joan de Oñate ha estado en ellas hasta veinte y tres de março deste año de seisçientos y uno que estubo sienpre en ellas sirviendo a su magestad.

15 ~ Preguntadole, a visto y andado por las primeras provinçias desde el primero pueblo que toparon en la dicha provinçia hasta donde hizo el dicho don Juan de Oñate el prin- cipal asiento de su rreal y de los demas della, dixo que este declarante [a] an- dado todos los pueblos que ay en aquel distrito hasta el de San Graviel

qu'es donde esta asentado el dicho rreal y de donde se a salido a haser descubri-
20 mientos que seran hasta çinquenta leguas de largo al norte y como beinte le-
guas de latitud y en este comerçio abra como çinquenta pueblos que el me-
nor tendra hasta treinta cassas y el mayor quatroçientas, las quales son las
menores de a dos altos y las mayores de a quatro, edificadas de adoves y abier-
tas de açotea, estas de tierra como las desta dicha çiuudad y la dicha tierra es mui pisada
25 y que se haze superfiçie atan segura que en tiempo de aguas no se llueve y en
cada un alto de las dichas cassas avita y vive una familia en tres aposentos
que tienen, unos tras otros y todos son de una echura aunque mayores los
aposentos unos de otros y que estando en el dicho pueblo de San Graviel, avi-
endo tomado el altura, esta en treinta y siete grados y quinze minutos a la
30 vanda del norte.

~ Preguntado que calidad de jente es la que avita en los dichos pueblos, dixo que es jente
vien dispuesta, vestida con una manta de algodón e un cuero de baca
adovado de las de Çibola que tiene el pelo largo que casi es lana mui bui-
da y paresçe al pelo de las vernias y lana dellas de color escuro tinto
35 que tira a algo aleonado y todos los yndios se bisten generalmente de
las dichas mantas o cueros dichos y las yndias se bisten de las dichas mantas
como las tilmas de los yndios mexicanos qu'es dado un nudo en la
parte del hombro y los dichos yndios e yndias son mui semejantes en los
colores a los desta Nueva España, gente dada a la lavor del canpo como
40 es la sienbra de mahiz, frisoles, calavazas, melones mui buenos
y sandias; parte del rriegan con açequias y otra es de tenporal y todos
sienbran por mayo y cojen por agosto, en el qual tiempo llueve en la dicha
provinçia aunque poco y por ynbierno nieva çinco o seis bezes como en
España. Ay pocas tenpestades y los vientos mas hordinarios que co-
45 rren son ponientes y sures y que los maizes son pequeños aunque las
mazorcas grandes y una fanega de trigo despues que fueron de sen-
bradura acudian a treinta y çinco y quarenta fanegas y el rrio dicho del
norte es el prinçipal de la dicha provinçia, mui caudaloso como Tajo; creçe
por el mes de mayo que se enpieçan a derretir las nieves hasta el de se-
50 tiembre en muncha abundançia, sin venir turbio sino con su claridad
hordinaria. Ay diferentes pescados en el y muchos en abundançia y
los dichos yndios rreferidos no tienen ningun genero de ganado do-
mestico sino es gallinas de la tierra de Mexico que en España lla-
man pavas, las quales crian para la pluma pero no comen la carne
55 ni los buevos. La carne que comen es la que caçan con arco y flecha
que son venados, liebres y conexos, de que ay muncha abundançia y
cassi nunca estan sin ella; tanvien comen generos de yerbas que
huzan, cosriendolas en ollas de tres o quatro arrobas. No tienen

[fol. 41r]

ningun genero de bebida sino agua pura y las dichas yervas cosidas guardan
sancochadas para todo el año y quando las an de comer, las buelven a çoçer.

~ Preguntado que genero de gobierno tienen o a quien obedecen, dixo que no conos-
cen superior ninguno mas de que se suelen juntar en unas cuevas de-
5 baxo de tierra que les sirven de plaças, donde hazen sus juegos y danças
y salen de alli a bailar a las plaças pero sin rrespeto ni obediencia
a ninguno dellos. Antes si los españoles an menester algo y llaman
algun yndio que por lengua y [¿?] vayan con ellos a pedirlo, el que ba
con ellos dize que den la cossa que piden y si ellos de su propia voluntad
10 no lo dan, no ai tratar de otra cossa mas de passar adelante sin que la per-
sona que va a pedirlo les obligue a fuerça ni otra cossa como esta dicho.
No tienen cassa de comunidad ni otro ediffiçio eçcepto las dichas cuevas
que como esta dicho hazen todos de comunidad y son curiosas a su modo.
No tienen en prelaçion ni superioridad en asiento ni otra cossa; sien-
15 tanse en el suelo sin banquillo, piedra ni otro genero de cossa.

~ Preguntado si se casan y en esto tienen alguna çerimonia con una o mas mu-
xeres, si las conservan toda la vida, dixo que la cassa es de la muxer
y ella la edifica y no los hombres y ellos se conçiertan entre ssi y hazen vida
maridavle el tiempo que quiere y quando les paresçe a ellas buscar otro
20 marid[o] y ellos otra muger y juntamente tiene uno, tres o quatro mugeres
pero ellas no tienen mas de un baron, aunque no le guardan fidelidad
y el baron no se le da nada ni las castigan por esso. Tienen mucho amor
a sus hijos y ellos obidencia y rreconosçimiento a sus padres. Y el
texer y el hilar las mantas que visten las hazen los hombres
25 y no las mugeres y las hijas andan desnudas y los hijos hasta que
son de doze o treze años.

~ Preguntado si usan de una lengua general o de muchas particulares, dixo
que ay diferentes lenguas que seran seis o siete o mas y que no se enti-
enden los unos pueblos a los otros si no es por ynterpetre y no ay len-
30 gua general que corra por todos.

~ Preguntado que generos de contrataçiones usan entre si los dichos yndios, dixo
que no ay xenero de compra ni benta ni otra permutaçion ni lugar publi-
co donde lo salgan a conprar ni permutar saluo con los yndios baque-
ros de Çibola que les traen carne seca, manteca y cueros adovados de que
35 se bisten y por ellos les dan mahiz y mantas de algodón pintadas
de diferentes colores, de lo qual caresçen los dichos yndios de Çivola.
Preguntado que metales ay en la dicha provinçia y tenían los dichos yndios de oro,
plata, cobre et cetera, dixo que ninguno sino que con piedras lavran la madera
y lo demas que an menester conforme a su usso.

40 ~ Preguntado que rreligion o ydolatrias, rritos y çeremonias ussan y ay entre
ellos, dixo que tienen echizeros los quales hablan con el demonio y a es-
tos consultan si a de llover o no, pero que no tienen tenplos sino una
de las dichas cuevas o estufas dedicadas para que alli rresidan y bivan

los echizeros y no entren otros. Allí adoran ydolos pequeñuelos la-
45 brados de piedra y madera sin hazer mucho caudal dello sin darse-
les nada por dexarlos y no se les conosçe vicio sino que guardan la ley
natural sin aver entre ellos hurtos, ynjurias, rriñas ni otra cossa que
los provoque a pendençia. Entierran sus muertos, unos echados voca
50 abaxo con una mazorca de mahiz en la boca, otros derechos metien-
dolos en un hoyo, poniendoles en el alguna comida; aunque algunos
viejos echan por los canpos a que los coman fieras.

~ Preguntado quantos españoles dexo en la dicha provinçia al tiempo que partio, di-
xo que dexo dozientos poco mas o menos y entre ellos quarenta y uno o
quarenta y dos casados con sus mugeres.

55 ~ Preguntado que ganados ay, dixo que tendrian dozientas yeguas de biente
y ochoçientos cavallos y seisçientas vacas y quatroçientos bueyes

[fol. 41v]

y tres mill cabras y ovexas y trezientas mulas y que los pastos son mui
alomados y buenos para el dicho ganado y mucho mas y multiplica mucho
y coxerian este año cassi tres mill fanegas de trigo y alguna çevada.

~ Preguntado en que forma tiene situado su rreal el governador don Juan de Oñate, si es-
5 ta en forma de poblaçion e de paso, dixo que el dicho governador con su gen-
te avia asistido en un pueblo de yndios de hasta quatroçientas
cassas y que en ellas bivian los españoles, disponiendolas a su
modo sin aver edificado otra cossa ni echo fortificaçion ninguna
por no ser menester segun la calidad de la gente y mansedunbre,
10 porque naturalmente son de naturaleza manza y pasifica
y el sitio es a proposito para qualquier lugar porque tiene agua de
pie, rrios y montes.

~ Preguntado que cantidad de gente ay conosçida y descubierta y pasifica de-
baxo del gobierno del dicho don Joan de Oñate, dixo que desde los prime-
15 ros pueblos a todo lo descubierto abra çinquenta o sesenta mill
personas hombres y mugeres, chicos y grandes y toda gente de la cali-
dad rreferida en çiento y treinta pueblos y esto es publica boz y fa-
ma y lo que save de lo que a visto y comunicado con los demas capi-
tanes que an salido a descubrimientos y que esta provinçia es-
20 ta çercada por todas partes de despoblados sin que se continue con
otros pueblos, saluo con algunos yndios que andan vagando en
rancherias sin tener asiento firme y biven en sus tiendas de
campo sin senbrar ni coxer; solo con cassa se sustentan, los quales
se dizen **ser en gran cantidad.**

25 ~ Preguntado que notiçia ay de otras provinçias, dixo que a oydo dezir y es publico

y notorio que çiento y çinquenta leguas mas hazia al nordeste ay una gran poblaçion de siete leguas de largo con cassas de xacales de paxa y mucha cantidad de gente y un yndio mexicano que se llama Jusepillo dizen aver estado en ella y bistola, el qual
30 fue con un español llamado Umaina. El qual dicho Jusepillo quedava en el rreal del dicho governador don Joan de Oñate y que no tienen ni save otra poblaçion.

~ Preguntado si el dicho don Joan a echo rrepartimiento y encomiendas destes pueblos descubiertos, dixo que no.

35 ~ Preguntado si save la rrazon y caussa porque el dicho governador don Joan no lo a fecho, dixo que no lo save.

~ Preguntado si a estos yndios que tiene domesticos y debaxo de su gobierno el dicho don Joan les a rrepartido algun tributo e serviçio personal para la lavor y demas cossas neçesarias a su rreal, dixo que entre todos le daran de tributo hasta dos mill mantas de algodón de vara y media de largo y quasi otro tanto de ancho y quinientas gamuças adereçadas y hasta çinco o seis mill fanegas de mahiz y frisol y gallinas en muy poca cantidad, todo lo qual rreparte el dicho governador entre su gente conforme a la neçesidad que
40 cada uno tiene con mucho amor y caridad y satisfaçion de todos y que de todos los dichos pueblos viene gente de serviçio ayudar a la sienbra y a escardar y cultibar de la tierra y segar y servir en las cassas y guardar los ganados.
45

~ Preguntado si despues que llevo el dicho don Joan se an bisto y hallado minas
50 de oro e plata et cetera, dixo que en el pueblo de San Marcos seis leguas del rreal ay minas con mucho metal, los quales metales ensayados acuden a quatro onzas y este declarante lo a bisto y anssimismo bio que el sargento mayor quedava labrando un yngenio para moler y beneficiar metales de que ay mucha notiçia.

55 ~ Preguntado si bio algunas perlas o si ay notiçia dellas de la Mar del Sur o del norte de donde dezian algunos tenían conchas de las dichas perlas,

[fol. 42r]

dixo que a visto este declarante traer algunas conchas que supo si eran de perlas y que oyo dezir que eran de la Mar del Sur, la qual entiende este declarante es mui lexos del rreal.

~ Preguntado que saçerdotes o rreliçiosos quedavan en la dicha provinçia, dixo que quedarian
5 como seis saçerdotes rreliçiosos de la horden de san Francisco rrepartidos [d]os dellos

en el rreal donde tienen yglesia y convento y los demas en el pueblo de San Ylifonso, tres leguas del dicho rreal con su yglesia y conbento con dos o tres españoles y otro en Santa Clara una legua de alli con un español y otros dos en otro pueblo llamado San Francisco del Monte quatro leguas adelante.

10 ~ Preguntado que gente de los dichos yndios an bautizado anssi en el dicho rreal como fuera del, dixo que abran bautiçado como hasta çient yndios y los demas dellos y cassi todos an ssido del rreal de los que estan entre los españoles y que no an bautizado mas cantidad hasta ber que asiento toman las cossas de aquella provinçia.

15 ~ Preguntado si los dichos yndios de aquella provinçia estan afixionados de bautisarse y rreçevir nuesta santa ffee, dixo que le paresçe que estan todos dispuestos para ello y seran de buena gana cristianos y tienen mucha disposiçion para serlo buenos por ser naturalmente gente sin biçios y no ynclinados a ydolatria.

20 ~ Preguntado como el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate en el tienpo que a estado en la dicha provinçia no a pasado (^la causs) adelante, diga la caussa que a tenido para ello o si la presume, dixo que no passo adelante el dicho governador por no tener gente sufiçiente para ello, porque para

25 nester çiento y çinquenta hombres y no los tenia hasta agora, que yendo el socorro de setenta hombres llevaba çiento y treintas a la dicha rrancheria y dexar los demas en el dicho rreal, aviendose ocupado todo el mas tienpo en descubrir dozientas leguas por el norueste **alla** el Mar del Zur con treinta o quarenta soldados que se podrian enton-

30 çes aperçevir y armar y en la jornada que hizo hazia las bacas por las salinas asia el sudueste, donde se descubrio un balle fertilisimo de pescado, frutas nuevas y uvas y çiruelas, arboledas y aunque hallaron çient tiendas de yndios con mas de mill y quinientas personas, las quales se fueron y huyeron y ydos los
35 dichos españoles se buelven a ellas porque los propios españoles los ben bolver.

~ Preguntado si conforme a lo que a visto en la dicha tierra y calidad della y a lo que a entendido de los capitanes y soldados que quedan en la dicha provinçia, que le paresçe de su conbersaçion del gusto y conten-
40 to que tienen los que estan en ella y que save desto que se pueda y deva dar notiçia a su magestad para que como rrey y señor acuda al anparo y favor de sus vasallos y si la dicha gente segun la disposiçion presente y esperanças de adelante se podrian conservar y estan de buena gana en la dicha provinçia o no si con deseos
45 de bolverse a esta Nueva España, dixo que en algunos conosçio buen animo y deseo de descubrir lo de adelante y perseverar en lo descubierto y en otros deseo de bolverse a esta çuidad

y otros ynposibilitados de bolverse por ser cassados carga-
dos de muger y hijos y familia, pero que entiende que todos asis-
50 tiran con travaxo y dificultad no descubriendose otra cossa
mexor y no proveyendoles su magestad de bestidos y municiones
y otras cossas neçesarias como son hierro, medicinas, açeite
y bino hasta que planten biñas y proveyendoles su magestad
de las cossas dichas y demas neçesarias, se conservaran alli
55 y podran bautizar los dichos rreliogiosos a los dichos yndios que rres-

[fol. 42v]

tan y el dicho socorro le paresçe a este declarante se podra hazer cada
año con diez mill pessos, todo lo qual que dicho tiene es la verdad pu-
blico y notorio y lo que save para el juramento que fecho tiene, en
que se afirmo e rratifico e lo firmo de su nonbre. Declaro ser de
5 hedad de mas de treinta años y no le tocan las generales. Don Francisco
Balverde de Mercado, Jusepe Brondate. Passo ante mi Marcos Lean-
dro escrivano rreal.

[MI] Testimonio.

En el dicho dia veinte y ocho de jullio del dicho año de mill e seisçientos e un años, para
la dicha ynfformaçion el dicho don Francisco de Balverde factor, en conformi-
10 dad de la dicha comission, hizo paresçer ante ssi a Marçelo de Espinossa, es-
tante en esta çiuudad, del qual fue rreçevido juramento en forma de derecho, so
cargo del qual prometio de dezir berdad y siendo preguntado por el
tenor de la dicha comision, dixo qu'este declarante salio desta çiuudad a la de
Çacatecas con conpañia de capitán de cavallos de don Joan de Oñate
15 para la conquista de las provinçias del Nuevo Mexico por el año de
quinientos y noventa y çinco por mayo y se detubieron por horden de su magestad
y del señor birrey desta Nueva España hasta dizienbre del año de
quinientos y noventa y siete en las minas del Casco, governaçion de
la Nueva Biscaya en esta Nueva España y por alli salieron por las
20 minas de Santa Barvora y Todos Santos, ultima poblaçion de la dicha go-
vernaçion, que esta desta dicha çiuudad dozientas leguas poco mas o menos
y de alli fue en conpañia del governador don Joan de Oñate al descubri-
miento de las dichas provinçias del Nuevo Mexico, donde con el tienpo
que se detubieron y caminaron llegaron al Rio del Norte a beinte de
25 abril del dicho año de quinientos y noventa y siete, de donde enpieça el distri-
to de las dichas provinçias del Nuevo Mexico y desde el dicho rrio fueron
caminando el arriva hasta que entraron en pueblos de yndios, los
quales fueron rreduziendo al serviçio de su magestad.

~ Preguntado que tienpo rresidio en las dichas provinçias del Nuevo Mexico,
30 dixo que desde que entro con el dicho don Joan hasta beinte y tres de
março deste pressente año de seisçientos y uno, quel dicho don Joan de

Oñate governador le enbio con papeles y rrecaudos al ylustrissimo conde de Monterrey, birrey desta Nueva España.

~ Preguntado que a visto y andado por las dichas provinçias desde el primer
35 ueblo que toparon hasta donde hizo el dicho don Joan de Oñate el
prinçipal asiento de su rreal y de los demas pueblos de su provinçia,
dixo que le paresçe a este declarante que los pueblos de yndios que es-
tan debaxo del gobierno y sujeçion del dicho governador don Joan de Oñate
seran hasta çiento y veinte y çinco o çiento y treinta poco mas o menos,
40 los quales a visto por vista de ojos y andado y anssimismo salio en
compañia del sargento mayor Viçente de Çaldivar al descubrimiento
de las bacas de Çibola y venido dellas fue con el dicho sargento mayor
al descubrimiento de la Mar del Sur sienpre con parte de su compañia
de cavallos. Y desde el primer pueblo que se llama Cuelaqu hasta
45 el ultimo que se llama los Taos ay setenta leguas todo vega del
rrio arriva del norte y abra beinte y çinco leguas o treinta de latitud
salvo en las dos provinçias de Moqui y Çuni que estan sesenta leguas
del pueblo de San Graviel, rreal del dicho governador y que todo lo que a bisto
el menor pueblo tendra hasta treinta y çinco cassas y el mayor hasta
50 quatroçientas y que no le paresçe ay ninguno que [l]legue a ellas, las menores
de a dos altos y las mayores quatro o çinco y el edificio dellas es de adobes
con el maderamiento rredondo y sus terrados ençima de manera
que el tiempo de agua se llueve y que en cada cassa ay su bezino y morador
con su familia y en alguna dos y lo demas hordinario es solo un bezino
55 porque en los demas aposentos de las dichas cassas ençierran mahiz, algodón

[fol. 43r]

y ollas y otras legumbres como son frisoles y calavaças y **quilitos**, las
quales dichas cassas son mui semejantes unas a otras aunque mayores
ansi en alto como en anchura y largura.

~ Preguntado que calidad de gente es la que avita en los dichos pueblos, que personas
5 tienen hombres y mugeres en la dispusiçion, dixo que son hombres cor-
pulentos y las mugeres de la misma manera, ellas mas blancas que
los yndios, los quales son mui pareçidos a los desta Nueva España aun-
que de mexores dispusiçiones y es jente bestida con mantas e cueros
de Çibola adreçados o de coyotes y las yndias sienpre traen mantas de
10 algodón hasta la garganta del pie y los dichos cueros de Çibola son lanudos,
el pelo largo y grosero que suelen servir de freçadas con que cubrirse de
noche y de los dichos cueros se hazen caparçoones y otras munchas cossas
que son de mucho serviçio y los dichos yndios son jente dada a la labor del
campo, senbrando mahiz, algodón, frisoles, calabaças, melones y san-
15 dias y unos lo tienen de rriego y otros de tenporal y hazen sus semen-
teras por mayo que bienen a coxer por agosto qu'es el tiempo en que ay
algunas aguas aunque pocas, porquel sustento de la dicha tierra y con que tiene

umenad es con las nieves que son mui hordinarias desde setiembre adelante hasta abril y a mui pocas tenpestades y los vientos mas hordinarios son ponientes
20 y nortes con que haze mucho frio. Los mahizes que creçen hasta media vara; las ma-
çorcas son gruesas y el trigo, de una fanega de senbradura de la que an senbra-
do los soldados que fueron se coxen de beinte a treinta fanegas y el prin-
çipal rrio de aquella provinçia esta caudaloso como el rrio de Tajo como passa
por Toledo, el qual desde mayo hasta setiembre con las nieves que se derriten
25 ba mui caudaloso. Tiene muchos pescados como son bagres e ynguillas, tru-
chas y otros y los dichos yndios no tienen genero de ganado domestico sino son
pavas que aca llamamos gallinas de la tierra, a las quales no tienen pa-
ra comer sino para la pluma, porque della hazen mantas con que se abrigan
mucho de ynvierno y la carne que los susodichos comen es la que matan con
30 sus arcos que son venado, libre y conexo y algunos como carneros que se
diferençia[n] de los nuestros en el pelo porque ellos lo tienen como benado
y la caveça mayor que todo el cuerpo los cuernos y hasta muy rretorçidos, mas
gruesos que de toro y quando se arroja de alguna peña alta caen sobre la
caveça y luego se levanta y parten huyendo. La carne destes es buena para
35 çesinas ay en muncha cantidad en manadas y para salir a caça el ca-
pitan a cuyo cargo esta aquel exerçio da una boz por el pueblo como prego-
nero y a ella salen los que son de aquel genero y juntos ban a la dicha cassa y
toda la que matan rreparten comunmente salvo el cuero que lleva el ma-
tador. Tanvien se sustentan de yervas del canpo que ellos conosçen,
40 las quales aun no bien cosidas las guardan y cuelgan para el tiempo que no
las ay qu'es el ynvierno. No tienen genero de bebida sino agua y con arina
de mahiz hazen unos pi[ñ]oles con que jamas ay yndio borracho.

~ Preguntado que genero de gobierno tienen o a quien obedezèn estos dichos yndios
o que modo de rrepublica, dixo que lo que save es que todas las bezes qu'este
45 que declara lleço [a] alguno de aquellos pueblos donde el governador le ynbiava
con gente de su compañia o por mahiz o por gallinas o por mantas o por yn-
dios para el serviçio, la lengua que llevaba desia [a] uno de los yndios del pueblo que
le llamasen al capitan y llamado benia un yndio al qual le dezia por la lengua
a lo que yva y el dicho yndio se yva y juntava apregonando por el pueblo o diziendo-
50 les en su lengua lo que pedia el dicho capitan o diziendoles que se juntasen para
tratar dello y que a cavo de rratos se juntavan en una cueva que llamavan los
soldados estufas, muy blanca y encalada por de dentro, entechada por arri-
va y cubierto y juntos alli determinavan lo que avian de hazer y entendio
este que declara de un yndio ladino ynterpetre que no tomavan rresoluçion
55 sin comunicarlo con las mugeres y tomar su paresçer, con el qual volvia
el yndio que llamavan capitan y les dezia lo que pedian dar y si al dicho capi-
tan que yba por ello le paresçia poco y no se contentava tornavan a entrar en
consulta donde salia determinado lo que se avia de hazer y al fin les
benian a dar lo que pedian por horden y mano de aquel capitan y a el se le en-

[fol. 43v]

tregava los costales para el mahiz y hamanesçian llenos en la plaça. Y si les avian de dar mantas despues de averlos juntado y conbocado, un soldado yba en cada cassa y a la puerta della, hallava su manta e gamuça y que asi entiende que tienen capitan a quien rrespetan y que no es por
5 eleçion sino por herençia, porque faltando el padre llaman a el hijo que hazia lo propio que el padre devia hazer y si alguna vez querian cargar al capitan o al hijo, los otros lo ynpedian dando a entender era capitan y a quien tenian obedençia y rrespeto.

~ Preguntado si se casan o tienen una o mas mugeres y alguna çeremonia en el
10 casarse y si las conserva toda la bida, dixo quel modo que tienen en sus casamientos es que el dicho yndio elije la moça donzella que le paresçe, a la qual da dos o tres o quatro mantas conforme a la estimacion della y ella le lleba a su cassa, porque son las que las edifican y cuyas son las cassas y le tiene consigo tres o quatro messes que ellos llaman lunas y si en estos
15 ella se haze preñada la sustenta el dicho yndio y ella a el toda la bida y queda por su muger, y si no se haze preñada la dexa y ella queda señalada con dos rrosas que haze del cavello en las çienes que es señal qu'esta dis-| puesta para el yndio que quisiere cassarse con ella pagandoselo y bi yndios que tienen çinco o seis mugeres como ellas ayan estado preñadas y
20 tienenlas en diferentes pueblos de manera que en uno no tienen dos mugeres, las quales no guardan fidelidad a los dichos yndios ni ellos las castigan. Tienen particular amor a sus hijos y ellos rrespeto y obedençia a sus padres y los dichos yndios hilan y texen las mantas y ellas se ocupan en adereçar de comer y hazer ollas y platos y las hijas y hijos hasta doze años
25 andan en cueros sin [nin]gun genero de cossa a que los cubra.

~ Preguntado si los dichos yndios hussan de una lengua general u de munchas particulares, dixo que no tiene lengua general sino munchas particulares y el un pueblo no entiende la lengua del otro si no es por ynterpetres que los ay salvo los que son de una provinçia, que esos se entienden y tratan
30 unos con otros.

~ Preguntado que genero de contrataçiones usan entre los dichos yndios, dixo que la que husan es de mantas y cueros de Çibola y carne y manteca y sevo que traen los baqueros de Çibola y unos yndios con otros, no en las plaças porque no se juntan a vender en ellas sino en las cassas particulares; los que vienen de fuera en
35 busca de alguna cossa llevan lo que traen y lo truecan por lo que an menester y que esto es lo que a visto çerca de este casso.

~ Preguntado que metales tenían los dichos yndios como es oro, plata, cobre y otras cossas, dixo que quando entraron en la dicha provinçia no bio oro ni plata ni cobre ni otro metal sino **tezcazequis y cobucos**, con los quales se untavan y pintavan
40 los dichos yndios para sus ydolatrias y que desto no save otra cossa.

~ Preguntado que rreligion o ydolatria, rritos y çeremonias ay entre los dichos yndios, dix[o]

que tienen como dicho esta una estufa toda pintada de ydolos grandes y pequeños a manera que aca pintan los diablos y en medio del tienen ydolos de bulto de piedra y palo, a los cuales ofrecen mahiz y paxaros de diferentes
45 colores pequeños y cañas y largartixas y otras sabandixas y quando an del hazer sacrificio se juntan a baylar todos en un corro grande a manera de mitote y en el sacrificio señalan algunos yndios a quien con bexugos açotan cruelmente y los dichos açotados no se quejan ni despegan la voca y ay entre ellos algunos dedicados para echiseros que son los que dan respuestas
50 y las toman del demonio y estos son venerados de los demas y los que guardan las estufas y los dichos yndios hazen muncha estimacion de sus ydolos y no ay cossa que sientan tanto como se los derribar y esto sabe de lo que toca a esto y ayunan a su modo, no comiendo mas de a beinte y quatro a beinte y quatro oras. No tienen biçio si no es de la lujuria ni ay entre ellos hurtos
55 porque viven las cassas abiertas sin que el uno tome nada al otro y en todo el tienpo que este que declara a estado en la dicha provinçia no a visto pendençias entre yndios. A las yndias a visto rreñir algunas vezes de zelos y a oydo dezir que no rriñen por otra cossa y no sale yndio ninguno a ponellas en paz. Los muertos si son viejos echan a los
60 cuervos y los moços queman y en alguna parte los entierran y dizen que a los viejos por ser ynutils les dan aquel pago porque no servian sino

[fol. 44r]

de comer el pan de los que trabajan.

~ Preguntado que buenos o malos çuçesos, que rresistençias y que modo de ofensas y defensas an echo los dichos yndios desde que entro el dicho governador don Juan de Oñate hasta el dicho dia beinte y tres de março que salieron los ultimos
5 capitanes y soldados por horden del dicho governador que estan en esta çiudad, dixo que en el descubrimiento del Rio del Norte fue el sargento mayor con doze compañeros a ello; dieron en una rrancheria de hasta quatroçientos yndios y algunos dellos huyeron y los capitanes los acaudillaron y llamavan y el sargento mayor mando que so pena de la vida ninguno
10 tirase alcabus hasta que le diesse horden para ello y los dichos yndios los enpeçavan a flechar y el dicho sargento mayor a llamarlos hasta que a un soldado dieron dos flechasos y h[ir]ieron un cavallo y el capitan Aguilar pidio liçençia para poder tirar a un yndio que estava cargado el arcabuz con lagrimillas y aviendosela dado le tiro y passo al lado del
15 sargento mayor y le enpeço a flechar y a esto se le tiro un arcabuzasso con que murio y luego los demas yndios enpeçaron a pelear hasta que heridos algunos dellos se rretiraron y los dexaron y a la buelta con las carretas, escarmentados de aquello y temerosos fueron amigos por horden del sargento mayor que los truxo de paz y en el pueblo
20 de los Taos despues de aver dado la obediencia, digo en el pueblo de Acoma, el maestre de canpo que yba en seguimiento del governador que avia pasado al descubrimiento de la Mar del Sur, yendo a to-

mar bastimentos, se rrebelaron los dichos yndios y mataron doze conpañeros y al maestre de canpo y h[ir]ieron otros quatro, a cuyo castigo
25 fue el sargento mayor con sesenta soldados, y por esta caussa y para
exemplo de los demas, quemo y asolo el dicho pueblo y truxo la demas
gente pressa y este fue el peor suçeso que en toda la jornada tuvieron
porque los demas con poco castigo y vuenta traça del governador y
sargento mayor se **deruxeron** y binieron de paz como dicho estan.

30 ~ Preguntado quantos españoles dexo en la dicha provinçia al tiempo que
partio della, dixo que quedarian dozientos soldados y entre ellos qua-
renta y dos casados.

~ Preguntado que ganados ay, dixo que abra quinientas yeguas de vientre
y ochoçientos cavallos y seisçientas bacas, quatroçientos bueyes, tres
35 mill y quinientas ovejas y cabras y seteçientas mulas manzas y
los pastos son muy buenos y acomodados y para el dicho ganado y para mun-
cha mas cantidad, con lo qual anda mui gordo y multiplica muncho y que
entiende y cree que coxeran este pressente año mas de tress mill fanegas
de trigo y alguna poca cantidad de çevada.

40 ~ Preguntado en que forma tiene situado su rreal el dicho governador don Joan de
Oñate, si esta en forma de çiudad o de poblaçion de paso, dixo qu'esta poblado en un
pueblo que se llama San Graviel que era de yndios, hasta quatroçientas cassas,
las quales acomodaron a su vivienda y a los yndios ynbiaron a otro pueblo pues-
to frontero a este con solo el Rio del Norte en medio y algunos yndios se quedaron con
45 los españoles, los quales no an edificado por no tener neçesidad dello, que el pro-
pio pueblo de suyo conforme a su fundaçion es fuerte y porque los yndios de su
naturaleza es gente manza y pasifica y leales y el sitio del dicho pueblo es a pro-
posito para qualquiera gran çiudad porque tiene rrios y fuente y monte muy çercano.

~ Preguntado en los çiento y beinte y çinco pueblos o çiento y treinta que ay pasificos
50 que cantidad de gente ay conosciada, descubierta y de paz debaxo del gobierno
del dicho don Joan de Oñate, dixo que abra como catorze o quinze mill vezinos
de manera que entre hombres y mugeres abra beinte y dos o beinte y qua-
tro mill y toda gente domestica y pasifica y esto save como persona que lo [a] an-
dado todo y lo a visto y qu'esta provinçia por todas partes fuera de los lugares
55 que tiene dichos es despoblada sin que se continue con otros pueblos salvo que
en todos estos despoblados anda[n] yndios bagando a manera de alarves
sin tener asiento firme y que no tienen mas que sus arcos y flechas ni sienbran
ni coxen. Viven de casas y al tiempo de las sementeras antes que los pobla-
dos en lugares tuviesen el favor de los españoles y su anparo, al tiempo de las
60 cosechas peleavan con los de los pueblos sobre los frutos y dejavan sus mu-
geres y hijos en la çierra.

~ Preguntado que notiçias ay de otras provinçias, dixo qu'este declarante fue a las va-

[fol. 44v]

cas de Çibola, donde bio rrancherias de a treinta, quarenta tiendas de los cue-
ros de Çibola, adovados a manera de pavellon que rresisten el agua, sol y caben
en ellos quatro o çinco personas y traen consigo las mugeres y hijos, los qua-
les viven de seguir las dichas bacas que son tan grandes como las de Cas-
5 tilla y desta tierra y tienen corcobas como camellos de el medio cuerpo
para adelante. Paresçen leones por el bello que tienen y las ancas
como mulas de canonigo gordas y la cola como de puerco, peladas has-
ta el rremate que tiene unas çerdillas en el; tiene mucho sebo y
la carne es de muy buen gusto. Los yndios las matan en sus abrevaderos
10 con flechas y hazen çesina dellas y sebo y manteca y estos vienen a con-
tratar con los de los pueblos y no bienen cargados los yndios; traen la
carne, sevo y tiendas en rrequas de perros, que cada perro trae dos arrobas.
Son menores mucho que mastines. La cantidad destas bacas es yn-
numerable. Las deesas donde se paçientan son larguisimas y no les
15 vimos sin mui buenas aguas y pastos admirables de yerbas mui me-
nuda y no las pudieron ençerrar. Mataron mas de mill y no bieron fun-
daçion poblada ni tubieron notiçia della. Cargados de carne y mante-
ca se bolvieron al rreal, de donde el sargento mayor con beinte y çinco ca-
pitanes y soldados salimos este declarante y los demas al descubri-
20 miento de la Mar del Sur, en que se anduvo al pie de dozientas leguas
con travesias que hizieron y aviendo llegado despeados los cavallos
y cansados y sin poder dar passo adelante a unos bojedales donde los
yndios, viendo que yban pocos porque se avian quedado la mayor parte
de los cavallos y nueve conpañeros a guardarlos en la serrania de To-
25 pia en un casal que hallaron, entendieron trataban de matarnos
y biendo como dicho tiene que no se podrian valer de los cavallos y que no
eran mas de treze personas, paresçio a todos conbiniente y forçosso
bolverse y asi lo hizieron sin aver descubierto en las dichas dozientas
leguas pueblo fundado sino rrancheria, la mayor dellas de a quatroçien-
30 tos yndios y que entre todos ellos no avia dos fanegas de mahiz y que con
lo que se sustentavan era comer mesquite qu'es una frutilla que echan
unos arboles silvestres que vienen a ser como unas baynillas de cuero;
toda gente desnuda y las yndias se cubrieron unas camissas que se
criavan entre la corteza y cor[a]zon del alamo. Aviendo bisto esto se bol-
35 vieron al rreal, aviendose entretenido en lo dicho mas de tres messes
y que ultimamente el governador don Joan de Oñate estava de partida
con çiento y treinta soldados para yr a una rrancheria e poblaçion
de jacales que dezia Jusepillo yndio aver bisto quando fue con Umay-
na, el qual dezia que era la poblaçion de siete leguas de largo y que
40 avia otros yndios que dezian que era la poblaçion muy grande y que
no save este que declara que ay otra sertidunbre y que dezian abia
çiento y çinquenta leguas desde el rreal de San Graviel y que no save de otra
cossa.

~ Preguntado si el dicho don Joan de Oñate governador a echo rrepartimiento y
45 encomiendas de los pueblos descubiertos pasificos, dixo que no, ni
save la rrazon por que el dicho governador no lo avia fecho.

~ Preguntado si los dichos yndios domesticos que tiene el dicho governador de paz
debaxo de su gobierno les a rrepartido algun tributo o serviçio
personal para la labor o demas cossas al serviçio de su rreal, dixo que
50 entre algunos de los dichos pueblos rrepartio que le diesen dos mill mantas
de algodón de vara y media de largo y otro tanto de ancho y quinien-
tas gamuças adereçadas y dos mill fanegas de mahiz y algun frisol
y gallinas, todo lo qual rrepartia entre los soldados conforme a la ne-
çesidad que cada uno tenia el dicho governador a satisfaçion de los dichos sol-
55 dados y que de los pueblos mas çercanos viene gente de serviçio a-
yudar a senbrar y escardar y cultivar la tierra y a segar y guardar los
ganados y que los dichos yndios no pueden hazer socorro ni darle en
otras cossas y que estas podrian en mas cantidad de lo que agora
hazen.

60 ~ Preguntado si despues que llego el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate,
si an bisto o hallado minas de oro e plata et cetera, dixo que en el pueblo de
San Marcos, seis leguas de el de San Graviel, se descubrieron betas de plata,

[fol. 45r]

que fecho el ensayo dava a quatro honzas por fundiçion y a quatro y esto
oyo dezir y que avia otras minas en el pueblo del Tuerto, que oyo dezir
que eran buenas y que el sargento mayor quedava para moler y fundir me-
tales haziendo un yngenio.

5 ~ Preguntado si en el biaje que hizo a la Mar del Sur bio conchas de perlas y
las dichas perlas, dixo que bio conchas y caracoles de la mar pero que
perlas no las bio ni lo a oydo [de]zir y la dicha mar le paresçe estara del dicho
rreal de San Graviel como dozientas y quarenta leguas por lo mas çer-
cano.

10 ~ Preguntado que saçerdotes y rreligiosos ay y quedavan en la dicha provinçia, di-
xo que seis saçerdotes y tres legos de la horden del serafico san Francisco
rrepartidos en el rreal y quatro leguas a la rredonda en algunas par-
tes con un español y en otras con dos otros.

~ Preguntado que gente de los dichos yndios abran los dichos rreligiosos bautizado,
15 dixo que no lo save porque anduvo sienpre en las jornadas rreferidas
y nunca estubo de asiento en el dicho rreal de San Graviel y que oyo dezir
que avian bautiçado hasta çien yndios muchachos del dicho rreal y to-
do su sircuito poco mas o menos.

~ Preguntado si los yndios de aquella provincia estan aficionadas y de[se]josos
20 de bautisarse y rreçevir nuestra santa fee, dixo que le paresçe que si porque
tienen muncha dispuçion para hazerlo por ser naturalmente gente
sin biçios, blanda y pasifica.

~ Preguntado como el dicho governador don Juan de Oñate en el tiempo que a esta-
do en la dicha provincia no a pasado adelante diga la caussa que a tenido
25 para ello e si la save o presume, dixo que la gente que tenia hizie-
ron las entradas dichas y que para sustentar las provincias en
que agora esta avia menester la que tenia y que en llegando socorro
se enpeço [a] aprestar para la notiçia de la mar del norte donde que-
dava de partida.

30 Preguntado si conforme a lo que a visto en la dicha tierra y calidad della y a lo
que a entendido de los capitanes y soldados que quedan en la dicha
provincia si se podran conservar, que le paresçe del gusto y contento
los que estan en ella y que save desto y de que se deva y pueda dar no-
tiçia a su magestad para que como rrey y señor acuda al [am]paro y favor de sus basa-
35 llos y si la dicha gente segun la dispuçion pressente y esperança de lo de
adelante se podrian sustentar y conservar y si estan de buena bolun-
tad en la dicha provincia o sin ella o con deseo de bolver a esta nueva es-
paña y por que rrazones, dixo que algunos de los dichos soldados particu-
larmente los casados como hombres que tienen hijos y familia y alli
40 se sustentan, comen y beven estan con gusto y sin deseo de salir de la
dicha provincia sino antes deseando fundar su çiudad y aposeçionarse para
acavar alli la vida y los demas gente de buen lustre y no de tantas o-
bligaciones estan con animo y deseo de pasar adelante a nuevos descu-
brimientos en que pudies[e]n mexor abentaxarse y mejorarse y que
45 algunos, gente bagamunda, moços sueltos, desean salirse y que le pares-
çe que para la gente que oy a se podra sustentar con lo qu'es y esta descu-
bierto por ser la tierra acomodada y no ser muncha la gente si los yn-
biasen socorro de lienço, paño, hierro hasta que la tierra descubriese
lo que tiene con mayor claridad y los yndios estuviessen sujetos y cris-
50 tianos, porque le paresçe que en esto hasta oy no [a] avido en los rreligiosos
que alli estan la dilijençia que fuera justo y que a ellos les deve aver mo-
vido alguna justa caussa que no save este declarante, todo lo qual que
a dicho es la verdad y lo que save para el juramento que ffecho tiene, en que
se afirmo y rratifico y lo ffirmo de su nonbre. Declaro ser de hedad
55 de beinte y çinco años. Firmolo el dicho factor y el susodicho confeso no tocar-
le las generales. Don Francisco Balverde de Mercado, Marçelo de Espinossa. An-
te mi Marcos Leandro escrivano rreal.

[MI] Testimonio.

~ En Mexico, a treinta dias del mes de julio del dicho año de mill e seisçientos e uno, para la

dicha

[fol. 45v]

ynformacion el dicho factor don Francisco Balberde hizo parescer ante ssi al bachiller Xinez de Herrera Horta, estante en esta dicha çuadad, del qual fue rreçevido juramento en forma de derecho y el lo hizo y prometio de dezir berdad y siendo preguntado por el tenor de la dicha comision, dixo que este declarante fue a las provinçias del Nuevo Mexico abra año y medio poco mas o menos por auditor general y açesor de don Joan de Oñate, governador de las dichas provinçias, por comission que de ello tuvo el ylustrissimo birrey conde de Monterrey y proviçion rreal en el socorro quel dicho birrey ynbio a ellas, con el qual llevo a la billa de Santa Varbora provinçia de la Nueva Vizcaya qu'esta dicha çuadad dozientas leguas y de alli fueron caminando con todo el dicho socorro hasta llegar a las dichas provinçias del Nuevo Mexico hasta el pueblo de San Graviel, qu'es donde tenia y tiene sentado el dicho rreal el dicho don Joan de Oñate y todo ello pasifico y dada la obediencia a su magestad por los naturales de aquel distrito, todo por horden del dicho don Joan de Oñate, aunque este declarante a oydo dezir a muchas personas assi en esta Nueva España como en las dichas provinçias que antes que fuera a ellas el dicho governador estaban pasificas qu'es desde que fue Castaño.

~ Preguntado que tienpo estubo y rresidio en las dichas provinçias del Nuevo Mexico, dixo qu'estubo en ellas tres messes o quatro poco mas o menos y quel aver estado tan poco fue la caussa el dicho governador no açeptar la comision que de tal auditor y açesor suyo llevaba este declarante y bisto lo susodicho le pidio licencia con la qual vino.

~ Preguntado que cossas bio este declarante tocantes a la dicha tierra desde el primer pueblo de yndios della hasta que llegaron donde estava el dicho rreal del dicho governador y demas pueblos de aquella provinçia, dixo qu'este declarante no bio todos los pueblos qu'estan rreduçidos de paz sino solamente los que caminando toparon que segun ynformacion de todos los que estan en ella es gran parte y la mayor de las dichas poblaciones y preguntado este declarante a las dichas personas que numero de pueblos seria el de todos le dixeron que hasta çiento y diez poco mas o menos, contando los poblados y despoblados y destos bio este declarante algunos quando yba caminando y que en los dichos poblados le paresçe que las cassas dellos serian como hasta treinta o quaranta puestas en quadrangulo que son quatro quadros y por las esquinas de las dichas plaças se entra y sale y las cassas que los dichos yndios tienen son de adobes cubiertas de unos morillos teraplenados por ençima que sirven de açoteas y los dichos pueblos los mas dellos son de una plaça y los mayores dos o tres plaças en la forma de quadrangulo dicho, las quales dichas cassas tienen de a dos o tres altos y en cada cassa bive su familia.

~ Preguntado que calidad de gente es la que avita en los dichos pueblos, que personas tienen las que biven anssi hombres como mugeres en la dicha provinçia, dixo que son

40 de mediana estatura los que biven en las dichas poblaciones y las mugeres algo mas blancas que ellos y algunas de mui buenos rostros y es gente que a lo que parece debian de andar bestida por hazer desmostracion de no estar las carnes quemadas ni percutidas porque muchos de los varones andan en cueros vivos sin genero de bestido ni aparençia de berguença y
45 que algunos quando salen de çiertas estufas que tienen en el ynbierno llevan puestos unos cueros que llaman de Çibola, el pelo adentro y pocos con unas antiparas de gamuça muy justa des[de] el pie hasta cassi la sintura y tanvien usan unos çapatos que ellos hazen del dicho cuero de Çibola el dicho pelo dentro y las mugeres traen unas mantas cortas de algodõn te-
50 xidas que les llega poco mas abaxo de la rrodilla, çeñidas por la çintura con un hilo de el mismo algodõn y otra que traen a manera de tilma qu'es una manta suelta dado un nudo con las dos puntas della en el honbro. Y las que traen ençima suelen ser pintadas de unas pinturas **tur-**
cas que parecen mascarones sin tener de todo figura de rostro las quales
55 andan descalças y que las dichas yndias no traen en la caveça mas que rrebue[1]-to el cavello, dado unas vueltas a manera de puntas y los yndios suelen traer cavelleras que son como coletas de su propio cavello cortadas a rraiz de las orejas, los quales dizen en verano que se dan a la labor de sus mi[1]-pas como son sienbra de mahiz, frisoles, algodõn, calavaças y melones
60 y otras cossas porque en el ynbierno que fue quando este declarante estuvo en la dicha provinçia estan metidos en las dichas estufas por causa del

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frio que alli haze qu'es mucho y en las dichas estufas estan hilando y texiendo las dichas mantas porque este es el exerçio hordinario de los dichos yndios y el de las mugeres edificar las cassas y guizar la comida las quales son un atole como [[^]ma]çamorra hecho de la harina del dicho mahiz
5 y unos frisoles cosidas y calavaças tambien cosidas. Y bio este declarante algunos conojos mui secos, los quales dizen que comen los dichos yndios y que una vez bido traer a uno dellos un venado muerto y metello en su cassa y no save de la manera que lo beneficiã y que anssimismo bido nevar el tienpo de ynbierno que alli estubo en abundançia y hazer rriguro-
10 so frio de tal manera que el agua que se tiene para veber es menester aplicarla al fuego para que se desyele por averla bisto este declarante elada muchas vezes y el rrio que llaman del Norte y dos arroyos que estan junto al dicho rreal de San Graviel los a visto por la mayor parte de su anchura elados y algunas personas le dixeron que lo avian pasado a cavallo
15 elados del todo y que quexandose este declarante de tanto frio, le dixeron que aquello era berano para el demas frio que solia aver y que un rreligioso biejo le dixo a este declarante que al tienpo que quiso consumir el sanguis le hallo de manera que fue neçesario aplicar el calor para poderlo consumir. Y en lo que toca a ortalizas, las que se llevaron deste rreino
20 se dan mui bien en el berano segun le dixeron y que en algunos esteros del dicho Rio del Norte ay quantidad de pescado porque quando este declaran-

te benia a esta Nueva España bio que en mui breve tiempo obra de çien
yndios de los foraxidos y que andavan bagando coxieron muncha
quantidad de pescado como son bagres y matalotes y otros pescados
25 con unos picos largos a manera de agujas y que esto seria çinquenta y
siete leguas del dicho rreal y que este declarante bido el tiempo de qua-
resma que alla estubo que seria la mitad de la quaresma poco mas
o menos que nunca se comio pescado en el dicho rreal por no averlo ni traer-
se y que anssi fue neçesario que el comisario dispensasse se comiesse la dicha carne tres
30 dias en la semana, lo qual no se hazia sino por falta de pescado y legumbres
que como ellas se coxen en verano y era ynbierno no las avia y qu' este decla-
rante comio coles pasadas por no averlas de otro genero entonçes y de las
calavaças que se dan en la dicha tierra los dichos yndios y españoles las ha-
zen tasajos, cuelgan y guardan para su tiempo qu' es del ynbierno y los
35 dichos yndios y yndias no tienen mas bebida que agua y çierto pinole
que hazen qu' es harina de mahiz tostado desleida en agua.

~ Preguntado que genero de gobierno tienen los dichos yndios, a quien obedecen e que
modo de rrepublica es la suya, dixo que no les conosçe este declarante
caveça ni superior sino que todos son yguales y que biven en muncha con-
40 formidad sin urtarse los unos a los otros cossa alguna aunque se de-
xen las cassas solas. Y lo que este declarante noto fue que yendo con
algunos conpañeros por algunos de los dichos pueblos les pideron a los dichos
yndios tortillas y entonçes salia un yndio dando voçes en su lengua
paseandose por las dichas quadras y entonçes las yndias venian tra-
45 yendo a tres o quatro y a seis tortillas de cada cassa y a lo que esto pa-
resçe el dicho yndio seria como mayordomo o mandador entre ellos y es-
to acostunbran en los dichos pueblos y el dicho yndio que haze la dicha çere-
monia es el mas viejo y ançiano dellos y que no save este declarante
que para otras ocasiones fuera de la susodicha ayan dado demostraçion
50 de tener quien les mande ni hagan entre si juntas ni consultas
mas de que oyo dezir a los dichos españoles que suelen tenerlas para
yr a cassa y esta hazen a manera de rrodeo, yendo çerrando un çerco
que hazen con sus mismas personas por ser muchos los que ban
y que toda la cassa que coxen en medio la matan con unos palillos
55 que usan a manera de arquillos sin cuerda de madera rrecia y mui
liços, los quales los arrojan y açiertan bien qualquiera tiro con
ellos y que quando tienen alguna diçension los unos con los otros
o con los españoles, defendiendose usan los dichos palillos demas
de arco y flecha que tanvien usan y unas que llaman maçenas
60 que son unos pedernales grandes metidos en un palo rreçio y gruesso
y tambien atados con niervos que no save este declarante de quales sean

[fol. 46v]

ni que tengan otro genero de rrepublica ni gobierno.

~ Preguntado si se cassan con una o mas mugeres y si hazen alguna çeremonia en esto y si las conservan toda la vida o como se an con ella, dixo que este declarante no save mas de que le dixeran los españoles que tenian tantas mugeres quantas podrian sustentar y que el matrimonio no era mas (^si) ni con mas solemnidad ni con mas de dar dos mantas, con las quales queda obligada la muger a serlo y serbirle todo el tienpo que la puede sustentar y los dichos yndios conforme al numero de mugeres que tienen procuran tener las milpas para poderlas sustentar y no pudiendolas sustentar tienen livertad
5 ellas de casarse con otro sin que por esto aunque el yndio lo sienta mucho rreplique ni tanpoco es gente que rrepara en que se les guarde o no lealtad y las dichas yndias sus mugeres no la tienen un solo lugar sino en diversos pueblos.

~ Preguntado si los dichos yndios usan de una lengua general o de munchas particulares, dixo que save por cossa mui çierta y porque bio unos yndios no se entienden a otros que no tienen lengua general sino diferentes y particulares como tambien tienen los nonbres de sus naçiones como son picuries, taos, emes, queres, acomas y otros diferentes que cada naçion desta usa de lengua particular y esto save.

20 ~ Preguntado que genero de contrataçiones usan los dichos yndios entre si o permutaçiones, dixo que no les a visto trato ni contrato ninguno ni tener lugar çierto y diputado para ello, porque le dixeran los dichos españoles que una naçion de yndios foraxidos que llaman apaches y tambien los llaman los españoles los baqueros por estar en los llanos de Çibola, donde dizen ay muncha suma de ganado çibolero; estos dichos yndios traen a las dichas poblaçiones cue-
25 ros del ganado que matan, carne, manteca y la truecan con los poblados con mahiz y esto save.

~ Preguntado que metales tienen los dichos yndios de que usasen antes que los españoles entrasen en las dichas provinçias, dixo que no save ni a oydo dezir que tubiessen ni usasen de ningun metal, oro, plata, cobre ni otros pero que save que se ynbijan y pintan de diferentes colores y no save que sea de diferente metal o de otra cossa.

~ Preguntado que rreligion o ydolatria, ritos y çeremonias tocantes a ellos usan los dichos yndios, dixo que no save mas de que en los dichos pueblos donde este declarante [a] andado, en las dichas cassas tienen pintados en las paredes dellas unas figuras mal agestadas y confusamente puestas, desgovernados los pies y braços y que entiende que deven ser ydolos, porque se acuerda que una bez

40 se puso a mirar las dichas figuras este declarante y le pregunto
a un yndio que era aquello, el qual dicho yndio entendia algu-
nas palabras castellanas y mexicanas y le rrespondio a este
declarante “dios nuestra señora” y que assi entendio que aquellas fi-
45 çeremonias mas de que cassi los mas yndios tienen los molle-
dos de los braços llenos de cardenales de donde ynfirio ser
los que hazian los dichos sacrificios e ydolatrias.

~ Preguntado que buenos y malos çusesos, que rresistençias, que modos
de ofensas y defenssas an echo los dichos yndios desde que en-
50 tro en la dicha provinçia el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate
hasta beinte y tres de março deste pressente año qu’es quan-
do este declarante y los demas que estan en esta çuidad sa-
lieron del dicho rreal para benir a esta Nueva España, dixo que
dos dias antes que este declarante saliese del dicho rreal el co-
55 misario de los rreligiosos que se dize fray Joan de Escalona de
la horden del serafico de san Francisco le enbio a llamar y le
aparto en secreto en su çelda y le dixo que le encargava
la conçiençia si dexava de ver a su señoria del birrey, conde de Mon-
terrey desta Nueva España, y de dezirle lo que açerca desta
60 pregunta dira este declarante y assi por descargo de su conçien-

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çia y por el juramento que tiene fecho dize que tratando con este de-
clarante las personas de mas suerte, assi rreligiosos como seculares
de **guelgos** de aquella tierra, en particular le trataron de lo que passo
5 con los yndios de un pueblo que llaman Acoma, el qual esta situa-
do sobre un peñol alto. Era alli en el dicho rreal maestre de campo
un don Joan de Çaldivar, sobrino del dicho governador, y con obra de
doze o catorze compañeros salio a ver si hallava alguna cossa no
descubierta y con yntento segun le dixeron a este declarante de
que si no hallasse cossa de consideraçion venirse a esta Nueva Espa-
10 ña con los dichos compañeros; yendo que yban al dicho fin y descubri-
miento pasaron por el dicho pueblo de Acoma adonde pidieron a los dichos
yndios bastimento y ellos se lo dieron y prosiguieron su viaje como dos
leguas adelante del dicho pueblo y bolvieron otra vez el dicho maestre
de campo y un capitan Escalante y otro Diego Nuñez y otros compañe-
15 ros y tornaron de nuevo a pedirles bastimento, gallinas, mantas
y aun a tomarlas por fuerça y visto los dichos yndios esto, enpeça-
ron a rresistirles y defenderse y le dixeron a este declarante
que los dichos españoles avian muerto a uno o dos yndios y con las
y piedras mataron los dichos yndios al dicho maestre de campo y al
20 dicho Diego Nuñez y los demas, lo qual savido por el dicho governador
mando pregonar guerra a fuego y sangre contra los dichos yndios del dicho

pueblo y nonbro por caveza para lo susodicho a un Biçente de Saldivar su sobrino sargento mayor y hermano del dicho maestre de campo difunto y fue con setenta conpañeros soldados al castigo de lo
25 rreferido y los dichos yndios, temiendo a lo que yban los dichos españoles, no se quisieron rrendir sino defenderse y en efeto se enpeço el castigo que dizen duro cassi dos dias, matando muncha suma de yndios hasta que, viendose ya bençidos y rrendidos, dexaron de defenderse, ofreçiendo mantas y gallinas al dicho sargento mayor y soldados, los quales no quiso rreçevir sino que hizo
30 prender a los dichos yndios y meterlos en una estufa y uno a uno los mando sacar y un yndio que alli tenia los yba pasando a cuchillo y arrojandolos por el dicho peñol abaxo, y biendo el çuçesso algunas yndias e yndios que estavan rretraidos en otras estufas, hizieronse fuertes sin querer salir dellas y bisto esto
35 el dicho sargento mayor mando poner leña y fuego, con cuyo humo se ahogaron munchas yndias con sus hijos y muchos yndios y aun le dixeron a este declarante que se avian quemado vivos algunos y los que quedaron vivos, hombres, mugeres,
40 niños, se traxeron pressos al dicho rreal donde a los niños por mandado del dicho governador les dieron [en] deposito a particulares y las mugeres y hombres de diez y ocho a diez y nueve años se dieron y declararon por esclavos por tiempo de beinte años y a otros los deçocaron y cortaron los pies como este
45 declarante bio algunos en el dicho rreal y le dixeron que de los dichos esclavos la mayor parte se avian huido y que (se avian huido y que) avian tornado a querer poblar el dicho pueblo y qu'esto por el dicho governador ni se ynpedia ni se admitia sino que yba con disimulaçion, aunque este declarante oyo dezir que queria ynviar o yr a ver el dicho pueblo. Y esto es lo que este declarante oyo dezir a las dichas personas, comunicandolo con el en secreto y que se acuerda que quien se lo comunico fue un capitán que se dize Gregorio de Çesar y un fraile que se hallo en el casso y al pressente esta en la çiudad de Nuestra Señora de
55 Çacatecas en este rreyno y se llama fray Alonso de Lugo, anssimismo de la horden de san Francisco y a otras personas de cuyos nonbres no se acuerda y que entiende este declarante biene ynformado de todo lo susodicho otro rreligioso de la dicha horden qu'esta en Toluca y se llama fray Luis

[fol. 47v]

Mayrones y otro qu'esta en la tierra adentro hasia la Nueva Bizcaya que se llama fray Alonso de la Oliva y que la caussa porque el dicho comisario le encargo la conçiencia a este declarante ffue por paresçerle no ser justa la dicha servidunbre y castigosse y
5 para quel dicho virrey mandasse se les diesse libertad y que ago-

ra poco a el dicho governador con gran golpe de gente salio a cobrar como alla dizen el tributo de las mantas y tanvien con yntento de pasar por un pueblo que llaman de los Jumenes que quiere dezir yndios rrayados, porque tienen ençima de la nariz una rraya, diziendo el dicho governador les avia de castigar un atrevimiento que tubieron con el dicho sargento mayor su sobrino, el qual dizen fue que pasando por alli con algunos soldados les pidio bastimento y tortillas porque benian con hanbre y cansados y los dichos yndios no se las quisieron dar. Antes le dixerón a este declarante les ofreçian piedras que comiesen y llegado que lleço el dicho governador al dicho pueblo de los xumanes les pidio les diesen mantas y los dichos yndios rrecoxieron obra de doze o catorze dellas y se las dieron al dicho governador, dandoles a entender no tener mas que poderle dar y con esto el dicho governador se aparto media legua de alli a unos aguajes y el dia siguiente torno al dicho pueblo llebando consigo por ynterpetre a un yndio que entendia la lengua de los dichos Jumenes y por medio del les dixo que el queria castigar a los que no abian querido dar bastimento al dicho sargento mayor y que a los que acudiesen bien les trataria con amor y boluntad, e ynformado desto, mando luego pegar fuego a çiertos quarteles de cassas de los dichos yndios, lo qual como ellos biesen se rretiraron a sus cassas y açoteas y el dicho governador mando que les tirasen una rroçiada de alcabuzeria, de la qual cayeron muertos çinco o seis yndios sin los que debieron de quedar heridos y a dos que le paresçio [a]l dicho governador mas belicosos, los mando ahorcar y a[ho]rco y aviendole al dicho ynterpetre les dixesse çierta rrazon a los dichos yndios, de la qual este declarante no se acuerda, le paresçio çierto soldado que lo que el dicho ynterpetre les dezia era en contra y asi lo dixo al dicho governador, el qual le mando ahorcar y que los dichos yndios de aquella provinçia, todos en general es gente quieta y pasifica y cobarde que temen mucho a los dichos españoles y anssi no an fecho ofenssa ni defenssa alguna mas de lo dicho y esto save deste casso.

40 ~ Preguntado quantos españoles dexo en las dichas provinçias al tiempo que partio dellas, dixo que quedaron como çiento y zinquenta soldados y quarenta y dos cassados o çinquenta.

~ Preguntado que ganados ay en aquellas provinçias y tiene el dicho don Joan en su rreal para el serviçio y bastimento de su gente, dixo que de ganado menor, ovejas y cabras le paresçe este declarante que podra aver mill caveças poco mas o menos porque la mayor parte del dicho ganado lo bio este declarante en un pueblo que se llama Santa Clara y otro San Miguel en poder de un fulano Naranxo y lo demas en el dicho rreal

- 50 y que yeguas no las bido este declarante mas de que oyo
dezir las avia y no supo la cantidad y cavallos; oyo anssi-
mismo dezir que se llevaron mill e quinientos la pri-
mera jornada, de los quales muchos se an perdido y
otros muerto y otros hallado flechados y oyo dezir
55 que por todos anssi los que se llevaron primero como en
el dicho socorro podra aver quinientos y de ganado mayor
quando este declarante lleugo al dicho rreal bido que no se

[fol. 48r]

- matava ni comia carne por averse ya acavado y le dixeron algunos que
los bueyes que tenian para arar los avian muerto para comer y
que haravan con cavallos y anssi le paresçe que puede aver de ganado
mayor como quatroçientas caveças que son las que llebaron en este so-
5 corro, de las quales se matan cada semana siete caveças y cabe
muy limitadamente a cada uno de manera que no comen toda la se-
mana carne y entiende este declarante se acabara el dicho ganado pres-
to porque nunca oyo dezir que este ganado se multiplique bien
en aquella tierra; antes se acabarian como dicho tiene y que de bueyes
10 no save que aya mas de los que se llevaron en el dicho socorro con las
carretas, que le paresçe serian çiento y çinquenta y que abra mulas
hasta en cantidad de dozientas e sinquenta o trezientas con las
de los carros que llevaron los rreliçiosos.

- ~ Preguntado en que forma tiene el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate situa-
15 do el dicho rreal si esta fertificado o en forma de lugar abierto e
de que manera, dixo que en un pueblo de los dichos yndios le tiene
situado y que los españoles biven en las cassas dellos, salvo
que les an abierto puertas y ventanas a husança española
y que no se a fecho otra fertificaçion y le dixeron quel dicho gover-
20 nador pretendia se fundasse una villa y nonbrase alcaldes
y que se edificasen cassas y que los dichos españoles lo avian rre-
puñado y la caussa desto le paresçe este declarante ser el disgus-
to con que estan y deseo de salir de aquella tierra por la mun-
cha neçesidad que tienen y padesçen.

- 25 ~ Preguntado si los çiento y treinta pueblos o çiento [e] beinte y çinco que
dizen ay paçificos debaxo del gobierno del dicho don Joan de Oñate,
que cantidad de gente ay en ellos, dixo que munchas vezes
pregunto este declarante a los españoles lo rreferido y le di-
xeron que puede aver doze mill yndios por todos los barones
30 sin los niños y mugeres que por todos chicos y grandes seran
treinta mill almas, los quales tienen tanto miedo a los dichos
españoles que yendo que ban por los dichos pueblos como lo a visto
algunas bezes este declarante, se hazen en umos los dichos

yndios y señas avisando que ba gente española y se rretiran y
35 huyen a la sierra con sus mugeres y hijos y llevan consigo las ga-
llinas que tienen, dexando lo qu'es el demas bastimento
y la ocasion porque llevan las dichas gallinas mas que otra
cossa es por criarlas para de la pluma hazer mantas con
que abrigarse el ynbierno, porque no las saven comer sino
40 es las cossas que atras estan dichas.

~ Preguntado que notiçia ay de otras provinçias y descubrimientos
mas, dixo que no save mas provinçias ni notiçias de las
que da un yndio mexicano que se llama Jusepillo qu'es de-
zir que entre las bacas de Çibola ay una gran poblaçion
45 de nueve o diez leguas de largo en que dize aver muncha
gente, al qual descubrimiento estava aparexado el dicho
governador con çient soldados y entiende este declarante
abra ya salido del dicho rreal y esto rresponde.

~ Preguntado si a los dichos yndios de paz o domesticos que tie-
50 ne el dicho governador debaxo de su gobierno les a rrepar-
tido algun tributo o serviçio personal en la lavor de las tie-
rras y cosechas de sus frutos y para las demas cossas neçe-
sarias al serviçio de su rreal, dixo que lo que save es que
cada mes salen los soldados del dicho governador con su hor-
55 den y liçençia por todos los dichos pueblos por mahiz, los qua-
les soldados ban de en dos en dos y de en tres en tres y traen

[fol. 48v]

el dicho mahiz para sustentarse, el qual los dichos yndios dan con mun-
cho sentimiento y llanto mas de fuerça que de grado segun le
dixeron a este declarante los mismos soldados y si algunos gra-
nos del dicho mahiz se les caen, los dichos yndios los ban coxendo
5 uno a uno y esto lo bio este declarante muchas bezes y algu-
nos yndios o yndias que quedaron en el dicho rreal de los que de an-
tes estaban alli poblados traen a los dichos españoles agua y le-
ña porque de aquel mahiz les den un poco y esto lo a bisto este
declarante y le dixeron que los yndios suelen guardar el mahiz de
10 tres o quatro años, rreparandose por la esterilidad de la tierra porque
no llueve sino muy rraras bezes y todo es nevar y la nieve sirbe de u-
medeçer la tierra para coxer lo que sienbran y el tributo quel dicho
governador les a ynpueto es cada año de cada bezino una ma[n]ta
de algodón y los que no tienen mantas dan gamuças de cueros ado-
15 bados como ellos los adereçan de las dichas bacas de Çibola o ve-
nados y quel no aver cantidad de las dichas mantas es por el po-
co algodón que alli se coxe, lo qual este declarante lo a visto jun-
to a las milpas que tienen los dichos yndios por los pueblos que [a] an-

dado y le çertificaron que si dezian que no tienen mantas que dar se
20 las quitavan los dichos soldados a las yndias y quedavan desnudas y qu'esto es lo que save.

~ Preguntado si despues que llego el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate se an bisto o hallado minas de oro o plata, dixo que en un pueblo que llaman de San Marcos oyo dezir que avia minas de plata pero
25 de muy poca ley, aunque en un parlamento que oyo este declarante hazer el dicho governador a toda la gente del rreal que se junto, le oyo dezir que avia munchas minas y que el no queria dar lugar a que se beneficiasse porque no se dexase lo mas por lo menos y qu'este declarante bio una piedra pequeña que el dicho sargento mayor
30 enseñava a todos los soldados que al paresçer era de muy rrico metal y bio que un rreligioso a quien el dicho sargento mayor la enseño le dixo que era muy buena si fuera de aquella tierra, a lo qual no le rreplico cossa alguna el dicho sargento mayor y en lo que toca a los serviçios personales no save este declarante que
35 se los ayan ynpuesto mas de que quando es menester adereçar alguna cassa se pide liçençia al dicho governador para traer algunas yndias que las adereçen, que como dicho tiene son las que lo hazen y asimismo yndios para ayudar a senbrar la hortaliza y cultivar la tierra y a bisto este declarante a españoles arar
40 por sus personas solas sin ayuda de yndios y que a oydo dezir que el trigo acude bien y es porque alli en el dicho rreal ay agua de pie con [que] se rriega y en otra ninguna parte la ay y assi no se sienbra mas que alli, ni save ni a oydo dezir que la sienbra se haga en otra parte y esto rresponde.

45 ~ Preguntado si a visto conchas de perlas o si a oydo dezir que las ay, dixo que ni las a bisto ni a oydo dezir que las ay.

~ Preguntado que saçerdotes y rreligiosos ay en la dicha provinçia, dixo que ay seis saçerdotes y tres legos de la horden de san Francisco y los tres de los dichos saçerdotes son ya mui biejos y estan rre-
50 partidos los quatro dellos a tres y a quatro leguas del dicho rreal y los otros en el.

~ Preguntado que gente de los dichos yndios abran los dichos rreligiosos bautizado, dixo que algunos niños save este declarante que an bautizado y a oydo dezir a algunos de los dichos rreligiosos que çiertos
55 yndios que bautizo un fray Xpistoval de Salazar, deudo çercano del dicho governador, el qual murio biniendo a esta Nueva España, se avian ausentado sin que se supiesse ni tubiesse notiçia dellos

[fol. 49r]

y por esta caussa no an bautizado munchos mas, temerosos de la poca permanença de los dichos yndios y de los dichos españoles en la dicha tierra porque este declarante les a oydo dezir que se an de quedar ellos solos y tambien por la diversidad y dificultad de lenguas porque ningun rreligioso save ninguna dellas salvo un
5 donado que dizen save [un] poco de una y este declarante (y este declarante) bio a un muchacho español que segun el dicho muchacho le dixo se avia criado con los hijos de muchachos de los dichos yndios, el qual savia la lengua de los picur[i]es o queres tambien y me-
10 xor que los mismos yndios porque ellos se espantavan de oyrle y el dicho comisario tenia consigo el dicho muchacho con yntento de hazer algun fruto por su medio.

~ Preguntado si los yndios de aquellas provinçias segun sus costumbres se podrian rreduzir a nuestra santa fee catolica con mediano travaxo
15 de los dichos çaçerdotes, dixo que el no comunicarse los dichos yndios con los dichos españoles es por el miedo que les tienen, pero que tratandolos bien y atrayendolos le paresçe a este declarante muy fasil su conbercion por ser como son gente muy mansa, blanda y domestica y sin ningun biçio que se les conosca con extremo y de-
20 masia y finalmente la tiene por mexor este declarante que esta desta Nueva España y de mexores costunbres y condiçiones y esto rresponde.

~ Preguntado como el dicho don Joan de Oñate governador en el tienpo que a estado en la dicha provinçia no a pasado adelante diga la caussa
25 que a tenido para ello si la save o la [a] oydo dezir, dixo que este declarante oyo dezir a diferentes personas que se avian fecho algunas salidas a descubrir la Mar del Sur y a buscar otros descubrimientos por diferentes partes en distançia de çiento y çinquenta leguas y que no se avia hallado cossa alguna
30 y que agora como dicho tiene entiende abra salido el dicho governador al descubrimiento de la notiçia del dicho yndio Josephe y qu'este declarante no a [o]ydo ni save otra caussa y esto rresponde.

~ Preguntado si conforme a lo que a visto en la dicha tierra y calidad della y a lo que a entendido y a oydo a los capitanes y soldados que quedavan en la
35 dicha provinçia si le paresçe se podran conservar y (con y) que save y le paresçe del gusto y contento que tienen los que estan en ella y que save y a benido a su notiçia de que se le deva dar a su magestad para que como rrey y señor acuda al [am]paro y favor de sus basallos y si la dicha gente segun la dispusiçion pressente y las esperanças de lo de ade-
40 lante podran permanesçer en la dicha provinçia y si estan de su boluntad en ella o con deseo de bolverse a esta Nueva España y por que rrazones, dixo que el tienpo de los dichos quatro messes poco mas o menos que este declarante estuvo en el dicho rreal claramente

conosçio un [^general] disgusto de toda la dicha gente y desconfiança de po-
45 der tener en aquella dicha tierra ningun rremedio y lo[s] que mas quexo-
sos se mostravan eran los que fueron en este socorro por dezir que
se les avian enbiado rrelaçiones e ynformaçiones y cartas de
munchas grandezas y rriquezas y que se hallavan defraudados,
50 gastadas sus haziendas, privados de la quietud que tenian en
esta Nueva España y desperança de tener que comer y con que cu-
brirse sus carnes y las de sus mugeres y hijos y deudos y parien-
tes y esto a llegado a tanto extremo que les a oydo dezir este decla-
rante que se avian de poner a todo rriesgo y peligro y benirse a esta
55 Nueva España a presençia del ylustrissimo virrey della a pe-
dir misericordia para sus hijos y mugeres y a los solteros con ançia

[fol. 49v]

y determinaçion de hazer fuga, que harto hazia este declarante en con-
solarles, proponiendoles que su magestad les haria merced de mandar que na-
die este contra su boluntad, pues no es puesto que puede ocupar nin-
gun enemigo y al tienpo de la partida deste declarante y demas gente
5 que binieron a esta Nueva España, hizieron muchos sentimientos
de bozes y lagrimas y la rrazon de lo susodicho es la aspereça de la
dicha tierra, del frio que dura ocho meses de ynbierno en el extremo
que tiene declarado de elarçe los rrios y estar sienpre titiritando
y al fuego y aver poca leña y qu'es otras seis o ocho leguas del dicho rreal
10 en carros y carretas y casi todo es de alamos del rrio y con el humo
andan cassi todas las mugeres y niños llorando de noche y de
dia porque no tiene con que alunbrarse de noche sino es con el
dicho fuego y pasado el dicho ynbierno segun ynformaron a este decla-
rante bienen quatro de berano cassi mas rriguroso en calor
15 que lo es el ynbierno en frio y anssi el rrefran que alla se tiene
es dezir ocho de ynbierno y quatro de ynfierno y la dicha gente sa-
le a dormir a unas huertesuelas que tienen de la dicha horta-
lisa, huyendo de grandisima suma y plaga de chinches que
se cria en aquella tierra y fuera desto ay ynfinitos rratones,
20 los quales crian un genero de piojos cuyo picada y dolor della
dura casi beinte y quatro oras y estos se comen el chile y pimi-
entos que si con tienpo los coxen no dexan ninguno y no comen
queso y tambien les aflixe la esterilidad de la dicha tierra que
por curso de tienpo les an de faltar y porque la dicha gente de todas
25 las dichas poblaçiones es poca y en distançia de mas de ochenta
leguas yncluyendo las poblaçiones que dizen tener mas gente,
que estas estan las dichas leguas del dicho rreal y conforme a esto
le paresçe a este declarante que no se podra conservar la dicha gen-
te sin mucho gasto de su magestad en bastimentos y bestidos
30 y otras cossas y aun gastando y dandoles ayuda de costas su magestad,
entiende este declarante que si se dexa en su libertad ten-

dran por mexor salir de aquella tierra y buscar su vida por aca,
porque a ninguno oyo este declarante decir qu'esta de su bolun-
tad sino forçado y oprimido y que lo que bio digno de que el ylus-
35 trisimo birrey desta Nueva España rremedie y adbierta es que
las proviçiones que ynbia aquellas partes no se obedecen
ni cunplen, porque yendo este declarante con comiçion de audi-
tor general y açesor del dicho governador como tiene dicho el dicho go-
vernador no la quiso obedesçer por dezir que el birrey de la Nue-
40 va España no puede ynbiar juezes aquella tierra y a este de-
clarante le dixo el dicho governador que avia de quitar las con-
ductas a los capitanes que las llevavan del dicho birrey
aunque despues beo que no las quito y un rreligiosso quel
dicho fray Alonso de Lugo qu'esta en la dicha çiudad de Çacatecas
45 le dixo este declarante quel dicho governador no avia puesto
en la matricula de los capitanes a los que llevaron las dichas
condutas del dicho birrey y quel consuelo que la dicha gente tiene
en aquellas provinçias es entender que aquel gobierno esta
sugeto a esta Nueva España a donde podran ser oydos de jus-
50 tiçia, porque despues de tantas leguas tienen por muy difiçil
yrlo a pedir al rreal gobierno de las yndias, porque por algunos çusesos
acaesidos con biolençia, dixeron a este declarante que la avian
de pedir y que assi para este declarante tiene por mui dificulto-
ssa la conservaçion de aquellas provinçias por las rrazones que
55 tiene dichas. Todo lo qual es la verdad para el juramento que tie-
ne fecho y en ello se afirmo y rratifico. Declaro ser de hedad de beinte
y çinco años poco mas o menos y no le tocan las generales y lo firmo juntamente con
el dicho fator don Francisco Balberde de Mercado. El liçençiado Xinez Herrera Horta.

[fol. 50r]

Ante mi Marcos Leandro escrivano rreal.

[MI] Testimonio.

En la çiudad de Mexico a treinta y un dias del mes de jullio del dicho
año de mill e seisçientos e uno, el dicho fator don Francisco Balverde y
Mercado para la dicha ynformaçion hizo paresçer ante si al
5 capitan Joan de Ortega vezino que dixo ser de la çiudad de Los Angeles,
del qual fue rreçevido juramento en forma de derecho y pro-
metio de dezir berdad y siendo preguntado por el tenor de la dicha
comision, dixo que este declarante salio de la dicha çiudad de Los An-
geles abra dos años poco mas o menos para yr a las provinçias
10 del Nuevo Mexico como fue por capitan de cavallos del socorro
que se hizo al governador don Joan de Oñate qu'esta en la pasi-
ficação dellas por horden y mandado del ylustrisimo birrey
conde de Monterrey. A las quales dichas provinçias llegaron por na-

vidad del año pasado de seisçientos y estubo en ellas hasta
15 beinte y tres de março deste de seisçientos y uno, que fue
quando salio la ultima gente de el rreal que tiene el dicho gover-
nador llamado San Graviel, todo lo qual bido estar este declaran-
te (es) tan pasifico y de paz y dada la obediencia a su magestad por
los naturales de aquel distrito.

20 ~ Preguntado si salio con liçencia del dicho governador de aquellas
provinçias para benirse a esta tierra, dixo que bino con li-
çencia del dicho governador y la caussa de pedirla fue ver la tie-
rra diferente de las rrelaçiones que avian dicho en esta dicha
çiudad y tal que le paresçio que toda ella y las notiçias que avian no
25 eran para que çinquenta soldados pudiesen tener descansso
ni conservarse y que antes que saliese deste rreyno ni açep-
tasse el llevar gente para el dicho socorro fue con calidad y condi-
çion que si bista la tierra no le paresçiese quedar en ella
se le avia de dar la dicha liçencia y desde luego se le dio en nombre
30 de su magestad el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate.

~ Preguntado que bio y andubo por las dichas provinçias del primero pue-
blo que toparon dellos hasta el rreal que tiene sentado el
dicho governador en el dicho pueblo que llaman de San Graviel,
dixo que llegando que llegaron al rrio del Norte qu'es donde
35 el dicho don Joan de Oñate tomo la primera poseçion por su magestad,
caminaron hasta el primer pueblo, que abra hasta el qua-
renta leguas poco mas o menos, donde bido muy pocos
pastos y la tierra de poca consideraçion y momento y
desde alli hasta el dicho rreal fueron caminando por unas po-
40 blaçiones de a tres o quatro leguas de distançia unas de o-
tras que por una parte y otra del rrio estan puestas los qua-
les dichos pueblos. Le paresçe a este declarante que las mas ca-
ssas del, el mayor dellos seran duzientas y zinquenta
y el menor tendra hasta seis o siete, las quales eran las
45 mayores de a tres altas y las menores de a dos y el edificio
dellas es de adobe con maderamiento de madera y
sus terrados ençima de manera que e[n] tiempo de aguas no
se llueven y que en cada cassa ay un morador con su fami-
lia y en algunas ay dos o tres y que en algunas dellas no ay
50 ninguno y la caussa sabe este declarante es averse au-
sentado los dichos yndios por temor que tienen a los españoles
y esto no proçeder de mal ninguno que les ayan fecho sino
que de su natural son pusilanimos y que si algun agravio
an rreçevido por donde cause tambien el dicho temor fue de los

[fol. 50v]

primeros soldados que alla fueron que fue Umayna y Leyba, qu'es notorio que les tomaron algunas yndias y que en el tienpo que este declarante estuvo en las dichas provinçias nunca bio quatroçientos yndios juntos por no avellos en el dicho camino desde el pueblo de Qualacu hasta el que llaman del Socoro y desde alli hasta el dicho rreal abra treinta y çinco leguas, todo poblado de las dichas cassas y que la gente deste no la pudo entender quanta fuese este declarante por caussa de no estar junta porque como tiene dicho muncha della estava huída al monte por la rrazon dicha y que oyo decir algunas personas que en todas aquellas provinçias de paz avia hasta doze o treze mill yndios.

~ Preguntado que calidad de gente es la que abita en los dichos pueblos, que personas tienen anssi hombres como mugeres en las dichas provinçias, dixo que son los dichos yndios de buena estatura y las mugeres la tienen ni mas ni menos, algo mas blancas que ellos, algunas de mui buenos rostros. Es gente en lo qu'es las yndias bestida y el dicho bestido es una manta arrojada dado un nudo por el hombro sin otra cossa que cubra el cuerpo, por que no rreparen en que se les descubran las carnes y se las vean y las dichas mantas son de algodón y texidas y los dichos yndios traen los mas un pellejo de Çibola adobado el pelo adentro y otros traen unos pañetes del dicho algodón y otros unas gamuças adovadas de pieles de venados, coyetes y lobos, que por alli ay muchos y los dichos yndios algunos dellos traen çapatos echos de los dichos cueros de Çibola y gamuças, que los dichos çapatos son a modo de abarcas cosidas con unos nierbos de los dichos animales y que los dichos yndios los mas dellos bio este testigo tenían sus labranças y apero dellas a modo de macanas y coas pequeñas desta tierra, de donde ynfiere este declarante ser ynclinados y averlo sido a este menester por lo que bido de mahiz, calabazas y melones y zandias y otras cossas que son los frutos que ellos coxen para su sustento, de mas de que bio algunos silos donde tenían por junto el dicho mahiz, frisolet y lo demas que esta dicho, el qual entendio lo guardavan para sus neçesidades y oyo dezir que el guardarlo para ellos es por tienpo de dos o tres años y anssimismo por rrazon de que los soldados no se lo coxiessen y tomassen y que el tener el dicho cuidado de guardar las dichas mieses y otras cossas dichas es por caussa de ser la tierra esteril de agua aun en el berano porque llueve mui poco y quel mayor sustento de la tierra para la ocasion de que se va tratando es la nieve que la ay en muncha abundançia, la qual umedeçe la tierra y que en el tienpo que este declarante estuvo alli que era como dicho tiene por navidad y antes bio la dicha nieve en la forma que tiene rreferido y tanto frio que bido el rrio tan elado que se pasava a ca-

vallo por una parte del y los dichos yndios para rreparo de lo susodicho estan en unas estufas que ellos tienen dentro de las quales estan texiendo las dichas mantas y hilando, porque este es su exerçio mas hordinario por el dicho tiempo y las dichas
50 yndias estan y rresiden en las dichas cassas porque ellas son las que las labran y edifican en la forma qu'esta dicho, demas de que tienen a cargo el guizarles la comida que toda la que usan los unos y los otros son los dichos frisoles, mayz cosido y calabazas y anssi mesmo hazen del dicho mahiz tortillas y que
55 tambien comen algunas yerbezuelas que ellos coxen de la tierra, las quales con alguna cassa de venados y liebres que ellos caçan tienen colgada para el dicho su sustento y anssimismo alguna carne de bacas de Çibola que ellos rrescatan a los baqueros a trueco de mantas y mahiz, quel dicho rrescate es que

[fol. 51r]

los dichos baqueros bienen de Çibola, que son unos llanos qu'estan del dicho rreal como quarenta o çinquenta leguas, con la dicha carne, manteca, pellexos y sebo a los dichos pueblos cargado en unos peros poco mayores que peros de agua que ellos tienen para el dicho menester
5 y para llevar sus tiendas que son todos los mas muy blancos y otros con unas manchuelas negras y a treçientos o quatroçientos passos del dicho pueblo ponen las dichas tiendas que traen encima de los dichos perros y alli van los dichos yndios çercunbezinos y por el dicho mahiz y mantas rrescatan todas las cossas dichas
10 a los dichos baqueros nonbrados apaches que bienen a esta dicha ocasion de a quatroçientos o quinientos y por no tener tiempo para este dicho rrescate señalado no lo rrefiere este declarante y anssimismo porque no lo a oydo dezir mas de que le paresçe que sera de mas hordinario al tiempo de las cosechas qu'esta se da bien la dicha tierra y co-
15 xen en alguna abundançia frisoles y que en algunos esteros del dicho Rio del Norte que tiene rreferido ay cantidad de pescado porque lo bido este declarante pescar algunos yndios que llaman los gonetes y por otro nonbre partaragueles como son bragres y agujas y coteas y que por aver de distançia del dicho rreal a donde
20 se puede pescar el dicho pescado como beinte leguas lo comen pocas o ningunas vezes los dichos soldados y la demas gente y que por esta caussa al tiempo que este declarante estuvo en el dicho rreal que tomo de la quaresma pasada, dispensso el comisario que alla estava que toda la gente comiesse en
25 la semana tres dias carne y los demas dias della comen frisol y algun chile de la cosecha de españoles, porque los dichos yndios no le tienen en aquella tierra, de donde se puede entender la yncomodidad de la tierra y quan mal lo pasan los que alla estan en lo que toca a esto qu'esta dicho que por aver sido

30 tan poco el tiempo que este declarante estuvo alla no tiene mas
noticias.

~ Preguntado que genero de gobierno tienen los dichos yndios, a quien en-
tendio que ovedesçian o que modo de rrepublica bido, dixo
que no les conosçio este declarante caveça ni supo ver a quien
35 rreconosçer sino que todos son yguales y es gente que biue
en muncha conformidad y tranquilidad sin aver pendençia
entre los unos y otros, cuyas cassas dexan y tienen abiertas
sin puertas ni otra cossa porque es usança no tomarse los
unos a los otros cossa alguna ni aun a los españoles, porque
40 le dixeran a este declarante que no solo hazen lo dicho pero
que aviendosele perdido a uno de los dichos soldados una
pressea y hallandola un yndio que sabiendo que supo
cuya era, sin forçarle nadie sino de su propia boluntad
la bolvio y todo lo susodicho es muy general entre todos
45 los dichos yndios y que si alguna pendençia ay es entre las yn-
dias unas con otras y esta[s] por la mayor parte proçeden de
çelos y los dichos yndios no tratan de ponerlas en paz sino que
las dexan hasta que ellas propias se apasiguan por ser
usança entre ellos y que yendo este declarante con algunos
50 de los dichos soldados con el ganado que llevavan antes de lle-
gar a el dicho rreal, pidieron a los dichos yndios tortillas y otras
cossas para comer y entonçes salia un yndio de hedad que
en nuestra lengua era tenido por capitan y en la suya por los
demas yndios y en su lengua paseandosse por la quadra
55 de los dichos pueblos daba boçes y en dandolas salian algun-
nos yndios e yndias con las dichas tortillas y que por lo
rreferido esta çierto el dicho yndio es el mayordomo e man-
dador y save segun el pueblo que es ay en el uno o dos y a este
rrespeto ay los mandadores y que no save este declarante que

[fol. 51v]

para otras ocasiones fuera de la susodicha ayan dado demostra-
çion de tener quien les mande ni que hagan entre [si] juntas ni
consultas aunque un dia bido baylar a su husança en quan-
tidad de çient yndios en un pueblo de Santo Domingo por la
5 llegada a el de los dichos soldados, lo qual les mando el frayle
que alli estava y uno dellos paresçe benia mas señalado
que los demas por traer en las orejas unos sarçillos de pie-
dras y unas gargantillas de las dichas piedras y guese[ç]uelos
y muy envijado con diferentes colores que los demas,
10 señalandosse mas que todos en el dicho bayle aunque no
en que alguno de los otros le rreconosçiesse porque en
acavando que acavaron se fue el dicho yndio a su cassa

tan solo como los demas sin hazerle ninguna benia
ni acatamiento y que si algunas consultas tienen
15 entre los dichos yndios son a lo que le paresçe a este declaran-
te en lo que toca a la caza porque bido que a petiçion
de el sargento mayor Biçente de Saldivar un dia fueron
a ella como hasta doxientos yndios y entre ellos le
paresçe a este declarante se señalava uno por las des-
20 mostraciones de el algaçara y bozes que dava y los de-
mas le rrespondian y que no por esto se entendiesse se-
ñaladamente que era superior a todos, porque el dicho
yndio ni los demas en esta ocasion no tienen mas apa-
rato el uno quel otro y que la cassa la hazian con unos
25 garrotillos y otros con arco y flecha, haziendose una me-
dia luna en la parte donde andava la caza, la qual
biniendola çercando cojian en medio y la que podian
matavan, la qual dieron este dia al dicho sargento ma-
yor para una fiesta que hazia y que lo mas hordinario
30 de la dicha cassa es quando nieva porque en este tienpo
las liebres dexan señal y por ella hazen su efeto los
dichos yndios y la dicha cassa la ban a matar para comer y o-
tra como son benados y un genero de carneros que ay
silbestres que la cornadura tienen de modo dest'otros
35 de aca desta tierra aunque muncho mas gruessa y no
tienen lana y el pelo es como venado verrendo y que no
save este declarante ni a oydo dezir el modo que tie-
nen para distribuir la dicha cassa que traen quando ban
a ella mas de dos yndios y de aqui arriba y que en un
40 silo de los que tiene dicho bio entre el mahiz una sarta
de liebres puesta en un palo a modo de bovos asados
en barbacoa que entendio este declarante que las que
tenian para fin de comerlas.

~ Preguntado si se casan los dichos yndios con una o mas mugeres
45 y si en esto hazen alguna çeremonia y si las conservan to-
da la vida o como se an con ellas, dixo qu'este declarante
oyo dezir algunos de los dichos soldados que los dichos yn-
dios tienen tantas mugeres quantas pueden sustentar
que seran como hasta tres o quatro, las quales tienen rre-
50 partidas en los pueblos çercanos y que la çeremonia
que ay es que en conçertando el dicho modo de casamien-
to le da el yndio a la dicha yndia una manta y que en dandose-
la queda obligada por su muger hasta que no la puede sus-
tentar y suçediendo esto, quedan ellas libres para po-
55 derse cassar con otro sin que el yndio en este tienpo ni en-
çele de ser su muger aunque le haga ofenssa trate de cas-
tigo ni otro sentimiento, lo qual entiende este declarante

es husança entre ellos.

[fol. 52r]

Preguntado si los dichos yndios usan de una lengua general o de muchas particulares, dixo que save por cossa muy çierta usan de muchas lenguas, porque este declarante aunque no las entendio, lo echo de ver en el tiempo que estubo en las dichas provinçias, demas de
5 ser notorio entre los dichos soldados y que las dichas lenguas le paresçe a este declarante se diferençia[n] a siete y ocho y mas lenguas y que esto es lo que save.

~ Preguntado que genero de contrataçiones usan los dichos yndios entre si e permutaçiones, dixo que este declarante no les a visto tener
10 otro trato ni contrato ni lugar çierto y diputado para ello mas de lo que tiene dicho en la pregunta antes desta ni lo a oydo dezir y qu'esto rresponde.

~ Preguntado que metales bio o oyo dezir tenian los dichos yndios de que usasen antes que los dichos españoles entrasen en las dichas provinçias,
15 dixo que no save ni a oydo deçir que tubiessen ni usasen de ningun metal de oro, plata, cobre ni otros y que save que los dichos yndios se **enboxan** y esto lo hazen con arena muy menuda a modo de margaxita y un genero de piedra que no sirven ni son mas de para este efeto y para pintar las mantas y esto rresponde.

20 ~ Preguntado que rreligion o ydolatria, rritos y çeremonias tocantes a ellas usan los dichos yndios, dixo que este declarante entro munchas bezes en las cassas y estufas de los dichos yndios con algunos soldados y bio en ellas unos ydolos de figura de animalejos como son lagartos, perrillos y ardillas y figuras mal formadas de personas
25 que serian al paresçer deste declarante como ocho o diez y estos eran de palo algunos y otros estavan pintados en la pared del dicho aposento o estufa, los quales tenian una señal de para aquel fin que ellos querian si era dios de las gallinas, porque assi le dixo a este declarante uno de los dichos soldados que los
30 nonbravan entre ellos, tenia puesto en la caveça unas plumas atadas con un cordel y si dios del mahiz por el consiguiente una mazorca y a este modo todos los demas y mas bido este declarante en una de las dichas estufas hecho como a manera de monumento con rramos y gradas pequeño como media barra de ancho y tres quartas de alto, en el qual tenian un brasero
35 de brasa en que echavan perfume de un olor que no le olio mal a este declarante y a un lado del dicho brasero un caxete de agua de donde la tomava un yndio a bocanadas y rruçiava el dicho monumento y a un lado de la dicha estufa estavan dos yndios

40 en carnes, moços de hasta el hedad a lo que paresçian de
beinte y a beinte y quatro años, que le paresçio a este decla-
rante estavan como haziendo penitençia por hazer de-
mostracion de estar contritos y entendio de un muchacho
español que savia su lengua por averse criado entre ellos que
45 no comian ni bevian ni hablaban hasta ber una figu-
ra a quien ellos aguardavan que es çierto seria el diablo
y anssi los dichos yndios estavan descoloridos y flacos y bido
mas que de la dicha margajita e arenilla de diferentes colo-
res desde el pie del dicho monumento hasta fuera de la dicha es-
50 tufa, que abia espaçio de beinte y quatro a beinte y çinco pies,
tenian fecho un camino della por donde deçian abia de
entrar aquella persona que estavan aguardando, que bini-
endo a su modo dellos se salian de alli y se yban a sus cassas
y anssimesmo oyo dezir este declarante a un soldado
55 antiguo en la tierra que quando querian los dichos yndios pe-
dir algo a su dios como es que llueva u otra cossa, se juntan en-
tre ellos y en proçesion u modo de corro hazen sus plegarias y
lleuan un moço robusto desnudo de hedad de hasta veinte años,
el de mejor talle y dispusiçion y a trechos le ban açotando con
60 un bexuco qu'es a modo de çaçrificio y el dicho paçiente

[fol. 52v]

ni grita ni haze meneo con el cuerpo ninguno sino haze aquella
penitençia agradablemente y esto es lo que save.

~ Preguntado que buenos y malos çusesos, que rresistençias, que mo-
do de ofensas y defenssas an fechos los dichos yndios desde
5 que entro en la dicha provinçia y antes, despues que entraron
los demas soldados hasta el dicho dia beinte y tres de março des-
te presente año, qu'es quando este declarante y los demas
que estan en esta dicha çiudad salieron del dicho rreal para be-
nir a esta Nueva España, dixo que este declarante no sa-
10 ue aya avido por los dichos yndios defenssa alguna por ser
gente pasifica y domestica y que solo save y a oydo dezir que
los dichos yndios en un pueblo que se llama Acoma mataron
al maestre de canpo don Joan de Çaldivar y ocho o diez con-
pañeros que fueron con el y a oydo dezir que la primera bez
15 que entraron los dichos españoles en el dicho pueblo les die-
ron los dichos yndios de lo que tenian y quando mataron al
dicho maestre de canpo y los dichos soldados avia sido por una
demasia que un soldado hizo a una yndia, quitandole una
manta o gallina de donde rresulto la pendençia y muerte
20 de los dichos soldados y tambien le dixeron a este declarante
que en el pueblo que llaman los jumanes avia llegado

- el sargento mayor con quatro compañeros poco mas o menos; pidio a los dichos yndios que le diessen que comer y no se lo dieron, antes les ofreçian piedras, a lo qual fue el dicho governador y los castigo, ahorcando dos dellos y que no save que aya avido de parte de los yndios otra defenssa en los dichos yndios ni otra ofensa fecha a ellos despues que el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate passo a las dichas provinçias y qu'esto save desta pregunta.
- 25
- 30 ~ Preguntado quantos españoles dexo en las dichas provinçias al tienpo que partio dellas, dixo que quedarian çiento y çinquenta o çiento y sesenta hombres de tomar armas, porque este que declara bio la lista que se avia fecho para yr al descubrimiento del norte y serian hasta çiento e tre-
- 35 ze o çiento y catorze los que estarian alistados para yr a ella con el dicho don Joan de Oñate y quedarian hasta quarenta o quarenta y çinco en el dicho rreal y que esto le paresçe de lo que bio y oyo dezir.
- ~ Preguntado que ganados abra en aquellas dichas provinçias y tiene
- 40 el dicho don Joan en su rreal para el serviçio del y bastimento de su gente, dixo que le paresçe aunque no tiene sertidumbre abra en el dicho rreal y fuera del dos mill caveças de ganado menor, cabras y obejas y que bio y oyo dezir que con las nieves y yelos y rruines pastos que entonçes avia se moria mucho
- 45 deste ganado y que de ganado mayor quando este que declara llevo con el socorro de ganado que llevo a su cargo con sus bestias y a su costa, no avia en el dicho rreal hasta diez y doze bacas **rregiegas** y quatro o seis bueyes de arado que todo lo demas se avian comido y que este que declara metio en el dicho rreal
- 50 seisçientas y treinta rresses, bacas y nobillos y algunos toros y que despues que llevo hasta el dia que salio se avian comido mui poco, menos de la mitad y que asi le paresçe que quando salio dexaria como treçientas y çinquenta rresses que segun yban matando le paresçe a este declarante que oy no ay nin-
- 55 guno y que le paresçe que cavallos y potros abria como quinientos o seisçientos y çiento y çinquenta mulas, anssi los que tenian los rreligiosos como todas las demas personas y que esto rresponde a esta pregunta y no save otra cossa.

~ Preguntado en que forma tiene el dicho governador don Joan de Oñate situa-

[fol. 53r]

do el dicho rreal, si el tiene fortificado o en forma de lugar abierto, dixo que en un pueblo de los dichos yndios esta alojado segun y de la

manera que le hallaron, sin avelle fortificado en alguna manera y que le an fecho algunas puertas y bentanas pocas y que le parece que la caussa de no aver fecho la dicha fortificaçion es la mansedunbre que tienen los dichos yndios y la confiança que los dichos soldados tienen de que no les aran mal y tambien porque conosçio los dichos soldados estar con notable disgusto y desconfiança de la perserverança en la tierra y que esto rresponde.

5
10 Preguntado que gente pasifica tendria los dichos pueblos pasificos que a bisto y los demas quel dicho don Joan de Oñate tiene debaxo de su gobierno, dixo lo que dicho tiene en otra pregunta que oyo dezir a los capitanes y soldados que abra doze mill o treze mill yndios sin niños y mugeres que destos no se aquerda la cantidad que ay y esto rresponde.

~ Preguntado que notiçias ay o a oydo dezir de descubrimientos mas de los que estan rreferidos, dixo que no save ni a oydo dezir de notiçia que pueda tener ynportançia, sino es de la del norte y esta no tiene mas ynportançia ni testigos de mas autoridad que la que dio un yndio mexicano llamado Jusepillo, en que dize ay un pueblo de diez y doze leguas y que entiende para si muy sin duda qu'es notiçia tan acreçentada como la que a este que declara y a los demas que fueron al socorro de las dichas provinçias les dieron en esta çiudad, que ay tanta
20
25 diferençia y aun mas de lo que les deçian que era a lo que es que del dia a la noche y esto rresponde a esta pregunta.

~ Preguntado si los dichos yndios de (^la) paz y domesticos que tiene el dicho gobernador debaxo de su gobierno los a rrepartido algun tributo o serviçio personal para la lavor de las tierras y conservas de sus frutos y para las cossas mas neçesarias al serviçio de su rreal, dixo que lo que save es que cada año ban soldados y gente de guerra y aun el gobernador en persona a cobrar de cada cassa o de cada yndio una manta y los que no la tienen dan una gamuça, lo qual llevan los dichos yndios
30
35 con mucho sentimiento por su proveça y que ansimismo cada vez que an menester mahiz salen por el qual traen sin pagar ni rrescate y que en lo que toca a tributo no save otra cossa y que en el serviçio personal no save mas de que quando an menester de que se adereçe alguna cassa e pare
40
des salen por yndias y las traen para que las adereçen porque son ellas las albañeras y obreras y esto save desta pregunta.

~ Preguntado si despues quel dicho gobernador don Joan de Oñate llego a las dichas provinçias si an bisto o hallado minas de oro o plata o pesqueria de perlas o si ay notiçia de alguna cossa

45 destas, dixo que al dicho governador y al sargento mayor
y a un capitan de su cassa a oydo decir que ay minas y
a otros capitanes y soldados no lo a oydo antes a oydo de-
zir algunos que no balen nada las que ay y que no las ay
ni menos a bisto perlas ni a oydo deçir las ay ni oro y esto
50 rresponde.

~ Preguntado que saçerdoctes y rreligiosos quedavan y ay en la dicha
provinçia, dixo que ay seis çaçerdotes y tres legos, los qua-
les estan rrepartidos en el rreal y quatro leguas a la rredonda
y que los tres dellos son moços y los otros biejos y que oyo de-
55 zir algunos dellos que no avian de echar agua de bautiz-
mo a criaptura ninguna y la caussa era por no ymaginar
permanesçer en la tierra y esto rresponde.

[fol. 53v]

Preguntado que gente de los dichos yndios avran bautizado despues
que fue a las dichas provinçias el dicho don Joan de Oñate, dixo que en
el dicho rreal de San Graviel es donde mas yndios se an bautizado
y que no save quantos y esto rresponde.

5 Preguntado si los yndios de aquella provinçia segun su costunbre se
podran rreduzir a nuestra santa fe catolina con mediano trava-
jo de los çaçerdotes, dixo que tiene por muy çierto que si por
ser gente blanda y que en su modo de bivir guardan la ley
natural y que le paresçe que con medio menos costoso y mas
10 suave para los dichos yndios se podrian rreduçir a nuestra santa ffe
catolica y conçerbar y que le paresçe que se podra esto conseguir
con enbiar trein[ta] o quarenta soldados y un capitan con que los
yndios estarian sujetos y no bejados y los rreligiosos que los
administrasen seguros de quellos no les harian agravio
15 ni traición hasta tanto que la fee estubiese con ellos bien
asentada y que estonçes con sus costumbres le paresçe es-
tarian seguros y con pocos que quedasen alli entre ellos para
comunicaçion de los çaçerdoctes y que esto le paresçe y que
se conservaria y como oy estan an de yr muy a menos por las
20 caussas que tiene rreferidas.

~ Preguntado como el dicho don Joan de Oñate governador en el
tiempo que a estado en la dicha provinçia no a pasado adelan-
te digan las caussas que a tenido para ello si las save,
dixo que con las salidas que a fecho su sargento mayor
25 no a tenido gente para poder pasar de alli y que agora que
la tenia quedava de partida para el norte que sera a la par-
te que le paresçe a este que declara que podria yr y no a otra por

ser las demas partes de jente foraxida y no poblada, rrui-
nes rrancherías y sin bastimento.

- 30 ~ Preguntado si conforme a lo que a bisto en la dicha tierra y cali-
dad della y a lo que an entendido y oydo a los capitanes
y soldados que quedan en la dicha provinçia, si le paresçe si po-
dra conservar y con que y que save y le paresçe de contento
y gusto que tienen los que estan en ella y que save y a ve-
35 nido a su notiçia de que se deva dar quenta a su magestad pa-
ra que como rrey y señor acuda al anparo y favor de sus ba-
sallos y el ylustriissimo birrey en su nonbre para que en
el ynterin como su lugarteniente lo rremedie y si la dicha gen-
te segun la dispusiçion pressente y las esperanças de lo ade-
40 lante podra permanesçer en la dicha provinçia y si estan de
su boluntad en ella o con deseo de bolverse a esta Nueva
España por que rrazones, dixo que tiene por muy çierto que
ninguna persona de las que estan en las dichas provinçias
en conpañia del dicho governador tiene gusto de estar en ellas
45 o por ser tierra misera de poca gente muy distante la una de
la otra y el rrigor del tiempo por ser el ynbierno de ocho me-
sses segun todos dezian mui rrigurosos y los quatro del
berano peores por ser de exçesivo calor, por tener las mares
del norte y sur tan distantes que con averse fecho salidas
50 tan largas no se tiene notiçia çierta dellas y por ser tierra
que las chinches los quatro messes del año son penosas
y en grandissima cantidad y los rratones en gran abun-
dançia, los quales crian unos piojuelos que la picada y do-
lor dellos aflixen demasiado y a oydo dezir algunos sol-
55 dados que aunque se coxiera el oro a puñados no estaria
en la dicha tierra de buena gana y todos generalmente con
muy poco gusto y que si no estuvieran con temor de algun
gran castigo se uvieran salido y que assi teme mucho

[fol. 54r]

- la conservaçion de la dicha provinçia en el estado que oy tiene y esto
rresponde y que la neçesidad de los dichos soldados y sus mugeres es
tan grande que no tienen con que cubrir las carnes y asi se a bisto
muger bestida con pieles como es la gamuça. Y esto save y es la
5 verdad para el juramento que ffecho tiene en que se afirmo [y] rra-
tifico. Declaro ser de hedad de beinte y ocho años poco mas o menos
y lo firmo de su nonbre juntamente con el dicho fator y no le tocan las
generales. Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado, Joan de Ortega. Ante mi Mar-
cos Leandro escrivano rreal. Ba enmendado: husan / se rrebelaron / y / vido / que se le de /
no /
10 solda / no les haria / y entre rrenglones / ma / general; bala y testado / la caussa

general / ca / a /; no bala.

Por mandado del señor conde de Monterrey
virrey desta Nueva España
fize sacar el tanto de la infor-
15 maçon y autos de atras en estas quinze
ojas y queda el tanto en la camara
de su sseñoria a que me rrefiero
y como escrivano de su magestad lo signo
en testimonjo de verdad [signo] Jaime Ffernandes escrivano [rúbrica]
20 rreal.
Los escrivanos.

[fol. 54v]

[texto vertical]

Y copia de las informaçiones y recaudos que para su
descargo presento la gente que se bolbio de la Nueva
Mexico y de otra ynformaçon y papeles que em-
bio la gente que alla quedo, haziendo cargos a la
5 que assi se venia y tambien va aqui copia de una
ynformaçon que por comision del virrey conde de Monte-
rrey hizo don Francisco de Valverde en rrazon del
estado de las dichas provinçias;
corresponde al capitulo 15
10 de la carta de materias de
guerra, ffecha en Mexico a 3 de
marzo de 1602 años.

Epílogo: dificultades de lectura

40r40-41

pro- | metio de dezir berdad de lo que supiere y le fuere pregunt[ad]o y **siendo** dixo |

Palabra o frase omitida tras “siendo”. Cfr. 42v12-13 “siendo preguntado por el | tenor de la dicha comision dixo”

41r7-8

Si los españoles an menester algo y llaman | algun yndio que por lengua y **[¿?]** vayan con ellos a pedirlo

Parece escrito “Isiue” con una tilde; el significado habría de ser ‘guía’.

41v21-24

algunos yndios que andan vagando en | rrancherías sin tener asiento firme y biven en sus tiendas de | campo sin sembrar ni coxer; solo con cassa se sustentan, los quales | se dizen **ser en gran cantidad**

Lección dudosa; entiéndase “los quales se dize existen en gran cantidad”, con un referente tácito a “animales de caza”.

42r4-9

dixo que quedarian | 5 | como seis saçerdotes rreligiosos de la horden de san Francisco rrepartidos **[d]os dellos** | en el rreal donde tienen yglesia y convento y los demas en el pueblo de San Yli- | fonso, tres leguas del dicho rreal con su yglesia y conbento con dos o tres espa- | ñoles y otro en Santa Clara una legua de alli con un español y otros | dos en otro pueblo llamado San Francisco del Monte quatro leguas adelante

No tiene sentido la lección del copista “los dellos”.

42r27-29

aviendose ocupado | todo el mas tiempo en descubrir dozientas leguas por el norueste **alla** | el Mar del Zur

El contexto pide “hacia el mar del zur”.

42v55-43r1

en los demas aposentos de las dichas cassas ençierran mahiz, algodón | [fol. 43r] y ollas y otras legumbres como son frisoles y calavaças y **quilitos**

Significado incierto.

Se trata de una variante de *quelite* ‘yerba comestible’, cfr. Santamaría, s.v.

43r17-18

porqu’el sustento de la dicha tierra y con que tiene | **umenad** es con las nieves

Parece alteración de “humedad”.

43v38-40

quando entraron en la dicha provincia no bio oro ni plata ni cobre ni | otro metal sino **tezcazequis** y **cobucos**, con los quales se untavan y pintavan | 40 | los dichos yndios para sus ydolatrias

Palabras no identificadas.

44r28-29

porque los demas con poco castigo y buena traça del governador y | sargento mayor se **deruxeron** y binieron de paz

Alteración por metátesis de “redujeron”.

45v53-54

las que traen ençima suelen ser pintadas de unas pinturas **tur- | cas** que paresçen mascarones sin tener de todo figura de rostro

Quizás haya de leerse más bien “pinturas toscas”.

46r59-61

unas que llaman **maçenas** | 60 | que son unos pedernales grandes metidos en un palo rreçio y grueso | y tambien atados con niervos

¿Alteración de “macana”, quizás influida por “maza”?

47r1-4

tratando con este de- | clarante las personas de mas suerte, assi rreligiosos como seculares | de **guelgos** de aquella tierra, en particular le trataron de lo que passo | con los yndios de un pueblo que llaman Acoma

Si se trata de un derivado de *holgar* ‘descansar’ el significado sería quizás algo como ‘seculares holgazanes, inútiles’.

51r3-4

cargado en unos **peros** po- | co mayores que **peros** de agua que ellos tienen para el dicho menester

La grafía no deja lugar a dudas, pero desde luego se trata de “perros”.

52r16-17

los dichos yndios **se enboxan** | y esto lo hazen con arena muy menuda a modo de margaxita

Quiere decir “se embijan”.

52r40-41

moços de hasta **el hedad** a lo que paresçian de | beinte y a beinte y quatro años

Parece escrito así; notable arcaísmo para la época del documento.

52v47-48

no avia en el dicho rreal hasta diez y doze bacas | **rregiegas** y quatro o seis bueyes de arado

Se trata de una variante de *rejega* ‘vaca mansa acostumbrada al ordeño’.

Se agradecerían con toda sinceridad cualesquier sugerencias interpretativas que nos quisieran ofrecer los lectores de este documento; favor de comunicárselas a

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48-E, fols. 40r-54v

[fol. 40r] *Investigation carried out by order of the viceroy*¹

Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monterrey, Lord of the demesne and territory of Biezma and Ulloa, Viceroy in representation of the King our lord, Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of the audiencia and royal chancellery resident therein, etc.

Whereas at the beginning of this past month of June some officers and soldiers of Governor Don Juan de Oñate, who is in New Mexico by order of His Majesty, came to this city and brought me a letter and some reports from the said governor, and although at that time I attempted to obtain detailed information about the situation in which the said Don Juan and his troops found themselves and about the good and bad experiences that he had had and expected to have, as well as other matters concerning those provinces, I have decided that in order better to inform His Majesty of what these officers and soldiers know and have said, it is desirable that some experienced person should on my behalf summon such of the aforesaid as may be present in this city and question and examine them under oath as may seem necessary, so that a copy of their testimony may be sent to His Majesty together with the other reports that I have received from the said governor.

And confident that you, Don Francisco Valverde, His Majesty's treasurer² for this treasury of Mexico, can well and thoroughly examine these persons, I hereby commission you, in His Majesty's name and my own, to cause such of the said officers and soldiers as may now be present in this city to appear before you, and to examine and question them individually under oath, having them declare whatever they may know and believe concerning the said expedition that should be reported to His Majesty. In addition, I shall inform you orally of the report that I have received and of other things that will help you to elicit their testimony, which, signed by you and by the witnesses, you will thereafter deliver to me for the said purpose. And by virtue of the authority granted to me by His Majesty to conduct all necessary business through my office or such person as I may choose, I order this commission to be countersigned by Juan Bautista de Viera.

Mexico, on the 25th day of the month of July of the year 1601.

El Conde de Monterrey
By order of his lordship, Juan Bautista de Viera

¹ Italics indicate marginal text.

² *factor*.

Testimony

In Mexico, on the 28th day of the month of July of the year 1601, Don Francisco Valverde y Mercado, His Majesty's treasurer of the royal treasury of New Spain, by virtue of the commission given him by His Excellency the Conde de Monterrey, Lord of the demesne and territory of Biezma and Ulloa, Viceroy for the King our lord, Governor and Captain General of New Spain, and President of the audiencia and royal chancellery residing therein, for purposes of the investigation ordered by his lordship of the situation in which Don Juan de Oñate, governor of the provinces of New Mexico, and his men find themselves, and of the good and bad experiences that they had and expected to have since departing from this city, and other matters concerning those provinces of which His Majesty should be informed, caused to appear before him Jusepe Brondat, currently present in this city, who was placed under oath as prescribed by law, and he swore, promising to testify truthfully concerning what he might know and what might be asked of him.

And upon being questioned, he stated that this witness set out from this said city with Don Juan de Oñate, who went to conquer the provinces of New Mexico, as his captain of cavalry on 6 May 1595. And by order of His Majesty and of the Viceroy of New Spain they delayed until 19 December 1597, when they set out from the mines of Santa Bárbara, the last town of the jurisdiction of New Biscay, which lies about 200 leagues from this said city, to carry out the exploration of the said provinces of New Mexico. And between stops and marches they reached the Rio Grande³ on 20 April of the said year 1597,⁴ at which river the said provinces begin. And they crossed it at latitude 32½^o, 95 leagues from the said town of Santa Bárbara, all of which is unsettled country with adequate water and pasture until 12 leagues before the Rio Grande, where there is no water but only sand and dunes. And from there they marched for three days upriver along the Rio Grande for about eight leagues through sandy terrain, [fol. 40v] where the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate very solemnly took possession of those provinces in the name of His Majesty. And from there they continued up the said river as far as five leagues, at which point, as they were crossing it, they came upon the first Indians, who, it seems to him, might have been some 200 fishermen, because they were peacefully engaged in that occupation. And they received them peacefully, treating them kindly and helping them to take the baggage and carts and cattle across the river, and they crossed the said river at a latitude of 32^o.⁵ And continuing up the said river, they reached the first villages of the said province, which were about 50

³ *Rio del Norte*.

⁴ In view of the date of departure, this is obviously an error. Read "1598."

⁵ Just above, the witness reports a reading of 32½^o farther down the river. One of the two readings would seem to be erroneous.

leagues from the said ford, all of it very good pasture land, except eight leagues where the water was somewhat scarce.

When asked how long he has resided in the provinces of New Mexico, he stated that since the said day when, as he has testified, he entered them with Governor Don Juan de Oñate, he lived there until 23 March of this year, 1601, always in His Majesty's service.

When asked whether he has seen and visited the first provinces from the first village they found in the said province to where the said Don Juan de Oñate established the headquarters of his army and of its other villages,⁶ he stated that this witness has been to all the villages in that district as far as that of San Gabriel, which is where the said army is stationed and from where exploratory expeditions have set out, over a territory stretching some 50 leagues northward and about 20 leagues wide, and in this area⁷ there are about 50 villages, the smallest with about 30 houses and the largest with 400, the smallest of which are of two stories, and the largest, of four, made of adobes and with flat roofs made of dirt like those of this said city.⁸ And the said dirt is thoroughly pounded and forms so solid a surface that there are no leaks in rainy weather. And on each story a family lives in three rooms, one behind the other, and they all follow the same design, though some are bigger than others. And when he was in the said village of San Gabriel he determined its latitude to be 37° 15' north.

When asked what kind of people live in the said villages, he stated that they are handsome people, dressed in a cotton blanket and a cured Cíbola cowhide,⁹ which has long fur almost like very fine wool, resembling the fiber in rough woolens; and their wool [is] dark red in color with a tinge of tawny. And all the men generally wear the said blankets or hides, and the women wear the said blankets like the capes of the Mexican Indians, which is with a knot on the shoulder. And the said Indians have much the same color as those of New Spain. They work in their fields, sowing maize, beans, squash, very good melons, and watermelons. They irrigate some of their fields, and the others depend on the rain. And they all sow in May and harvest in August, when it rains in the said province, although not much; and in winter it snows five or six times, as in Spain. There are few storms, and the most usual winds are from the west and south. And the maize plants are small, although the ears are large. And after they started sowing, one fanega of wheat brought in 35 or 40 fanegas. And the river they call the Rio Grande is the main river of the said province, a great river like the Tagus. Its waters rise in the month of May, when the snow begins to melt, and remain high

⁶ *y de los demas della*: Does *los demas* refer to *pueblo* or to *real*? Since Oñate's army seems to have been the only one there, I have opted for the former.

⁷ *comercio*: The clear reading of the ms. may be a *lapsus*, but I do not know for what. No sense of *comercio* fits the context.

⁸ Mexico, where the witness is testifying.

⁹ A buffalo skin.

until September, not murky but as clear as ever. There are different kinds of fish in it, many of them in abundance. And the said Indians have no domestic animals of any kind, except for the native chickens of Mexico that they call turkeys in Spain, which they raise for their feathers; but they do not eat the meat or the eggs. The meat that they eat is what they hunt with bow and arrows, which is venison, hare, and rabbit, which are very abundant and which they are hardly ever without. They also eat some kinds of greens that they make use of, cooking them in three- or four-arroba¹⁰ pots. They have [fol. 41r] no beverages of any kind other than plain water; and they keep the said greens partially cooked for the whole year, and when they are going to eat them, they boil them again.

When asked what sort of government they have or whom they obey, he stated that they do not recognize any superior authority, but that they customarily gather in some underground caves that serve them as public squares, where they carry on their games and dances. And they come out to dance on the squares, but without giving special respect or obedience to any one of them. Instead, if the Spaniards need something and call on some Indian to go with them as interpreter and guide¹¹ to ask for it, the man who goes with them tells [them] to provide what is asked for; and if they do not give it freely, there is no more to be said, but to go on, without the person who is going to ask for it using force or anything else, as said. They have no common house or other building, except the said caves, which, as stated, they all make together, and they are well-ordered in their way. There is no preference or superiority in seating or anything else; they sit on the ground without any bench, stone, or anything else.

When asked whether they marry, and whether they observe some kind of ceremony in this with one or more women, and whether they marry for life, he stated that the house belongs to the woman and she, not the men, builds it. And they come to an agreement between themselves and live as husband and wife as long as they wish. And when the women want to, they look for another husband, and the men, for another wife. And one man has three or four wives, but the women have only one man, though they are not faithful to him, and the men do not care about this or punish them for it. They greatly love their children, who are obedient and submissive to their parents. And it is the men, not the women, who spin and weave the blankets in which they dress; and the girls go about naked, as do the boys, until they are twelve or thirteen years old.

When asked whether they have one common language or many separate ones, he stated that there are different languages, six or seven

¹⁰ The value of the *arroba* as a liquid measure varies, sometimes coming to about four gallons.

¹¹ The short word in the ms. is undecipherable, but *guia* would fit the context.

or more; and one village cannot understand another except through an interpreter, and there is no language common to them all.

When asked what sorts of commerce exist among the said Indians, he stated that there is no buying or selling or barter, nor any public place where they go to buy or barter, except with the Apaches of Cíbola,¹² who bring them dried meat, fat, and cured skins, which they use for clothing, and in return they give them maize and cotton blankets dyed in various colors, which the said Cíbola Indians do not have.

When asked what metals are found in the said province and in the possession of the said Indians, in the way of gold, silver, copper, etc., he stated that there are none, but that they use stones for working wood and their other needs.

When asked what religion or idolatry and rites and ceremonies they follow and which are to be found among them, he stated that they have sorcerers who speak with the Devil, and they ask them whether or not it will rain; but they have no temples, but one of the said caves or *estufas*¹³ set aside as a residence for the sorcerers where the others do not enter. There they worship little idols made of stone and wood, without giving them much importance, and they are quite ready to abandon them. And there are no vices among them, but they observe the law of nature without there being among them any thefts, offenses, quarrels, or anything else that might lead to fighting. They bury their dead, some lying face down with an ear of maize in their mouth, others placed upright in a hole with some food, although they leave some old people in the fields for wild beasts to eat.

When asked how many Spaniards he left in the said province at the time of his departure, he stated that he left about 200, among them 41 or 42 married men with their wives.

When asked what livestock there is there, he stated that they had some 200 brood mares and 800 horses and 600 cows and 400 oxen [fol. 41v] and 3,000 goats and sheep and 300 mules, and that the rolling pastures are suitable for the said livestock and much more, and that it multiplies greatly. And this year they must have harvested almost 3,000 fanegas of wheat and some barley.

When asked how Governor Don Juan de Oñate has established his

¹² *los yndios baqueros de Cibola*: 'the Indians who live off the cattle of Cíbola [buffaloes],' i.e., the Apaches. The name *Apaches* appears on fols. 46v and 51r.

¹³ An *estufa* is now primarily a 'stove' or 'heater,' but the eighteenth-century *Diccionario de Autoridades* gives as the primary meaning 'a private and sheltered room artificially heated by a fire from outside.' One could call it a 'estufa,' but that seems somewhat awkward, and so I retain the Spanish word, avoiding, like the Spaniards, the now common Hopi term *kiva*, meaning 'an estufa, built wholly or partly underground, used by male Pueblo Indians for religious rites.'

headquarters, whether in the form of settlement or¹⁴ in temporary quarters, he stated that the said governor and his men were stationed in an Indian village of as many as 400 houses, and that the Spaniards lived in these, using them for their purposes without having built anything else or made any fortification, since none was needed in view of the peaceful character of the people, because they are by nature peaceful and quiet. And the place is a suitable one, because it has running water, rivers, and woods.

When asked how many people have been discovered and are living peacefully under the governorship of the said Don Juan de Oñate, he stated that in all the explored area from the first villages on there are probably 50 or 60,000 persons, men and women, young and old, in 130 villages, and all of them people of the sort mentioned above. And this is the common belief and what he knows on the basis of what he has seen and heard from the other officers who have gone out to explore. And this province is surrounded by uninhabited land on all sides without contact with other peoples, except with some nomadic Indians who live in encampments with no fixed residence and live in their tents without sowing or reaping. They live exclusively by hunting, and game is said to be abundant.

When asked what is known about other provinces, he stated that he has heard and it is well known that 150 leagues to the northeast there is a large town seven leagues in length with straw huts and many people. And they say that a Mexican Indian called Jusepillo, who went there with a Spaniard called Humaña,¹⁵ has been there and seen it. The said Jusepillo is now in the encampment of the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate. And there are no other towns, nor does he know of any.

When asked whether the said Don Juan has distributed the towns discovered and established encomiendas, he stated that he has not.

When asked whether he knows the cause and reason why the said Governor Don Juan has not done so, he stated that he does not know.

When asked whether the said Don Juan has levied tribute on these Indians who are pacified and living under his governance, along with personal service for agriculture and the other things needed for his army, he stated that they probably give him a total of up to 2,000 cotton blankets a yard and a half long and almost as wide, and 500 cured deerskins, and up to 5 or 6,000 fanegas of maize and beans, and a very few chickens, all of which the said governor distributes among his men very kindly and charitably according to each one's need, and to the satisfaction of all. And from all the said villages people come to serve and

¹⁴ The ms. reads *e*, but the context calls for *o*.

¹⁵ Here and elsewhere spelled *Umaina*.

help in sowing and weeding and cultivating the land, and in reaping and serving in the houses and in watching over the livestock.

When asked whether gold, silver, and other mines have been found and examined since the arrival of the said Don Juan, he stated that in the village of San Marcos, six leagues from the camp, there are mines with plenty of ores, which ores, when assayed, produce four ounces, and this witness has seen it. And he has also seen that the sergeant major was building a mill for grinding and exploiting ores, of which there are many reports.

When asked whether he saw any pearls or whether there are any reports of them from the Southern or the Northern Sea,¹⁶ where some have said shells with the said pearls are found, [fol. 42r] he stated that this witness has seen that some shells were brought but could [not] find out whether they were pearl shells. And he heard that they were from the Southern Sea, which this witness believes to be very far from the army's camp.

When asked whether any priests or religious remained in the said province, he stated that about six priests, religious of the Order of St. Francis, remained, two¹⁷ of them at the headquarters, where they have a church and a monastery, and others in the village of San Ildefonso, three leagues from the said headquarters, with their church and monastery and two or three Spaniards, and another at Santa Clara, one league from there, with one Spaniard, and two others in another village called San Francisco del Monte, four leagues farther on.

When asked how many of the said Indians have been baptized, both at the said headquarters and outside it, he stated that perhaps as many as a hundred Indians have been baptized, and most or nearly all of these have been from among those who are at the headquarters with the Spaniards. And they have not baptized any more until they see how things turn out in that province.

When asked whether the said Indians of that province desire to be baptized and to receive our holy faith, he stated that in his opinion they are all ready to do so and will cheerfully become Christians, and that they have great potential for being good ones, because by nature they are people without vices and not inclined toward idolatry.

When asked why, during the time that he has been in the said province, the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has not proceeded farther, what was his reason for this, or what does he think it may have been, he stated that the said governor did not proceed farther because he did not have enough men to do so, because in order to go to the large

¹⁶ The Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, respectively.

¹⁷ The ms. reads *los*, but *dos* seems called for.

seven-league encampment mentioned above, he would need 150 men, and he has not had them until now, when on the arrival of 70 men as reinforcements, he took 130 men to the said encampment and left the rest at the said camp, after he had busied himself most of the time exploring 200 leagues to the northwest toward the Southern Sea with the 30 or 40 men who at that time could be armed and ready, and in the expedition he made to the southwest through the salt deposits toward the cattle, where a valley most rich in fish, new kinds of fruit and grapes and plums and woods was discovered. And they found a hundred Indian tents with more than 1,500 persons, who fled, and then returned to the tents after the Spaniards had left, because the Spaniards saw them return.

When asked, in view of what he has seen in the said country and of its nature and what he has heard from the officers and men remaining in the said province, what impression his conversation with them gives him of the satisfaction felt by those who are there, and what he knows concerning this that could or should be reported to His Majesty so that as their King and lord he might aid and succor his vassals, and whether the said troops, as matters stand now and with expectations for the future, could maintain themselves and are in the said province willingly, or desirous of returning to New Spain, he stated that he saw some of them eager and willing to explore farther and hold fast to what might be discovered, and others wishing to return to this city, and others unable to return because they are married and burdened with a wife and children and household. But he believes that they will all serve, with difficulties and hardships, if nothing better is discovered and if His Majesty does not supply them with clothing and supplies and other necessities, such as iron, medicines, oil, and wine until they can plant grapevines. And if His Majesty supplies them with the said things and others needed, they will maintain themselves there and the said religious will be able to baptize the remaining said Indians. **[fol. 42v]** And it seems to this witness that the said assistance could be effected with 10,000 pesos a year.

All he has stated is the truth and public knowledge and what he knows under the oath he has taken, which he reaffirmed and ratified; and he signed his name. He declared that he over 30 years old and that the general questions of the law do not apply to him.

Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado
Jusepe Brondate
Done before me, Marcos Leandro, royal secretary¹⁸

¹⁸ *escribano*.

Testimony

On the said 28th day of July of the year 1601, for purposes of the said investigation, the said treasurer Don Francisco de Valverde, in keeping with the said commission, caused to appear before him Marcelo de Espinosa, at present in this city, who was placed under oath as prescribed by law, under which he promised to testify truthfully.

And when questioned in keeping with the said commission, he stated that in May of the year 1595 this witness set out from this city for that of Zacatecas as captain of a company of cavalry under Don Juan de Oñate for the conquest of the provinces of New Mexico. And by order of His Majesty and of the Viceroy of New Spain they remained until December of the year 1597 at the mines of El Casco in the jurisdiction of New Biscay in New Spain, and from there they set out through the mines of Santa Bárbara and Todos Santos, the last town of the said jurisdiction, which is about 200 leagues from this city. And from there he went with Governor Don Juan de Oñate to the exploration of the said provinces of New Mexico, where after the time spent waiting and marching, on 20 April of the said year 1597¹⁹ they reached the Rio Grande, which is where the said provinces of New Mexico begin. And from that point they marched upriver until they came to Indian villages, which they brought into subjection to His Majesty.

When asked how long he resided in the said provinces of New Mexico, he stated that from his arrival there with the said Don Juan until 23 March of the present year 1601, when the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate sent him with papers and messages to His Excellency the Conde de Monterrey, Viceroy of New Spain.

When asked what he has seen and visited in the said provinces, from the first village that they came upon to where the said Don Juan de Oñate established the headquarters of his army and of the other villages of the province, he stated that it seems to this witness that the Indian villages that are under the governance and authority of the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate might be as many as 125 or 130, approximately, which he has seen with his own eyes and visited. And he also went with Sergeant Major Vicente de Zaldívar to discover the cattle of Cíbola. And after he came back from that he went with the said sergeant major to explore [the way to] the Southern Sea, always with part of his cavalry company. And from the first village, which is called Cualacu,²⁰ to the last, which is called Taos, there are 70 leagues of level land up along the Rio Grande, some 25 or 30 leagues wide, except in the two provinces of Moqui and Zuni, which are 60 leagues from the village of San Gabriel, headquarters of the said governor. And in all he has seen, the smallest

¹⁹ Again, an error for 1598. Cf. n4.

²⁰ *Cuelaqu*, elsewhere *Aqualaqu* and *Qualacu*.

village has up to some 35 houses, and the largest up to 400; and he does not think that any of them has quite that number. The smaller houses are two stories high, and the larger ones, four or five; and they are built of adobes with round beams and flat roofs, so that they are watertight in the rainy season. And each house is inhabited by one householder who lives there with his family, and sometimes by two, and the usual thing is just one, because in the other rooms of the said houses they store maize, cotton, [fol. 43r] and pots and other vegetables, such as beans and squash and greens. And the said houses are all very much alike, though some are taller and wider and longer than others.

When asked what sort of people live in the said villages, what is the appearance of the men and women, he stated that the men are stout, as are the women, the latter fairer than the men, who are very much like those of New Spain, although better proportioned. And these people wear blankets or dressed hides of [the cattle of] Cíbola or of coyotes, and the women always wear ankle-length cotton blankets. And the said Cíbola hides are woolly, with long and coarse wool, and serve as blankets at night; and the said hides are used to make coverings and many other very useful things. And the said Indians are people devoted to agriculture, sowing maize, cotton, beans, squash, melons, and watermelons; and some irrigate their fields and others depend on the weather. And they plant in May and harvest in August, which is when there is some rain, although not much, because the said country depends for its moisture on snowfall, which is very frequent from September on until April. And there are few storms, and the most common winds are from the west or north, so that it is very cold. Maize grow as high as a yard and a half; the ears are large. As for wheat, for one fanega sown by the soldiers who went there, 20 to 30 fanegas are reaped. And the chief river of that province carries as much water as the Tagus at Toledo, and from May to September, when the snow melts, its water is very high. Fish abound in it, including catfish,²¹ eel, trout, and others.

And the said Indians have no domestic livestock other than turkeys, which here we call native chickens, which they do not keep for their meat but for their feathers, because with these they make blankets that give them good protection in winter. And the meat eaten by the aforesaid is what they kill with their bows, which is deer, hares, and rabbits, and some animals like rams that differ from ours in their fur, because theirs is like that of deer, and their head is larger than the rest of their body, and their horns and antlers very twisted, thicker than a bull's; and when they leap from a high rock, they fall on their head and then get up and run off. Their meat is good for drying, and there are many herds of them. And to go on the hunt the chief who is in charge of this activity makes a proclamation throughout the village like a town crier; and at his call all his people come out, and together they go on the said hunt. And everything they kill is divided equally, except the skin,

²¹ *bagres*.

which goes to the man who made the kill. They also eat wild plants with which they are familiar, which they store before they are fully cooked and hang up to save for when they are not to be found, which is winter. They have no beverage other than water, and with maize flour they make *pinole*,²² so no Indian is ever drunk.

When asked what sort of government or state these said Indians have, or whom they obey, he stated that what he knows is that every time that this witness came to one of those villages where the governor sent him and men of his company for maize or chickens or blankets or Indians for service, the interpreter who accompanied him would tell one of the Indians of the village to have the chief summoned. And on being summoned, an Indian would come, to whom through the interpreter he would tell what he was there for, and the said Indian would go through the village calling them together or telling them in their language what the said officer was asking for, or telling them to gather to discuss the matter. And after a while they would gather in one of the caves that the soldiers call *estufas*, very white, whitewashed in the middle, with a roof above, and they would decide together what they would do. And this witness understood from a Spanish-speaking Indian interpreter that they took no decision without consulting the women and obtaining their opinions, with which the Indian whom they called their chief would come back and would tell them what [the women] asked them to give. And if that seemed insufficient to the said officer who had gone to ask for this and he was not satisfied with it, they would hold another discussion in which they would decide what was to be done; and finally they would come and give them what they were asking for, by order and authority of that chief. And [fol. 43v] the sacks for the maize would be given to him, and in the morning they would appear full in the square. And if they were to deliver blankets, after they had been summoned and gathered, a soldier would go from house to house, and at the door of each he would find a blanket or skin. And so he believes that they have a chief whom they respect, and that he is not elected but hereditary, because if the father is absent they call the son, who would do what the father was to do. And if they ever wanted to have the chief or his son carry something, the others would prevent it, indicating that he was their chief and the person they obeyed and respected.

When asked whether they married or had one or more wives and some ceremony of marriage, and whether they marry for life, he stated that the custom in their marriages is that the man chooses the maiden he wants, to whom he gives two or three or four blankets, depending on how much he values her; and she takes him to her house, because it is the women who build and own the houses, and she keeps him with her for three or four months, which they call moons. And if she becomes pregnant in that time the said Indian keeps her, and she him, for life, and she is his wife. And if she does not become pregnant he leaves her,

²² A drink made of ground maize and water.

and she is marked by two rosettes of hair on her temples, which is a sign that she is available for the man who might want to marry her if he pays her. And I saw Indians who had five or six wives, depending on their getting pregnant; and they keep them in different villages so that they do not have two wives in the same village. And these wives are not faithful to the said Indians, and the latter do not punish them. They are especially fond of their children, and these respect and obey their parents. And the said Indian men spin and weave the blankets, and the women busy themselves preparing food and making pots and plates. And the boys and girls go naked up to the age of twelve, without any clothing whatsoever.

When asked whether the said Indians have a common language or many different ones, he stated that they do not have a common language but many different ones; and one village does not understand the language of another except through interpreters—and there are some—, except when they live in the same province, because then they understand and have dealings with each other.

When asked what kind of trade is carried on by the said Indians, he stated that they trade in blankets and buffalo skins and meat and fat and tallow that the Apaches bring; and they do this privately, not in the squares, because they do not gather there to sell things, but in their houses. Those who come from the outside looking for something take what they have brought and trade it for what they need. And this is what he has seen concerning this matter.

When asked what metals the said Indians have, such as gold, silver, copper, and other things, he stated that when they came to the said province he did not see gold or silver or copper or any other metal other than *tezcazequis* and *cobucos*,²³ with which the said Indians besmeared and dyed themselves for their idolatrous ceremonies. And that is all he knows about this.

When asked what religion or idolatrous practices, rites, and ceremonies are to be found among the said Indians, he stated that, as mentioned, they have an estufa all painted with large and small idols, the way they paint devils here, and in the middle they have solid idols of stone and wood, to which they offer maize and small birds of different colors and *cañas*²⁴ and lizards and other such critters. And at the time of sacrifice they all gather to dance in a large circle as in a *mitote*.²⁵ And for

²³ Professor Jerry R. Craddock informs me that in the *Relación* of Hernán Gallegos there occurs *tescatetes*, 'a hard coppery metal.' Neither he nor I knows what sort of metal *cobucos* is.

²⁴ *Cañas* are reeds, possibly feathered prayer sticks, though even those would not qualify as *sabandijas*, which I have rendered as 'critters.'

²⁵ "A kind of dance practiced by the Indians, joined by large numbers of them splendidly adorned, who, holding hands, would form a large circle, in the center of which they placed a flag and, next to it, a potion from which they would drink; and thus they would dance to the sound of a drum, drinking from time to time, until they were drunk and lost consciousness." (*Diccionario de Autoridades*, s.v. *mitote*)

the sacrifice they select some Indians whom they whip cruelly with vines, and those who are whipped do not complain or open their mouths. And there are some among them who serve as wizards, and they are the ones who answer questions, taking their answers from the Devil; and they are venerated by the others and are in charge of the estufas. And the said Indians put great stock by their idols, and there is nothing they resent so much as having them knocked down. And this is what he knows about this.

And they fast in their fashion, eating only once a day. They have no vices other than lust, and there are no thefts among them, because they live with their houses open, without taking anything from one another. And in all the time that this witness has spent in the said province he has not seen any quarrel among men. Sometimes he has seen the women quarrel out of jealousy; and he has heard that they do not quarrel for any other reason, and no man steps in to make peace among them. Their dead they cast out for the ravens if they are old and burn if they are young, and in some places they bury them; and they say they treat the old people that way because they were useless and served only **[fol. 44r]** to eat the bread of those who work.

When asked about good or bad experiences and any resistance offered by the said Indians and what sort of offensive and defensive actions they have engaged in from the arrival of the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate to the said 23rd day of March, when the last officers and men who are now in this city left there by order of the said governor, he stated that the exploration of the Rio Grande was carried out by the sergeant major with twelve companions. They came upon an encampment of up to 400 Indians, and some of them fled; and their chiefs took charge of them and called to them, and the sergeant major commanded that under penalty of death no one should fire a harquebus until he so ordered. And the said Indians began to shoot arrows at them, and the said sergeant major to call to them, until a soldier was struck by two arrows and a horse was wounded and Captain Aguilar asked for permission to shoot at an Indian with his harquebus loaded with buckshot. And having received it, he fired at him. And the Indian came up beside the sergeant major and began to shoot arrows at him, and at this point he was hit by a harquebus and died. And then the other Indians began to fight until some of them were wounded and they withdrew. And they left them alone; and when [our men] came with the carts, fearful and on their guard, they came as friends by order of the sergeant major, who had not prepared them for combat.²⁶

And in the village of Taos, after they had pledged vassalage—I mean the village of Acoma—when the colonel,²⁷ who was following the governor, who had gone to explore [the route to] the Southern Sea, went to obtain supplies, the said Indians rebelled and killed 12 of our men and the colonel and wounded another four. And the sergeant major went with

²⁶ The subjects of the various verbs in this sentence are not always clear.

²⁷ *maestre de campo*.

60 men to punish them; and for this reason and as an example to the others, he burned and razed the said village and took the people prisoner. And this was the worst incident of the whole expedition, because just a little force and the skillful tactics of the governor and sergeant major were enough for the other [Indians] to submit²⁸ and make peace as stated.

When asked how many Spaniards were in the said province when he left there, he stated that some 200 soldiers were there, including 42 married men.

When asked what livestock there is, he stated that there are some 500 brood mares and 800 horses and 600 cows, 400 oxen, 3,500 sheep and goats, and 700 saddle mules.²⁹ And the pasture is very good and suitable for the said livestock and for far greater numbers, so that it is very fat and reproduces abundantly. And he thinks and believes that this year they will harvest more than 3,000 fanegas of wheat and a little barley.

When asked how the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has established his headquarters, whether as a city or as a temporary settlement, he stated that it has been established in a village called San Gabriel, which had been inhabited by Indians and has as many as 400 houses, which they turned into their dwellings while sending the Indians to another village next to this one, with only the Rio Grande between them. And some Indians stayed with the Spaniards, who have not built anything because they did not need to, because the village, as built, is defensible and the Indians are by nature gentle and peaceful and dependable.³⁰ And the site of the said village is suitable for a large city, because it has rivers and a spring and woods very nearby.

When asked how many known, discovered, and pacified people are living in the 125 or 130 pacified villages governed by the said Don Juan de Oñate, he stated there might be some 14 or 15,000 householders, so that between men and women there might be 22 or 24,000, all quiet and peaceful people. And he knows this as a person who has traveled everywhere and seen it all. And outside the places that he has mentioned, this province is unpopulated, without additional villages, except that there are Indians roaming throughout all this empty country like Arabs with no fixed residence; and these have nothing but their bows and arrows and neither sow nor reap. During the time of sowing,³¹ they live by hunting; and before the Indians living in villages had the protection and help of the Spaniards, they would fight the villagers at

²⁸ *se deruxeron*, clearly representing *se reduxeron*, but possibly reflecting a regional pronunciation.

²⁹ *mulas mansas*.

³⁰ *leales*, 'loyal.'

³¹ *y al tiempo de las sementeras*: I interpret the *y* as perhaps intended to follow *sementeras*, since, logically, it was at harvest time that the nomads would attack the villages.

harvest time for the crops while they left their wives and children in the mountains.

When asked whether anything is known of other provinces, he stated that this witness went [on the expedition] to the cattle [**fol. 44v**] of Cíbola, where he saw encampments of 30 or 40 conical tents made of the hides of these cattle, which protect against rain and sun and hold four or five persons. And their wives and children accompany them, and they live by following the said cattle, which are as large as those of Castile and those of New Spain. On the front half of their bodies they have humps like camels. Their fur makes them look like lions, and their haunches are fat like those of a canon's mule, and their tail is like a pig's, hairless as far as the tip, which has a few bristles. They have a lot of tallow, and their meat is very tasty. The Indians kill them with arrows at the water-holes and dry their meat and collect their tallow and fat; and they come to trade these things with the villagers.

And the Indians do not carry these burdens; they transport the meat, tallow, and tents with dog teams, each dog carrying two arrobas.³² These dogs are much smaller than mastiffs.

The cattle are countless. The plains where they graze are very extensive, and we always found them enjoying excellent water and admirable pasture of very fine grasses. It was impossible to corral them. [Our men] killed more than a thousand and did not see or hear of any fixed settlement. They returned to headquarters loaded with meat and fat.

And from there the sergeant major and 25 men, among them this witness, set out to explore [the route to] the Southern Sea, traveling a total of almost 200 leagues. And when we came to some boxwood groves with our horses footsore and us so tired we could not take another step, our men thought the Indians were planning to kill us, seeing we were few, because most of the horses and nine companions to guard them had stayed behind in a hamlet they had found in the mountains of Topia. And seeing, as he has said, that they would be unable to use their horses and that there were only thirteen of them, they all thought it was desirable and necessary to turn back; and so they did without having discovered any fixed village in the said 200 leagues, but only encampments, the largest consisting of 400 Indians, and in all of them together there were not two fanegas of maize. And what they lived on was mesquite, which is the small fruit of some wild trees, something like leather pods. The [men] all went naked, and the women covered themselves with shirts that grew between the bark and the inner layers of the poplar.

After seeing all this they returned to headquarters, having spent more than three months in the process; and at the end Governor Don Juan de Oñate was leaving with 130 soldiers to go to an encampment and village of huts that the Indian Jusepillo said he had seen when he went with Humaña. And he said that the town was seven leagues long

³² As a weight, an *arroba* is equivalent to 25 pounds.

and that there were other Indians who said that it was a very large town. And this witness does not know that anything else is known for certain, and they said it was 150 leagues from the headquarters at San Gabriel. And he has no further knowledge.

When asked whether the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has distributed the discovered and pacified villages into encomiendas, he stated that he has not, and that he does not know why the said governor has not done so.

When asked whether the said governor has levied any tribute or personal service for field work or other service to his army on the said settled Indians living peaceably under his rule, he stated that he required some of the said villages to give him 2,000 cotton blankets a yard and a half long and equally wide, and 500 cured deerskins, and 2,000 fanegas of maize and some beans and chickens, all of which the said governor distributed among the soldiers according to their needs to the satisfaction of the said soldiers. And people come from the nearest villages to help in sowing and weeding and cultivating the land, and to mow, and to herd the cattle. And the said Indians cannot be of help in other matters, and in these they could be more helpful than they now are.

When asked whether after the arrival of the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate they have seen or found mines of gold, silver, etc., he stated that in the village of San Marcos, six leagues from that of San Gabriel, veins of silver were discovered, [fol. 45r] which when assayed yielded four ounces.³³ This is what he heard. And in the village of El Tuerto there were other mines that he heard were good, and the sergeant major was planning to build a mill for grinding and smelting ores.

When asked whether on his journey to the Southern Sea he saw pearls and the shells of pearls, he stated that he saw shells and sea snails but neither saw nor heard of pearls. And he thinks the said sea must at its closest be about 240 leagues from the said headquarters at San Gabriel.

When asked what priests and religious are and remain in the said province, he stated, six priests and three lay brothers of the Order of St. Francis, stationed at the headquarters and within four leagues of it, in some places with one Spaniard and in others with two.

When asked how many of the said Indians the said religious might have baptized, he stated that he does not know, because he was always engaged in the expeditions he has mentioned and was never permanently at the said headquarters at San Gabriel. And he heard that they had

³³ *quatro honzas por fundición y a quatro*: If the last three words are not merely an erroneous repetition, I do not know what they mean.

baptized up to some 100 Indian boys from the said headquarters and its surroundings.

When asked whether the Indians of that province want to be baptized and to receive our holy faith, he stated that it seems to him that they do, because, being by nature mild, peaceful, and free of vices, they are very well prepared to do so.

When asked why the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has not proceeded farther during the time he has been in the said province, and what he knows or supposes about his reasons, he stated that the governor's troops had gone on the previously mentioned expeditions, and that he needed them to hold the provinces in which he is now established. And as soon as reinforcements arrived he began to prepare for the exploration of [the route to] the Northern Sea, on which he was about to depart [when the witness left].

When asked whether, judging by what he has seen of the said country and its nature and what he has been given to understand by the officers and men who remain in the said province, they will be able to survive there, and does he think that those who are there are pleased and satisfied, and what does he know about this and about what can and should be reported to His Majesty so that as King and lord he might come to the aid of his vassals, and whether the said troops, in view of how things stand now and expectations for the future, would be able to maintain themselves and survive, and whether they are in the said province willingly or not, desiring to return to New Spain, and why, he stated that some of the said soldiers, especially the married men, who have children and households and support themselves there and eat and drink, are there willingly with no desire to leave the said province, wishing rather to found a city and acquire property in order to end their lives there. And the other men of distinction with fewer obligations are there cheerfully and eager to go on to new discoveries that would allow them to advance and improve their situation. And some, vagabonds and unattached young men, want to leave. And he believes that because the country is suitable for it and they are not numerous, those who are there now will be able to support themselves with what has been discovered, if they receive supplies of linen and woolen cloth and iron, until the country reveals more clearly what it contains and the Indians have been pacified and converted, because it seems to him that until now the religious who are there have not attended to this as they should. And they must have had some good reason for this that this witness does not know.

And all he has said is the truth and what he knows under the oath he has taken, which he reaffirmed and ratified. And he signed his name. He stated his age to be 25. The said treasurer signed it, and the aforesaid declared that the general questions of the law do not apply to him.

Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado
Marcelo de Espinosa
Before me, Marcos Leandro, royal secretary

Testimony

In Mexico, on the 30th day of the month of July of the said year 1601, for purposes of the said [fol. 45v] investigation, the said treasurer Don Francisco Valverde caused to appear before him Bachelor³⁴ Ginés de Herrera Horta, at present in this said city, who was placed under oath as prescribed by law, and he swore, and promised to testify truthfully.

And when questioned in keeping with the said commission, he stated that, commissioned by His Excellency the Viceroy Conde de Monterrey and by royal writ as auditor general and judicial advisor to Don Juan de Oñate, governor of the said provinces, this witness went to the provinces of New Mexico about a year and a half ago among the reinforcements that the said viceroy sent there, with which he reached the town of Santa Bárbara in the province of New Biscay, which is 200 leagues from this city. And from there they marched on with all of the said reinforcements until they reached the said provinces of New Mexico and the village of San Gabriel, which is where the said Don Juan de Oñate had and has the said his headquarters, all of it pacified country whose natives had pledged vassalage to His Majesty, all by order of the said Don Juan de Oñate, although, both in New Spain and in the said provinces, this witness has heard many persons say that they were already pacified before the said governor went there, ever since Castaño went there.

When asked how long he was present and resided in the said provinces of New Mexico, he stated that he was there about three or four months. And the reason that he was there so short a time was that the said governor did not accept this witness's commission as auditor and judicial advisor, in view of which he asked him for permission to leave, with which permission he returned [to Mexico].

When asked what this witness saw with regard to the said country from the first Indian village until they came to where the said headquarters of the said governor was established, and in the other villages of that province, he stated that this witness did not see all the pacified villages, but only those they encountered on their march, which, according to all those who are there, are a great part and majority of the said towns. And when this witness asked the said persons how many villages there might be altogether, they told him up to some 110, counting both the inhabited and the abandoned; and this witness saw some of the latter on his march. And it seems to him that the said towns consist of some 30 or 40 houses arranged in a rectangle consisting of

³⁴ Holder of an academic degree.

four squares, and people go in and out at the corners of the said squares. And the houses of the said Indians are made of adobes covered with round stones packed with soil to form a flat roof. And most of the said villages have one square, and the larger ones, two or three squares in the form of a rectangle, as stated; and the said houses have two or three stories, and one family lives in each house.

When asked what sort of people live in the said villages, what is the appearance of the men and women who live in the said province, he stated that those who live in the said villages are of medium height, and the women somewhat fairer than the men, and some of them with good-looking faces. And these are people who seem to have gone about dressed, as it is clear that their flesh has not been burned or damaged, because many of the men go about stark naked without clothing of any kind or any sign of shame. And in winter, when they come out from certain estufas that they have, some of them wear what they call Cíbola hides, with the fur on the inside; and some also wear some very tight deerskin leggings from the foot almost to the waist, and they also wear shoes that they make of the said Cíbola hides, with the said fur on the inside. And the women wear short blankets of woven cotton that extend to a little below the knee, girded at the waist with a string likewise of cotton, and another [blanket] that they wear like a cape, meaning a loose blanket with two corners knotted on the shoulder. And these blankets that they wear on top are usually dyed with some coarse figures that resemble masks without quite having the shape of a face. And they go barefoot, and the said women wear nothing on their heads other than their hair coiled in a pattern like lace.³⁵ And the men wear their hair long in back, cut at the level of the ears.

And they say that in summer they devote themselves to cultivating their fields, such as those of maize, beans, cotton, squash, and melons and other things, because in winter, which is when this witness was in the said province, they take refuge in the said estufas on account of the [fol. 46r] cold there, which is severe. And in the said estufas they spin and weave the said blankets, because this is the customary work of the men; and the women build the houses and cook the meals, which consist of a stew like polenta made of the meal of the said maize, and cooked beans, and squash, also cooked. And this witness saw some very dry rabbits,³⁶ which they say that the said Indians eat; and once he saw one of them bring a dead deer and take it into his house, and he does not know how they make use of it.

And while he was there in the winter he saw it snow a great deal; and it was so bitter cold that drinking water had to be put on the fire to thaw, because this witness often saw it frozen. And he has seen the Rio Grande and two creeks that are close by the said headquarters at San Gabriel frozen most of the way across, and some people told him that

³⁵ *puntas*, which can mean 'lace' or a 'pointed ornament' made of metal, e.g., silver. In this instance, the former meaning seems to me more likely.

³⁶ *conojos* in the ms., which must be an error for *conejos*. Cf. "hares on a stick," p. 34, fol. 51v.

they had crossed them on horseback when they were completely frozen. And when this witness complained of the severe cold, they told him that it was summer in comparison with the usual kind of cold. And an old friar told this witness that when he tried to drink the communion wine he found that it had to be heated to be drunk.

As for vegetables, those that were taken there from this kingdom grow very well in summer, according to what he was told; and in some pools of the said Rio Grande there are abundant fish, because when this witness was on his way to New Spain he saw that some hundred wild nomadic Indians caught large quantities of fish, such as catfish and chub³⁷ and others, in a very short time, using long sharp poles; and this was about 57 leagues from the said headquarters. And this witness saw that during Lent, while he was there, which was about half of Lent, no fish was ever eaten at the said headquarters because there was none there and none was brought, and so it was necessary for the commissary to give permission for the said meat to be eaten three days a week, which was done only because there was no fish or vegetables, because since these are harvested in summer, and it was winter, there were none. And this witness ate dried cabbages because there was no other kind at that time. And the Indians and Spaniards slice the squash that grows in the said country, hang it up, and keep it for the right time, which is winter. And the said Indians have no beverages other than water and a kind of pinole that they make, which is toasted maize meal dissolved in water.

When asked what kind of government the said Indians have, whom they obey, and what sort of state they have, he stated that this witness does not know them to have any head or superior, but that they are all equal and live together very harmoniously without stealing anything from each other, even if no one is at home. And what this witness noted was that when he was traveling through some of the said villages with some companions, they asked the said Indians for tortillas, and then one Indian would come forward shouting in their language and walking through the said squares; and then the women would come bringing three or four or six tortillas from each house, and this seems to indicate that the said Indian was something like a chief³⁸ or leader among them. And this is the custom in the said villages, and the said Indian who performs the said ceremony is the oldest among them.

And this witness does not know of any indication that anyone gives them orders on occasions other than the aforesaid, or that they hold meetings and councils, other than that he has heard the said Spaniards say that they hold them to go hunting. And their method of hunting is to surround [the game], fencing it in with their bodies, because many of them take part in this; and all the game caught in the middle they kill with some small sticks like small bows without bowstrings, made of hard wood and very smooth, which they throw very successfully. And when there is some dispute among them or with the Spaniards, they use the

³⁷ *matalotes.*

³⁸ *mayordomo.*

said sticks in their defense along with bows and arrows, which they also use, and also what they call *macenas*, which are large stones set into strong thick sticks and also tied on with sinews, this witness does not know of what. [fol. 46v] Nor does he know of their having any other kind of state or government.

When asked whether they marry one or more wives and whether they follow some ceremony in this, and whether they marry for life, and how they treat them, he stated that this witness knows only that the Spaniards told him that they have as many wives as they can support, and that a wedding consisted only, without further ceremony, of handing over two blankets, which oblige the woman to become a wife and serve her husband as long as he can support her. And depending on how many wives they have, the said Indians try to have an appropriate number of fields so that they can support them. And if they cannot support them, the women are free to marry another man without the husband raising any objection, even if he is very sorry about it. Nor are they people who concern themselves with whether or not their wives are faithful. And they do not keep the said their wives in one place, but in different villages.

When asked whether the said Indians use one common language or many separate ones, he stated that he knows for certain, and because he saw that the Indians do not understand each other, that they do not have a common language but different and separate ones, as also the names of their nations are different, such as Picuri, Taos, Jemez, Keresans,³⁹ Acomas, and other different names; and each of these nations uses its own language. And this is what he knows.

When asked what sort of trade or exchanges the said Indians carry on among themselves, he stated that he has not seen them carry on any trade or have any fixed place destined for this purpose, because the said Spaniards told him that a nation of wild Indians they call Apaches—and the Spaniards also call them *vaqueros*⁴⁰ because they are found on the plains of Cíbola, where they say there is an abundance of Cíbola cattle—these said Indians bring hides, meat, and fat of the cattle they kill to the said villages and exchange it with the villagers for maize. And this is what he knows.

When asked what metals the said Indians had and used before the Spaniards entered the said provinces, he stated that he does not know and has not heard of their having or using any metal, gold, silver, copper, or any other; but he knows that they stain and paint themselves with different colors, and he does not know whether this is with different metals or with something else.

³⁹ *Queres*.

⁴⁰ Cattlemen.

When asked what religion or idolatrous practices and attendant rites and ceremonies the said Indians observe, he stated that he knows only that in the said villages that this witness has visited, they have some ugly figures painted on the walls of the said houses in a confused manner with disjointed feet and arms, which he thinks must be idols, because he remembers that one time this witness started to look at the said figures and asked an Indian what that was, and the said Indian understood some words of Spanish and Mexican and answered this witness, "God Our Lady."⁴¹ And so he thought that those figures were the ones they worshipped. And he does not know them to have other rites and ceremonies, except that the upper arms of almost a majority of the Indians are covered with bruises, from which he inferred that they were the ones who performed the said sacrifices and idolatrous rites.

When asked about good and bad experiences, and what resistance, and what sort of offense and defense the said Indians have employed from the time that the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate entered the said province until 23 March of the present year, which is when this witness and the others who are now in this city left the said headquarters in order to come to New Spain, he stated that two days before this witness left the said headquarters, the commissary of the religious, whose name is Fray Juan de Escalona of the Order of St. Francis, sent for him and took him apart privately to his cell and told him that it would be on his conscience if he failed to see His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain the Conde de Monterrey and tell him what this witness will testify in reply to this question.

And so to ease his conscience [fol. 47r] and under the oath he has taken, he states that when the most distinguished persons, both religious and laymen of substance of that country, spoke to him, they especially spoke of what happened with the Indians of a village called Acoma, which is located atop a high rock. A certain Don Juan de Zaldívar, nephew of the said governor, was a colonel in the army there; and with some 12 or 14 companions he set out to see whether he found anything not yet explored, and with the intention, according to what this witness was told, of returning to New Spain with the said companions if he did not find something of consequence. As they were marching along for the said purpose of exploration, they passed by the said village of Acoma, where they asked the said Indians for supplies; and they gave them some. And they continued their journey for some two leagues beyond the said village, and then the said colonel and Captain Escalante and Captain Diego Núñez and other companions came back and again asked them for supplies, chickens, and blankets, and even to take these things by force. And when the said Indians saw this, they began to resist and defend themselves; and this witness was told that the said Spaniards had killed one or two Indians. And the said Indians killed the said colonel and the said Diego Núñez and the others with stones.⁴²

⁴¹ *Dios nuestra señora.*

⁴² *con losas y piedras:* 'with slabs [of stone] and [other] stones.'

And when this came to the notice of the said governor, he ordered that war by fire and sword be proclaimed against the said Indians of the said village; and to command the aforesaid he appointed a certain Vicente de Zaldívar, his nephew and sergeant major, and brother of the said deceased colonel, who went with 70 companions to inflict punishment for those events. And the said Indians, fearful of the Spaniards' intentions, refused to surrender and chose to defend themselves. And punitive action duly began; and they say it lasted almost two days, during which many Indians were killed, until, seeing themselves defeated and overcome, they stopped defending themselves and offered chickens and blankets to the said sergeant major and his soldiers. And he refused to accept these, but had the said Indians seized and shut up in an estufa; and one by one he had them brought out, and an Indian whom he had there killed them one by one and threw them off the said rock. And when they saw what was happening, some Indians, men and women, who had taken shelter in other estufas, fortified themselves and refused to come out, in view of which the said sergeant major ordered wood and fire to be applied, the smoke of which suffocated many women and their children, and many men. And this witness even heard that some had been burned alive.

And the survivors—men, women, and children—were brought as prisoners to the said headquarters, where by order of the said governor the children were placed in the custody of various individuals; and the women and the men 18 to 19 years old were declared slaves for 20 years; and others were mutilated⁴³ and had their feet cut off, some of whom this witness saw at the said headquarters. And he heard that most of the said slaves had fled and had tried to reestablish the said village, which the said governor neither impeded nor allowed, but kept his intentions to himself, although this witness heard that he wanted to go or send someone to see the said village.

And this is what this witness heard the said persons tell him in secret. And he remembers that the ones who told him this were an officer called Gregorio de César and a friar involved in the case who at present is in the city of Nuestra Señora de Zacatecas in this kingdom, and whose name is Fray Alonso de Lugo, also of the Order of St. Francis, and other persons whose names he does not remember. And this witness believes that another friar of the said order who is in Toluca and whose name is Fray Luis [fol. 47v] Mairones knows about all of the above, as does another who is inland toward New Biscay and is called Fray Alonso de la Oliva.

And the reason why the said commissary charged the conscience of this witness is that the said enslavement and punishments seemed unjust to him, and so that the said viceroy might order [the Indians] freed.

And recently the said governor set out with a large body of troops to collect, as they say there, the tribute of blankets, and also with the

⁴³ *deçocaron.*

aim of passing through a village called that of the Jumanos,⁴⁴ which means striped Indians, because they have a stripe atop their nose, because the said governor said he would punish them for their insolence toward the said sergeant major, his nephew, who, they say, when passing by there with some soldiers, asked them for provisions and tortillas because they were hungry and tired, and the said Indians refused to give them to him. Instead, this witness has heard, they offered them stones to eat.

And when the said governor came to the said village of the Jumanos, he asked them for blankets; and the said Indians collected 12 or 14 of them and gave them to the said governor, giving him to understand that they had no more to give. And at this the said governor drew away half a league from there to some watering places; and the next day he returned to the said village, taking along as interpreter an Indian who understood the language of the said Jumanos, and through him he told them that he wanted to punish those who had refused to give provisions to the said sergeant major, and that he would treat those who came forward willingly with kindness and good will. And after they were informed of this,⁴⁵ he ordered certain blocks of houses of the said Indians to be set afire, on seeing which they withdrew to their houses and rooftops. And the said governor ordered them peppered with the harquebuses, as a result of which five or six Indians were killed, without counting those who must have been wounded. And two of those who seemed to the said governor to be most bellicose he ordered hanged, and they were hanged. And after he had [ordered] the said interpreter to say something—this witness does not remember what—to the said Indians, it seemed [to] a certain soldier that what the interpreter was telling them was the opposite [of what he should have said], and he told this to the said governor, who ordered him hanged.⁴⁶

And the said Indians of that province are generally quiet and peaceful and timid people who greatly fear the said Spaniards and so have offered no offense or defense other than those mentioned. And this is what he knows of this case.

When asked how many Spaniards remained in the said provinces at the time of his departure from them, he stated that about 150 soldiers remained, 42 or 50 of them married men.

When asked what cattle there are in the said provinces and at the headquarters of the said Don Juan to serve and nourish his men, he stated that it seems to this witness that between sheep and goats there might be about a thousand head, because this witness saw most of the said cattle in a village called Santa Clara and another called San Miguel

⁴⁴ *Jumenes*, subsequently *Xumenes*, elsewhere *Jumanas*.

⁴⁵ *ynformado desto*: I take the singular here to be an error for a plural, which alone makes sense in the context. The confusions of singular and plural, with both adjectives and verbs, are frequent in this ms.

⁴⁶ I assume that the interpreter was hanged, and not the soldier.

in the possession of a certain Naranjo, and the rest at the said headquarters. And this witness did not see any mares, but he heard that there were some, as well as horses; and he did not learn how many. He also heard that they took 1,500 on the first expedition, of which many have been lost and others died, and others found killed by arrows. And he heard that in total, of those originally taken there and those sent with the said reinforcements, some 500 might remain. And as for beeves, when this witness arrived at the said headquarters he saw that none [fol. 48r] were being slaughtered and no meat was eaten, because they had run out; and some people told him that the oxen they had for plowing had been killed for food and they were plowing with horses. And so it seems to him that there might be some 400 head of beef, which are the ones sent there with these reinforcements, of which seven are killed every week; and the individual meat ration is very limited, so that they do not eat meat every day. And this witness thinks the said beeves will soon come to an end, because he never heard that these cattle reproduce well in that country, and they will rather come to an end, as he has stated. As for oxen, he does not know of any but those that went there with the carts with the said reinforcements, which might be some 150; and there are some 250 or 300 mules, including those of the carts that the religious took there.

When asked how the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has set up the said headquarters, whether it is fortified or lies open, and in what fashion, he stated that he has established it in a village of the said Indians; and the Spaniards live in the Indians' houses, except that they have opened doors and windows as in Spain. And no other fortifications have been built. And he was told that the said governor wanted to found a town and that magistrates should be named and houses built, and the said Spaniards had rejected this. And it seems to this witness that the reason for this is their unhappiness at being there and their wish to leave that country because of the great need that they suffer there.

When asked how many people live in the 130 or 125 villages that are said to be pacified under the governance of the said Don Juan de Oñate, he stated that this witness often asked this question of the Spaniards, and they told him there might be a total of 12,000 male Indians, not counting women and children, which between young and old would come to about 30,000 souls, who are so afraid of the said Spaniards that as these go from village to village, as this witness has sometimes seen, the said Indians send each other smoke signals warning that Spaniards are on the way, and they go off and flee to the mountains with their wives and children and take along their chickens, leaving the other supplies behind. And the reason they take the said chickens rather than anything else is that they raise them so as to make blankets with their feathers for protection in winter, because they do not know how to eat them, but eat the things mentioned before.

When asked what information there is about other provinces and further discoveries, he stated that the only information and provinces he knows of are the reports given by a Mexican Indian called Jusepillo, that is, that in the lands of the cattle of Cíbola there is a large town, nine or ten leagues in length, where he says there are many people, which the said governor was prepared to explore with a hundred soldiers. And this witness believes he has probably already left headquarters. And this is his reply.

When asked whether the said governor has imposed some tribute or personal service in the cultivation of the land and harvesting of the crops, and for the other things necessary for the upkeep of his headquarters, on the said pacified or subjugated Indians whom he has under his governance, he stated that what he knows is that the said governor's soldiers set out every month for all the villages with his permission and orders to collect maize, which soldiers go in groups of two or three and bring [fol. 48v] the said maize for their sustenance. And the said Indians give it to them very reluctantly and tearfully, more by force than of their free will, according to what the soldiers themselves told this witness. And if they drop a few kernels of the said maize, the said Indians go about collecting them one by one; and this is something this witness saw often. And some men or women who used to live there before and have stayed at the said headquarters bring the said Spaniards water and firewood so that they may give them a little of that maize. And this witness has seen this. And he has been told that the Indians store the maize of three or four years to make up for the sterility of the land, because it rains very rarely, and instead snows; and the snow serves to moisten the soil so that they can harvest what they sow.

And the tribute that the said governor has levied on them is a cotton blanket from every householder every year; and those who do not have blankets give cured hides, which they prepare from the skins of the said cattle of Cíbola or deer. And the reason that there are not many of the said blankets is that so little cotton is harvested there, which this witness has seen by the fields that the said Indians have in the villages that he has visited. And they assured him that if they said that they had no blankets to give, the said soldiers took them from the women, who were left naked. And this is what he knows.

When asked whether, since the arrival of the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate, any gold or silver mines have been seen or found, he stated that he had heard that there were silver mines at a village called San Marcos, but of low grade, although in a speech that this witness heard the said governor address to all the assembled men at headquarters, he heard him say that there were many mines and that he did not want to let them be exploited so that greater things should not be neglected for lesser. And this witness saw a small stone that the said sergeant major was showing to all the soldiers, which seemed to be very rich ore; and he saw that a friar to whom the said sergeant major showed

it told him that it was very good if it was from that country, in reply to which the said sergeant major said nothing.

And as for personal service, this witness does not know of any being levied, except that when it is necessary to work on some house, the said governor is asked for permission to bring some women to work on it, because, as he has said, they are the ones who do this, and also [to bring] men to help in sowing vegetables and cultivating the land. And this witness has seen Spaniards plow on their own without any help from Indians. And he has heard that wheat grows well, and that is because there at the said headquarters there is running water for irrigation. And there is none anywhere else, so that is the only place they sow. And he does not know and has not heard that there is sowing anywhere else. And this is his reply.

When asked whether he has seen pearl-bearing shells or heard of their existence, he stated that he has neither seen them nor heard of their existence.

When asked what priests and religious there are in the said province, he stated that there are six priests and three lay brothers of the Order of St. Francis. And three of the said priests are already very old; and four of them are placed three and four leagues from the said headquarters, and the others right at it.

When asked how many of the said Indians the said religious might have baptized, he stated that this witness knows that they have baptized some children. And he has heard from some of the said religious that certain Indians baptized by a certain Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, a close relative of the said governor, who died on his way back to New Spain, had gone off without anything further being known or heard of them. **[fol. 49r]** And that is why they have not baptized many more, because they fear that the said Indians, as well as the said Spaniards, will not stay in the said country, because this witness has heard them say that they will be left alone, and also because of the diversity and difficulty of languages, because no religious knows any of them, except for one lay brother who, they say, knows a little of one of them. And this witness saw a Spanish boy who, according to what the said boy told him, had been raised with the children of the said Indians and who knew the language of the Picuri and Keresans, too, and better than the Indians themselves, because they were astonished at hearing him; and the said commissary kept the said boy with him for help in making conversions.

When asked whether the customs of the Indians of those provinces would allow them to be converted to our holy Catholic faith with reasonable effort on the part of the said priests, he stated that the reason for the said Indians' having no contact with the said Spaniards is that they are afraid of them; but if they are treated well and won over, this witness thinks they would easily be converted, being very quiet, mild, and peaceful people with no known extreme and excessive vices. And in a

word, this witness considers them better than those of New Spain, of better habits and temperament. And this is his reply.

When asked why the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate, during the time that he has been in the said province, has not proceeded farther, what reason there is for this, if he knows it or has heard of it, he stated that this witness has heard various persons say that some expeditions had been made to explore [the way to] the Southern Sea and to make other discoveries within 150 leagues, and that nothing had been found. And now, as he has stated, he believes that the said governor has set out to explore what the said Indian Josephe has reported. And this witness does not know and has not heard of any other reason. And this is his reply.

When asked whether he thinks, in view of what he has seen of the said country and its nature, and what he has heard from the officers and men who remain in the said province, that they will be able to maintain themselves there, and what he knows and thinks about how cheerfully and willingly they are there, and what he knows and has been informed of that should be reported to His Majesty so that as their King and lord he might come to the support and assistance of his vassals, and whether the said troops, in view of present conditions and expectations for the future, will be able to remain in the said province, and whether they are there willingly or desirous of returning to New Spain, and why, he stated that during the said approximately four months that this witness spent at the said headquarters he clearly discerned a general dissatisfaction among all the said troops and a lack of confidence in obtaining any relief in that province. And those who complained the most were those who went with the recent reinforcements, because they said that they had been sent reports and word and letters about many great things and riches, and they found themselves to have been deceived, with their property spent, deprived of the quiet life they had led in New Spain, and fearing they would lack food and clothing for themselves and their wives and children and relatives. And this has gone so far that this witness has heard them say that they would face all risks and dangers to come to New Spain before His Excellency the Viceroy to ask him to take pity on their children and wives. And [he heard] the single men eager [fol. 49v] and determined to desert, so that it was all that this witness could do to console them, suggesting that His Majesty would grant that no one should stay there against his will, since it is not a place in danger of being occupied by any enemy.

And when this witness and the others who came back to New Spain were leaving, they poured out abundant words and tears of lament; and the reason for this is the harshness⁴⁷ of the said country, with the cold that lasts for eight months of winter, to the point, as he has stated, that the rivers freeze over, and people are always shivering by the

⁴⁷ The ms. reads *esperança* 'hope,' a reading we have corrected to *aspereça*, which is called for by the context.

fire and there is little firewood, and that wood another six or eight leagues from the said headquarters by cart, and almost all of it poplar wood from the river banks. And the smoke is such that almost all the women and children are weeping night and day, because this is the only fire they have at night.

And this witness has heard that after the said winter come four months of summer, when the heat is almost worse than the cold in winter; and so the saying there is, winter for eight months and hell for four. And the said people sleep outdoors in their little vegetable gardens, fleeing the armies of bedbugs that flourish in that country, besides which there are countless mice, which breed a kind of lice the pain from whose bite lasts almost 24 hours. And these mice eat peppers, and if they are [not] caught in time, they do not leave one. And they do not eat cheese. And they also suffer from the sterility of the said country, because in the course of time they will run out.⁴⁸

And because the said people in all the said villages are few and scattered over more than 80 leagues, including the places that are said to have the most inhabitants, which are at the distance stated from the said headquarters, it seems to this witness that the said people will be unable to maintain themselves without great expense to His Majesty in provisions and clothing and other things. And even if His Majesty spends this money and helps them with their expenses, this witness believes that if left to their own devices they will prefer to leave that country and seek their livelihood here, because this witness did not hear anyone say that he is there willingly, but rather that they are oppressed and forced to stay there.

And what he saw there worthy of being noticed and remedied by His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain is that the orders he sends there are not obeyed or carried out, because although, as he has stated, this witness went with a commission as auditor general and judicial advisor to the said governor, the said governor refused to obey, because he said that the Viceroy of New Spain cannot send judges to that country. And the said governor told this witness that he would take away the commissions of the officers commissioned by the said viceroy, although I see that in the end he did not do so. And a friar called Fray Alonso de Lugo, who is in the said city of Zacatecas, told this witness that the said governor had excluded the officers commissioned by the said viceroy from the list of officers.

And the consolation that the said people have in those provinces is their belief that their government is subject to New Spain, where they can lodge their complaints, because they think that at so great a distance it would be very difficult to do so before the royal administration of the Indies, and they told this witness that they would complain as a result of some violent events. And so this witness considers the preservation of those provinces to be very difficult, for the reasons that he has stated.

⁴⁸ If the subject is the mice, what they will run out of is peppers. If the subject is the people, they will presumably run out of everything.

All of which is the truth under the oath he has taken, and he reaffirms and ratifies it. He stated his age to be about 25 years, and that the general questions of the law do not apply to him. And he signed together with the said treasurer.

Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado
Licenciado⁴⁹ Ginés Herrera Horta
[fol. 50r] Done before me. Marcos Leandro, royal notary secretary

Testimony

In the city of Mexico, on the 31st day of the month of July of the said year 1601, the said treasurer Don Francisco Valverde y Mercado, for purposes of the said investigation, caused to appear before him Captain Juan de Ortega, who stated that he was a resident of the city of Los Ángeles, and who was placed under oath as prescribed by law, and he promised to testify truthfully.

And when questioned in keeping with the said commission, he stated that this witness left the said city of Los Ángeles about two years ago to go to the provinces of New Mexico, doing so as captain of cavalry in the reinforcements sent to Governor Don Juan de Oñate, who is engaged in pacifying them by order and command of His Excellency the Conde de Monterrey. And they reached the said provinces about Christmas time of the past year 1600, and he remained there until 23 March of this year 1601, which is when the last men set out from the said governor's headquarters, called San Gabriel. And this witness saw everything there to be peaceful, with the natives of that district having pledged allegiance to His Majesty.

When asked whether he left those provinces to come here with permission of the said governor, he stated that he came with permission of the said governor. And the reason he asked for it was that he saw the country to be different from the reports he had heard in this said city, so much so that it seemed to him that the whole country, with such expectations as they had, would not easily support 50 soldiers; and also that, when he left this kingdom and agreed to take troops as part of the said reinforcements, it was with the specification and condition that if, after seeing the country, he did not choose to stay there, he would be given the said permission. And it was immediately given to him by the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate in His Majesty's name.

When asked what he saw and visited in the said provinces, from the first village they encountered to the headquarters that the said governor has established in the said village called San Gabriel, he stated that when they reached the Rio Grande, which is where the said Don Juan de Oñate first took possession in the name of His Majesty, they

⁴⁹ This degree is higher than that of *bachiller*, which is ascribed to this witness above.

marched as far as the first village, which was some 40 leagues off, where he saw very little pasture, and the soil of low quality. And from there to the said headquarters they marched through villages three or four leagues apart, which villages are situated on both sides of the river. It seems to this witness that the largest of them had about 250 houses, and the smallest, six or seven, the larger houses having three stories and the smaller ones, two. And they are made of adobe with wooden ceilings and flat roofs of pounded earth, so that they do not leak when it rains. And every house is inhabited by one man with his family, and some by two or three, and some of them by no one; and this witness knows that this is because the said Indians have left because of their fear of the Spaniards. And this fear is not due to any harm done to them, but to their being pusillanimous by nature. And if they have received any offense that might have caused the said fear, it was from the [fol. 50v] first soldiers who went there, who were Humaña and Leyva, who are known to have seized some of their women.

And during the time that this witness was in the said provinces he never saw 400 Indians at a time, because there were not that many on the way from the village of Cualacu to the one called Socorro. And from there to the said headquarters is a distance of some 35 leagues, with the said houses everywhere. And this witness could not discover how many people there were because they were not all there, because, as he has stated, many of them had fled to the hills⁵⁰ for the reason stated. And he heard some people say that there were up to 12 or 13,000 Indians⁵¹ in all the pacified provinces.

When asked what sort of people live in the said villages and what is the appearance of both men and women in the said provinces, he stated that the said men are tall and the women the same as the men, a little fairer than they, and some with very good-looking faces. The women go about dressed; and the said dress is a blanket thrown over the shoulder and tied with a knot, without anything else to cover their bodies, because they do not care if their skin shows. And the said blankets are woven of cotton. And most of the said men wear a cured skin of the cattle of Cíbola with the fur on the inside, and others wear a loincloth made of the said cotton, and others cured skins of deer, coyotes, and wolves, which abound there. And some of the said Indians wear shoes made of the said Cíbola hides and deerskins, which shoes are like sandals sown with sinews of the said animals.

And this witness saw that most of the said Indians have their fields and the appropriate tools, similar to clubs and the small sticks the natives use as hoes, which leads this witness to believe that they are and have been inclined to this kind of work, by what he saw in the way of maize, squash, and melons, and watermelons, and other things that are the crops that they harvest to support themselves, in addition to which he saw some cellars where they stored the said maize, beans, and the

⁵⁰ Or woods.

⁵¹ As the witness makes clear below, he is counting only the men.

other things mentioned, which he heard they kept for their needs. And he was told that they keep it for two or three years, and [they also store it there] so that the soldiers will not take it from them. And this care in storing the said crops and other things mentioned is due to the land's lacking water even in summer, because it rains very little; and the land's chief resource for the purpose under discussion is snow, which is very abundant and which moistens the soil.

And when this witness was there, which, as he has stated, was at Christmas time and before, he saw the said snow as he has stated, and such cold that he saw the river frozen so that one could cross one part of it on horseback. And the said Indians, for protection from the above, stay in some estufas that they have, within which they spin and weave the said blankets, because that is their most common occupation in that season. And the said women stay in the said houses, because it is they who work on them and build them in the form stated, in addition to which they are in charge of preparing their food.

And what they all eat are the said beans, cooked maize, and squash; and they also make tortillas of the said maize. And they also eat some greens that they gather in the fields, which, along with some game—deer and hares that they hunt—they have hanging for their nourishment, and also some meat of the cattle of Cíbola, which they obtain from the Apaches in exchange for blankets and maize.

And the said commerce consists of [fol. 51r] the said Apaches coming to the said villages from Cíbola, which is a plain about 40 or 50 leagues from the said headquarters, with the said meat, fat, skins, and tallow loaded on dogs a little larger than poodles,⁵² which they keep for the said purpose and to carry their tents, and most of whom are quite white, and others have small black spots. And 300 or 400 paces from the said village they set up the said tents that they bring loaded on the said dogs, and the neighboring Indians go there and for the said maize and blankets buy all the said things from the said Apaches, who come for this occasion in groups of 400 or 500. And because they have no fixed time for this trade,⁵³ this witness does not mention it, and also because he has not heard talk of it; but it seems to him that it must usually take place at harvest time, when the said land produces good yields and there are fairly abundant harvests of beans.

And in some of the pools in the said Rio Grande that he has spoken of there are abundant fish, because this witness saw some Indians they call *gorretes*⁵⁴ or *partaragüeles* fishing there for such fish as catfish and garfish⁵⁵ and *coteas*. And since there is a distance of some 20

⁵² *per[r] los de agua*: 'water dogs.' Cf. the poodle-like breed now known as Portuguese water dogs, one of which is living in the White House [as of this writing].

⁵³ *por no tener tiempo para este dicho rrescate señalado*: The ms. seems to read 'because he did not have time for this trade.' This could indeed be the meaning, but I favor another interpretation because the witness would have lacked not only time but also the necessary goods, and in what follows he speaks of when trading took place.

⁵⁴ This term refers to the way the male Indians cropped their hair, so that it looked like a *gorra* or cap. I have no explanation for *partaragüeles*.

⁵⁵ *agujas*. I cannot identify *coteas*.

leagues from the said headquarters to where the said fish can be caught, the said soldiers and the rest of the people rarely or never eat it; and that is why, when this witness was at the said headquarters, which was during part of this past Lent, the commissary there allowed everyone to eat meat three days a week. And on the other days they eat beans and some peppers planted by the Spaniards, because the said Indians do not have any pepper in that country, which will show what an inhospitable country it is and how hard life is in this respect for those stationed there. And since the time that this witness was there was so brief, he has no further knowledge.

When asked what sort of government the said Indians have, whom he thought they obeyed, or what kind of state he saw, he stated that this witness did not know them to have any chief, nor was he able to see that anyone was superior, but that they are all equal and are a people who live in great harmony and peace without quarreling among themselves. And their houses are always open, without any doors or anything else, because their custom is not to take anything from each other, or even from the Spaniards, because this witness heard that not only do they do this, but that when one of the said soldiers lost a valuable article and an Indian found it and knew whose it was, he returned it of his own free will without anyone obliging him. And all of the above is normal among all the said Indians. And if there is any quarrel it is among the women, and it usually results from jealousy; and the said Indians do not try to end it but leave them until they calm down on their own, because that is their custom.

And when this witness was marching with some of the said soldiers and the cattle that they were driving, before reaching the said headquarters, they asked the said Indians for tortillas and other things to eat; and when they did so, an old Indian who was considered a chief⁵⁶ in our language, and in theirs by the other Indians, would come out, and walking around the square of the said villages he would shout in their language. And as soon as he did so, some men and women would come out with the said tortillas. And so the said Indian is clearly the chief and boss. And he knows that in some villages there is one, and in others there are two; and in this respect there are these bosses.

And this witness does not know that [fol. 51v] on occasions other than the aforesaid they have shown that there is anyone who commands them or that they hold meetings or councils among themselves, although one day he saw a hundred Indians dance after their fashion in the village of Santo Domingo because the said soldiers had arrived there, which the friar who was stationed there had ordered them to do. And one of them seemed to be distinguished from the others, because he wore earrings with stones in his ears and necklaces of the said stones and little bones, and he was richly painted in colors different from those of the others and

⁵⁶ *capitan*. Previously the witness stated that the Indians have no *caveça*. A little below he says that they have a *mayordomo e mandador*. As he goes on to explain, these chiefs seem to have a circumscribed authority.

stood out in the said dance, although not in the sense that any of the others deferred to him, because when they finished, the said Indian went to his house by himself just like the others, without their showing him any obeisance or deference.

And if the said Indians hold any councils, it is, in this witness's opinion, with regard to the hunt, because he saw that at the request of Sergeant Major Vicente de Zaldívar as many as some 200 Indians set out to hunt one day; and it seems to this witness that one stood out among them by his shouts, and the others answered him. But this should not be taken to mean that he was superior to all the others, because on such an occasion neither the said Indian nor any of the others bears signs of special distinction.

And they hunted with small clubs, and others with bow and arrows, forming a semicircle around the game; and as they closed it they trapped the game in the middle and killed what they could, which on that day they gave to the said sergeant major for a celebration he was holding. And the customary time for the said hunt is when it snows, because then the hares leave tracks, and those allow the said Indians to accomplish their purpose. And they kill the said game for food, and [also] another kind, such as deer and a kind of wild ram whose horns are like those here but much heavier, and they have no wool but their hair is like that of deer.⁵⁷ And this witness does not know and has not heard how they distribute the said game when two or more Indians go hunting. And in one of the cellars that he has mentioned he saw, along with the maize, a number of hares on a stick like roast fish,⁵⁸ which they kept for food.

When asked whether the said Indians have one wife or more, and whether they observe any marriage ceremony, and whether they marry them for life [and] how they treat them, he stated that this witness heard some of the said soldiers say that the said Indians have as many wives as they can support, which might be three or four, whom they keep in different neighboring villages. And the ceremony that is observed is that when this said kind of marriage is agreed on, the man gives the said woman a blanket; and as soon as he gives it to her she is bound to be his wife until he can no longer support her. And if that happens, the woman is free to marry another man, without the husband's then hiding that she is his wife, even though she offends against him, or punishing her, or [showing] any other resentment.⁵⁹ And this witness understands this to be their custom.

[fol. 52r] When asked whether the said Indians use one common language or many different ones, he stated that he knows for sure that they use many languages, because although this witness did not

⁵⁷ *venado verrendo*, i.e., *berrendo*, a kind of deer native to northern Mexico.

⁵⁸ *bovos asados*. The *bobo* is a Mexican river fish.

⁵⁹ *quedan ellas libres para poderse cassar con otro sin que el yndio en este tienpo ni encele de ser su muger aunque le haga ofenssa trate de castigo ni otro sentimiento*: I can only guess at the meaning of these lines.

understand them, he noticed this during the time that he spent in the said provinces, besides which it was well known among the said soldiers. And it seems to this witness that the said languages are seven or eight or more different ones. And this is what he knows.

When asked what sort of trade and exchanges the said Indians carry on among themselves, he stated that this witness has not seen them to have any trade or any specially designated place for it, other than what he has said in reply to the previous question, nor has he heard of any. And this is his reply.

When asked what metals he saw or heard the said Indians to have that they used before the said Spaniards came to the said provinces, he stated that he does not know and has not heard of their having or using any metal, whether gold, silver, copper, or any other. And he knows that the said Indians paint themselves, and they do this with very fine sand like blotting sand and a kind of stone that is used only for this purpose and for dyeing blankets. And this is his reply.

When asked what religion, idolatrous observances, rites, and ceremonies related to these are practiced by the said Indians, he stated that this witness often entered the houses and estufas of the said Indians with some soldiers and there saw some idols in the form of such animals as lizards, dogs, and squirrels and ill-formed human figures, and this witness thinks there might have been eight or ten of these. And some were made of wood, and others were painted on the wall of the said room or estufa, and they had a mark to indicate whether for their purpose it was the chicken god—because one of the said soldiers told this witness that that is what they⁶⁰ called them—which on its head had some feathers tied with a string; and if it was the maize god, [it had] an ear of maize, and so with all the others.

And furthermore this witness saw in one of the estufas a kind of small monument made with branches and steps, about half a yard wide and three *quartas*⁶¹ high, on which they had a brazier with coals on which they scattered a perfume that did not smell bad to this witness, and to one side of the said brazier, a container of water from which one Indian drew mouthfuls of water and sprayed it on the said monument. And on one side of the said estufa there were two naked Indians, seemingly 20 to 24 years old, who seemed to this witness to be doing penance, because they gave signs of contrition. And from a Spanish boy who knew their language because he had grown up among them he understood that they did not eat or drink or speak until they had seen a figure they were waiting for, which must have been the Devil, and so the said Indians were pale and thin. And he further saw that with the said blotting sand and varicolored sand they had made a path, 24 or 25 feet long, from the foot of the said monument to the outside of the said

⁶⁰ It is not clear whether the subject is the Indians or the soldiers.

⁶¹ A *quarta* is the fourth part of a *vara*, which is roughly equivalent to a yard.

estufa, on which they said that the person whom they were awaiting was to come; and if he came as they expected, they would leave there and go home.

And this witness also heard from a soldier who had been in that country for a long time that when the said Indians want to ask their god for something, such as rain or something else, they come together and pray together in procession or in a circular dance. And they bring along a robust young man, naked, up to 20 years old, the tallest and most well-built, and they whip him at intervals with a vine, which is a sort of sacrifice; and the said sufferer [fol. 52v] does not cry out or move his body in any way, but willingly undergoes that penance. And this is what he knows.

When asked about good and bad experiences, and what resistance and what kind of offense and defense the said Indians have offered since he came to the said province, and before, after the other soldiers arrived, until the said 23rd day of March of the current year, which is when this witness and the others who are now in this said city left the said headquarters to come to New Spain, he stated that this witness does not know of any defense at all put up by the said Indians, because they are peaceful and quiet people. And all he knows and has heard is that in a village called Acoma the said Indians killed Colonel Don Juan de Zaldívar and eight or ten of his companions. And he has heard that the first time that the said Spaniards entered the said village, the said Indians gave them some of what they had; and when they killed the said colonel and the said soldiers it was because of an offense that a soldier committed against an Indian woman, taking away her blanket or her chicken, which led to the fight and to the death of the said soldiers. And they also told this witness that in the village called [of the] Jumanos the sergeant major had arrived with about four companions. He asked the said Indians to give him food, and they did not give him any but offered him stones, upon which the said governor went there and punished them, hanging two of them. And he does not know of the said Indians' having offered any other defense, nor of any other offense done to them since the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate went to the said provinces. And this is what he knows with respect to this question.

When asked how many Spaniards he left behind in the said provinces at the time of his departure from them, he stated that some 150 or 170 men fit for military duty remained there, because this witness saw the list that had been made for the explorations to the north, and some 113 or 114 might have been chosen to go on this expedition with the said Don Juan de Oñate, and some 40 or 45 were left at the said headquarters. And this is his opinion based on what he saw and heard.

When asked what livestock there might be in those said provinces and at the disposal of the said Don Juan at his headquarters for its operations and the nourishment of his troops, he stated that he thinks, although he is not sure, that at the said headquarters and outside it

there might be 2,000 head of sheep and goats. And he saw and heard that with the snow and freezing weather and miserable pasture available at the time, many of these animals died. And when this witness arrived with the resupply of cattle of which he was in charge, along with his own animals at his own cost, there were only 10 or 12 milch cows at the said headquarters, and four or six oxen for plowing, because they had eaten all the others. And this witness brought to the said headquarters 630 head of cattle, cows, and a few bulls;⁶² and from the time of his arrival until that of his departure they had eaten very few, fewer than half, and so it seems to him that at his departure he left some 350 head, of which, at the rate at which they were slaughtering them, it seems to this witness that none are left today. And it seems to this witness that there might be some 500 or 600 horses and colts and 150 mules, including those belonging to the religious and to other [private] persons. And this is his reply to this question, and he knows nothing else.

When asked how the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has established [fol. 53r] the said headquarters, whether it is fortified or an open place, he stated that it is established in a village of the said Indians just as they had found it, without being fortified in any way; and they have opened some doors and a few windows. And he thinks that the reason for not having fortified it is the gentleness of the said Indians and the said soldiers' confidence that they will do them no harm, and also because he saw that the said soldiers were there most unwillingly and with no confidence in their remaining in the country. And this is his reply.

When asked how many pacified people there might be in the villages that he has seen and in the others under the authority of the said Don Juan de Oñate, he stated that, as he has replied to another question, he heard the officers and men say that there might be 12 or 13,000 Indians, not counting the women and children, whose number he does not remember. And this is his reply.

When asked what reports there are or he has heard concerning explorations beyond those mentioned, he stated that he does not know and has not heard of any report of significance, except [the report concerning] the north, and this has no significance or witnesses more reliable than the report of a Mexican Indian called Jusepillo, who says that there is a town 10 or 12 leagues in extent. And he very firmly believes that this is a report as exaggerated as that given in this city to this witness and the other men who went as reinforcements to the said provinces, because between the picture given them and the reality, there is the difference between night and day, and more. And this is his reply to this question.

⁶² *bacas y nobillos y algunos toros: novillos are young bulls.*

When asked whether the said governor has levied any tribute or personal service on the pacified Indians under his authority for cultivation of the fields and preservation of the crops and for the most important services to his headquarters, he stated that what he knows is that every year soldiers and armed men and even the governor in person go to collect a blanket from each house or each Indian; and those who do not have any give them a deerskin, which the said Indians resent greatly because they are so poor. And likewise, whenever they need maize, they set out to collect it without paying anything in return. And this is all he knows concerning tributes. And concerning personal service he knows only that when they need to have some house or wall repaired they go for Indian women and bring them to do the repairs, because they are the masons and builders. And this is what he knows concerning this question.

When asked whether, since the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate came to the said provinces, they have seen or found any gold or silver mines or pearl fisheries or whether there are any reports of such things, he stated that he has heard the said governor and the sergeant major and an officer of his household say that there are mines. And he has not heard this from other officers and soldiers, but rather has heard some of them say that such mines as there are are worthless, or that there are none. And even less has he seen pearls or heard of their existence, or gold. And this is his reply.

When asked what religious and priests remained and are in the said province, he stated that there are six priests and three lay brothers, stationed at the headquarters and within a four-league radius. And three of them are young, and the others, old. And he heard some of them say that they would not baptize any infant, and the reason was that they could not imagine staying in that country. And this is his reply.

[fol. 53v] When asked how many of the said Indians might have been baptized since the said Don Juan de Oñate went to the said provinces, he stated that at the said headquarters of San Gabriel is where the most Indians have been baptized, and he does not know how many. And this is his reply.

When asked whether the Indians of that province, to judge by their customs, could be converted to our holy Catholic faith with reasonable effort on the part of the priests, he stated that he is sure that they could, being gentle people who live in keeping with natural law, and that they could be converted to our holy Catholic faith and maintained in it with the application of less costly and gentler treatment. And he thinks this could be achieved by sending 30 or 40 soldiers and an officer, who would suffice to govern the Indians without mistreating them, and to protect the religious who might minister to them so that they would not harm them or turn against them before the faith had been well established among them. And that way, given their customs, he thinks they would be

safe, if a few [soldiers] were left among them to be in contact with the priests.⁶³ And this is his opinion, and that [the colony] would be preserved; and the way they are now, they will decline sharply for the reasons he has stated.

When asked why the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has not advanced farther during the time that he has been in the said province, what might be the reasons, if he knows them, he stated that with the expeditions carried out by his sergeant major he has not had enough men to go farther. And now that he had them he was setting out for the north, which to this witness seems to be where he might go, and nowhere else, because in the other areas there are wild nomads, wretched camps, and no food.

When asked whether, according to what he has seen of the said country and its nature, and what he has learned and heard from the officers and men who remain in the said province, it seems to him that it can be maintained, and how, and does he believe that those stationed there are satisfied and pleased, and what does he know and has he learned that should be reported to His Majesty so that as their King and lord he might support and help his vassals, and to His Excellency the Viceroy in his name so that as his representative he might provide interim remedies, and whether the said troops, in keeping with present conditions and expectations for the future, will be able to remain in the said province, and whether they are there willingly or desirous of returning to New Spain, and why, he stated that he is convinced that no one who is in the said provinces with the said governor enjoys being there, because it is a very poor country with a small and widely scattered population, and a harsh climate, with a winter according to all reports eight months long and very harsh, and the four months of summer even worse because of the excessive heat, because the Northern and Southern Seas are so far away that despite the expeditions that have been carried out, nothing is known for sure about them. And because in that country bedbugs are vexing and very abundant during four months of the year, and mice very abundant, and these carry a kind of louse whose sting is exceedingly painful. And he has heard some soldiers say that even if gold could be gathered by the fistful they would not be in the said country willingly, and all of them generally [are there] most unwillingly, and if they did not fear some grave punishment they would have left. And so he is very fearful [**fol. 54r**] about the preservation of the said province in its current condition, and this is his reply, and that the needs of the said soldiers and their wives are so great that they lack clothing, and so women have been seen dressed in hides, such as deerskin.

And this is what he knows, and the truth under the oath he has taken, which he reaffirmed and ratified. He declared that he is about 28

⁶³ I take this to mean that the customs of the Indians are such that the friars would be safe among them if accompanied by a few soldiers.

years old, and he signed his name along with the said treasurer, and the general questions of the law do not apply to him

Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado [*sic*]
Juan de Ortega
Before me, Marcos Leandro, royal secretary

By order of the Conde de Monterrey, Viceroy of New Spain, I caused a copy to be made of the foregoing report and documents on these 15 sheets, and the copy is filed in his lordship's offices, to which I refer. And as royal notary I affix my sign to certify to its authenticity.

[notary's sign]

Jaime Fernández, royal notary [rubric]

The notaries.⁶⁴

[fol. 54v]⁶⁵ And a copy of the reports and statements presented in their defense by the men who returned from New Mexico, and of other reports and papers sent by those who remained there, lodging charges against those who came back. And this also includes a copy of an investigation into the condition of the said provinces that Don Francisco de Valverde, commissioned by the Viceroy the Conde de Monterrey, carried out, corresponding to chapter 15 of the letter on subjects of war, dated in Mexico on 3 March 1602.

⁶⁴ The purpose of this notation is unclear. ⁶⁵ Vertical text on a cover leaf.