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Diario y derrotero que cogió el Sr. General Don Antonio Valverde Cossío, Gobernador y Capitan General de Nuevo México en la campaña que ejecutó en 1719 contra las naciones Yutas y Comanches

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Author

Polt, John H. R.

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Diario y derrotero que cogió el Sr. General Don Antonio Valverde Cossío,
Governador y Capitan General de Nuevo México
en la campaña que ejecutó en 1719 contra las naciones Yutas y Comanches

In the early 18th century, not long after the conclusion of the Pueblo Indian revolt (1680-1696), the New Mexican authorities confronted serious incursions of nomadic peoples, especially the Utes and the Comanches, and at this time found allies rather than antagonists among the Pueblo Indians. Another, and growing concern, was the perception that the French were extending their influence westward from the Mississippi basin, i.e., the vast Louisiana territory.

Accordingly, Antonio Valverde y Cossío, governor of New Mexico 1717-1722, undertook an expedition in 1719 to punish the Utes and Comanches, or at least reach a reasonable accommodation with them, but also to reconnoitre the region northeast of New Mexico in search possible French intruders. The log of this expedition, though incomplete, is of exceptional ethnographic as well as historical value, and, so far as we are aware, the Spanish original has never been published.

For background information and a narrative account of the expedition, see Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935; repr. 1969), pp. 26-33, who also translated the present document, pp. 110-133.

John Polt transcribed the text and provided a new translation into English, while Jerry Craddock prepared the facsimiles. The transcription is basically paleographic, with tacit resolution of abbreviations; the punctuation, word separation, and the use of capital letters have been modernized.

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[Diario y derrotero que cojió el Señor General Don Antonio Balverde Cosio, Governador y Capitan General, ... en la campaña que executó contra las naciones yutas y cumanches ...]

[fol. 1r]



{MI: No. 510}

Diario y derrotero que cojió el señor general don Antonio Balverde Cosio, gouernador y capitan general de este rreyno y prouinzias de la Nueva Mexico, en la campaña que executo contra
5 | las naciones yutas y cumanches por las obsti-
{MI: Del señor general Valverde el dia 15 de septiembre de 1719}
lidades de muertes y rrouos con que han ym-
badido este rreyno, para lo qual y su determina-
zion se hizo junta de guerra de los cauos milita-
res de este rreal presidio de la villa de Santa Fee y
10 | vezinos experimentados, de que rresulto sa-
liessen las armas a rreprimir el orgullo de dicho
enemigo, lo qual executo dicho señor gouernador el dia
quinze de septiembre de mill setezientos y diez
y nueue años que salio de esta villa de Santa Fee
15 | para el valle y pueblo de los thaos, que dista
veynte leguas de ella, donde señalo por plaza
de armas. Y hauiendo llegado dicho señor gouernador
a dicho pueblo con el reverendo padre fray Juan del Pino, religioso
obseruante de Nuestro Padre San Francisco y ministro
20 | misionero en la de los pecos, que yba por capellan
de dicha campaña, el señor gouernador, el dia diez
y nueue de dicho mes, despues de hauer oydo
missa, passo muestra de armas, cauallos y
[munizion]es¹ y gente de guerra que para dicha
25 | [campaña] se hallaua de prompto, que fue en la
[forma] y manera siguiente:

¹ Aquí y en varios otros sitios, sobre todo en los márgenes hacia el pie de página, está roto el papel. Indico estas lagunas por medio de corchetes, supliendo, siempre que puedo, lo que conjeturo ser el texto perdido.

[fol. 1v]



Pasaron muestra sesenta soldados presidiales de este de la villa de Santa Fee con sus armas, cauallos y muniziones, y despues pasaron muestra ante dicho señor gouernador quarenta y zinco vezinos
5 | que voluntarios se ofrezieron a seruir con sus personas a Su Magestad en esta campaña, a quienes fue nezesario, por la ymposiulidad de algunos, dar muniziones de poluora y balas, y rrepartiendoles diez cueras que para dicho efecto
10 | lleuo su señoria y mando hazer rrepartiendo cantidad de piñole. Y asimismo les rrepartio setenta y zinco cauallos y algunas mulas, todo suyo, y despues de hauer executado lo rreferido, hallandosse juntos dichos
15 | vezinos, les hiço vn gran rrazonamyento y con palabras cariñossas les dio las grazias en nombre de Su Magestad por hauersse ofrezido a su seruicio como leales vasallos, con lo qual quedaron todos alborossados y gustossos, deseando
20 | se ofreziera ocassion en que manifestar sus buenos deseos. Victorearon a dicho señor gouernador por sus atenziones y garuo con que los atendia, ofrezriendoles el que no pasarian nezesidad, pues de los bastimentos que llebaua y de [otras]
25 | cossas nezesarias los socorreria luego q[ue] notiziasse lo que hubiessen men[ester. Asimismo se passo muestra po[r ...] y treynta naturales de est[e rreyno, ...]

[fol. 2r]



y rreduzidos [y] preuenidos de guerra con sus armas. Contaronse seiszientos y tantos cauallos de que se componia el campo de los soldados y vezinos, siendo el mayor numero de los presidiales, pues los
5 | de los yndios hazian numero aparte. El dia 20 de dicho mes de septiembre, despues de hauer oydo missa, salio el señor gouernador y campo en prosecuzion de su jornada del valle de Thaos y llegaron al paraje que llaman de la Zieneguilla, cuya

10 | distanzia es de ocho leguas de penosso camino de sierra, monte y palizada, con muchas angosturas, que les obligo a los soldados en [sic] diuidir en trozos la cauallada para poderla arrear;

y en este paraje estaua ya aguardando por

15 | orden que para ello se le hauia dado el capitán mayor de la guerra Joseph Naranjo, que lo es con título superior, y este se hauia adelantado con algunos naturales, con que se yncorporo en el campo.

20 | Oy, día 21 de dicho mes, despues de hauer oydo missa en este dicho paraje de la Zieneguilla por ser día del apostol San Matheo, salio el campo

para el paraje y rrio de San Joseph, nombre que su señoria le puso, y dista como siete

25 | leguas de muy penosso camino y mucho monte, con vna bajada de vna questa dilatada que al parecer tendra como dos leguas y media, adonde se hallo a trechos muchas mojoneras de piedra

[fol. 2v]



que por no perderse tiene[n] puestas los yndios gentiles de nazon apache, y antes de llegar a este paraje esta vna laguneta con

agua y enfrente, a distanzia de vna legua,

5 | estan vnos zerros colorados con mucha crestoneria de betas, y al parecer son minerales, cuyo rrio de dicho paraje de San

Joseph es muy ameno y frondosso; y a distanzia de media legua, huiendosse apar-

10 | tado el alferez Bernardo Casillas, que lo es de la compañía de orden del señor gouernador, hallo vna casita de adove donde estauan vnos apaches gentiles y havian sembrado su milpa de mays, la qual havian cojido, y dichos apaches, luego que

15 | supieron la venida de los españoles, vinieron ha veer al señor gouernador, quien les hizo grande agasajo y les dio tauaco y de comer, haziendole dichos gentiles grandes demostraciones de rregosijo y diciendo que los enemigos cumanches

20 | perseguian y mataban a sus parientes y demas de su nazon, y esto lo declararon por ynterprete, que lo fue el capitán de la guerra Joseph

Naranjo y don Geronimo, yndio de la nazon
thaos, que vno y otro son ynteligentes en [la]
25 | lengua apache, y dicho señor gouernador por medio
de dichos ynterpretes, despues de hauer
oydo su rrelazion, les dijo que su viaje he[ra]

[fol. 3r]



y hauia salido personalmente a castigar
dichas nazonas por la ynfedilidad [sic] y mal
trato que tienen. Debajo de la voz de paz
hazian ynsultos, muertes y rrouos, sobre que
5 | mouido todo el campo que estaua escuchando,
todos quedaron muy gustosos y los apaches
agradecidos por el benefizio que rrezeuian, que-
dando seguros en su tierra, con lo qual se bol-
vieron a su cassa con sus mugeres. Y este mis-
10 | mo dia como a las quatro de la tarde llega-
ron al rreal vna tropa de apaches gentiles
de la rrancheria de la Jicarilla y vna yndia
vieja a cauallo, diziendo que con la notizia
que les hauian dado sus parientes de que
15 | havia ben[ido] el señor gouernador se benian a poner
a su obediencia; y hauiendo llegado a su
presenzia, como a distanzia de quinze
passos, se desmontaron de sus cauallos,
trayendo el capitan de ellos por estandarte
20 | vna santissima cruz y al pie vna estam-
pa de pergamino donde estaua la efigie de
Maria Santissima señora nuestra en su
adbocazion del rrosario, sin rrotura alguna,
trayendo dicho capitan en la mano tan sobe-
25 | [rano] estandarte, el qual dio a vessar
[a dicho] señor gouernador y a dicho reverendo padre capellan,

[fol. 3v]



quienes lo hizieron con toda benerazion, y a los
soldados y vezinos que a la nouedad hauian
concurrido. Y pasado este lanze tierno, que
lo fue porque todos de rrodillas adoraron
5 | el santissimo madero ynstrumento que

fue de nuestra redempzion, el señor gouernador
dio la vienbenida a dicho capitan y a los
demas, y hauiendolos hecho sentar, dichos
yndios dijieron por los ynterpretes ya rre-
10 | feridos que se hallauan sumamente tris-
tes y desconsolados por los rrepetidos com-
bates que dichos enemigos yutas y cu-
manches les hazen, y que les hauian muer-
to mucha gente de su nazon y lleuadoles
15 | cautiuos a sus mugeres e hijos, que ya no sauian
donde yrsse para viuir seguros, y que
su mayor desconsuelo hera el que teniendo
vien embuelta y guardada la estampa
de Maria Santissima, hallaron al tiem-
20 | po de desemboluerla tres gotas de sangre,
que alguna cossa les queria suzeder. So-
bre que oydo esto por su señoria con toda
atenzion y ternura les dijo no se desconsola-
ssen y que tubiessen a esta Señora en su
25 | corazon estando ziertos que si la lla-
maban de beras y se rreduzies[sen al gre-]
mio de la yglesia podr[ian ...]
alcanzarian victoria de [sus enemigos]

[fol. 4r]



y que dicho señor gouernador salia en perssona a cam-
paña en busca de dicho enemigo cumanche para castigarlo y hazerle guerra,
y que la sangre que dezian tener la San-
5 | tissima Señora hera para que saliessen
de la gentilidad y barbarismo en que
viuian y se christianassen, que si esto de-
terminassen, en todo les ayudaria y
fomentaria para su buen estar y viuir,
10 | con otras eficazes rrazones que con catho-
lico y christiano zelo les propusso, a fin
si por este medio se podia conseguir su
rreduzion. Y dicho capitan apache con
todos los demas que le acompañaban dijieron
15 | que hera dicho señor gouernador su padre, lo querian
mucho y les hablaua vien, yendolos asi-
mismo a defender, y que como su señoria qui-
siera rrezeuirian el agua del Santo Baupismo,

de que se rregozijo mucho y les mando dar ge-
20 | neralmente chocolate a todos dicho señor gouernador
y a los vezinos que alli se hallauan, repar-
tiendo a los gentiles tauaco, y que si tenian
nezesidad de alguna cossa, se la mani-
festassen, que luego serian socorridos, y rres-
25 | pondieron que no, y despues de lo rreferi-
[do] dichos gentiles se fueron muy gustossos
[compromet]iendose a yr en compañia de dicho
[seño]r gouernador a la campaña.

[fol. 4v]



El dia 22 del pressente mes de septiembre salio dicho señor gouernador
con todo el campo del paraje rreferido del² rrio
de San Joseph; y hauiendosse andado tres
leguas de tierra llana, se lleo al rrio que los
5 | apaches llaman de la Flecha, y el señor gouernador
le pusso Nuestra Señora del Rosario, y en el se
hallaron vnas milpas de mays, frijoles
y calabazas que dichos apaches tenian sem-
brado, sobre que luego que se rreconozio dicha
10 | sementera, dicho señor gouernador dio orden
que por ningun modo se les cojiesse cossa
alguna, sobre que los cauos militares an-
dubieron con gran vigilanzia, y en dicho
rrio arriua a distanzia de un tiro de ar-
15 | cabuz se hallo vna cassa de adove adon-
de viuian vnos apaches con sus mugeres
e hijos, y en la azotea de dicha cassa esta-
va puesta vna Santissima Cruz como de
vna bara, y mas arriva de dicho rrio se ha-
20 | llaron otras ocho cassas donde viuian vnas
familias de dichos apaches. Y estando co-
miendo dicho señor gouernador con el reverendo padre
capellan y otros cauos militares del pre-
sidio de la villa de Santa Fee, lleo un ca-
25 | pitan apache llamado el carl[ana de]
la Sierra Blanca y en su c[ompañia otros]
tres y luego que fueron pues[tos delante]

² El ms.: *al*, lo que parece ser un error.

[fol. 5r]



de su señoria dijo en voz clara el dicho capitán
carlana, "Ave Maria", y dicho señor con los
rreferidos, "Sin pecado conzeuida". Y por
dicho señor gouernador le fue mandado se apeasse
5 | del cauallo, lo qual huiendolo executado
el y los demas, le dio su señoria el plato de
la olla que estaua comiendo, que huiendolo
cojido, comio el carnero y deyo la gallina,³
que a todos causso nouedad, y despues de ha-
10 | uer comido le pregunto el señor gouernador por
los rreferidos ynterpretes que que hera lo que
hazia y a que hauia benido, a que rrespon-
dio benia huyendo de su tierra, la Sierra
Blanca, con la mitad de los de su gente
15 | a fauorezersse de los apaches de La Jicarilla,
y que la demas gente se hauian ydo
a tierra mas adentro de los apaches para
que los favorezieran, que a estos los gouernaua
el capitán Flaco, porque es mucha la guerra
20 | que el enemigo yuta y cumanche les ha-
zen, y que aunque hauia tenido notizia
que el señor gouernador benia con los españoles
no lo creyo en el todo rrespecto a no hauer
entrado ningun gouernador ni embiaydo [sic]
25 | ningun capitán suyo a su tierra, y que
para berificarsse se subio a un zerro alto,

[fol. 5v]



y mirando hazia la derezera diuissio el
poluo, que esta fue la caussa de hauer beni-
do, de lo qual se holgaua mucho por ha-
uer visto a dicho señor gouernador, quien des-
5 | pues de hauerselo agradezido y grati-
ficado con agasajo, le dijo que tamvien
los dichos enemigos yutas y cumanches
hauian hecho graues daños en las
poblaciones de este rreyno ejecutando

³ Es decir, *la gallina de la tierra*, o pavo.

10 | muertes y rrouos, que esto le hauia mo-
tiuado a salir a campaña y buscar a dicho
enemigo para castigar sus exzessos
y experimentassen el rrigor de las armas
de nuestro rrey y señor Phelipo Quinto (que Dios guarde),
15 | y el dicho capitan apache carlana, en-
terado de lo rreferido, dijo que estaua muy
contento de que dicho señor les fuesse hazer
la guerra, que el y toda su gente le yrian
acompañando y siruiendo de guia al
20 | campo, enseñando los parajes y agua-
jes mas commodos para que se alojasse
hasta llegar a la tierra yncognita de
dicho enemigo yuta y cumanche,
que estos se rreconozen por un[a misma]
25 | nazion, y dicho señor gouernador se lo ag[radezio]

[fol. 6r]



y rregalo en quanto pudo, y con esto se fue, havien-
dose despedido con gran contento.
En 23 de dicho mes salio dicho señor gouernador con
dicho campo de dicho rrio nombrado Nuestra Señora
5 | del Rosario en prosecuzion de su jornada, y a dis-
tanzia de dos leguas se alojo en vn rriachuelo
pequeño adonde viuen los apaches rrancheados
de La Jicarilla, cuyo capitan es uno que llaman
El Cojo, y en la ocassion se hallaua ausente por
10 | hauer ydo a la provinzia de Nabajo, cuya no-
tizia dieron dos hijos suyos que con la demas
gente, asi que tubieron la notizia de la llegada
del señor gouernador, vinieron ha uerlo, quien los rre-
ziuiuio con su acostumbrado cariño, agasajan-
15 | dolos en darles de comer y tauaco, y estos
dijieron que en aquel mismo sitio y paraje
donde estaua asentado el rreal hauian asolado
los dichos enemigos cumanches y yutas vna
rrancheria de su nazion, ejecutando sesenta muertes
20 | y cautiuyendo sesenta y quatro mugeres
y muchachos, quemado y destrozado vna
casita a modo de torreón que alli estaua,
hasta los coscomates de mays, que no rreseruaron
cossa de sus vienes que no demoliessen, por cuya
25 | caussa se hauian ydo a vivir al rrio

[ar]riua y desamparado aquel sitio y paraje
vn año hauia, que desde que le [sic] suzedio lo rre-

[fol.6v]



ferido se hallauan tristes y con los rrezelos
y miedo de que no boluiessen los enemigos
y los acabassen en el todo, sobre que dicho señor
gouernador los consolo con rrazones y cariño, di-
5 | ziendoles que ya hauia salido a campaña a cas-
tigarlos, que a todos hazia esta nazon graue
daño, de que hellos rreziuieron mucho rregozijo;
y este dia como a las tres de la tarde monto
a cauallo dicho señor gouernador en compañía del
10 | reverendo padre capellan y capitanes del presidio don Joseph
de Tagle Villegas su theniente, Francisco Montes Vijil
con algunos soldados, y caminando rrio arri-
ua, a distanzia de legua y media hallaron
siete cassas de terrado adonde viuen dichos
15 | apaches, quienes rreziuieron a dicho señor gouernador
con gran rregozijo, y a este mismo tiempo se
vio que muchas mugeres y muchachos chus-
ma de esta gentilidad al tropel y estruen-
do que oyeron al tiempo de la llegada de dicho
20 | señor gouernador se rretiraron a la sierra, y se
rreconozio que ya tenian cojidas sus simen-
teras de mays, porque lo tenian puesto
a modo de pared y de media bara de alto
y muchas rristras del mismo ge[nero de]
25 | abundanzia, por donde se vino [a ver]
que la tierra es muy fertil y en ella s[e veian]

[fol. 7r]



muchas zanjas y zequias [sic] para poder rregar
dichas simenteras, y algunas no havian aca-
uado de cojer, y mucho mays en montones
por desojar. En este paraje y sitio estaua
5 | alojado el capitan apache carlana en donde se
contaron veynte y siete tiendas, y las yndias
mostraron grande cariño porque les dieron
a los soldados muchos elotes, ofrezendosi

en esta ocassion el dicho capitán Carlana a yr con
10 | toda su gente a la campaña, rrepetiendo la oferta que tenía hecha antezedente, y los dichos apaches jicarillas hizieron lo mismo, a que dicho señor gouernador mostro su gratitud y se boluio a su rreal y campo.

En 24 de dicho mes salio dicho señor gouernador siguien-

15 | do su viaje, y hauiendo andado ocho leguas se lleo a un arroyo que dichos apaches llaman el rrio colorado, y su señoria le pusso Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. Es de muy poca agua y jondo con mucho bosque, y de alli a poco rrato

20 | de hauer llegado se aparezieron veynte apaches de los que viuen en el rrio que ellos llaman de la Flecha a yncorporarsse para yr a dicha campaña, y dijieron que en dos cassas que alli se hallaron los enemigos cumanches ha-

25 | uian asolado a toda la gente que en ellas viuian.

En 25 de dicho mes salio dicho señor gouernador con todo el campo de dicho paraje y rrio de la

[fol. 7v]



Soledad, y hauiendo caminado como nueve leguas atrauesando la sierra con mucho monte, cañadas, embudos y angosturas, que fue prezisso este dia para poder salir
5 | de tan penosso camino hazer la cauallada en diez atajos, en que los soldados trauajaron lo bastante para que no se les perdiessen muchas bestias, con cuya deligenzia se consiguio mediante el fauor diuino el sacarla hasta

10 | el rrio de las Animas, cuyo nombre le pusso su señoria, adonde se alojo dicho campo con gran gusto, por ser el paraje ameno, su rrio frondosso con bastante agua y buena, muchos alamos y sauzes en que se hallo pro-

15 | uidencia de leña para poder calentarsse por el mucho frio que este dia se padezia, pues el norte corrio tan sumamente delgado que todos llegaron al paraje entumidos [sic].

El dia 26 de dicho mes amanezio el dia zerra-
20 | do por todas partes y con nieue que hauia caydo de suerte que fue prezisso a dicho señor

gouernador hazer manssion y no salir de dicho paraje.
El dia 27 del rreferido mes amanezio como
el antezedente con mucha mas nieue y agua,
25 | a que dicho señor gouernador con las sobradas
experiencias que le asisten dio orden [que]
no se arrimase la cauallada hasta [que el tiem-]
po se serenasse, rrepartiendo este dia bast[imento]

[fol. 8r]



de pinole y carneros, dandoselo algunos [sic]
enfermos graziossamente, ocasionado su
achaque de vna yerva que llaman yedra,
de suerte que en acostandosse en ella o po-
5 | niendosse zerca se ynchaban, mandandoles
a Antonio Duran de Armijo, oficial de baruero
y con alguna yntelijenzia en flestomia [sic], los
curasse y assistiesse y que lo que fuere menester
se lo pidiesse, que lo mandaria dar, como lo execu-
10 | to su señoria con su caritatiuo zelo. Y este
mismo dia como a las diez de la mañana
llego el capitan carlana apache de la Sierra
Blanca con sesenta y nueue apaches de
su rrancheria y nazion a dicho rreal con grande
15 | alegria, cantando y paseandosse en sus
cauallos por toda la zircunferenzia de dicho
rreal, y a la noche vinieron estos mismos
emvijados, vnos con almagre y otros con
tierra blanca, baylando a su vsanza, y
20 | llegando a la tienda del señor gouernador los rre-
ziuió con gran carino [sic], y despues de hauer
baylado buen rrato de la noche los rregalo
y mando dar de comer.
El dia 28 de dicho mes, huiendose serenado
25 | el tiempo, salio el campo del dicho paraje
y rrio rreferido, y haviendo andado como
seis leguas se llevo a un arroyo con poca
agua y mucho bosque, de donde se proueyo
de leña, huiendo cojido en esta distanzia

[fol. 8v]



de tierra muchos benados, con que se abastezio la
gente yndiana de bastante carne, que esta
va buena y gorda. Y este dia, estando parado
el rreal en este paraje, como a las quatro de
5 | la tarde, vino a la tienda de dicho señor gouernador
el capitan carlana de nazion apache con siete
mozetones de su rrancheria, todos con ar-
mas de flechas y macanas y adargas, y por
medio de los dichos ynterpretes le dijo
10 | a dicho señor gouernador que ya hera tiempo de
hechar espias y que estas fuesen a rreconozzer
en el paraje que se hallaban los enemigos
yutas y cumanches, a que dicho señor gouernador
rrespondio que le parecia muy bien, y hauien-
15 | doles mandado dar chocolate y tauaco
los despacharon encargandoles el cuy-
dado y vijilanzia con que deuian execu-
tar esta deligenzia para la consecuzion
y buen logro de esta campaña, y dicho señor
20 | gouernador le pusso a este paraje El Sacra-
mento, y por orden que dio al alferez Torres
y capitan Luis Garzia, a cuyo cargo benia
la gente yndiana de los pueblos, se man-
do contassen la cauallada que trayan
25 | [los naturales, y hecho, se hallo y co[nto]
seiszientas y ochenta bestias caua[[llar]es,
que estas nunca se metieron en el numero

[fol. 9r]



ni cuerpo de la cauallada del presidio
y vezindad.
El dia 29 de dicho mes, en que se zelebra la festiui-
dad del glorioso arcangel San Miguel, despues
5 | de hauer dicho missa, que la oyo generalmente
todo el campo, se salio de dicho paraje
hauiendo pasado el rrio y se lleo a otro
mas ameno de arboleda, ziruelas y mu-
chas vbas zimarronas de que se hizo vina-
10 | gre, muchos sauzes, y en dicho bosque

se cojieron algunos benados, que zercandolos
la gente los metieron dentro del rreal, de
que hubo gran juelga y griteria, haviendo
sido la jornada de este dia de zinco le-
15 | guas hasta llegar a dicho rrio, al qual le
pusso dicho señor gouernador San Miguel. Es de bas-
tante agua y buena; corre por vn
valle muy dilatado y ameno. Cojieron-
sse cantidad de benados, porque abun-
20 | dan muchos en este valle, haviendo berifi-
cado lo que en muchas ocasiones han
dicho los apaches, de que es mucha la caza
que aqui ay y que de el themor de los
yutas andan corridos de sus tierras
25 | cazaderos [sic] que tenian los de su nazion
donde se mantenian y hazian muchas
pieles.

[fol. 9v]



El dia 30 del rreferido mes de septiembre salio dicho
señor gouernador mouiendo el campo en prosecu-
zion de su jornada de este paraje y rrio
de San Miguel, y haviendolo pasado a dis-
tanzia de dos leguas lleuando siempre
5 | el rrumbo y deresera al norte, se dejo
vna sierra alta por la parte del poniente,
haziendo hazia el oriente mucha llana-
da; y en el camino se cazaron muchos be-
nados, con que se abastezio el campo, el
10 | qual se asento en dicho rrio como a las
diez del dia, lleuando por guia al dicho
apache y capitan carlana, y en este para-
ge para mayor disposizion mando el señor
gouernador hazer quatro esquadras
15 | de los vezinos para la guardia y custodia
en que deuia estar de noche aquel cam-
po, nombrando para ello quatro cauos
y que estos estubiessen a las ordenes del
sargento mayor don Alonsso Rael de Aguilar
20 | que lo es del rreyno, y en este paraje
llegaron bastantemente aquejados
siete soldados y algunos vezinos del
mal de la yedra que ya esta rreferida,
pues de pisarla o passar junto a ella

25 | haze tan graue daño y se hincha el

[fol. 10r]



cuerpo que parecen ydropicos y se desue-
lla el pellejo haziendo mas operaciones
en las partes jenitales de que se pade-
ze algun tiempo, y con lo que se hallo
5 | aliuió fue mascando chocolate y la
saliva, vntandola y aplicandola en
las partes, rremedio que hallo por aczi-
dente Francisco Casados por hauersele
ynchado la cara, con que se hallo mas
10 | aliuiado, y a su ymitazion lo hizieron
los demas enfermos, y haviendo man-
dado este dia dicho señor gouernador al cauo
de esquadra Saluador de Anaya con-
tasse los cauallos que trayan los yn-
15 | dios apaches que de su voluntad y-
ban por guia de esta jornada, se ha-
llaron ciento y tres, y haviendo em-
viado el dicho capitan apache
carlana el dia antes en la noche
20 | quatro espías de su nazon a correr la
tierra y rreconozér si hauia algu-
nos rrastrós de los enemigos cu-
manches, llegando a este dicho paraje
dicho señor gouernador que benia de manguar- [sic]
25 | dia con soldados presidiales, se diuiso
benir hazia nosotros a los dichos

[fol. 10v]



quatro espías con la vista yncli-
nada hazia el suelo como que benian
rrastreando, y rreconozido esto por
dicho señor gouernador, mando hazer alto
5 | dando orden no pasasse perssona al-
guna por que no fuesse borrado dicho rras-
tro, y apartandosse el capitan Joseph
Naranjo, don Geronimo, yndio thaos, y di-
cho capitan carlana, fueron adonde esta-

10 | ban dichas espías, y estos dijieron que
yban sobre zinco rrastrros de dichos ene-
migos, que hauian benido hasta el para-
je donde se hallaua la rrancheria
de dicho capitán carlana, quien se hauia
15 | ydo huyendo con su gente porque no lo
matassen, y no hauiendolos hallado
adonde discurrieron, se boluieron los
dichos zinco enemigos por donde ha-
vian benido, perdida la esperanza
20 | de dar con la rrancheria de dicho
carlana, con lo qual se berifico lo que
tenia dicho, cuya notizia se dio por
dichos ynterpretes a dicho señor gouernador,
quien mando se alojasse el rreal en el rre-
25 | ferido paraje. Y estando en el, como a las
quatro de la tarde, se oyo vn grito de que

[fol.11r]



se alboroto todo el real y se rreconozio venir
tres apaches hazia a el [sic], saliendolos a
rrezeuir el cauo Antonio Tafoya con los
soldados de su esquadra, y rreconozio
5 | ser los que de espías hauian salido
el dia veynte y ocho del presente mes,
y estos fueron rrezeuidos de los de su nazion con
grande alegria puestas [sic] en ala, y asi
que llegaron la zerraron y cojieron en me-
10 | dio, y pretendiendo yr los yndios christianos
a donde estauan estos, no lo permitio dicho
señor gouernador lo hiziessen, sino que los
dejassen solos para que diessen la rrazon
de lo que trayan, y dentro de breue rrato
15 | vino dicho capitán carlana con los
tres espías y otros de su nazion trayendo con-
sigo a los ynterpretes a la tienda de su
señoria, quien los estaua aguardando, y fue-
ron rrezeuidos con gran cariño, y estos di-
20 | jieron que hauiendo salido como les fue
ordenado a espíar a dichos enemigos,
hallaron el rrastrro muy fresco de tres,
que este lo hauian seguido hasta que los
divisaron muy zerca, escondiendosse

25 | siempre por los matorrales, y que el no
hauerlos seguido mas hasta alcan-
zarlos fue por no ser sentidos, que hauian

[fol. 11v]



buelto a dar esta noticia porque hera señal
estar muy ynmediatos a las rrancherias
de dichos enemigos, y que seria muy neze-
sario el que el rreal se arrimasse a la
5 | sierra y caminar de noche para yr ocul-
to hasta que se diesse el albazo, a cuya
notizia concurrieron todos los vezinos a la
tienda de dicho señor gouernador, a quienes mando dar
asiento y que les trujiessen chocolate, y a los
10 | dichos apaches e ynterpretes, con bastante
tauaco, que es el mayor agasajo que se les puede
hazer, manifestando su mucha vizarria
con la de su ardiente devozion a Maria
Santissima del Rosario, de quien es devoto; y
15 | por ser su vispera se mortifico lo bastante
en que se dejara de hazer la salua por es-
cussar el estruendo de arcabuzeria e ynstru-
mentos miitares, y a su rruido y eco huye-
ssen dichos enemigos, porque podria ser se
20 | hallassen algunos ynmediatos a dicho rreal
por estar ya en su tierra y cazaderos, y pa-
ra quitar embarazos y poder caminar
de noche mando dicho señor gouernador matassen los
carneros que yban en pie, y aviertos se he-
25 | chassen sobre las cargas.
En primero de octubre de dicho año, despues de
hauer oydo missa dicho señor gouernador con toda la

[fol. 12r]



gente de dicho rreal con gran devozion,
que la dijo el reverendo padre capellan fray Juan del
Pino a Maria Santissima Señora Nuestra
del Rosario, dia en que por su ynterzesion
5 | su Hijo Santissimo conzedio aquella zelebre
victoria que a toda la christiandad a sido, es

y sera de grande rregozijo, huiendo almorza-
do dicho señor gouernador y el reverendo padre capellan con
algunas perssonas y vezinos a quienes quisso feste-
10 | jar mostrando la alegria en que en este
dia se hallaua, se administraron en dicho
almuerzo muy buenos bassos de vino que
preuenido llebaua, para lo que se pudiera ofre-
zer, con que alegres todos brindaron a su
15 | salud. Pussose en camino el rreal este dia,
y huiendo andado como quatro leguas
por tierra llana lleuando el rumbo al norte
se lleugo a vn rrio que el señor gouernador le pusso Santo Do-
mingo que es muy ozinado con muchas piedras
20 | y grandes, y por quitar el embarazo para otro
dia mando se passasse de la otra banda,
lo qual se hiço con gran trauajo, y que para
que las mulas que llebauan los viveres no
cayessen dio orden dicho señor gouernador se pasa-
25 | sen de diestro y suzedio vien, pues se passo

[fol. 12v]



sin averia. Asentado el rreal de aquella
banda y despues de hauer beuido chocolate,
dicho señor gouernador monto a cauallito con el thenyente
de capitan Francisco Montes Vijil y boluio a pasar
5 | el rrio por estar todavia la cauallada sin
passar y no hauer beuido agua por ocassion
de estar dicho rrio de la vna y otra banda en la
forma que ba expressado, sobre que dicho señor
gouernador, para que pudiesse beber dicha caua-
10 | llada, mando hazer de ella muchos atajos
en poca cantidad, y de esta manera fue
desbaratando la barua que hazia y pudo
beuer, aunque con gran trauajo, asistien-
do personalmente a esto, pues de lo contra-
15 | rio pudiera peligrar mucho numero de
bestias en sus desbarrancaderos y peñas-
querias. Y huiendo tenido este dia dicho
señor gouernador notizia de que se hallaua en el
rreal enfermo y de peligro vno de los vezinos
20 | llamado Christoual Rodarte de tal suerte
que hauia sido nezesario administrarle
el sacramento de la penitencia, dio orden

de que se lo trujiessen a la tienda para su
mejor asistencia y curazion, lo qual se
25 | executo, y a no hauer exerzitado dicho

[fol. 13r]



señor gouernador esta charidad en este pobre
aplicandole las merezinaz [sic] que parezieron com-
benientes a su achaque, que estas y otras
para prevenzion traya, y el rregalo con que se le
5 | asistio, es por sin duda hubiera fallezido. Dios
Nuestro Señor se lo pagara, como todo lo demas
que ba executando en tan dilatado viaje
y parajes yncognitos. Asimismo dicho señor gouernador
dio orden al sargento mayor don Alonso Rael de
10 | Aguilar juntassen a todos los vezinos para que se
bastimentassen, lo qual executaron, y estan-
do rrepartiendo lo que mando dar dijieron
dichos vezinos que Dios Nuestro Señor se lo pagasse a dicho
señor gouernador, pues yban ya con bastante nezesi-
15 | dad y con carne solo de los benados que
hauian cojido se hauian sustentado el dia
antezedente, que ningun gouernador de los pasa-
dos hauia hecho otro tanto, que yban suma-
mente gustossos por su gran estilo y modo con que
20 | los trataua, que ojala y se perpetuara en el
gouierno; y hallandosse agradezidos por
tantos benefizios fueron a darle los agradezimientos.
En 2 de octubre de dicho año salio el señor gouernador
con todo el campo de este rrio de Santo Domingo,
25 | y hauiendo caminado como quatro leguas,

[fol. 13v]



todo de tierra llana, siempre el rrumbo al norte
trayendo vn rrio a mano yzquierda, se llego
a otro donde se juntan, que baja de hazia el
norte con mucha mas agua y clara, y en
5 | dicha junta de ambos rrios se alojo el rreal
como a medio dia, y le pusso dicho señor gouernador
San Lorenzo. Tiene muchos arboles de ziruelas
y estas, aunque montesses, de buen sabor y gusto,

conque se abastezio la gente; muchas parras
10 | siluestres, muy ameno y frondosso. Aqui se sesteo
gozando de sus frescuras y sombras de mucha
alameda y bosque. Y estando en esta ame-
nidad entre lo espesso, salio vn hosso, con-
que se alboroto todo el rreal, y la gente tubo
15 | mucha fiesta toreandolo por mucho rrato has-
ta que lo mataron. Este dia, baliendosse dicho
señor gouernador de las muchas experiencias que
le asisten en las cossas militares en este pays
por hauerse criado desde su tierna hedad
20 | en este exerzizio, dio orden que se lebantase
dicho rreal de este paraje a ponerse el sol
y se caminasse de noche para escussar la mu-
cha poluareda que se hazia pues podia ser causa
de que el enemigo viniesse en conozimiento de que
25 | se le seguia. Hizose asi, y huiendo salido y ca-
minado como dos leguas hasta el rrio que llaman

[fol. 14r]



Chiopo, al qual dicho señor gouernador pusso San Antonio.
Es admirable, muy parezido al del Norte
por sus muchas aguas, grandes y espaziosas
begas pobladas de alamedas en cuya rriuera
5 | se alojo dicho rreal como a las diez de la noche,
y como a las tres de la mañana o a las quatro
llegaron tres apaches de las espias que salieron
del paraje del Sacramento con la notizia de que
en el camino de los muchos que ban y vienen
10 | a la villa de Santa Fee y sus poblaciones, en el
vno que a los teguas viene, hallaron que lleba-
uan tres yndios enemigos cumanches y yu-
tas veynte bestias y vn potrillo, cuyo
rrastro llebaua la derezera a su tierra y
15 | rrancheria, y que se hauian buelto para par-
tizipar lo que hauia; y a estas mismas oras
despacho dicho capitán carlana otras espias
a quien dio orden de que luego y sin dilazion algu-
na avisasen de lo que hallaran.
20 | En 3 del rreferido mes de octubre salio dicho señor gouernador
con dicho campo de dicho rrio San Antonio. Ha-
uiendo andado por tierra llana como
quatro leguas se llego a un rrio muy ameno

con grandes alamedas y arboles muy grazio-
25 | sos, al qual dicho rrio le pusso su señoria San

[fol. 14v]



Franzisco. Se cazaron en el muchos benados
y se cojieron muchas gallinas de la tierra
buenas y gordas de que se hizieron tlemoles muy
sabrossos. Y haiendo rreconozido en dicho rrio
5 | no tener buenos abrebaderos para que la caualla-
da pudiesse beuer, dicho señor gouernador monto
a cauallo con algunos cauos militares y fue-
ron ha uer por donde podia mas faorable-
mente hazersse esta deligenzia, lo qual se con-
10 | siguió diuidiendo dicha cauallada en ata-
jos hasta que quedo satisfecha, y despues
de hauerlo conseguido dicho señor gouernador
se boluio a su tienda en donde estaua el reuerendo padre
fray Juan del Pino. Quisso obsequiarlo como de
15 | hecho lo hizo, zelebrando en concurrenzia de los
cauos militares las visperas del glorioso patriar-
cha San Franzisco, mandando sacar vn piporillo
de muy rrico aguardiente hecha en El Passo del
Rio del Norte y que la tiene de cosecha dicho
20 | señor gouernador tan buena en gusto y calidad
que no le haze ventaja la de Castilla, y sin el
escrupulo de que sea de otros compuestos. Brin-
dosse a la salud de dicho reuerendo padre capellan en zele-
brazion de su patriarcha, y esto lo executaron
25 | asi el señor gouernador como los demas que se hallaban
presentes, dandose los dias con mucho regozijo
y vnion. Y haiendo tenido dicho señor gouernador no-
tizia de que hauian hallado los apaches vn cauallo,

[fol. 15r]



que este se discurria ser de los enemigos, y para
sauer y aberiguar la verdad mando llamar dicho
señor al apache y capitan carlana para que por
los ynterpretes dijiessen lo que hauia, y haien-
5 | dole hecho cargo de que por que caussa no ha-
uia dado rrazon del cauallo que se hauian halla-

do, rrespondio que quando los enemigos fueron asolar a los apaches de La Jicarilla havian dejado en aquel paraje aquel cauallo que a ellos se lo

10 | havian quitado, conque dicho señor gouernador mando se lo boluiesse a llevar y lo rregalo con pinoles y tauaco.

En 4 del rreferido mes de octubre salio dicho señor gouernador con todo el campo de este paraje y rrio de San

15 | Franzisco. Despues de hauer oydo missa y hauer almorzado el señor gouernador, el padre capellan y los ofiziales de guerra, mando su señoria sacar vna botija de vino e[c]ho en El Passo. Con el brindaron todos a dicho señor gouernador y a dicho reuerendo padre

20 | capellan zelebrando los dias de Nuestro Padre San Franzisco, a quien correspondio con toda atenzion y vrbanidad dicho reuerendo padre capellan, quien se a portado en esta campaña como verdadero

hijo de tan buen padre, manifestando esto

25 | mesmo dicho señor gouernador en zelebrar su dia con plausibles demostraciones, asi en lo rreferido como en el gran rregozijo que tubo rregalando a los zircunstantes con rrico pan y mejor conserua de melon que lleuo de prevenzion

[fol.15v]



para el rregalo del reuerendo padre capellan y suyo.

Y hauiendo salido como dicho es de dicho

paraje, se passo el dicho rrio y por su vega se andubo el rrumbo del norte como qua-

5 | tro leguas de tierra llana, y yendo marchando se rreconozieron dos rrastros de dichos enemigos, los quales se siguieron buen trecho, por

cuyo motiuo dio orden su señoria se parasse en este mismo rrio de San Franzisco, y a este paraje se le pu-

10 | sso por nombre San Onofre.⁴ Es muy alegre, de buena vista y famossas aguas, grandes y muy

pobladas alamedas, y a la mano yzquierda como tres leguas esta vna sierra y a la derecha vna llanada muy dilatada. En la dis-

15 | tanzia de este camino se cojieron este dia

⁴ En el ms., *San Francisco*; pero por fol. 15r14 y fol. 16r10 se ve que a este paraje se le nombró San Onofre.

muchos benados y gallinas de la tierra que andaban en manadas, y fue de tal suerte que en parte ninguna se cojio mas que en este paraje por su abundanzia, y dicho señor gouernador
20 | corrio tras de los benados y gallinas, a quien hauiendole dado noticia de que vno de los vezinos estaua muy malo de vn dolor de estomago lo mando llamar a su tienda y mando se le diesse vna taza de te para que se le com-
25 | pusiera, de que tubo mejoría, enviandole todos los dias de comer, de que quedo muy agradezido. En este dia se mato vn leon y vn gato montes y como a la orazion

[fol. 16r]



de la noche vinieron corriendo los yndios amigos vn hosso, el qual se metio dentro del rreal y alborotandosse toda la gente con gran griteria y estruendo lo mataron, dan-
5 | dole muchas lanzadas y flechazos. Hera formidable su estatura y grandeza, de suerte que le motiuo al señor gouernador yrlo a ver con el reuerendo padre capellan. El dia 5 del pressente mes salio dicho señor gouernador con dicho
10 | campo del paraje San Onofre y rrio de San Franzisco llebandolo siempre a mano yzquierda y la sierra zitada en la misma forma, y hauiendosse caminado como dos leguas cortas mando dicho señor gouernador parar el campo
15 | por hauer dicho el capitan carlana que en el paraje donde se hauia de hazer noche havia muy poca agua, conque dicho señor, como experimentado, dio orden se sesteasse para que la cauallada fuesse bebida. Es el sitio
20 | donde paramos muy alegre con grandes bosques de ziruelas y capulines, de suerte que la gente de guerra cojieron los bastantes, y despues de hauer sesteado y beuido la cauallada, mando dicho señor gouernador se hizie-
25 | sse marcha, dejando la sierra ya dicha a mano yzquierda; y se camino como quatro leguas, lleuando siempre el rrumbo al norte, trayendo vn arroyo seco a mano

[fol. 16v]



yzquierda, y a poco trecho de acauarsse
el arroyo se paro y asento el rreal en
vn ojo de agua que se le pusso Nuestra Señora
de los Dolores. Es montuosso; en todo
5 | su ziruyto se hallaron arboles de zirue-
las, rrossa de Alejandria y mucha jara.
Hubo bastante agua para la gente
y de diestro se dio de beuer a las vestias
que hauian trauajado y benian ensilladas.
10 | El dia 6 del pressente mes de octubre salio
dicho señor gouernador con todo el campo del
Ojo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores por
tierra llana de muchos pastos y buenos,
pues hera gramilla, y en el camino
15 | a mano yzquierda haze vna zeja de
espesso monte de pinos declinando
para el oriente, y huiendo camina-
do como seis leguas se lleo a un ojo
de agua que tenia bastante, donde se asen-
20 | to el rreal, que le pusso dicho señor gouernador Nuestra
Señora del Carmen, y este dia antes
de llegar a parar se encontro vn hoso
mayor que los antezedentes, pues seria
su estatura y grandeza mayor que vn
25 | burro. Vn soldado se fue para el y le
metio vna lanza hasta la mitad de el

[fol. 17r]



asta, y boluiendo el bruto le agarro la
lanza y el cauallo de las coruas, a cuyo
tiempo acudio otro compañero dandole
otra lanzada, a quien agarrandole el
5 | cauallo de la cola se lo sujeto y tirandole
vna manotada le quito vn costal que en
ancas tray [sic] amarrado. Por fin lo acabaron
de matar, y los soldados que benian en la
rretaguardia con la cauallada encon-
10 | traron vna hossa con dos hijos y los ma-

taron tamvien.

En 7 del rreferido mes salio dicho señor
gouernador con el campo del ojo de agua nom-
brado Nuestra Señora del Carmen, y huiendo ca-
20 | minado como siete leguas buenas declinando
para el oriente, se lleo a una cañada don-
de ay muchos esteros de arena, y dicho señor
gouernador le pusso Santa Rosa. Ay muy buenos
pastos. Este dia fue muy penosso el ayre.

25 | Y desde el paraje Nuestra Señora del Carmen
se andubo como dos leguas de meseria
con muchos pinos y se bajo a la dicha
cañada y esteros y en su entrada se
encontro vnos atajos de sibolos,⁵ donde

30 | porque se proueyera de carne todo el
campo su señoria fue corriendo adonde estaua [*sic*]
y con esta ocassion se mataron mas de doze

[fol. 17v]



rresses, y mas abajo se hallo vn ojo de
agua que de ella se haze vna lagune-
ta, y el reuerendo padre capellan le pusso San Yg-
nazio. Y luego que se asento el rreal en el
5 | rreferido paraje y esteros fue a rreconozzer
el capitan carlana vnos rrastrros que ha-
via visto, y hallo que hauian estado rran-
cheados en aquel paraje los dichos ene-
migos yutas y cumanches, huiendo rre-
10 | conozido mas de sesenta tiendas que
hauian tenido armadas; y siguiendo
el rrastrro a la derezera por donde sa-
lieron, a poca distanzia hallo el de
los palos de las tiendas que llebauan arras-
15 | trando, cuya notizia partizipo a dicho
señor gouernador, lo qual estimo mucho
y lo rregalo con carne y arina, de que que-
do el muy contento. Y a las espal-
das de vna loma que hazia ynmediata
20 | se hallo vna punta de ganado sibolo
y al parezer serian mas de doszientas
rresses, a que dicho señor gouernador dio or-

⁵ Es decir, "ganado de Cíbola," o bisontes.

den no se corriese por que no fuesse motiuo
de que de espantarlo el enemigo lo sin-
25 | tierra; y por no hauer leña en este (pa-)

[fol. 18r]



paraje se hizo lumbre para que se pu-
diera hazer de comer con la boñiga
de dichos sibolos, que la ay en abundanzia,
y haviendo corrido vn soldado este
5 | dia vn sibolo, al yrle a dar con la lan-
za boluio con tal presteza que le metio
el asta por el anca.

El dia 8 del rreferido mes de octubre salio dicho
señor gouernador con su campo del rreferido
10 | paraje despues de hauer oydo missa, y se
andubieron como zinco leguas con peno-
sso dia de ayre muy frio, trayendo el rrum-
bo al sur. Asentosse el rreal en un arroyo
con mucha alameda pero seco, porque
15 | el agua que se hallo no corria, porque
estaua en un estero. En este paraje
se hallo el rrastro donde dicho enemi-
go estubo alojado, huiendo contado
ochenta rranchos con sus tiendas, y se rre-
20 | conozio ser fresco y hauer pocos dias que
se hauian ausentado. Dejaron muchos
montones de leña. A cuyo paraje y rrio
seco le pusso por nombre dicho señor gouernador
Santa Efijenia. Empezosse este dia a ñu-
25 | blar el zielo y a caer aguanieue.
El dia 9 del referido mes amanezio

[fol. 18v]



con el mismo temporal, por cuya causa
se mantubo el rreal en el rreferido
paraje.
En 10 del dicho mes abonanzo el tiempo
5 | aunque corrio el norte muy frio; pero sin
embargo se lebanto el rreal de dicho
paraje y se caminaron este dia como

seis leguas por todo el rrio, siendo
sus rriueras de mucha alameda,
10 | lleuando el rrumbo al norte, hallan-
dosse en el camino los rrastrros donde
dichos enemigos yutas y cumanches
hauian estado alojados, y se asento
el rreal en un estero de agua que tenia
15 | bastante tule. Pusole dicho señor gouernador
a dicho estero San Phelipe de Jhesus, y
en el a corta distanzia se hallo mu-
cho ganado sibolo, del qual mata-
ron los yndios christianos y apaches
20 | gentiles como quinze rreses. Este
mismo dia como a las quatro de
la tarde el señor gouernador dio orden al capitan
Alonso Rael y al alferez Christoual
Tafoya para que cada vno por su
25 | parte saliesse con seis compañeros
y corriessen hazia el rreal vna punta

[fol. 19r]



de ganado sibolo, saliendo dicho señor
al rreparo de la abentada, del que se con-
siguió el que se proueyesse el rreal y abas-
teziessse de carne. Y como a la orazion
5 | de noche dicho señor gouernador mando llamar
al capitan apache carlana y estando
en su presencia por medio de los ynter-
pretes le dijo con el cariño que acostum-
braua que le parecia seria bueno echar
10 | vnas espias por entre el oriente y el
sur para que se rreconoziesse donde podia
estar dicho enemigo y que no se les
quedasse a espaldas, por el gran deseo
que tenia de castigar sus atrevimientos
15 | y que experimentasse el rigor de
las armas españolas, de cuya huma-
nidad y templanza hasta aqui ha-
uia abusado, a lo qual asintio en ello
dicho capitan carlana y se discurrio, pa-
20 | ra mas afianzar la fidelidad de los
apaches, fuessen dos de su nazon y qua-
tro yndios christianos, dos del pueblo de

Thaos y dos del de Picuries, vnos y otros
bastantemente practicos por el mu-
25 | cho tiempo que handubieron entre los
ynfieles quando apostatas en la suble-

[fol. 19v]



bazion que tubieron se rretiraron. Hizoseles vn
gran tlatole diziendo no omitieran de-
ligenza alguna hasta la consecuzion del
buen logro, con que fueron despachados, y
5 | dicho señor gouernador, huiendo adver-
tido que el capitan carlana no hauia salido
a cojer carne a caussa de la gran pena que
le asistia de no hauer hallado al dicho ene-
migo quando deseava en la buena ocassion
10 | que se le ofrezia fuesse castigado y que se con-
tubiera en los abanzas que cada dia les
dan en sus rrancherias con perdida de
muchos que matan, cautiuardoles sus mu-
geres e hijos, dicho señor gouernador lo consolo con
15 | rrazones de gran suavidad dirigidas al
yntento, rregalolo con cantidad de car-
ne, tauaco y piñole, con que se fue gustoso.
El dia 11 de dicho mes de octubre salio el cam-
po siguiendo su derrotero, y se cami-
20 | no desde este paraje como vna legua
por todo el rrio abajo, donde se asento
el rreal en atenzion a hauerles dicho a las
espias la noche antes que en aquel paraje se
esperaban. Pusosele por nombre Santa Maria Ma-
25 | gdalena, y como a las zinco de la tarde el
dicho señor gouernador boluio a despachar otras
espias por distintos rrumbos por veer si el

[fol. 20r]



enemigo podia ser descubierto, y no huiendolo
podido conseguir, el dia 12 del rreferido mes
de octubre salio dicho señor gouernador con el campo y cami-
no por todo el rrio abajo llevando el rumbo
5 | al oriente. Y huiendo caminado como qua-

tro leguas se asento el rreal en las rriueras
de dicho rrio y se le pusso por nombre al para-
je San Nicolas Obispo. Y esta noche, serian al
parezer como a las onze, estando platicando
10 | a la lumbre dicho señor gouernador con el sargento mayor,
el thenyente de la compania [sic] y el capitan Miguel
Thenorio de Alua, se lebanto vn vracan tan
furiosso que les obligo a rretirarsse a las tiendas,
donde duro toda la noche que pareze las arran-
15 | caba.

El dia 13 de dicho mes, sin embargo de la conti-
nuazion de tan penosso ayre, salio dicho señor
gouernador con dicho campo y se camino por
todo el rrio abajo lleuando el rumbo al oriente;
20 | y anduvimos este dia como seis leguas. Asen-
tosse el rreal en las rriveras de dicho rrio,
a cuyo paraje se le pusso Nuestra Señora del Pilar de
Zaragoza. Y en la distanzia de esta jornada
se rreconozieron los parajes donde dicho
25 | enemigo hazia asiento, y por los rranchos

[fol. 20v]



y lumbres que hazian pasauan de mas de doszientos,
deviendosse entender que no baja el menos
de zinco perssonas y otros suben. Tamvien se
hallaron muchos tablones de ganado sibolo,
5 | que en aquellos llanos tan dilatados, pues no se
perziue cossa que embaraze la vista, an-
dan apazentandose y bagando por todas
partes.

El dia 14 del rreferido mes salio dicho señor
10 | gouernador con todo su campo por dicho
rrio abajo lleuando siempre el rumbo
al oriente. Y haviendo andado como dos
leguas se rreconozio el rrastrro del enemigo,
que dejaua por donde yva el camino
15 | avierto, asi por la muchedumbre de la
gente como por el gran numero de caua-
llada y los palos de las tiendas que arrastran-
do llebauan, cuya derezera yba entre el
norte y el oriente. Y yendo marchando dicho
20 | señor gouernador, mando se hiziesse alto y
le dijo a dicho capitan carlana que ynmediato

yba por dichos ynterpretes que adonde le
parezia podria estar el dicho enemigo
segun lo que rreconozia por el rrastro,
25 | y que se hallaua en animo de seguirlo

[fol. 21r]



hasta que en el todo quedasse castigado, a cuya
rrazon rrespondio dicho carlana que ya no
hera posible poderlo seguir por hauer cojido
otro rrumbo y derezera y en ella hauia muy
5 | pocos aguajes y estos escassos para poder man-
tener el grueso de la cauallada y campo, sobre
que, hauiendo oydo las rreferidas rrazones que
dijo dicho carlana, el dicho señor gouernador
hizo se juntassen todos los militares y vezinos
10 | a quien[e]s les dijo, estando juntos, diessen sus
parezeres y lo que se deuia executar sobre
lo que dicho carlana havia propuesto,
que todavia se hallaua su señoria con bas-
tante vigor y esfuerzo para mayores ca-
15 | minatas y jornadas sin que le hiziesse en ma-
nera alguna las penalidades del tiempo
y pocas combeniencias que estas jornadas
ofrezen, pues como lo conozian la sauia exe-
cutar y tolerar los trauajos que se hauian
20 | ofrezido en otras ocasiones, y asi que
dijjessen sin rrespecto suyo segun sus
experiencias lo que les parezia y deuia
hazer, a que enterados todos y en cum-
plimiento de lo mandado rrespondieron
25 | a coros todos los rreferidos que heran de parecer

[fol. 21v]



se boluiesse dicho señor gouernador con todo el cam-
po, porque de continuar en seguir a dicho
enemigo hera poner a rriesgo manifiesto
el que en el todo se perdiessse la cauallada,
5 | que hera el medio prinzipal con que se man-
tenia el rreyno, pues vien sauia su seño-
ria, como tan experimentado, que con el

rrigor de las nieues y frios, que en estos pay-
sses son en extremo, se aniquila y muere,
10 | como suzedio el año de nouenta y seis go-
uernando el marqués de la Naua de
Brazinas, y su señoria las armas como
capitan del presidio, pues huiendo desam-
parado los yndios picuries su pueblo
15 | y unidos con los apaches apostataron
de nuestra santa fee catholica, se salio
a su castigo en su seguimiento por este
mismo tiempo y se perdio la mayor parte
de la cauallada, de que hera buen testigo
20 | su señoria, como que se hallo gouernando
las armas, quedando estas ymposiuitadas
por largo tiempo hasta que se dio prouidenzia
para poder cumplir con su obligazion en el rreal
seruicio, pues otro ninguno hubiera penetrado
25 | tantas y tan yncognitas tierras jamas vistas

[fol. 22r]



ni descubiertas por los españoles como las que
su señoria tiene descubiertas en la presente
campana, en que a mostrado su gran zelo
en el seruicio de Su Magestad. Por cuyas rrazones he-
5 | ran de parezer deuia su señoria suspen-
der el que se siguiesse a dicho enemigo, rreti-
rando las armas al zentro del rreyno y su
presidio. Y huiendo oydo dicho señor gouernador
las rrazones expresadas, se conformo con
10 | los dichos dictamenes y dio orden se alojasse dicho
campo en dicho rrio en la parte mas co-
moda, asi de pastos como de leña, y que sa-
liesen los vezinos y dos esquadras de soldados
juntamente con la gente yndiana a matar carne
15 | por no hauer ya otro alimento, lo qual
se executo como a las diez del dia, y se asen-
to dicho rreal en aquel paraje que se le pusso
por nombre la Exsaltazion de la Santa Cruz,
huiendo caminado aquel dia como qua-
20 | tro leguas. Y huiendo salido la mañana de
este dia el capitan de la guerra Joseph Naran-
jo con vnos yndios christianos a rrecono-
zer vnos rrastros que hauian visto los

apaches, llego a este paraje como a las
25 | quatro de la tarde, le dio rrazon al señor gouernador
que huiendo visto quatro rrastrros de a cauallo,

[fol. 22v]



vnos del dia antezedente y otros de aquel
dia, le [sic] siguió la derezera que llebauan, y hera
para el rrio de Napestle, que hera para don-
de dicho campo yba enderezado. La

5 | noche de este dia, como a las onze, lle-
garon al rreal diez apaches del paraje
del Quartejejo, y estando en presenzia
del señor gouernador le dijieron que heran emuia-
dos de sus capitanes, que estos se hallauan

10 | en el rrio de Napestle con toda su gen-
te y se componia de mas de doszientas tien-
das que se havian mouido de su tierra em
busca de su señoria por hauer llegado
a ellos la notizia se hallaua en campaña

15 | con los soldados para castigar a los
enemigos cumanches. Dicho señor gouernador los
agasajo quanto pudo y les mando se rre-
cojiessen hasta otro dia.

El dia 15 del rreferido mes salio dicho señor gouernador

20 | con dicho campo despues de hauer oydo
missa por ser dia de Santa Theressa, y se cami-
naron como quatro leguas, donde se hallo
vna poca de agua y mala, pues para poder
beuer toda la gente de guerra mando

25 | su señoria hazer quatro pozos en vn estero
que ya estaua seco, y la cauallada beuio

[fol. 23r]



en una laguneta donde se hallo vn lobo
muerto. Pusosele a este paraje la santa del dia.
Y huiendo visto vn gran tablon de ganado sibolo,
monto a cauallo dicho señor gouernador con su ayudante
5 | y otros soldados, y entrando dentro de el aparto
vna baca corriendola vn buen trecho hasta que
de vna lanzada la mato. Dijoles a los soldados

se aprouechassen de la carne y solo le lleuasen la lengua. Este dia toda la gente de dicho
10 | campo mato mucho ganado sibolo.
El dia 16 del rreferido mes, queriendo dar vista dicho señor gouernador a la rrancheria copiossa que del puesto del Quartelejo benia en su busca, salio con todo el campo de este puesto de
15 | Santa Theressa, y hauiendo caminado como diez leguas, se lleo al rrio de Napestle, el qual es muy ameno, copiosso de agua, muchos alamos, grandes llanadas, y en ellas numerosos tablones de ganado sibolo, de tal suerte
20 | que a lo lejos parecen montes, y por lo que hombres campistas dijieron pasaba lo que se via de mas de ocho mill rresses. Aqui se mato mucha carne, y a este paraje le puso el señor gouernador San Pablo.
25 | El dia 17 de dicho mes mando dicho señor gouernador se hiziesse mansion en el rreferido paraje para que pudiessen secar la carne y la cauallada

[fol.23v]



rresarziessse la jornada larga del dia antezedente por la poca agua y malos pastos que hauian tenido.
El dia 18 del rreferido mes de octubre man-
5 | do dicho señor gouernador se continuasse lo mismo que el antezedente dia para que cojiessse la cauallada algun esfuerzo, y rremitio este dia dos yndios de la nazon thaos al paraje donde se hallauan rrancheados los apaches del Quartelejo con un rrecado para que les diessse [*sic*] a sus capitanes diziendoles les estaua esperando para hablar con ellos, asugurandoles [*sic*] su fee y buena amistad, y hauendolo executado, los enviados
15 | boluieron con la rrespuesta y dijieron que luego que fueron notiziossos dichos apaches movieron su rrancheria para benir a veer a dicho señor gouernador y trajieron en su compañía otra nazon o rrancheria de los mismos apaches
20 | que llaman los calchufines, dando asimismo rrazon de los rrastrros que fue a rreconozzer el capitan

Naranjo el dia 14 de este pressente mes.
Y rreconoziendo dicho señor gouernador el que ya
tardauan en llegar dichos apaches,
25 | boluio a despachar al capitan de la guerra
Joseph Naranjo y que les dijiesse no se podia ya

[fol. 24r]



detener mucho tiempo porque le prezisaban
otras cossas del rreal seruicio a que atender.
El dia 19 del dicho mes de octubre se mantubo dicho señor
gouernador con el campo esperando la notizia
5 | de dichos apaches a que el capitan Naranjo
hauia ydo, el qual vino como a la orazion
de la noche y dijo bendrian dichos apaches
al siguiente dia.

El dia 20 del rreferido mes, hallandose ya dicho
10 | señor gouernador con el campo crezido
tan dilatado el rrecursso y que por aczidente
se hauia rretardado mas tiempo del que
pensso, huiendole faltado ya los bastimentos,
determino con su gran prouidenza despa-
15 | char al capitan Miguel Thenorio de
Alva, alcalde mayor del pueblo de los
thaos, con dos compañeros, por ser la pobla-
zion mas ynmediata aquel pueblo, con
carta a su ministro, el muy reverendo padre fray Juan
20 | de la Cruz, le socorriesse con el bastimento
que pudiere, viniendole a encontrar al camino.
Partizipavale en dicha carta su
gran nezesidad y que le motiuaba a comer
carne de sibolo y jaqueguy⁶ o atole que
25 | se haze con harina de mays, siendo esto
con alguna escazes, y asimismo le escriuio

[fol. 24v]



a su thenyente general don Pedro de Villasur dan-

⁶ La palabra *chaquegüe* o *shaquegüe*, de origen tewa, aún existe en el español novomexicano para denotar gachas de maíz azul, noticia que debo a los profesores Jerry R. Craddock e Israel Sanz Sánchez.

dole noticia de yr ya dicho señor gouernador
con el campo marchando la buelta de la
villa de Santa Fee, por considerar el cuydado
5 | con que podia estar dicho thenyente general
por la grande demora de tiempo que se ha-
via pasado en jornada tan dila-
tada. Y a breue tiempo de hechas estas
deligenzias vino vn capitan apache de los
10 | de la rrancheria zitada del Quartejejo,
y estando en presencia de dicho señor gouernador,
quien le rreziuió con grandes demostraciones
de agasajo, dijo el dicho capitan por los
ynterpretes se detubiesse, que queria co-
15 | nozerlo toda su gente, hasta las mugeres
y muchachos, por la gran fama que tenia y
hauian llegado a entender, a que le rres-
pondio dicho señor gouernador que por hazerle
el gusto se detendria hasta que llegase
20 | la rrancheria por verlos y conozerlos,
llebando el animo de la buena amis-
tad que solizitaua con ellos y por to-
mar rrazon en el paraje que se ha-
llauan poblados los franzesses, su distan-
25 | zia y disposizion de las poblaciones,

[fol. 25r]



para con toda yndiuidualidad poder yn-
formar al excelentissimo señor virrey de esta Nueua
España, cuya grandeza se siruió de ordenarle
el que por todos los medios que fueran posibles
5 | solizitasse la rreziproca amistad con los apa-
ches del Quartejejo, asi para el buen fin
y catholico zelo de su excelencia en su rreduzion
a nuestra santa fee, como para por medio de estos
conseguir el sauer el paraje en que dichos
10 | franzesses se hallan, sus disignios y movimientos.
El dia 21 de dicho mes llegaron al rreal
y a este rrio de Napestle las rrancherias de
los apaches del Quartejejo y hizieron
asiento de la otra banda del rrio. Componiase
15 | de mas de doszientas tiendas y mas de
treszientos yndios de tomar armas. La chus-
ma de mugeres y muchachos serian mas

de mill perssonas. Y luego que llegaron y
hubieron sentado su rreal en toda forma,
20 | aunque a su vsanza y disposizion militar,
vinieron ha uer a dicho señor gouernador, quien con el
acostumbrado cariño los rreciuio y hizo
quanto agasajo pudo, dando ellos mu-
chas demostraziones de quedar agradezidos
25 | y alegres, y por los ynterpretes dijieron
que hauian tenido la notizia, asi ellos
como otras rrancherias de su nazon,
de que dicho señor gouernador se hallaua en

[fol. 25v]



campaña por aquellos rremotos paysses
y que de esta notizia hauian tenido
grande alegria porque nunca auian visto
otro ningun gouernador en aquella tierra,
5 | que este hauia sido el motiuo de hauer
salido a encontrarlo para verlo y cono-
zerlo, que otras rrancherias benian cami-
nando a este mismo fin; y huiendolos
oydo dicho señor gouernador les dio muchos
10 | agradezimientos, estimandoles la buena fee
que mostraban en la amistad. Monto a ca-
uallo su señoria; y con el reuerendo padre cape-
llan y el capitan don Joseph de Villegas,
el thenyente Franzisco Montes Vijil, el alferez
15 | rreal don Joseph de la Fuente y otros
ofiziales viuos y rreformados, con los
dichos capitanes apaches fueron ha uer
dicha rrancheria a la otra banda del rri[o],
en donde vieron los perros en que ha-
20 | vian traydo cargados los palos de las
tiendas y otros trastos de su vsso, que-
dando bastantemente admirados con-
templando aquella gentilidad y veer
tantas almas segregadas de nuestra santa
25 | madre yglesia. Y para que pudiesse con
mas quietud gozar del sosiego de su

[fol. 26r]



cansanzio se boluio dicho señor gouernador a su rreal,
y ellos fueron componiendo el suyo.
El dia 22 del rreferido mes, hauiendo
tenido el señor gouernador la notizia de que vno
5 | de los capitanes apaches de aquella
rrancheria tenia vna herida que al pare-
zer hera algun balazo, para ynformarse
de ello ordeno al thenyente Franzisco Montes Vijil se lo
trajiesse a su presenzia, lo qual executo, y ha-
10 | viendo benido dicho capitán con otros mu-
chos yndios de su nazon, le pregunto, rreconozida
la herida, quien se la hauia dado y con que lo ha-
vian herido. Rrespondio que hallandosse con
su gente alla en su tierra, que es mas adentro del
15 | Quartelejo, vltimos terminos de los apaches,
se arrojaron de emboscada los franzesses
vnidos con las nazonas pananas y juma-
nas; que actualmente estauan sembrando
mays, y que puestos en defenssa pelearon,
20 | y entonzes le dieron aquella herida, que toda-
via le estaua purgando. Teniala en la
barriga, aunque soslayada. Asimismo dijo
dicho apache que a no hauerles cojido
la noche, con que pudieron escaparsse,
25 | no hubiera quedado ninguno de su rran-
cheria, que les han quitado su tierra y apo-

[fol. 26v]



deradosse de ella, que desde aquel entonces
aca an hecho dichos franzesses dos pueblos
tan grandes cada vno como el de Thaos,
y en ellos viuen juntos con dichos yndios
5 | pananas y jumanas, que a estos les han da-
do escopetas largas y los han enseñado
a tirar, que con vna de estas le hirieron, que
traen asimesmo vnas escopetas chiquitas
colgadas en la zintura, y que al tiempo
10 | de la rrefriega dichos apaches les hauian
dicho que avisarian a sus amigos los españo-

les para que los defendiessen, y que los fran-
zesses rrespondieron se holgauan mucho de que
los avissassen y lleuassen alla, que heran
15 | vnas mugeres criconas⁷ (palabras son estas
y otras que suelen vssar los yndios, aunque
baruaros, para ynzitar a la yra), que
todos estos estauan bestidos de [co]lorad[o,]
que les han hecho mucho daño en hauerles
20 | quitado sus tierras, que cada dia vienen azer-
candosse mas, caussa que les a mouido a dichos
apaches el benirsse metiendo hasta este
rrio abajo para poder pass[ar] y viuir
seguros de dichos enemigos. Asimismo
25 | añadieron [*sic*] el dezir tener dichos franzesses

[fol. 27r]



otras tres poblaciones de la otra banda
del rrio grande y que de estas traen armas
y lo demas que se ofrreze a las que nueuamente
han fabricado, que esto lo sauén porque se lo
5 | han dicho algunas mugeres de su nazione que
hallandose cautiuas entre dichos fran-
zesses en las ocasiones que han tenido gue-
rra, se han huydo y buuelto con sus pa-
rientes. A todo esto rreferido estubo dicho
10 | señor gouernador con toda atenzion por lo mu-
cho que ymporta al rreal seruicio y de-
[te]rmino luego que llegasse a paraje com-
[pe]tente dar notizia al excelentissimo señor virrey
[de] esta Nueva España, obedeziendo en esto
15 | [a] superior mandamiento. Dijole al dicho
[c]apitan apache y a todos los demas que
[con el] se hallauan, que admitidos debajo
el patrozinio de nuestro rrey y señor, en nombre
de Su Magestad, como ministro suyo
20 | y su criado, les ofrezia su ayuda contra
dichos franzesses y naciones con ellos con-
federados [*sic*] para que seguros pudieran
viuir en sus tierras, echandolos de ella [*sic*],
pues a quien vnicamente le pertenezen es a la

⁷ Insulto que probablemente tiene que ver con las partes pudendas femeniles. Véase Jerry R. Craddock, *Disparatario del Suroeste*, 1 (2008), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/31t6438s>.



magestad de nuestro rrey y señor don Phelipe Quinto,
que Dios guarde muchos años, y que los demas heran
ladrones e yntrussos en lo que no les pertenezia,
que esta tierra hera del rrey y de sus vasallos,
5 | que estos heramos nosotros y dichos apaches
tamvien, que ellos berian con el poder y fuerza
que entrauan los españoles para asolar y
hechar de su tierra a los franzesses, destruyrles
sus pueblos y lugares, con cuyo rrazonamiento
10 | quedaron dichos apaches consolado[s]
y gustossos y dijieron a dicho señor gouernador se detu-
biesse vn poco de mas tiempo hasta en tanto
que llegaran las demas rrancherias que camina[n]-
do benian porque tenian grandes an[sias y de]-
15 | seos de conozerlo, a que dicho señor [gouernador]
rrespondio no podia condeszender [...]go
en lo que le pedian por dos rra[zones, la]
primera, porque estaua con gran cu[idado,]
sin embargo de las preuen[ziones que te]-
20 | nia dadas, el no hauer tenido [n]oti[zias del]
rreyno que estaua a su cargo, y lo segundo, ha-
uer faltado el bastimento, de suerte que des-
pidiendosse de dichos apaches salio s[u]
señoria con dicho campo del rreferido
25 | paraje, aziendosse la marcha por todo el
dicho rrio Napestle en que se handubieron⁸

⁸ Aquí acaba el ms. Se ha perdido lo que seguía.

The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
BANC MSS P-E 43

[Log and Itinerary of Governor Antonio Valverde Cosío in his
Campaign against the Utes and Comanches, 1719]¹

[fol. 1r]²



{LM: No. 510}

{LM: From General Valverde, 15 September 1719}

Log of General Don Antonio Valverde Cosío, governor and captain general of this kingdom and provinces of New Mexico, and route followed by him in the campaign he waged against the Ute and Comanche nations because of the murders and robberies they have inflicted on this kingdom with their hostile invasions, to deal with which and to decide on a campaign, the military chiefs of this royal garrison of the town of Santa Fe, along with experienced residents,³ were called to a council of war, which decided that an armed force should set out to check the arrogance of the said enemy, which the said lord governor did on the 15th day of September of the year 1719, when he set out from this town of Santa Fe for the valley and village of the Taos, 20 leagues distant, which he designated the mustering point.

And on the 19th day of the said month, after arriving in the said village with the Reverend Father Fray Juan del Pino, a member of the Order of St. Francis and missionary priest at the mission of the Pecos, who was chaplain of the said campaign, the said lord governor, after hearing mass, reviewed the arms, horses, [supplies],⁴ and troops gathered for the said campaign, which were as follows:

¹ This document is translated by Alfred Barnaby Thomas in his *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727: Documents from the Archives of Spain, Mexico and New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 110-33. In my translation I have benefited from Thomas's work while hoping to avoid some of his errors, though experience suggests that I am likely to have introduced some of my own. Where Thomas's translation differs most sharply from mine is in its style: Thomas consistently eliminates the log's repetitious *y* 'and,' and *dicho* 'said' and simplifies its syntax. This makes for a more smoothly readable text, but I believe that it betrays the character of the original.

² A cross appears at the head of each page.

³ *vezinos*: That is, the Spaniards and Mexicans who are official residents of the townships. Thomas translates 'settlers.'

⁴ Here and in various other places, especially in the margins toward the bottom of the pages, the paper has been torn. I indicate these lacunae with brackets and, when I can, supply what I conjecture to be the lost text.

[fol. 1v] Sixty soldiers of the garrison of this town of Santa Fe, along with their arms, horses, and supplies, were reviewed; and then the said lord governor reviewed 45 residents who volunteered to serve His Majesty in this campaign and whom, because of the indigence of some, it was necessary to supply with gunpowder and balls and to distribute among them a quantity of pinole and ten leather jackets that his lordship had had made and that he brought for this purpose. And he likewise distributed 75 horses and some mules among them, all his own property. And after having done all of this, while the said residents were gathered, he addressed them at length and warmly thanked them in the name of His Majesty for having volunteered to serve him as loyal vassals, which left all of them exhilarated and pleased and eager for a chance to demonstrate their good intentions. They acclaimed the said lord governor for the attentiveness and liberality with which he cared for them and his assurance that they would not be in need, for as soon as he might be informed of what they needed he would help them with the supplies he had with him and with [other] necessary things. Also reviewed were [...] and thirty⁵ natives of this [kingdom, ...] **[fol. 2r]** and pacified [and] prepared for war, with their weapons. The horses composing the force of the soldiers and residents numbered 600-some, the majority belonging to the soldiers of the garrison, for those of the Indians were numbered separately.⁶

On the 20th day of the said month of September, after hearing mass, the lord governor and the army set out on their expedition from the valley of Taos and reached the place called La Cieneguilla, which is eight leagues off by a difficult road through mountains, woods, and underbrush,⁷ with many narrow places that obliged the soldiers to divide the horses into groups in order to drive them through. And at this place the principal war chief José Naranjo, who holds this rank by superior authority, was waiting as ordered, having gone ahead with some natives, and he now joined the army.

Today, on the 21st day of the said month, after having heard mass at the said place of La Cieneguilla because it was the feast of the apostle St. Matthew, the army set out for the next stopping place and river of San José (the name given to it by his lordship), distant about seven leagues' very difficult travel through thick woods, with a long downhill slope that seems to extend about two and a half leagues, where at intervals we found many piles of stones **[fol. 2v]** that the heathen Indians of the Apache nation have placed there so as not to

⁵ The construction indicates that the Indians numbered at least 130 (*[ciento] y treinta*), probably more (230, 330, etc.). According to Thomas E. Chávez, "The Villasur Expedition and the Segesser Hide Paintings," in *Spain and the Plains: Myths and Realities of Spanish Exploration and Settlement on the Great Plains* eds. Ralph H. Vigil, Frances W. Kaye, John R. Wunder (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1994), p. 95, Valverde had 60 garrison troops, 40 residents, and 465 Indian auxiliaries.

⁶ A subsequent census finds 630 horses belonging to the Indians.

⁷ *palizada*, usually meaning 'palisade'. I adopt Thomas's translation, which seems plausible.

lose their way. And before one comes to this place there is a pond with water, and opposite, about a league off, there are some red hills with many outcroppings of what seem to be mineral veins. This river at the said place of San José is very pleasant and wooded.

And at a distance of about half a league Ensign Bernardo Casillas, ensign of the company by order of the lord governor, having set off from the rest, found a small adobe house with some heathen Apaches, who had planted a field of maize, which they had harvested. And as soon as they learned that the Spaniards had come, the said Apaches came to see the lord governor, who received them very cordially and gave them food and tobacco, while the said heathens gave great shows of joy and said that the Comanche enemy was persecuting and killing their relatives and other members of their nation. And this they said through interpreters, who were Chief José Naranjo and Don Jerónimo, an Indian of the Taos nation, both of whom know the Apache language. And after hearing their account, the said lord governor, through the said interpreters, told them that the purpose of his voyage **[fol. 3r]** and his having set out in person was to punish the said nations for their treachery and bad behavior. While they talked of peace, they committed acts of violence, murders, and robberies. This animated the whole army that was listening and was very pleased, while the Apaches were grateful for the benefit they received from living in safety on their lands and thereupon returned home with their wives.

And this same day, at about four in the afternoon, a band of heathen Apaches from the settlement at La Jicarilla and an old Indian woman on horseback came to the camp, saying that having been informed by their relatives that the lord governor had come, they were coming to place themselves under his authority. And having come into his presence, some fifteen paces' distance from him, they dismounted; and as their standard, their chief carried a holy cross and at its foot a parchment with a printed image of St. Mary in her appellation of Our Lady of the Rosary, completely undamaged, which the said chief carried in his hand and gave to the said lord governor and the said reverend father chaplain to kiss, **[fol. 3v]** which they did with great veneration, and also to the soldiers and residents who had gathered on hearing of this new development. And after this tender moment—tender because on their knees all adored the most holy timber that was the instrument of our redemption—the lord governor welcomed the said chief and the others. And after he had had them sit down, the said Indians said through the aforementioned interpreters that they were most saddened and disconsolate because of the repeated attacks on them by the said Ute and Comanche enemies, and that these had killed many people of their nation and carried off their wives and children, that they were at a loss for where to go to live in safety, and that they were most distressed because, having kept the image of St. Mary well wrapped and stored, they found three drops of blood when

they unwrapped it, so something was going to happen to them. When his lordship heard this, he most considerately and tenderly told them not to despair and to hold this Lady in their hearts, in the certainty that if they truly called on her and joined the flock of the Church they could [...] and would be victorious over [their enemies,] **[fol. 4r]** and that the said lord governor was personally engaged in a campaign in search of the said Comanche enemy to punish him and wage war against him, and that the blood that they said had been shed by the Blessed Lady was shed so that they would abandon the heathendom and barbarism in which they lived and become Christians, and if they decided to do this he would fully support and aid them to live and flourish, along with other forceful words that he directed to them with Catholic and Christian zeal to see whether by this means they might be converted. And the said Apache chief and all the others accompanying him said that the said lord governor was their father, that they loved him dearly and that he spoke to them well and also came to their defense, and that if his lordship should so wish, they would receive the water of holy baptism, at which the said lord governor rejoiced greatly and ordered that chocolate be given to them all, as well as to the residents present. And he distributed tobacco among the heathens, telling them that if they needed anything they should let him know and they would receive help forthwith; and they replied that they had no needs. And after this the said heathens went off very pleased, pledging to take part in the campaign along with the said [lord] governor.

[fol. 4v] On the 22nd day of the current month of September the said lord governor set out with the whole army from the aforementioned place on the Río de San José; and after marching three leagues over level country, they reached the river the Apaches call La Flecha,⁸ and the lord governor named it Nuestra Señora del Rosario.⁹ And there they found some fields of maize, beans, and squash that the said Apaches had planted; and as soon as the said fields were seen, the lord governor gave orders that nothing whatsoever was to be taken from them, which the commanders took great care to prevent. And along the said river, upstream about the distance of a harquebus shot, they found an adobe house where some Apaches were living with their wives and children, and a holy cross about a yard high stood on the roof of the said house; and farther up the said river they found eight other houses where some families of the said Apaches were living.

And while the said lord governor was dining with the reverend father chaplain and other military officers of the garrison of the town of Santa Fe, there came an Apache chief called the Carlana of the Sierra Blanca, and three others with him; and as soon as they were brought

⁸ 'The Arrow.'

⁹ 'Our Lady of the Rosary.'

into his lordship's presence, **[fol. 5r]** the said Carlana chief, in a clear voice, said, "Ave Maria," and the said lord governor and the aforementioned said, "Conceived without sin." And the said lord governor ordered him to dismount; and when he and the others had done so, his lordship handed him the plate of stew that he was eating; and having taken it, he ate the mutton and left the turkey, which surprised everyone. And after he had eaten, the lord governor asked him through the aforementioned interpreters what he was doing and why he had come, to which he replied that he was fleeing from his home, the Sierra Blanca, with half of his people to gain the protection of the Apaches of La Jicarilla, and that the rest of his people, because they are under constant attack from the Ute and Comanche enemy, had gone farther into Apache country to gain their protection, and these were ruled by chief Flaco,¹⁰ and that although he had heard that the lord governor was coming with the Spaniards, he had not quite believed it because no governor had ever come into his country or sent any of his officers, and that to make sure, he had climbed up a high hill **[fol. 5v]** and, looking toward where we were marching, he had seen the dust, and this was why he had come, of which he was very glad because he had seen the said lord governor, who, after thanking him and corresponding with his cordial reception,¹¹ told him that the said Ute and Comanche enemies had also inflicted great damage on the towns of this kingdom, committing murders and robberies, that this had made him set out on a campaign to look for the said enemy in order to punish his excesses and so that they might feel the power of the arms of our King and Lord Philip V (God save him). And the said Carlana chief, informed of the foregoing, said that he was very pleased that the said lord governor was going to make war on them, that he and all his people would accompany him and serve the army as guides, pointing out the best places for camping and watering until they reached the unknown country of the said Ute and Comanche enemy, who consider themselves a single nation. And the said lord governor thanked him for this **[fol. 6r]** with all possible courtesy; and thereupon he left, having taken his leave very satisfied.

On the 23rd of the said month the said lord governor and the said army left the said river called Nuestra Señora del Rosario to continue their journey, and after two leagues they camped along a small stream where the Apaches of the settlement of La Jicarilla live, whose chief is a man they call El Cojo,¹² who at the time was away because he had gone to the Navajo province, which information was given by two sons of his, who, along with the rest of the people, as soon as they learned of the lord governor's arrival, came to see him, who received them with

¹⁰ "Skinny."

¹¹ *agasajo*.

¹² "Limpy."

his customary kindness, treating them to food and tobacco. And they said that at that same spot and place where the army was encamped, the said Comanche and Ute enemies had destroyed a settlement of their nation, killing 60 persons and taking 64 women and children captive, burning and destroying a small tower-like building, even the storehouses for their maize, and sparing nothing of theirs from destruction, which is why a year ago they had gone to live upriver and abandoned that place; that ever since the aforesaid had happened to them **[fol. 6v]** they had been sad, worrying and fearing that their enemies might come back and wipe them out completely, whereupon the said lord governor consoled them with kind words, telling them that, as that nation was doing serious harm to everyone, he had already set out on a campaign to punish them, which caused them much joy.

And at about three in the afternoon of this day the said lord governor mounted his horse in the company of the reverend father chaplain and the captains of the garrison Don José de Tagle Villegas, his lieutenant, Francisco Montes Vigil, and some soldiers; and riding upriver for a league and a half they found seven flat-roofed houses where the said Apaches live, who received the said lord governor very joyfully. And at that time we saw that when they heard the bustle and noise of the arrival of the said lord governor, many of the crowd of women and children of these heathens withdrew into the mountains. And we saw that they had already harvested their crops of maize, because they had piled it up like a wall half a yard high, with many rows equally abundant, which showed that the land is very fertile. And there we saw **[fol. 7r]** many ditches and canals for irrigating the said crops, and some of these they had not yet finished harvesting; and we saw a great deal of maize in piles waiting to be shucked. This is the place where the Carlana Apache chief lived, a place with 27 tents; and the women showed great kindness, because they gave the soldiers many tender ears of maize. And at this time the said Carlana chief volunteered to take part in the campaign with all his people, repeating the offer he had made previously; and the said Jicarilla Apaches did the same, whereupon the said lord governor expressed his gratitude and returned to his camp and his army.

On the 24th of the said month the said lord governor set out in continuation of his voyage; and having marched eight leagues, we came to a creek that the said Apaches call the Red River,¹³ and his lordship named it Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. It is shallow with very little water but thick woods. And a short while after our arrival, twenty Apaches from among those who live along the river they call Río de la Flecha came to join in the said campaign, and they said that in two

¹³ *rio colorado.*

houses that stood there the Comanche enemy had slaughtered all the inhabitants.

On the 25th of the said month the said lord governor, with all the army, set out from the said place and river of La **[fol. 7v]** Soledad; and after marching some nine leagues across the mountains,¹⁴ with thick woods, gullies, and narrow places, so that in order to get over so difficult a trail it was necessary on that day to divide the horses into ten groups, which made the soldiers work hard so as not to lose many animals, and in this way with God's help it was possible to bring them through to the Río de las Ánimas, which name his lordship gave it, where the said army was very happy to camp, because the place was pleasant, the river ran through woods and had enough water, and of good quality, as well as many poplars and willows that supplied firewood with which to warm oneself against the severe cold we experienced that day, because the north wind blew so sharply that all the men arrived numb with cold.

The 26th of the said month dawned overcast in every direction, and it had snowed, so that the said lord governor was forced to stay there and not leave that place.

The 27th of the aforesaid month dawned like the preceding one, but with much more snow and rain, whereupon the said lord governor, drawing on his extensive experience, gave orders that the horses should not be gathered until the weather cleared up. And that day he distributed supplies **[fol. 8r]** of pinole and mutton, giving them free of charge to some sick men, whose illness had been caused by a plant they call ivy, which caused them to swell up if they lay down on it or got close to it. And he sent Antonio Durán de Armijo, a barber with some knowledge of phlebotomy, to treat and care for them and to ask him for whatever might be needed, and he would order it to be supplied, as his lordship did in keeping with his charitable zeal. And on this same day at about ten in the morning, the Carlana Apache chief of the Sierra Blanca and 69 Apaches of his settlement and nation came to the said camp very happy, singing and riding their horses all around the said camp; and at nightfall they came again, some painted with ocher and others with white earth, dancing after their fashion. And when they reached the lord governor's tent, he received them very kindly; and after they had danced well into the night he entertained them and had them fed.

On the 28th day of the said month, the weather having cleared, the army set out from the aforementioned place and river; and after marching some six leagues, we reached a creek with little water and thick woods, which supplied firewood. And during the march **[fol. 8v]** many deer were killed, which served to supply the Indians with ample meat, which is fat and of good quality. And on this day, while the army

¹⁴ This clause is left hanging.

had stopped in this place, at about four in the afternoon, the Carlana chief of the Apache nation came to the tent of the said lord governor with seven young men from his settlement, all armed with arrows and clubs and shields; and through the said interpreters he told the said lord governor that it was time to send out scouts and that these should reconnoiter where the Ute and Comanche enemies were camped, to which the said lord governor replied that he quite agreed. And they were sent away after receiving chocolate and tobacco and being reminded of the care and vigilance with which they had to carry out this operation for the successful achievement of the aims of the campaign. And the said lord governor named this place El Sacramento. And through Ensign Torres and Captain Luis García, under whose command the Indians of the villages had come, he ordered that the horses brought by the natives be counted; and when this was done, 680 animals were found and counted, which were never included among those **[fol. 9r]** of the garrison or the residents.

On the 29th of the said month, on which we celebrate the feast of the glorious archangel St. Michael, after mass was said, and heard by the whole army, we left the said place after crossing the river and came to a more pleasant one with woods, plum trees, many willows, and many wild grapes, from which we made vinegar. And in the said woods some deer were caught when the men surrounded them and drove them into the camp, which caused a great deal of rejoicing and shouting. And this day's march was five leagues until we reached the said river, which the said lord governor named San Miguel. It carries quite a bit of water of good quality; it runs through a very spacious and pleasant valley. A number of deer were caught, because they abound in this valley; and we saw the truth of what the Apaches have often said, that there is a lot of game here and that for fear of the Utes the people of their nation have fled from their lands and hunting grounds where they supported themselves and collected many hides.

[fol. 9v] On the 30th of the aforesaid month of September the said lord governor set out from this place and river of San Miguel, taking the army to continue his voyage; and having crossed the river at a distance of two leagues, heading always toward the north, we passed some high mountains to the west of us, with great plains toward the east. And on the way we killed many deer, which served to supply the army, which camped along the said river at about ten in the morning, guided by the said Carlana Apache chief. And in this place the lord governor, to improve the organization of the troops, ordered the formation of four squads of residents who would guard and protect the army as required during the night, for which purpose he appointed four officers who would report to Sergeant Major Don Alonso Rael de Aguilar, sergeant major of the kingdom. And when they came to this place, seven soldiers and some residents were suffering a good deal from the effects of the aforementioned ivy, because if one steps on it or

passes close to it, it does serious damage, and **[fol. 10r]** the body swells up as though with the dropsy and the skin peels off, especially affecting the genitals; and this ailment continues for some time. What provided relief was chewing chocolate and applying the saliva to the parts, a remedy discovered accidentally by Francisco Casados, whose face had swollen and who found relief by means of it; and the other sick men followed his example.

And when the said lord governor this day ordered the squad commander Salvador de Anaya to count the horses brought by the Apache Indians who were volunteering as guides to this expedition, there were found to be 103.

And the said Carlana Apache chief having, the night before, sent out four scouts of his nation to reconnoiter and see whether the Comanche enemies had left any tracks, when the said lord governor, who was marching in the vanguard with some soldiers of the garrison, reached the said place, the said four scouts were seen coming toward us **[fol. 10v]** with their eyes to the ground as though they were tracking something. And when the said lord governor saw this he ordered the army to halt and that no one should proceed lest the said track be erased. And Chief José Naranjo, Don Jerónimo, a Taos Indian, and the said Carlana chief drew aside and went to where the said scouts were; and these said that they were following five tracks of the said enemies, that these had come as far as the settlement of the said Carlana chief, who had fled with his people so as not to be killed; and not having found them where they had thought they would, the said five enemies returned as they had come, giving up hope of finding the said Carlana's settlement, which substantiated what he had said, which news the said interpreters conveyed to the said lord governor, who ordered the troops to camp in the aforementioned place.

And when we were there, at about four in the afternoon, we heard a shout that **[fol. 11r]** put the whole army in an uproar, and we saw that three Apaches were coming toward us, whom Antonio Tafoya and the soldiers of the squad he commanded went to meet, and he saw that they were those who had set out as scouts on the 28th day of this month. And they were joyfully received by those of their nation drawn up on the side, who as soon as they arrived closed in on them and surrounded them; and when the Christian Indians sought to go where they were, the said lord governor did not allow them to do so but had them left alone so that they might report what they had found. And shortly thereafter the said Carlana chief with the three scouts and others of his nation, and bringing the interpreters, came to the tent of his lordship, who was waiting for them, and they were very cordially received. And they said that having set out as ordered to spy on the said enemies, they had found a very fresh track of three of them and had followed it, always hiding in the brush, until they saw them very close by; and that if they had not followed them farther until catching

up with them, it was so as not to be noticed; that they had **[fol. 11v]** returned to bring this news because it showed that they were very near the settlements of the said enemies, and that it was most necessary for the army to stay close to the mountains and march by night so as to remain hidden until the moment of attacking at daybreak. And this news brought all the residents to the tent of the said lord governor, who ordered them seated and served chocolate, and the said Apaches and interpreters, too, with a good deal of tobacco, which is the greatest treat one can give them, whereby he showed his great magnanimity along with his ardent devotion to Our Blessed Lady of the Rosary, whose devotee he is.

And it being the eve of her feast, it was a great sacrifice for him to do without the customary salvo so as to avoid the noise of gunshots and military instruments, lest the said enemies should flee at hearing the noise and echoes, because it was possible that some of them were near the said camp, since we had reached their country and hunting grounds. And to avoid difficulties and be able to march at night, the said lord governor gave orders that the sheep that accompanied the army be killed and, once dressed, loaded onto the pack animals.

On the 1st of October of the said year, after the said lord governor and all the men of the said army had very devoutly heard mass, **[fol. 12r]** which the Reverend Father Chaplain Fray Juan del Pino said to Our Blessed Lady of the Rosary on the day when through her intercession her Most Holy Son granted that famous victory which has been, is, and will be a cause for great rejoicing to all of Christendom,¹⁵ the said lord governor and the reverend father chaplain having breakfasted with some persons and residents whom he wished to entertain, showing the joy he felt on that day, they were, during the said breakfast, served very good glasses of wine that he had brought for such occasion as might arise, and so they all cheerfully drank to his health.

The army set out that day, and having marched some four leagues northward over level terrain, we reached a river that the lord governor named Santo Domingo and that runs through narrow gorges over many large rocks; and to avoid difficulties on the next day he ordered us to proceed to the far bank, which was done with a great deal of effort. And so that the mules carrying our provisions should not fall, the said lord governor ordered that they be led across by the halter, and this was successful, because we crossed **[fol. 12v]** safely. Once we had camped on the far bank, the said lord governor, after drinking chocolate, mounted his horse with Lieutenant Captain Francisco Montes Vigil and crossed the river again, because the horses had not yet crossed and had not drunk, as the said river is as stated on both banks; and so the said lord governor, to allow the said horses to drink,

¹⁵ A probable reference to the victory over the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto in October 1571.

ordered them to be divided into many small groups, and thus he broke up the tangle of animals¹⁶ and they could drink, although with great difficulty. And he supervised this personally, for otherwise many animals might have been in danger among the gullies and rocks.

And having been informed this day that one of the residents, Cristóbal Rodarte by name, lay so dangerously ill in the camp that he had had to make his confession, the said lord governor ordered him to be brought to his tent so that he might be better cared for and treated, which was done. And if the said lord governor had not thus shown charity **[fol. 13r]** toward this poor man, treating him with the medicines that seemed appropriate for his ailment—for he had brought these and others in case they might be needed—and but for the gentle care that he received, he would no doubt have died. Our Lord will repay him, as He will for all the other things he does during this long voyage and in these unexplored lands.

The said lord governor also gave orders to Sergeant Major Don Alonso Rael de Aguilar that all the residents should gather to be resupplied, which they did; and while what he had ordered to be given to them was being distributed, many residents asked God to repay the said lord governor, because their supplies had run quite low, and the day before they had eaten only the meat of the deer they had hunted. No previous governor, they said, had done so much; and they were extremely pleased by his magnanimity and the way he treated them: might he be governor forever! And feeling grateful for all these benefits, they went to express their thanks to him.

On the 2nd of October of the said year the lord governor and all the army set out from this Río de Santo Domingo; and after marching some four leagues, **[fol. 13v]** always northward, over level ground, with a river on the left, we reached its confluence with another river that flows from the north with far more water, and clear water. And the army camped at the said confluence of the two rivers at about midday, and the said lord governor named it San Lorenzo. There are many plum trees; and the plums, though wild, are tasty, so the men picked a supply. And there are many wild grapevines—a very pleasant wooded place. Here we spent the siesta hour enjoying the cool shade of many poplars and woods.

And while we were thus relaxing, a bear came out of the thicket, which caused a stir throughout the camp; and the men enjoyed themselves baiting it a long time until they killed it.

This day the said lord governor, calling on his ample experience in military matters in this country, due to his having been raised in this career since his early years, ordered us to strike camp at sunset and to march at night to avoid raising so much dust, since this might

¹⁶ *fue desbaratando la barua que hazia*: Thomas translates 'breaking up the formation it [the herd] had.' The context seems to call for something like this, but the use of *barba* is peculiar. One meaning of the word is 'a mass of thin roots of a plant.' Could it here signify something like 'tangle'?

cause the enemy to realize he was being followed. We did as ordered; and having set out, we marched about two leagues as far as the river they call **[fol. 14r]** Chiopo, which the said lord governor named San Antonio. It is an admirable river, very much like the Río del Norte in its abundant waters, great spacious banks wooded with poplars; and on its bank the said army camped at about ten at night.

And at about three or four in the morning, three of the Apache scouts who had set out from El Sacramento arrived with the news that on the road to the Tewas, one of the many that go to and from the town of Santa Fe and its villages, they had found that three enemy Indians, Comanches and Utes, were driving twenty horses¹⁷ and a colt, and their trail was headed toward their country and settlement, and that they had come back to report what they had found. And at the same time the said Carlana chief sent out other scouts whom he ordered to report immediately and without the least delay what they might find.

On the 3rd of the aforementioned month of October the said lord governor set out with the said army from the said Río de San Antonio. Having marched about four leagues over level country, we reached a very pleasant river with abundant poplars and other very fine trees, which river his lordship named San **[fol. 14v]** Francisco. Here we killed many deer and many good fat turkeys,¹⁸ with which we made very tasty tlemoles.¹⁹ And having seen that the said river did not have good watering places for the horses, the said lord governor and some of the officers mounted theirs and went to look for a place where this task might best be accomplished; and this was achieved by dividing the said horses into small groups until they had slaked their thirst.

And after this the said lord governor returned to his tent, where the Reverend Father Fray Juan del Pino was. He wished to entertain him, as in fact he did in the presence of the officers, celebrating the eve of the feast of the glorious patriarch St. Francis by having a small keg of delicious brandy brought out, manufactured in El Paso from the said lord governor's own vintage and of such good flavor and quality that it is not exceeded by that of Castile, and with no fear of extraneous ingredients. Toasts were drunk to the health of the said reverend father chaplain in celebration of his patriarch; and this was done both by the lord governor and by the others present, congratulating each other with much joy and harmony.

And the lord governor having been informed that the Apaches had found a horse **[fol. 15r]** that was thought to belong to the enemy, the said lord, in order to discover the truth, ordered the Apache and the Carlana chief to be summoned so that through the interpreters they might tell him the facts. And when he reproved him, asking why he had

¹⁷ *bestias*: The term could include mules.

¹⁸ *gallinas de la tierra*: Thomas translates 'prairie chickens.'

¹⁹ A dish made with a sauce composed of peppers, tomatoes, and spices. *Enciclopedia didáctica LeeColima*.

not reported their finding the horse, the chief replied that when their enemies had gone to attack the Apaches of La Jicarilla they had there left that horse that they had taken from them, whereupon the said lord governor ordered him to return it to them and made him a present of pinole and tobacco.

On the 4th of the aforementioned month of October the said lord governor set out with the whole army from this place and river of San Francisco. After the lord governor, the father chaplain, and the officers had heard mass and breakfasted, his lordship had a cask of wine made in El Paso brought out, with which they all toasted the said lord governor and the said reverend father chaplain, celebrating the feast of Our Father St. Francis, to which the said reverend father chaplain responded most courteously and politely, having behaved in the course of this campaign as a true son of so good a father, which the said lord governor made clear by duly celebrating his feast, both with the aforesaid and with the great delight he took in treating those present with delicious bread and even better melon preserves that he had brought **[fol. 15v]** for the enjoyment of the reverend father chaplain and his own.

And having, as stated, left the said place, we crossed the said river and marched northward along its banks over about four leagues of level country. And as we marched we found two tracks of the said enemies and followed them for a good distance, for which reason his lordship ordered us to stop at this same Río de San Francisco, and he named this place San Onofre.²⁰ It is a very cheerful place, with good views and excellent water and extensive thick poplar groves; and about three leagues off to the left there are mountains, and on the right there is a very extensive plain. During this day's march we killed many deer and turkeys, more than anywhere else, so abundant were they; and the said lord governor chased after the deer and the turkeys.

And when he was informed that one of the residents was suffering greatly from a stomach ache, he had him brought to his tent and given a cup of tea to cure it, thanks to which he improved; and he had meals sent to him every day, for which he was very grateful.

This day a lion and a wildcat were killed, and about vesper time **[fol. 16r]** our Indian allies came chasing a bear, which ran into the camp; and with a great uproar of noise and shouts, the men killed him with their lances and arrows. His size was formidable, so much so that the lord governor and the reverend father chaplain went to see him.

On the 5th day of the current month the said lord governor with the said army set out from the camp at San Onofre and the Río de San Francisco, with the river on the left hand and likewise the aforementioned mountains. And after we had marched a bare two

²⁰ *San Francisco* in the ms., but fol. 15r14 and fol. 16r10 show that this place was named San Onofre.

leagues, the said lord governor ordered the army to halt because the Carlana chief had said that at the place where we planned to spend the night there was very little water, so that the said lord, as an experienced soldier, gave the order to halt and rest so that the horses might drink. The place where we stopped is very cheerful with extensive woods of plums and cherries,²¹ and so the troops gathered a good many; and after we had rested and the horses had been watered, the said lord governor gave the order to march, leaving the said mountains on the left. And we marched some four leagues, always to the north, with a dry creek on our **[fol. 16v]** left; and a little beyond where the creek ended we stopped and pitched camp at a spring that we named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. It is a wooded place, with plum trees, Alexandria roses, and rockrose. There was enough water for the men; and the horses, which had worked hard and were saddled, were led by the halter to drink.

On the 6th day of the current month of October the said lord governor and all the army set out from the spring of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores across level country with abundant good pasture of joint grass,²² and to the left of our route there was a ridge of thick pine woods sloping toward the east. And after marching about six leagues we reached a spring with adequate water, where we camped, and which the said lord governor named Nuestra Señora del Carmen. And this day, before we stopped, we encountered a bear larger than the preceding ones, because he must have been larger than a donkey. A soldier went at him and thrust his lance into him halfway up the **[fol. 17r]** shaft, and the animal, turning around, seized his lance and also his horse by the hocks, at which time a comrade came and speared him again, and the bear seized his horse by the tail and with a blow of his paw tore off a sack tied to its croup. They finally managed to kill him, and the soldiers who were coming in the rear with the horses ran across a she-bear with two cubs and killed them, too.

On the 7th of the aforementioned month the said lord governor set out with the army from the spring called Nuestra Señora del Carmen; and after marching a good seven leagues eastward we came to a canyon with many sandy pools, and the said lord governor named it Santa Rosa. There is very good pasture there. The wind was very disagreeable this day. And from our camp at Nuestra Señora del Carmen we marched some two leagues along the tops of mesas²³ with many pine trees and then descended into the said canyon and pools, and as we entered it we found some groups of buffaloes.²⁴ And so that the whole army might be supplied with meat, his lordship galloped to where they were, and more than twelve **[fol. 17v]** head were killed for

²¹ *capulines.*

²² *gramilla.*

²³ *se andubo como dos leguas de meseria.*

²⁴ *sibolos, i.e., 'cattle of Cíbola.'*

this purpose. And farther down we found a spring whose water forms a pond, and the reverend father chaplain named it San Ignacio. And as soon as the army had camped at the aforementioned place and pools, the Carlana chief went to investigate some tracks that he had seen; and he found that the said Ute and Comanche enemies had camped at that place, pitching more than 60 tents. And as he followed the track in the direction in which they had left, he found the track of the tent poles that they were dragging along, which information he conveyed to the said lord governor, who appreciated this greatly and made him a present of meat and flour, which greatly pleased him.

And behind a near-by hill we found a herd of buffaloes—there seemed to be more than 200 head—which the said lord governor ordered not to be hunted, lest the enemy hear them if they were frightened. And since there was no firewood at this **[fol. 18r]** place, we used the dung of the said buffaloes, which is abundant, to build fires to prepare our food. And when one of the soldiers was chasing a buffalo on this day, as he was about to strike it with his lance, it turned around so quickly that it gored him in the hip.

On the 8th day of the aforementioned month of October the said lord governor and his army set out from the aforementioned place after hearing mass, and we marched about five leagues southward in difficult weather with a very cold wind. We camped by a creek surrounded by many poplars, but dry, because such water as there was did not flow but formed a pool. Here we found tracks of the said enemy's having camped, counting 80 campsites with their tents; and we saw that the tracks were fresh and that they had moved on only a few days before. They left many piles of firewood. And this place and dry creek the said lord governor named Santa Ifigenia. This day the sky began to cloud over, and sleet began to fall.

The same storm continued as the 9th day of the aforementioned month dawned, **[fol. 18v]** because of which the army remained in the aforementioned place.

On the 10th day of the said month the weather improved, though a very cold north wind blew, despite which the army left the said place. And this day we marched northward some six leagues, always along the river, whose banks were dense with poplars, and on our way finding the tracks of where the said Ute and Comanche enemies had camped. And the army camped by a pool of water surrounded by rushes. The said lord governor named the said pool San Felipe de Jesús; and near it we found many buffaloes, of whom the Christian Indians and the heathen Apaches killed about fifteen head.

This same day, at about four in the afternoon, the lord governor ordered Captain Alonso Rael and Ensign Cristóbal Tafoya to set out with six men apiece and drive a number **[fol. 19r]** of buffaloes toward the camp, the said lord observing the operation, by means of which the army was supplied with meat.

And about vesper time the said lord governor had the Carlana Apache chief summoned; and when he was in his presence he told him through the interpreters with his customary kindness that he thought it would be a good idea to send scouts toward the southeast to reconnoiter where the said enemy might be so as not to leave him in our rear, because he was so eager to punish his insolence and make him feel the force of the arms of the Spaniards, whose benevolence and restraint he had hitherto abused. The said Carlana chief agreed; and it was decided that to make sure of the fidelity of the Apaches, two of their nation should go along with four Christian Indians, two from the Taos village and two from that of the Picuris, all four of them well experienced because of the long time they had spent among the heathens when they went off as apostates during their rebellion. **[fol. 19v]** They were addressed at length and told to take every measure until they achieved success, whereupon they were sent off. And having noticed that the Carlana chief had not gone to hunt for meat because of his great sorrow at not having found the said enemy when he had wanted, on so favorable an occasion, to see him punished and checked in his daily assaults on their settlements with the loss of the many men killed and the capture of their wives and children, the said lord governor consoled him with appropriate gentle words and gave him a quantity of meat, tobacco, and pinole, whereupon he went off well pleased.

On the 11th day of the said month of October the army continued in the same direction; and we marched about a league downriver from this place and camped there, because the night before we had told the scouts that we should wait for them there. We named it Santa María Magdalena. And at about five in the afternoon the said lord governor sent out other scouts in different directions to see whether the **[fol. 20r]** enemy could be discovered; and when this proved impossible, the said lord governor set out with the army on the 12th day of the aforementioned month of October and marched downriver heading eastward. And having marched about four leagues, the army camped on the banks of the said river; and this place was named San Nicolás Obispo. And this night, it must have been about eleven o'clock, while the said lord governor was chatting by the fire with the sergeant major, the lieutenant of the company, and Captain Miguel Tenorio de Alba, so furious a hurricane arose that it forced them to withdraw into the tents, where all night long it seemed that these would be blown away.

On the 13th day of the said month, although this troublesome wind was still blowing, the said lord governor set out with the said army and we marched downriver heading eastward; and this day we marched some six leagues. The army camped on the banks of the said river, and this place received the name Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza. And in the course of this march we were able to observe the places where the said enemy was camped, and to judge by the number

of huts [**fol. 20v**] and fires there were more than 200, assuming that the smallest of these represented no fewer than five persons, and others, more. We also came across many herds of buffaloes, which graze and wander everywhere on those plains so extensive that nothing is seen to obstruct the view.

On the 14th day of the aforementioned month the said lord governor and all his army set out down the said river, always heading eastward. And after marching some two leagues we saw the tracks of the enemy, who wherever he went left a clear trail, due both to the number of people and to the many horses and the tent poles that they were dragging along; and this trail headed northeast.

And as the said lord governor marched on, he ordered a halt and through the said interpreters asked the said Carlana chief, who was riding by his side, where, to judge by the tracks, he thought the said enemy might be, saying that he was of a mind to follow him [**fol. 21r**] until he should be fully punished, to which the said Carlana replied that it was no longer possible to follow him because he had changed direction and on his new route there were very few watering places, and those were inadequate for the needs of the main body of horses and men. Whereupon, having heard the aforesaid words pronounced by the said Carlana, the said lord governor had all the soldiers and residents summoned; and once they had gathered, he told them to give their opinion and say what should be done with respect to what the said Carlana had explained, saying that his lordship still had vigor and strength enough for further marches and campaigns and did not care in the least about the harsh weather and few comforts offered by these campaigns, for they had learned that he knew how to conduct himself and bear the difficulties that had arisen on other occasions, and so without regard for him they should, in keeping with their experiences, declare their opinions and what they thought should be done, to which, when all had been informed, and in obedience to orders, all the aforesaid replied in unison that they thought [**fol. 21v**] the said lord governor and all the army should turn back, because if they continued to follow the said enemy they clearly risked losing all the horses, which were the chief means of defense of the kingdom, for his lordship, being so experienced, well knew that with the rigors of snow and cold that are so extreme in these lands the horses die and are annihilated, as happened in the year '96, when the Marqués de las Navas de Bracinas was governor and his lordship commanded the troops of the garrison, for when the Picuris Indians had abandoned their village and along with the Apaches apostatized from our holy Catholic faith, he had gone in pursuit of them to punish them about this time of the year and most of the horses were lost, to which his lordship was a good witness, as he was in command of the troops, which were incapacitated for a long time until measures could be taken to allow them to fulfill their obligations in the King's service, for no one else would have penetrated

into as many unknown lands, never before seen **[fol. 22r]** or explored by the Spaniards, as his lordship had explored during the present campaign, in the course of which he has demonstrated his great zeal in His Majesty's service. For which reasons it seemed to them that his lordship should suspend the pursuit of the said enemy, withdrawing the troops to the center of the kingdom and its garrison. And having heard these reasons, the said lord governor agreed with the said opinions and ordered the said army to camp by the said river in the most suitable place with respect to both pasture and firewood, and that since there was no longer any provender, the residents and two squads of soldiers, along with the Indians, should set out to kill some meat, which was done at about ten o'clock in the morning. And the said army, having marched about four leagues that day, camped at that place, which received the name Exaltación de la Santa Cruz.²⁵

And the war chief José Naranjo, having set out this morning with some Christian Indians to examine some tracks that the Apaches had seen, came to this place at about four in the afternoon and informed the lord governor that having seen four tracks of mounted men, **[fol. 22v]** some from the previous day and others from this day, he had followed their direction, which was toward the river Napestle, which was where the said army was headed.

During the night of his day, at about eleven o'clock, ten Apaches from El Cuartelejo came to the army; and when they were in the presence of the lord governor, they told him that they had been sent by their chiefs, that these were at the river Napestle with all their people, and these consisted of more than 200 tents that had come from their country in search of his lordship because they had received news of his being on a campaign with the soldiers to punish the Comanche enemy. The said lord governor received them as well as he could and ordered them to withdraw until the next day.

On the 15th day of the aforementioned month the said lord governor set out with the said army after hearing mass, as it was the feast of St. Theresa, and we marched about four leagues until we found a little water, and that of poor quality, for to make it possible for all the troops to drink his lordship ordered four wells to be dug in a dry pool, and the horses drank **[fol. 23r]** from a pond where we found a dead wolf. This place was named after the saint of the day. And having seen a large herd of buffaloes, the said lord governor mounted his horse with his adjutant and some other soldiers, and penetrating the herd he separated one cow and chased it for a good distance until he killed it with one thrust of his lance. He told the soldiers they should avail themselves of the meat and bring him the tongue only. On this day the men of the said army killed many buffaloes.

On the 16th of the aforementioned month, wishing to inspect the large encampment that had come in search of him from El Cuartelejo,

²⁵ The feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is celebrated on 14 September.

the said lord governor set out with the whole army from this place of Santa Teresa; and having marched some ten leagues, we reached the Napestle river, which is very pleasant, with abundant water, many poplars, extensive flatlands, and on these, many herds of buffaloes, so many that from the distance they looked like woods, and according to men used to dealing with cattle,²⁶ what we saw were more than 8000 head. Here we killed a great deal of meat, and the lord governor named this place San Pablo.

On the 17th of the said month the said lord governor ordered the troops to remain in the aforementioned place so that they might dry the meat and that the horses **[fol.23v]** might recover from the previous day's long journey, during which they had had little water and bad pasture.

On the 18th day of the aforementioned month of October the said lord governor ordered the army to continue as on the previous day so that the horses might regain some strength; and this day he sent two Indians of the Taos nation to the place where the Apaches of El Cuartelejo were encamped with a message to their chiefs telling them that he was waiting to speak with them and assuring them of his good faith and friendship. And when these envoys had done as ordered, they returned with the reply and said that as soon as they had delivered his message to the said Apaches, they had moved their camp to come to see the said lord governor; and with them they brought another nation or settlement of the same Apaches that they call the Calchufines. And they also reported on the tracks that Chief Naranjo had gone to investigate on the 14th of the current month. And when the said lord governor saw that the said Apaches were slow in coming, he again dispatched Chief José Naranjo to tell them he could not **[fol. 24r]** wait much longer because he had to attend to other urgent matters in the King's service.

On the 19th day of the said month of October the said lord governor and the army remained awaiting news of the said Apaches to whom he had sent Chief Naranjo, who came about vesper time and said that the said Apaches would come the next day.

On the 20th day of the aforementioned month, the said lord governor, faced with so large an army and such delay in their return, having been accidentally delayed longer than he had expected, and with provisions running out, prudently decided to send Captain Miguel Tenorio de Alba, mayor of the village of the Taos, and two companions, because that village was the nearest settlement, with a letter to its minister, the Very Reverend Father Fray Juan de la Cruz, asking him to come to meet him and help him with such provisions as he could. In the said letter he told him of his dire need, which forced him to eat the

²⁶ *hombres campistas.*

meat of buffaloes and *jaqueguy* or gruel²⁷ made with maize flour, and not much of that; and because his lieutenant general, Don Pedro de Villasur, might feel concern at the long time that had elapsed during so lengthy an expedition, he also wrote **[fol. 24v]** to the said lieutenant general, informing him that the said lord governor and the army were already marching back to the town of Santa Fe.

And shortly after these measures were taken, a chief of the Apaches from the aforementioned settlement of El Cuartelejo arrived; and when he was in the presence of the said lord governor, who received him with great demonstrations of hospitality, the said chief, through the interpreters, said that he should halt there, because all his people, even the women and children, wanted to meet him, because of the great fame that he enjoyed and that had come to their notice, to which the said lord governor replied that as a favor to him he would stop where he was until the whole settlement should come, so that he might see them and come to know them, in the spirit of the good friendship he wished to have with them, and to find out where the French had established themselves, and the distance and location of these settlements, **[fol. 25r]** so that he might send a detailed report to His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain, who had been pleased to order him to seek friendship with the Apaches of El Cuartelejo by all means possible, in order both to achieve their conversion to our holy faith in keeping with the good purposes and Catholic zeal of His Excellency, and to find out through them where the said French are located and what their intentions and movements are.

On the 21st day of the said month the Apache bands of El Cuartelejo reached the camp and this Napestle River and camped on the far bank of the river. There were more than 200 tents and more than 300 Indians of military age. The accompanying crowd of women and children probably exceeded 1000 persons. And as soon as they had arrived and had set up their camp properly, though according to their usage and military system, they came to see the said lord governor, who received them with his usual kindness and showed them such hospitality as he could, whereupon they gave many signs of being happy and grateful. And through the interpreters they said that they, as well as other settlements of their nation, had received word that the said lord governor was engaged in a **[fol. 25v]** campaign in those remote lands, and that this news had brought them great joy because they had never seen any other governor in that country, and that this had been why they had set out to see him and get to know him, and other settlements were under way for the same purpose. And having heard them, the said lord governor thanked them very much,

²⁷ *atole*. The word *chaquegüe* or *shaquegüe*, of Tewa origin, still exists in New Mexican Spanish and denotes a crumbly porridge made of blue maize meal. I am indebted to Professors Jerry R. Craddock and Israel Sanz-Sánchez for this information.

appreciating the good faith they showed with their friendship. His lordship mounted his horse; and accompanied by the reverend father chaplain, Captain Don José de Villegas, Lieutenant Francisco Montes Vigil, the Royal Ensign Don José de la Fuente, and other active and retired officers, he went with the said Apache chiefs to see the said encampment on the other bank of the river, where they saw the dogs that had transported the tent poles and other objects that they use and were quite impressed by contemplating those heathens and seeing so many souls separated from our holy mother the Church. And in order more calmly to enjoy rest from his **[fol. 26r]** tiredness, the said lord governor returned to his camp; and they went about setting up theirs.

On the 22nd day of the aforementioned month, having been informed that one of the Apache chiefs of that encampment had a wound that seemed to be due to a gunshot, the lord governor, in order to be informed about it, ordered Lieutenant Francisco Montes Vigil to bring him into his presence, which he did. And the said chief having come with many Indians of his nation, he asked him, after inspecting the wound, who had wounded him and with what. He replied that when he was with his people on his lands, which lie beyond El Cuartelejo at the outer limits of Apache country, the French, together with the Pawnee and Jumano nations, had attacked from ambush while they were planting maize, and they fought to defend themselves, and that is when he received that wound, which was still draining. It was in his belly, though it was a glancing one. The said Apache also said that if night had not fallen, so that they could escape, not one member of his settlement would have survived; that they have robbed them of their land and **[fol. 26v]** taken possession of it; that since then the said French have established two villages, each one as large as that of Taos, and in them they live together with the said Pawnee and Jumano Indians; that they have given long guns to these Indians and taught them to shoot, and he was wounded by one of these guns; that they also carry some small guns hanging at their waist; and that at the time of the skirmish the said Apaches had told them that they would inform their friends the Spaniards so that they might defend them, and that the French had replied that they were delighted that they should inform them and bring them there, that they were nothing but *cricona* women²⁸ (these and other words are used by the Indians, barbarians though they are, to arouse anger); that they were all dressed in red; that they have done them great harm by robbing them of their lands; that they draw closer every day, which has moved the said Apaches to come and settle downriver so that they might sustain themselves and live safe from the said enemies. They [*sic*] further said that the said

²⁸ Probably a term of insult having to do with the female genitalia. See Jerry R. Craddock, *Disparatario del Suroeste*, 1 (2008), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/31t6438s>.

French had **[fol. 27r]** three other settlements on the far side of the great river, and from them they bring weapons and whatever else is required to the newly established ones, which they know because they heard it from some women of their nation who, having been captives among the said French at times when they were at war with them, had fled and returned to their relatives.

The said lord governor listened very attentively to all of the aforesaid, since it is so important for the King's service; and he decided that as soon as he reached an opportune place he would inform His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain, in keeping with the orders he had received. He told the said Apache chief and all those who [were with him], that they having been received into the protection of our King and Lord, in the name of His Majesty and as his minister and servant he offered them his help against the said French and the nations allied with them, so that they might live safely on their lands, from which he would expel their enemies, for they belong only to **[fol. 27v]** His Majesty our King and Lord Philip V (God keep him many years), and anyone else was a thief and trespasser in what did not belong to him; that this land belonged to the King and his vassals, which were we and also the said Apaches; that they would see with what strength and power the Spaniards would come to destroy the French and drive them from their lands, and demolish their villages and settlements. And this speech consoled and pleased the said Apaches; and they told the said lord governor he should stay a little longer until the other encampments that were on the way might arrive, because they were very eager and anxious to meet him, to which the said lord governor replied that he could not agree to what they were requesting for two reasons: first, that he was greatly worried because, despite the precautions he had taken, he had received no news of the kingdom that was in his charge; and second, that his provisions had run out. And so, taking leave of the said Apaches, his lordship and the said army left the aforementioned place, marching along the said Napestle River for ...²⁹

²⁹ The remainder of the ms. has been lost.