

From Santa Bárbara to San Juan de los Caballeros: Villagrá's *Historia* and the *Itinerario* of Juan de Oñate's Expedition of 1598

JOSEPH P. SÁNCHEZ

ABSTRACT

The *Itinerary* of Juan de Oñate's expedition (1598) and the *Historia de la Nueva México* (1610) by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá are distinct in their styles and purposes. The *Itinerary* is an official document which formed part of the report of the expedition. It was also subject to possible investigation by colonial officials. The *Historia* by Villagrá is the result of a literary expression about the route of the expedition in form of an epic poem written from the point of view of the author. Up to what point can Villagrá's *Historia* be trusted? When the poetic licenses and words of the author are put aside and the events described by Villagrá can be compared with the facts of the *Itinerary* and other documents related to the expedition, then it can be shown that Villagrá's work has validity — especially where the parts of the *Historia* can be verified by the statements identified in the *Itinerary*. This essay will explore the similarities between selected passages of the *Itinerary*, as an official document and the *Historia*, as a literary work.

Keywords: Gaspar de Villagrá, space, geographical references, colonial documents, reliability, poetic license.

Joseph P. Sánchez is Professor at the University of New Mexico.

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RESUMEN

El *Itinerario* de la expedición de Juan de Oñate (1598) y la *Historia de la Nueva México* (1610) por Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà son distintos en sus estilos y propósitos. El *Itinerario* es un documento oficial que formó parte del informe de la expedición y fue sujeto a posible investigación por oficiales coloniales. La *Historia* de Villagrà es el resultado de una expresión literaria en forma de un poema épico de la ruta de la expedición, escrita desde el punto de vista del autor. ¿Hasta qué punto podemos confiar en la *Historia* de Villagrà? Cuando las palabras y licencias poéticas del autor se dejan a un lado y los eventos descritos por Villagrà se pueden comparar con los datos del *Itinerario* y otros documentos relacionados con la expedición, entonces se puede mostrar que la obra de Villagrà tiene su propia validez — particularmente cuando las partes de la *Historia* pueden ser comprobadas por las declaraciones identificadas en el *Itinerario*. Este ensayo explorará la similitud entre los pasajes seleccionados del *Itinerario*, como documento oficial, y la *Historia*, como obra literaria.

Palabras clave: Gaspar de Villagrà, espacio, referencias geográficas, documentos coloniales, veracidad, licencia poética.

On 13 January 2000, the United States Congress set aside a portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail for the protection and preservation of sites related to the route. Over 400 miles of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro are within the United States from El Paso, Texas, to Santa Fe, New Mexico. The other 1,100 miles are in Mexico and run largely through the *meseta central*. On August 2, 2010, UNESCO proclaimed that the portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro which runs through the interior of Mexico be added to the list of World Heritage Sites. The Camino Real de Tierra Adentro ran from Mexico City to the three successive New Mexico capitals: San Juan de los Caballeros in 1598, San Gabriel in 1599, and Santa Fe in 1610. The route in Mexico originated in the 1540s as the Camino de la Plata, leading to silver mines in Guanajuato, Querétaro, Durango, and Zacatecas and eventually other places along the route as far north as Santa Bárbara. In 1598, Juan de Oñate extended the Camino Real from Santa Bárbara to New Mexico's first capital at San Juan de los Caballeros. Today, that portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro from Santa Bárbara to El Paso is known as "La Ruta de Oñate."

The basic source for determining the route of Oñate's Expedition of 1598, is the *Itinerario*¹. The author of the *Itinerario* does not identify himself, other than to say that the document was "Prepared by a witness, a priest, who saw and experienced it all and who reports the truth."² Although the expedition had at least two inspection points, several mustering and recruiting base camps between Mexico City and the environs of Santa Bárbara, the *Itinerario* glosses over them. After the completion of the second inspection of the expedition, Oñate and his settlers departed from the environs of Santa Bárbara.

The route of Juan de Oñate's expedition is identified in the 1598 *Itinerario* in very succinct language. The *Itinerario* establishes place names along the route as named in 1598 and the number of leagues between them. In effect, the *Itinerario* primarily identifies the sixteenth century route. As Nueva Vizcaya (Chihuahua) and New Mexico evolved in the next two centuries, the Camino Real no longer resembled the route established by Oñate because towns, villas, missions, estancias, and other places developed along it and, in many cases, had altered the original route. Thus, the sixteenth century route differs from the seventeenth century route as do the eighteenth and nineteenth century routing of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Indeed, together, the braided routes form a corridor for the ancient road that was originally forged from primitive Indian trails.

Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà's *Historia de la Nueva México*³ published in 1610, adds new life to the places listed in the *Itinerario*. Villagrà was not so much concerned about the place names as he was about the events that occurred along it. Although poetic license is taken by Villagrà, his work was basically written in point of fact. In many ways, information not mentioned in the *Itinerario* is clarified in Villagrà's *Historia de la Nueva México*. The portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro blazed by Oñate and his settlers and the route north of the Río Grande from El Paso to San Juan de los Caballeros in New Mexico, are described in the *Itinerario* and Villagrà's *Historia*. Both form the earliest primary sources that identify the route and place names that still dot the maps through a portion of present Texas and the Río Grande that runs through New Mexico. The pathway to New Mexico began at Santa Bárbara, the last settlement in the desert of northern Nueva Vizcaya.

I. The dates covered in the first phase from Santa Barbara to the Río Grande are: 19 December 1597 to 3 May 1598.

II. The dates covered in the second phase from the Río Grande to San Juan de los Caballeros are: 4 May 1598 to 19 August 1598. On May 4 the expedition forded the Río Grande at a place they called Los Puertos also known as El Paso del Norte.

Soon after reaching the Río Grande, Oñate and his advance guard of sixty hand-picked horsemen moved ahead of the slow-moving carreta caravan to select a place for settlement. Having reached San Juan de los Caballeros by July, he and his men waited several weeks for the carreta caravan and the large herds driven by his settlers to reach the settlement. To the day, the carreta caravan took eight months to travel from Santa Bárbara to San Juan de los Caballeros.

Although recruitment of settlers had taken place along a route between Mexico City, Zacatecas, and Casco in Durango, Juan de Oñate had stopped on the northernmost edge of the Spanish empire just beyond Santa Bárbara at a place they called El Arroyo de San Gerónimo. Peering into the distance, Oñate's settlers, standing on the threshold of time and place, could not imagine the hardships and danger they would experience, nor could they know the great distance they would have to travel over the next eight months to get to their destination. Neither did the settlers reckon that they would have to bury their dead in the lonely prairies ahead of them. Both the *Itinerario* and Villagrà's *Historia* reveal the geographic and topographic challenges they would suffer while literally walking through waterless plains in what, at times, would seem like god-forsaken country. Their journey from Santa Bárbara and environs to northern New Mexico would begin with one small step. Ahead of them, the lone and barren desert sands stretched far away.

La Villa de Santa Bárbara [26 48N 105 49W]: According to Joseph Brondate, who was captain of the cavalry, Oñate and his settlers left the mines of Santa Bárbara, the last settlement in Nueva Vizcaya, bound for New Mexico on 19 December 1597.⁴ As one of the northernmost outposts in the late 16th century besides the Presidio of Janos, Santa Barbara was the jumping off point for New Mexico.⁵

After a long delay caused by inspections that held up the expedition from departing New Spain for nearly two years, the settlers mustered quickly once the order to leave was given. Historical records show that the settlers, driving 80 carts, left Santa Bárbara toward the Río Conchos. Villagrà wrote:

Not otherwise and in no other sort the strength
Of this defeated camp began to appear.
Unhappily displaying the muniments
That by dint of much work the troops
From many places were assembling again,
And these, were then conveyed along,
Well loaded into more than eighty carts,
Which, with wagons and with coaches, too, went
As ants go in a squadron well drawn up
When carrying home their wheat.

Thus, marching in extended line,
 With squeaking hard, like dumb applause,
 A goodly, wide and open road
 Was left well indicated by their wheels.
 And as from out the ark, all two by two,
 The mass of animals did come. (87)⁶

In the first phase of the Ruta de Oñate, the *Itinerario* mentions eight places from 17 November 1597 to 29 January 1598.⁷ In his epic poem, Villagr  does not mention any of the places, but, instead, describes at great length and in poetic terms the massive exodus from Santa B rbola, as Santa B rbara was often called, to the R o Conchos and beyond. Once at the R o Conchos, they could count the eight parages, or campsites, they had left behind them beginning at the R o Florido. Although the author of the *Itinerario* accounts for them, Villagr  does not. Instead, he continued to describe the carreta caravan and the large herds driven by the settlers. He stressed the constant search for water.

R o Conchos: On 30 January 1598, the Oñate expedition left the Arroyo Lamosso and traveled one and a half leagues to the R o de Conchos. In that area, the river flowed toward the east and southeast. They stayed there until 7 February.⁸ Oñate was the first to redirect the route to New Mexico from along the R o Conchos to one aimed more directly northward.⁹ Villagr  discusses how the expedition fared on the long march from Santa B rbara to the R o Conchos. He writes that the caravan and herds, kicking up great clouds of dust, were spread out along a line three miles long and just as wide as it moved to the R o Conchos:

Here, after the tame mares, there neighed
 Great stock of horses spirited
 Behind whose high, thick cloud of dust
 Another, thicker and much heavier,
 The beef herd and the herd of mules
 Did cause to rise up on both sides.
 As to what space this mighty throng took up
 One well can judge what it would be
 Since three full miles in all its length
 And full as many more in width
 Were taken by the moving camp
 Whose swarming mass kept up the march
 Until with fortune, it came to the banks
 Of R o de Conchos, whose name
 Is taken from the beauty of its shells, it creates
 Like graceful, sightly pearl-mother,
 And, too, its mighty store of fish.(87-88)¹⁰

The route from Río San Pedro to the Río Grande was known — except that the route used by previous explorers went north from Santa Bárbara to the Río Conchos and then it was followed east to where it joints the Río Grande flowing from the north as it makes its sweep southward toward the Big Bend. Oñate ordered a new route away from the earlier one led by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado in 1580 and Antonio de Espejo in 1581.

Río San Pedro: On 10 February 1598, the Oñate expedition traveled three leagues to the San Pedro noting that it flowed from west to east. They stayed by the river for a month. Once at the Río Conchos, Oñate sent scouts under his nephew, Vicente de Zaldívar, to find a direct route to the Río Grande. Previous explorers in the 1580s would follow the Río Conchos eastward to its junction with the Río Grande — called La Junta de los Ríos. Instead, Oñate blazed a route directly north to the Río Grande. Zaldívar and his men, moved a little beyond the Conchos and set out from the Río de San Pedro on 14 February with 17 men. After discovering a route with water, half the party returned to camp on 7 March. Zaldívar and his men returned on the 10th.¹¹ Villagrà writes:

The camp could move no single step,
And as their vain, presumptuous thoughts,
Being of vain men, resulted vain,
The General decided there should go
Eight soldiers, only such as were
Well-tryed in arms and sufferings
For that is what is needed when we lack
Men to instruct and teach and make us skilled
In those things that we all know not,
For this purpose were selected
The purveyor and Sebastian Rodríguez,
Dionisio de Bañuelos and Robledo,
Francisco Sánchez, and Cristóbal Sánchez.
Carbajal and I, also with them. (105)¹²

Oñate and his settlers crossed over the rough terrain camping at nearly 30 *parajes* on their way to the Río Grande. It took From February 7 to April 12 to get to the dunes at Salamayuca before reaching the Río Grande on 30 April 1598. Oñate's *itinerario* reveals the places they named on that leg of the expedition. Thus a new trail was blazed by Oñate and the eight men who took the settlers through the area.¹³ The expedition camped near some waterholes they named Charcos de las Moxárras.

Charcos de las Moxárras: On 11 March 1598 the Oñate expedition found these ponds two leagues from San Pedro (or San Greco). They described them as deep and

numerous.¹⁴ The occasion is highlighted by Villagr  when he wrote that the scouts had been out for three days before they found water. The route was difficult and very dry until the Charcos were found with water for the settlers and all their animals:

And none had drunk a drop of water yet,
 There came Manuel, Francisco, Munuera,
 Juan de Le n, Rodr guez and Bustillo
 And Pablo de Aguilar with glorious news
 About discovery of a pleasant spring.
 And, all now joined with the Sergeant
 Who, divided in search of water and folk,
 Had wandered scattered o'er the land,
 Together for the spring they set out.
 And, arriving at the water, like to fish
 They there plunged in, half unconscious,
 Having more need of it than air.
 All satisfied, the following day
 The Sergeant ordered the three guides
 To go back with some friends of his,
 And, to fulfill the order that he had
 From the noble General, he ordered they be still
 And say nothing about their sufferings
 To any in the camp, but that they say
 Nothing but food news unto all,
 That they had left a fine road they had found,
 With pasture excellent and waters and good woods. (100)¹⁵

It took over a week, from 1-19 March 1598 to reach the R o Sacramento from the Charcos de Mox rras through a number of places named in the *Itinerario*.¹⁶ Once at the R o Sacramento they took note of the area.

R o Sacramento: On 19 March 1598 the O ate expedition left "Sierrezuela de las Ogeras" and traveled one league to Agua de "Sant Juseph".¹⁷ This was probably the R o Sacramento. Of the occasion, Villagr  wrote:

Here it occurred to our General
 To send to the City of Mexico renowned,
 Dispatches, and, as he well trusted in
 Captain Land n, he ordered him to go
 And take a packet there in haste.
 The message sent, we than went on,
 Marching right gladly with the camp
 Until we came unto the water that they call
 The River of the Holy Sacrament, Whose name
 The holy Fathers gave to it
 Because close by it they did celebrate

The Holy Thursday of the Holy Feast,
 For which most holy day and holy night
 The Governor did order there be made,
 Of mighty trunks of trees,
 A goodly chapel, right well made
 and all the canopies well hung,
 and, in the midst of it, sad monument
 Where universal life of all the world
 In it be buried and enclosed
 With mighty escort and with guard of troops,
 The General being there at prime,
 The Fathers all upon their knees,
 They there kept vigil all night. (101-102)¹⁸

Of the exploration of the route¹⁹ — before the place names were given to the area between the Río San Pedro and the Río Grande del Norte — Villagrà writes:

Thusly, each with his crustiness,
 Harsh, rough and wild, ill-fashioned,
 Gave up his will and did fulfill
 That which his General there ordered.
 And like blind men who by the touch alone
 Go groping for the thing they wish,
 Subject to error and to falling down,
 So, subject, blind, we undertook
 The difficult and dangerous route,
 Taking the great Sergeant for chief,
 Who was the greatest strength we had,
 For, going thus, and marching many days
 Through tough and widely-spreading plains
 And rashly undergoing toil,
 We followed on the difficult task
 By the sheer strength of weary arms
 Until we now had quite used up
 The whole of our provisions,
 And so from pure necessity we saw ourselves
 In a sad plight from hunger and from thirst
 But with that strength which we did need
 For the immense and rigorous task
 We showed a firm, spirited front
 And forcing on o'er rocky slopes
 And dunes of high-piled sand,
 After we had for three days eaten naught
 And did not drink a drop of water,
 The hour of repose being come
 And being over bourne with sleep
 That, all unnoticed steals our consciousness

Tired and all worn out we suddenly
 Did come to see great store of lights
 That heated some two hundred huts.
 There in great haste we gathered in
 The thirsty, jaded mounts
 So that, conquered by raging thirst,
 They might not wander from us there. (105)²⁰

After a brief scuffle with Indian hunters, Villagr a says that the Indians attacked them because they were mistaken by them to be a group that they wanted to scare. In another episode on the trail, the explorers took prisoners. Villagr a recounts the tale of Polca who sought to rescue her captive husband Milco. Villagr a recounts this in Canto XIII. Soon after that episode, Villagr a, in Canto XIV, tells how the R o Grande was discovered. He also writes that after four days of march without water, the horses and men were too weak to move:

And we, lord, resolute anew,
 Did journey more that fifty days,
 Suffering heavy mischances.
 And as it had unceasing rained on us
 For seven long, hard days' journeyings,
 Our clothing sticking to our flesh,
 No one of us had any thought
 Of coming out with life from that affair.
 We went through rough and craggy lands
 Of Arabs and of rude barbarians
 And other deserts, wild and perilous
 Upon whose wide and spacious soil
 No Christian foot had ever trod.²¹
 Exhaling living fire and spitting forth,
 Saliva more viscous than pitch,
 Our hope given up, entirely lost,
 Were almost all wishing for death.
 But the great Providence, pitying,
 Which is always more quick in helping us
 As we more firmly trust in it,
 The fifth day opened us the door
 And we all, happily, did come upon the roaring River
 Of the North, for which we all had undergone
 Such care and such enormous toil. (126)²²

R o del Norte (R o Grande): The O ate expedition of 1598 was the first documented group to travel directly north to New Mexico from the R o Conchos. On 20 April, after crossing the sand dunes of Salamayuca in present Chihuahua, O ate came to the R o

del Norte in the area of modern El Paso. The itinerary of the expedition described the river as being larger than the Conchos and as carrying more water than the Río de las Nasas. The water was sluggish and muddy, and there was plenty of vegetation and trees, as well as fish. There, willows, mesquite and some salines with salt like that of the salines of Guadalquivir abounded. The itinerary writer noted that it was called the Río del Norte because it flowed from that direction. He noted that after the river turned east it was called the Río Bravo where the Conchas and other rivers joined it. The Oñate expedition remained here until the 26th while Captain Aguilar went ahead to explore the road, traveling some 16 leagues.

Over the next three days they traveled two and a half leagues and found other salines, and on 30 April 1598 Oñate took possession of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico in the name of King Philip. On 4 May they continued on to the pass of the river and the ford, where they met 40 Indians who were described as having Turkish bows, long hair that resembled little Milan caps, and headgear colored with blood or paint. Their first words were “manxo,” “manxo,” “micos,” “micos,” which meant “peaceful ones” and “friends.” They also made the sign of the cross and helped the Oñate expedition cross the river.²³

According to Joseph Brondate, who was captain of the cavalry, after going upriver about fifty leagues from the ford, the Oñate expedition reached the first pueblos. Brondate described the land as being good, except for about eight leagues (nearly 21 miles) where there was no water.²⁴ He also stated that the Río del Norte was the main river in the province and that it rose in the month of May. Many kinds of fish could be found in it.²⁵ Of the gathering at the Río Grande, Villagrà wrote that four Indians showed them to the Río Grande and brought them a quantity of fish. This coincides with April 30, 1598 of the *Itinerario*:

Wherefore all four went down the stream
 And, as a sign of peace, brought back
 A great number of fresh caught fish.
 And, ordering us to make a proper return
 He then did cause to be made there,
 Within a pleasant, leafy wood,
 A graceful church, one with a nave
 Of such size that all the camp at once
 Might be contained in it without crowding
 Within whose shelter, holy and religious
 They sang a very solemn Mass,
 And the learned Commissary, with wisdom,
 Did speak a famous sermon, well thought out.
 And when the service were done

They did present a great drama
 The noble Captain Farfán had composed.
 Whose argument was but to show to us
 The great reception of the Church
 That all New Mexico did give
 Congratulating it upon its arrival (130-131)²⁶.

Villagr  discussed the festivities and prayers of thanksgiving on the R o Grande on 30 April 1598:

There were solemn and pleasing festivals
 Of splendid men on horesback,
 And in honor of that illustrious day
 A gallant squadron was released
 From that illustrious Captain C rdenas,
 As soldier of courage, modesty
 And who, O lord, has served you well.
 He, thinking that the expedition
 Would be unable to set out,
 Remained, so that he never afterward
 Could overtake this camp of yours,
 Wherefore his standard then was given
 To Diego N n ez. And with that we then
 Did take possession of that land
 In your famous, heroic, lofty name,
 Making some record of the case,
 Which it is well I give to you,
 Nor skip a letter, for it imports much
 As being the statement of the General himself. (131)²⁷

Villagr  explains that O ate performed an act of possession on the banks of the R o Grande and ordered C rdenas and his squadron to remain behind as a sign that the land had been claimed. Villagr  titled his document “DE COMO SE TOMO Y APREHENDIO LA POSSESION DE LA NUEVA TIERRA.” (Of how possession of the new land was seized and taken). Having observed the protocols of announcing that the claim had been made in the name of the King of Spain, etc., O ate took possession of the region by proclaiming:

I say that in the voice and in the name of the most Christian King, Don Felipe, our lord, only defender and protector of the Holy Mother Church and its true son, and for the crown of Castile and of the kings who of his glorious stock may reign in it, and for the aforesaid my government I take and seize one, two, and three times, one two, and three times, one two, and three times, and all those which I can and ought, the Royal tenancy and possession, actual, civil, and criminal, at this aforesaid River of the North, without excepting anything and without any limitation, with the meadows, glens, and their pastures and watering places. And I take this aforesaid possession, and I seize upon it, in

the voice and name of the other lands, towns, cities, villas, castles, and strong houses and dwellings, which are now founded in the said kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico, and those neighboring to them, and shall in future banks, waters, pastures, meadows, glens, watering places, and all its Indian natives, who in it may be included and comprehended, and with the civil and criminal jurisdiction high and low, gallows and knife, mere mixed power, from the leaf on the mountain to the rock in the river and sands of it, and from the rock and sands of the river to the leaf on the mountain. (131-138)²⁸

Present Ciudad Juárez 31 44N 106 29W: Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar y San José del Paso del Río del Norte: After his 1592 arrest by Capitán Juan Morlete, Castaño de Sosa and 200 settlers were taken by wagon down the Río del Norte. In 1598, Oñate saw these carreta tracks near present-day El Paso and Juárez. This was the first wagon traffic on the later route of the *Camino Real* (Schroeder and Matson 1965:175-176).

Guadalupe (Conversión de los Mansos): The Convento de Guadalupe has been described as “in the vicinity of the ford of the Río Grande, crossed by Oñate in 1598.”

Los Puertos, crossing of Río del Norte: On 4 May 1598 the Oñate expedition forded the Río del Norte, with the help of Indians, at a crossing they named Los Puertos because it was used by the Indians to go inland. The itinerary stated that there was no road for carts for many leagues. On that day they passed the ruts made by the ten carts that Castaño de Sosa and Morlete took out from New Mexico.²⁹

In Canto XV, Villagrà explains “How the camp went forth to pass the River of the North and how Captain Aguilar was sent to spy out the land, and how he was to be executed for having disobeyed the orders given him, wherefore the Governor went ahead to the pueblos, and of the things that happened afterward until the Governor chose to make a dwelling place and populate the land.” Meanwhile, Oñate and his men left the caravan and proceeded northward. Of the occasion, Villagrà wrote — noting an earthquake experienced by Oñate and his men, probably just beyond present Socorro which lies at the southern end of the Río Grande rift:

The General, fearing the barbarians
Might swiftly remove all provisions
And then all folk as well, did give order
That fifty good men, all well armed,
Should go with him; leaving behind
The Royal Ensign as his lieutenant.
And taking our Father Commissary
And Father Fray Cristóbal, he did march
With such a rapid pace, so swift a course,
That very soon he was within their lands.
And being well within sight of the towns,

It seemed the earth did tremble there,
 Feeling the great force of the Church
 Shaking the idols furiously,
 With horrible, impetuous violence
 And furious tempest and earthquake.
 All trembling and altered. (141)³⁰

Aguilar was ordered to scout ahead, but was forbidden under pain of death not to enter any Indian pueblo — lest they flee and take needed provisions with them. Aguilar disobeyed the order. Oñate was about to carry out the execution, but the settlers pleaded that the execution be commuted. That was done. Villagr  wrote:

Taking another course than the stream did
 Came Aguilar and said he had entered
 Into the first town of the land
 Without respect for that order
 That our General had told him to obey
 For which just cause he was upon the point
 Of having him garroted, were it not
 For the mass of pleas that were made
 For him.... (140)³¹

Organ Mountains (Sierra de los Mansos and Sierra del Olvido) [32 19N 106 33W]: From 5-13 May 1598, the Oñate expedition traveled about 11 leagues up river over a road that was difficult in time of rain but good when dry. On the 11th they stopped at the same place where Captain Morlete, in 1592, hanged four Indians for having stolen some horses. On the 13th, they left the R o del Norte to their left and the Sierra del Olvido to their right. It was so named because none of Oñate’s scouts who had passed it earlier in 1592 could remember having seen it. After Oñate departed the caravan with 60 men, the settlers found flatter land for the carretas to cross. Past present Organ Mountains, they veered northeast toward the arid Jornada del Muerto.

Jornada del Muerto: [about 80 miles long] Villagr  does not mention the “Jornada del Muerto.” As a place name, it appears to have been named much later in the colonial period. It is known as such by the late 1670s. The Jornada del Muerto begins approximately at “Robledillo” and ends at “Fray Crist bal;” Fray Crist bal is so named because, Oñate and his horsemen camped along the R o Grande. On the face of the mountain at Fray Crist bal, an outline of a face could be seen in certain sunlight. One of the soldiers said it looked like Fray Crist bal and humorously said that the priest was “fe simo” — very ugly.

Robledillo [Robledo Mountain 32 26N 106 54W]: Between 14 and 21 May 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled about four leagues beyond the Sierra del Olvido [Organ mountains]. The road was poor, and the train had to be divided. On the 21st they buried Pedro Robledo but did not refer to the burial site as Robledillo.³²

San Diego [San Diego Mountain 32 36N 106N 59W]: Although Oñate and his settlers crossed through the area in sight of the mountain, they did not note it in the *Itinerario*.

Paraje del Perrillo: Between 21 May and 23 May 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled about six leagues, doing very badly because of the lack of water. They were traveling five or six leagues to the right, or east, of the Río del Norte. On the 23rd a dog appeared with muddy paws, and they searched for some water holes. Captain Villagrà and Cristóbal Sánchez both found one, toward the river.³³

Paraje del Alemán (Arroyo de Muertos or Parras) [Alemán Ranch Headquarters 32 59N 106 59W]: Between 24-25 May 1598, the Oñate expedition traveled six leagues north of the Paraje del Perrillo without water. They finally came to some small pools where they drank and rested. The river was over six leagues to their left, where it was extremely hilly and very rough. On the 25th they descended to the Arroyo de Muertos or Parras, which had running water. As the water was not very good they went another league to the Río Grande.³⁴

Ciénega de Mesilla de Guinea [San Marcial 33 42N 106 59W]: Between 25 May and 27 May, Oñate's settlers traveled nine leagues from the "Arroyo de Muertos" or "Parras" without their carts because it was impossible to proceed with them. On the 27th they arrived at "Ciénega de Mesilla de Guinea," named for the mesa made of black rock. This marsh was on the east bank of the Río Grande, near San Marcial.³⁵

Qualacú [San Marcial 33 42N 106 59W]: According to Marcelo de Espinosa, captain of cavalry on expedition of 1598, "Cuelaqu" was the first pueblo in the provinces of New Mexico. From this pueblo to the last pueblo, Taos, there was a distance of 70 leagues, all in the upper Río del Norte.³⁶ Between 27 May and 28 May 1598, the Oñate's men traveled about four leagues from the Mesilla de Guinea. On the 28th they camped near the second pueblo called Qualacú, toward the bank of the Río del Norte. The Indians had abandoned the pueblo, but the Spaniards reassured them with gifts and stayed on the bank of the river in order not to frighten them. They remained there for a month, living in tents. Villagrà wrote of the hunger, the thirst, the misery of the route through the Jornada del Muerto. He wrote that Indians gave them information of the land ahead of them.

Now over high and rugged peak,
Over whose summits we did drive

Our tired horses on before,
 Panting and tired and quite worked out,
 On foot and hindered by all our arms.³⁷
 We had the same, discovering the pass
 That the astute barbarian told us of,
 Marking the lands all round about
 The sites and place that he showed
 When we with Milco captured him.
 And, like Magellan through his strait
 We all did pass through it,
 When down with toil, now quite worn out³⁸
And we all, happily, did come upon the roaring River
 Of the North, for which we all had undergone
 Such care and such enormous toil.
 Our swollen feet, no quite naked
 And shoeless, without shoes we still did settlement
 On cliffs and ragged looming rocks,
 Now over lofty dunes of sand,
 So ardent, burning, and fervent
 That, wounded by their strong reflection,
 Our miserable eyes, burnt up.
 Unto whose waters the weak horses
 Creeping, staggering much, approached. (126)³⁹

Socorro [34 03N 106 53W]: On 14 June 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled three leagues from Qualacú and stopped opposite Teipana, the pueblo they called Socorro because it provided them with corn. The chieftain, Letoc, gave them an accurate and truthful account of the pueblos of the country.

After reaching the Río Grande at Socorro, Villagrà reflected on the passage from Las Penuelas to the Río Grande:

Vino a faltar el agua de manera	Water became so scarce
Que, secas las gargantas miserables,	That, with their throats miserably dry,
Los tiernos niños, hombres y mugeres	The tender children, women and the men,
Traspassados, perdidos y abressados,	Afflicted, ruined, quite burnt up,
<i>Socorro</i> al soberano Dio pedían,	Did beg for aid from sovereign God,
Por ser aqueste el untimo remedio.	This being the final remedy. (128) ⁴⁰

Sevilleta (Nueva Sevilla or La Joya) [La Joya 34 21N 106 51W]: On 15 June 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled seven leagues from Socorro to a small pueblo they named Nueva Sevilla. This was the first pueblo where they camped to take refuge in the houses in case the Indians of the area decided to attack. They stayed there until 21 June. Between 15 June and 22 June 1598 the *Maese de Campo*, Juan de Zaldívar, and *Sargento Mayor*, Vicente de Zaldívar, encountered what they called “the pueblos of Abo”.

La Joyita: San Juan Bautista (Piro or Tiwa pueblo): Between 15 June and 24 June 1598, while at Nueva Sevilla [Sevilleta], the Oñate expedition traveled four leagues to the pueblo of “Sant Joan Baptista,” a deserted pueblo with much corn and many paintings which the Oñate party took for pagan idols (*ídolos pintados*). Many Indians came to see them in order to spy; among them was the one they called Don Lope, sent by Thomas and Xupal, Indians that had remained since the time of Castaño de Sosa. Of that event, Villagr  wrote:

And being, the following day, the feast
 Of great Saint John the Baptist, the General
 Did wish the expedition stop
 In a town pleasant but abandoned
 By all its folks and neighbors, but filled up
 With many supplies they had left.
 Here, taking precautions with great care,
 The celebrated the fair morn,
 The soldiers on their war horses
 Divided into two opposing groups
 Whose nimble flanks were captained,
 In a well-contested skirmish, by
 The Army Master good and the Sergeant
 Whirling their powerful lances
 With gay and carefree skill.
 And when the other of the men
 Had broken mighty lances and had proved
 The courage of their hearts in tournament
 Which they had ridden forever signalized
 As mighty men of arms and enterprise
 The Army Master, the sergeant,
 Captain Quesada, Ba uelos,
 Captain Marcelo de Espinosa,
 Pedro S nchez Monrroi and Antonio Conde,
 Ensign Romero and Alfonso S nchez,
 Juan de Le n, Damiero, the Robledos.
 The celebration over... (143)⁴¹

Tria: On 29 July 1598 the Oñate expedition discovered Tria, near Puaray. Juan and Vicente de Zald var and Padre Salazar were sent to Tria, which was given as its patron saints San Pedro and San Pablo.⁴² Nearby, Oñates’ men met a group of Indians and spoke to one of them. Of the encounter, Villagr  wrote:

The General seeing his stubborn silence,
 Had them all seized and for this cause
 The same barbarian, though somewhat afraid,
 Said, ‘Tom s, Crist bal’ and pointed out

That they of those two names were yet two days
 Of traveling from us, and long ones, too,
 And, testing him sharply, we learned
 That we had never known more words
 Of Spanish than the ones he said to us. (144)⁴³

Who were Tomás and Cristóbal? Oñate later finds them living at Santo Domingo. They were translators who had been with Castaño de Sosa in 1590-92. Villagrà continues with his narrative:

The Governor in all haste set out
 In search of those two who appeared
 Baptized with those two holy names,
 And making a stage in a good town
 Which its neighbors do call Puarai
 In it they did receive us well. (144)⁴⁴

Although Villagrà was correct about the two Christian Indians, he misplaced where they were found. Oñate's men found Tomás and Xuptal [Cristóbal] at Santo Domingo. Soon afterwards they were brought to Puaray. Villagrà may have exaggerated how it was done — as it was not mentioned in the *Itinerario*:

There left that pueblo, cautiously
 Our Governor, and marched along
 Throughout the entire night, laying
 Seige to the pueblo of those two whose name
 Were Cristóbal and Tomás, to whose homes
 Those whom we capture then led us.
 And into them there hurled themselves
 The purveyor Zubía and Juan de Olague,
 The Ensign Zapata and León de Isasrí,
 Munuera, Juan Medel, Alonso Núñez
 And Pedro de Ribera, gentleman
 Of your General and his own table,
 Francisco Vázquez and Cristóbal López,
 Manuel, Francisco, Vido, Montesinos,
 A second Paladin in serving you.'
 These found their men in bed
 And took them out and did bring them
 To our General, with whom they spoke
 In Spanish and in the Mexican tongue,
 Saying they were now Christians
 And they were of those whom Castaño
 Brought from New Spain, and they had wished
 To stay in that place, where they were
 According to the custom of the country, wed.

Never was found so great treasure,
 Nor so full, rich and abundant,
 As the Governor knew what he had there
 In those two baptized ones before him who
 Spoke with him in a tongue he understood,
 And who knew, too, and fully grasped
 That tongue which the barbarians used,
 By means of whom he then well could
 Show his intentions and his thoughts. (145-146)⁴⁵

Puaray: Vetancurt thought that the name, which he spelled “Puaray,” meant “worms,” which abounded there. The pueblo was beside the Río Grande, one league south from Sandía, and the church was dedicated to “San Bartholome”.⁴⁶ The Tiwa pueblo which Gallegos, of the 1581 Sánchez Chamuscado entrada, called Puaray may have been that which was later known as Sandía. It was located on the east bank of the Río Grande and above the pueblo called San Mattheo. Two priests with the expedition stayed there upon the return of the rest to Mexico and were later killed.⁴⁷ In February 1583, the Espejo expedition passed through Tiwa towns, counting thirteen pueblos, deserted out of fear of the Spaniards. They named them Los Despoblados and Los Guajolotes. Two leagues north of this last, on 17 February, they encountered “Puala” (or Puaray), where two priests from the Sánchez Chamuscado expedition had been killed and added “de los Mártires” to its name in their honor.

Oñate and his settlers crossed through this valley that comprises present Albuquerque’s valley. His Nahuatl-speaking allies later called it El Valle de Atrisco. Puaray has been placed on the east bank of the Río del Norte about one league above Alameda at the time of the revolt of 1680. It could be reached from Isleta and Atrisco without a river crossing, but the river had to be forded in order to reach Puaray and Sandía, within a league of each other on the east side of the river. Again, Villagrà adds verifiable fact to Oñate’s presence in Puaray to his epic poem. He notes the death of the priests who were killed in Puaray in 1581:

And in some whitewashed corridors,
 With whitewash recently put on,
 Well swept and watered, fully cleaned,
 They put the Fathers, and together there
 They were served well. And the next day,
 The whitewash having now dried out,
 God, who unto his holy Church doth ever show
 The saints who for it have suffered,
 Made a painting come shining through,
 A mute preacher that had been covered

By the white glaze lest they might see
 The martyrdom that was endured
 By those holy, devout Fathers
 Fray Agustín, Fray Juan, and Fray Francisco,
 Whose famous bodies the barbarians
 Had drawn so truly to the life
 That, so your people might not see the same
 They wished to erase them with that white paint,
 And His pure greatness then did wish
 To show by evidence most manifest
 How, strictly by the lash and club and stone,
 Those three most holy men were slain. (144)⁴⁸

The *Itinerario* notes that on 25 June 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled six leagues from San Juan Baptista in search of Puaráy, observing many pueblos, farming lands on both sides of the river. On the 26th they traveled five more leagues and on the 27th five more, finally reaching Puaráy, the pueblo where Fray Agustín and Fray Francisco were killed. At this time, Puaray was given San Antonio de Padua as its patron saint.⁴⁹ When describing the Acoma events, the author of the Oñate itinerary wrote that one could reach the Peñol of Acoma by going west from Puaray.⁵⁰

La Misión de San Felipe [Modern San Felipe Pueblo 35 26N 106 26W]: On 30 July 1598 the Oñate expedition passed “Sant Phelipe” while heading to Santo Domingo.

La Misión de Santo Domingo (Campos, Ji-py-y) [35 30N 106 21W]: Oñate and his settlers passed by Santo Domingo. Some of his men, who had been with Castaño de Sosa in 1590-92 recognized the pueblo. On the night of 27 June 1598 Oñate came six leagues from Puaray to Ji-pi-y or Santo Domingo, in order to arrest two Indians named Tomas and Xupal [Cristóbal]. They were arrested on the 28th and brought back to Puaray. On 30 June 1598 they were back in Santo Domingo, in whose province the “Convent de Nuestra Señora de la Asumpcion” was erected.⁵¹ On 7 July 1598 a general council of seven Indian chieftains of different New Mexico provinces was held at Santo Domingo. Each one of them pledged obedience to the Spanish king.

Later that summer, when the Oñate expedition returned to Santo Domingo on 27 July 1598, Ginés de Herrera Horta, chief auditor and legal assessor to Oñate, reported seeing about 100 Indians dancing to celebrate the coming of the Spaniards.⁵² Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos, one of the settlers of San Gabriel, stated that the Indians of Santo Domingo came to recite their prayers at the ringing of the bell and that the natives taught each other the prayers willingly and devoutly.⁵³

Galisteo River and Basin: On 23 June 1601 a group of the Oñate expedition left San Gabriel and traveled for four days before reaching Galisteo, which was one of

the first settlements.⁵⁴ In Oñate's era wagons left the river at Santo Domingo and headed up the Galisteo basin to Santa Fe to avoid climbing the hill at La Bajada.⁵⁵ Oñate's men who had been with Castaño de Sosa knew that the flatter route for carretas went from the Río Grande to the Galisteo basin via the Santa Fe River and returned by way of the Galisteo, thus exploring both valleys as routes away from the Río Grande below La Bajada hill and White Rock Canyon.⁵⁶ The later *Camino Real* would turn away from the river in this same area. In July of 1598 Oñate traveled from San Juan Pueblo to Galisteo and from there to the great pueblo of Pecos. On the 27th of July they returned to the valley of Santo Domingo, where they remained until 1 August 1598.⁵⁷

San Juan de los Caballeros, Caypa, Ohke (San Juan Bautista): According to the itinerary of the 1598 Oñate expedition, on 4 July Oñate sent Juan de Zaldívar to get the rest of the settlers who waited at the gravesite of Robledo in May. By 18 August, he had led them to the San Juan valley.⁵⁸ This was a reference to San Juan de los Caballeros, which had been established after the ceremonies at Santo Domingo.⁵⁹ Oñate wrote that his army caught up to him on 19 August at San Juan de los Caballeros "in this province of the Teguas".⁶⁰

Villagrà described the mood of the place when he wrote:

Happy and in great pleasure did arrive
 At a fine pueblo, well laid out,
 To which they gave the title of San Juan
 And "de los caballeros" to recall
 The ones who first did elevate
 In these new lands and regions
 The bloody standard on which Christ
 For general salvation was raised up,
 Here all the Indians with pleasure
 Did share their houses with our folk.
 And when, all lodged and settled down,
 We were endeavoring to be good neighbors,
 The General being at his meal one day,
 The barbarians set up a wail
 So loud and fearful that we though
 The last moment had now arrived
 To the tremendous judgment, final point
 Of universal end for all the world.
 Wherefore, all being much perturbed,
 Confused, we asked the translators
 The cause of that wailing, and they replied
 That 'twas for water all the people wept,
 For much time now had passed away
 In which the clouds had never watered
 The earth, which, in a thousand places dry,
 Was so cracked and so burnt with thirst

That 'twas impossible to raise
As much as one of the crops they had sown. (148)⁶¹

San Gabriel: As a post note, San Gabriel, the pueblo of Yunque or Yugewinge, was founded a few months after San Juan de los Caballeros. San Gabriel is noted on Enrico Martínez's Map of 1601 and in a previous map drawn in 1599. Oñate moved his capital from San Juan de los Caballeros to San Gabriel, which was located on the left bank of the Chama where it flowed into the Río Grande. It remained the capital of New Mexico until Governor Don Pedro de Peralta, Oñate's successor, founded Santa Fe in 1610. It was a town of approximately four hundred houses and was more adequate for the needs of the Spanish forces.⁶² According to Joseph Brondate, Oñate established his army headquarters at San Gabriel. From here, the expedition group explored the area 50 leagues to the north and twenty leagues to the sides. They found about 50 pueblos, the smallest with 30 houses and the largest with 400. Brondate stated that Oñate and his people had settled in this Indian pueblo consisting of about 400 houses, which the Spaniards occupied and adapted to their needs. He also explained that it was not necessary to build any forts because the Indians were so peaceful. This place was very appropriate because it had water, rivers and forests.⁶³

The *Itinerario* of Juan de Oñate's expedition and Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà's *Historia de la Nueva México*, are distinct from one another. The *Itinerario* is an official document that formed a part of a report about the expedition and was subject to audit by colonial authorities. Villagrà's *Historia* is a literary expression of the trek along the route told in point of fact. How much can Villagrà's *Historia* be trusted? When the superfluous language of the poet and the many poetic licences taken by him are set aside, and the events therein are compared with the *Itinerario* and other period documents, Villagrà's work has its validity — especially in the descriptive passages that fill out Juan de Oñate's *Itinerario*. When read together, Villagrà's *Historia* and the *Itinerario* complement one another in such a way that a new dimension of the expedition becomes evident.

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NOTES

¹ Pacheco, J. F., F. de Cárdenas y Espejo, and L. Torres de Mendoza (Eds.). *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias. Competentemente autorizada*. Madrid: Ministerio de Ultramar, 1864-84 hereinafter cited as Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres 1871.

² Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres, *Colección*, 1871. Hammond, George P. and A. Rey (Eds. and Trans.), *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953, II: 624.

³ Encinias, M., A. Rodríguez, and J. P. Sánchez (Trans. and Eds.). *Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá's Historia de la Nueva Mexico, 1610*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

⁴ Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: II.624.

⁵ The 1581-1582 Sánchez Chamuscado expedition into New México, for example, was organized in Santa Bárbara and left there for the north on 5 June 1581, heading down the Río de San Gregorio toward its confluence with the Río Conchos (Hammond and Rey 1927: 12-13; Mecham 1926: 268). Bishop Mota y Escobar found ten or twelve Spaniards, stock-raisers and merchants, when he was there shortly after 1600. There were also two or three miners with mills and a Franciscan convent. This fertile region impressed Mota y Escobar with its produce, especially the grapes. The landscape was mountainous with large rivers from which the local Indians gathered fish. It was 25 sparsely populated leagues northwest of Indehe and seven west of El Valle de San Bartolomé (Ramirez Cabañas 1940: 198-199). Santa Bárbara was settled in 1567 by Rodrigo del Río. It remained for a time the northernmost Spanish outpost, Mecham 1927: 189. In 1759 Tamarón placed this real de minas six leagues west of Parral. There were 170 families totaling 1,020 people residing there, Alessio Robles, Vito (Ed.). *Pedro Tamarón y Romeral: Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya-1765*. México: Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1937: 124.

The following is a synthesized history of Santa Bárbara. In 1567 Rodrigo del Río de Losa officially opened the villa of Santa Bárbara, whose mines had previously been discovered by Juan de La Parra. This villa was also the capital town of a province with the same name that encompassed the

entire valley of the Río Florido (Cramaussel 1990: 22-23). During the rest of the 16th century, the mining activities never became very prosperous, and the Spanish settlement was often disturbed by Indian attacks and by the expeditions to New Mexico, in which many of the inhabitants of Santa Bárbara enlisted. As a result the mines were abandoned in favor of agricultural pursuits (Cramaussel 1990: 38-42). Until the founding of the mines at Todos Santos around 1586, Santa Bárbara was the last settled area on the Camino Real. There continued to be some commercial traffic through this small town but the expansion of Valle de San Bartolomé caused the road to be diverted towards the fertile streams of the Franciscan mission. In 1631, when the mines in Parral were discovered, new mining operations were established in Santa Bárbara, but then by the end of the 17th century it was again almost abandoned because of the lack of new mines. Many of the inhabitants left to go to Cusiuhiriachi (Documento de la cofradía del santísimo sacramento). During the 18th century the town was rejuvenated, and, under Porfirio Díaz, Santa Bárbara was connected by railroad to Parral. It was then transformed into a center of gold and silver production. In 1902 its population numbered at 2,406 (Rocha Chávez 1967: 14), and in 1907 its production of precious metals was double the quantity that was produced in Parral (Ponce de León 1909: 25).

⁶ Villagrà, *Historia*. 87, Canto X, lines 8-23.

⁷ **Río Florido:** On 17 November 1597, the Oñate expedition left Bauz for the Río Florido, a distance of two “good” leagues .

Valle de San Bartolomé: On 19 November 1597 the Oñate expedition left Río de los Buñuelos, and traveled four leagues to the pueblo and Valle de San Bartolomé, in the province of Santa Bárbara. They stayed there until 17 December 1597 for an inspection. According to the 1598 itinerary of the Oñate expedition, the Río de San Bartolomé ran southeast to northwest. Upon leaving Santa Barbara, the Valle de San Bartolomé was the next point reached by expeditions leaving for New Mexico. [Valle de Allende 26 56N 105 24W]: Although Luxán’s account of the Espejo expedition has them leaving from San Gregorio on 10 November 1582, Espejo and Obregón give their starting point as San Bartolomé (see the Valle de San Gregorio entry). A year later, on 10 September 1583, they ended the expedition there. Obregón pointed out that San Bartolomé was in the jurisdiction of “Santa Bárbola” (or Santa Bárbara) at the time, (Hammond and Rey 1929: 45,128; Hammond and Rey 1928: 317; Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres, Colección, 1871: XV.103). Soon after 1600, Bishop Mota y Escobar wrote that the Valle de San Bartolomé lay seven leagues east of Santa Bárbara and four or five from the mountains. All manner of produce and animals were raised there with the aid of irrigation from a river. Mills ground flour sold to miners. A nearby marsh supported ducks, geese, and cranes. It was subject to the rule of Santa Bárbara and visitations from the Franciscans there (Ramirez Cabañas 1940: 199 — 200).

On 29 December 1725, after passing the Hacienda de la Concepción and the Río de Enmedio, Rivera came to the Valle de San Bartolomé. It was inhabited by Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes. It contained the parish and convent of San Francisco, and its lands produced all types of seeds, fruit and vegetables, Alessio Robles 1946: 41.

In 1759, Bishop Tamarón described this town as one of the larger and more splendid places of this bishopric. It was composed of merchants and farmers, and 202 families totaling 1,833 people resided here. There was a convent of San Francisco maintained only by the guardian, and there used to be a presidio that was removed in 1751. It was 15 leagues north from Las Bocas and 124 leagues from Durango, Alessio Robles 1937: 121. In 1825 its name was changed to Valle de Allende, Alessio Robles 1937: 125. Nicolas Lafora stayed there from 20 to 24 May 1766. It had a priest and an Alcalde Mayor whose jurisdiction covered a circumference of seventy leagues; he also described its boundaries and the rivers found in it. The population was 4,751 Spanish, mestizos, and mulattoes, Alessio Robles 1939: 63-65.

Josiah Gregg, in 1841, went through Saucillo and Garzas before reaching Santa Rosalia. He then continued almost directly south through Santa Cruz toward “Allende or Valle de S. Bartolomé” and southwest to Cerro Gordo (Gregg 1933). From Valle de San Bartolomé Rivera and Lafora took different routes to Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos; from here Lafora went to Atotonilco.

Estancia de Fuensalida: On 17 December 1597 the Oñate expedition left the Valle de San Bartolomé and traveled three leagues to the Estancia de Fuensalida.

Arroyo de San Geronimo: On 20 December 1597 the Oñate expedition left Fuensalida and traveled two and a half leagues to this arroyo. The second inspection was held here; they departed on 26 January 1598.

Santa Cruz: On 26 January 1598 the Oñate expedition left the Arroyo de San Geronimo and passed the “Torrente de la Cruz”. In 1841 Josiah Gregg showed the road which he traveled going through Saucillo and Garzas before reaching Santa Rosalia. He then continued almost directly south toward “Allende or Valle de S. Bartolomé.” Santa Cruz lay along this road, just south of the Río de Parral.

Todos Santos: On 27 January 1598 the Oñate expedition spent the night at the mines of Todos Santos.

Ojo del Agua Hondo: On 28 January 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled two leagues from the Todos Santos mines to this Ojo.

Arroyo Lamosso: On 29 January 1598 the Oñate expedition left the Ojo del Agua Hondo and traveled one and a half leagues to this arroyo. From Arroyo Lamosso Oñate went to Río de Conchos. (Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI.23.)

⁸ After reaching this river by way of a tributary, the San Gregorio, on 6 June 1581, Sánchez Chamuscado followed it toward the place where it emptied into the Río Grande, crossing many dense ridges with great difficulty. They left it and turned north before reaching the confluence, encountering the Río Grande some five leagues north of the Conchos. Gallegos described the country along the Río Conchos as wretched, dry, and unproductive. Along this river, the expedition encountered different native groups which they called the Concha, Raya, and Cabri. The Cabri have been identified with the Pazaguantes from near Cuchillo Parado [29 26N 106 50W] (Mecham 1926: 269, n.13,14). They cultivated beans and calabashes and also subsisted on roots, ground mesquite, prickly pears, and mushrooms (Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Colección*, 1871: XV.83; Hammond and Rey 1927: 14-18; Mecham 1926: 269-270).

At the confluence of the San Gregorio, Florida and Conchos rivers, Luxán gave a description of the Conchos Indians who inhabited the region. According to him, they wore skins over their private parts (though he later described them as naked), lived in peace, and supported themselves on fish, mesquite, and mescal. Espejo added that they hunted rabbits, hares, and deer and grew some corn, melons, and gourds, and went into a little more detail about their diet and food preparation. He described them as going about naked but living in grass huts and having *caciques*, and noted that they used the bow and arrow. Beyond the Conchos were a people called the “Passaguates” or Pazaguantes, and others who all spoke similar languages and lived in a like manner. According to Luxán, along the Río Conchos, the party bestowed the names El Mesquital, El Bado, El Mohino, Los Sauces, El Xacal, El Paraje Seco, La Chorrera, El Calabazal, La Barreta, La Ciénaga Llana, El Puerto de la Raya de los Conchos, and La Paz (Hammond and Rey 1929: 49-59; Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres 1871: XV.104-106).

⁹ Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres 1871: XVI.232.

¹⁰ Reeve 1961: 121-122.

¹¹ Villagrà 87-88, Canto X, lines 36-52.

¹² Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres, *Colección*, 1871: XVI.233.

¹³ Villagrà 105. Canto XII: 42-56.

¹⁴ Some of the places described in the *Itinerario* are as follows:

Portezuelo: On 7 February 1598 the Oñate expedition left the Río de Conchos, turning to go directly north, and went through “Portezuelo”. This was the first expedition to go directly north from the Río Conchos toward New Mexico.

Agua de la Tentación: On 7 February 1598 the Oñate expedition left the Río de Conchos, went through Portezuelo and continued toward the north. After three leagues they reached Agua de la *Tentación*, so named because they reached it on Temptation Sunday.

El Pizarral: On 8 February 1598 the Oñate expedition left Agua de la *Tentación* and passed through El Pizarral. This has been identified as the site of a slate quarry.

Agua del Incendio: On 8 February 1598 the Oñate expedition passed through El Pizarral and reached Agua del Incendio, two leagues farther north.

Barrancas del Río de San Pedro: On 9 February 1598 the Oñate expedition left Agua del Incendio and traveled three leagues to these barrancas. From here they went three more leagues to the Río San Pedro.

San Pedro (or San Greco): On 10 March 1598, the Oñate expedition left the Río San Pedro and went to the pools which they called either San Pedro or San Greco, a distance of three leagues. See Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres, *Colección*, 1871: XVI.233-234. Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: I.312.

¹⁵ Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 234.

¹⁶ Villagrà 100. Canto XI, lines 223-244.

¹⁷ **Río Chuviscar or de Nombre de Dios:** On 12 March 1598 the Oñate expedition came to the Río del Nombre de Dios, five leagues from San Pedro (or San Greco). The river flows from west to east. The pools and marshes extend about a league and a half up river. This river has been identified as the Río Chuviscar near Nombre de Dios, Chihuahua.

Valle de San Martín: On 14 March 1598 the Oñate expedition crossed the Río de Nombre de Dios (or Río de Chuviscar), on their left, in order to enter the Valle de San Martín. See Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 234-235.

¹⁸ Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 236.

¹⁹ This has been associated with the range later called the Sacramentos (Moorhead 1958: 13). Wislizenus encountered this river from the then inappropriately named Arroyo Seco, Chihuahua, on 23 August 1846. In this area the broad plain, on which he had been traveling from the north, narrowed between mountain ranges. The valley of this river was soon to be famous for a battle fought against invading U.S. troops (Wislizenus 1848:47).

²⁰ Villagrà 101-102. Canto XI, lines 289-312.

²¹ **Descendimiento de la Cruz y Sancto Sepulcro:** On 21 March 1598 the Oñate expedition left the Agua de San Joseph and traveled three leagues to reach this place.

Encinar de la Resurreccion y Ojos Milagrosos: On 22 March 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled three leagues to reach this oak grove. It was named this because a horse stepped in a bog near a large spring and a waterspout shot into the air and continued flowing about one span high.

Alameda de la Asumpcion de Nuestra Señora: On 24 March 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled two leagues to reach this place. The waterholes are large and good,

Laguna de Encinillas [29 28N 106 21W]: On 25 March 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled one league to reach “Laguna de San Benito y Ojuelas del Norte,” which was two leagues around. The itinerary of the expedition noted that its waters and odor were like that of the lake of Mexico.

Aguaje de la Cruz: On 26 March 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled three leagues from the Laguna de San Benito y Ojuelas del Norte and reached this “Aguaxe” de la Cruz.

Agua Nueva [29 40N 106 13W]: On 27 March 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled one league west from the Aguaje de la Cruz and reached the “Bocas del Peñol de Vélez” and the end of the sierras of Levante and of Oñate. They enclose the “Sant Martín” valley. They remained here for two days.

Ancón del Recelo: On 30 March 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled three leagues from the Bocas del Peñol de Vélez and reached Ancón del Recelo.

El Aguaje del Chivato: On 31 March 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled two short leagues to the “Fuente de Sant Francisco de Paula,” later known as Chivato .

Socorro del Cielo: On 1 April 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled for nine leagues, during which they found no water. After traveling for three leagues a heavy downpour formed large pools of water, with which they were able to water more than seven thousand head of livestock of all kind. Because of Divine assistance, they named the place Socorro del Cielo.

Río del Carmen: On 3 April 1598 the Oñate expedition left the *paraje* called “Socorro del Cielo” and traveled for two days. They reached the “Río de la Mentira,” named this because even though it had a large bed and many trees it did not hold a drop of water.

Los Baños de San Isidro: While at the Río de la Mentira, on 3 April 1598, the priest who wrote this itinerary described the “Ciénega de Los Baños de San Isidro” as being “dos tiros de arcabuz” east of the Río de la Mentira. It is formed by some springs of nearly hot water and is located six short leagues from Socorro del Cielo. They remained there until the 6th of April.

Los Patos [Laguna de los Patos 30 45N 106 29W]: On 7 April 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled two leagues to the sierra and ciénega of “Alchicubite de Sant Vicente,” already considered well-known. It had very good water.

Ojo del Lucero [30 50N 106 30W]: On 8 April 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled three leagues to the “Ciénega de la Concepcion,” probably formed by the overflow from Ojo del Lucero.

Fuente de San Leon: On 10 April 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled a league and a half from the Ciénega de la Concepción into Los Médanos and reached the Fuente de Sant León, a small water hole a short distance “*del camino*”.

Spring of San Ermenegildo: On 11 April 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled three leagues from the Fuente de San León to the manantial de Sant Emenegildo, named for a Spanish prince and martyr.

Bocas de Los Médanos [Rail Station 31 12N 106 31W]: On 12 April 1598 the Oñate expedition left the spring of San “Ermenegildo” and traveled three leagues to the openings of the sand dunes called Bocas de los Médanos. They buried an Indian boy there and remained until the 19th because the preceding watering places did not have enough water for the livestock. They had to take the animals down to the Río del Norte. On the 19th they traveled three leagues to the gap known as Bocas de los Médanos. By this route, the *carretas* avoided the worst of the sand dunes and reached the Río del Norte about eight and a half leagues below El Paso. See Pacheco, Cárdenas, y Torres, *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 236-240.

²² Villagrà 105. Canto XII: 71-107.

²³ Villagrà 124-125. Canto XIV: 35-47.

²⁴ Villagrà 126. Canto XIV: 96 -106.

²⁵ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 240-244.

²⁶ Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: II. 624-625.

²⁷ *Íbid*, 626.

²⁸ Villagrà 130-131. Canto XIV: 303-321.

²⁹ Villagrà 131. Canto XIV, lines 330-348.

³⁰ Villagrà. Canto XIV, 131-138. The words in the *Itinerario* are nearly identical. Having identified the priests and the chief officials in the expedition, Oñate said: “Before them I state that in the name of the most Christian king, Don Felipe, our lord, sole defender and protector of holy mother church, and its true son, and for the crown of Castile and the kings of his glorious lineage who may reign there, for and on behalf of my said province I take and seize tenancy and possession, real and actual, civil and natural, one, two, and three times, one, two, and three times, one, two and three times, and all the times that by right I can and should, at this said Río del Norte, without excepting anything and without

limitations, including the mountains, rivers, valleys, meadows, pastures, and waters. In his name I also take possession of all the other lands, pueblos, cities, towns, castles, fortified and unfortified houses which are now established in the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico, those neighboring and adjacent thereto, and those which may be established in the future, together with their mountains, rivers, fisheries, waters, pastures, valleys, meadows, springs, and ores of gold, silver, copper, mercury, tin, iron, precious stones, salt, morales, alum, and all the lodes of whatever sort, quality, or condition they may be, together with the native Indians in each and every one of the provinces, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, power of life and death, over high and low, from the leaves of the trees in the forests to the stones and sands of the river, and from the stone and sands of the river to the leaves in the forests.” See translation of the *Itinerario* in Hammond and Rey, Oñate, Vol. I, 334-335.

³¹ Guadalupe (Conversión de los Mansos) was founded by Fray García de Zúñiga in 1659 (Twitchell 1911: I.367). Fray Benavides described the Manso in his Memorial of 1634, writing that they subsisted on fish and meat, all eaten raw. He also noted that they lived near a ford of the Río del Norte which the Spanish used often, Christianizing them in passing. The Mansos later lived in the area of Las Cruces and were moved south to the region where “Presidio del Paso” was later built in 1659 when the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos was built (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945: 52-54, 243-244).

³² Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres, *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 244-245.

³³ Villagrà 141 Canto XV: 85-101.

³⁴ Villagrà 140, Canto XV, lines 71-79.

³⁵ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 245-246. The Sierra del Olvido was undoubtedly the Organ mountains, which were an imposing sight (Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: I.316). During the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Governor Antonio Otermín, named the spiral bluff “Los Organos” because they appeared like organ pipes. Anglo-American travelers translated the modern name, the Organ Mountains.

³⁶ Two place names have survived along the dry wastelands north of El Paso to remind New Mexicans of Bernardo Gruber’s final test, the Jornada del Muerto and Alemán (Sánchez 1987: 120-128). Gruber was a German trader from Sonora who became a target of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Mexico sometime between 1668 and 1670. He became the focus of Fray Joseph de Paredes’s investigation when a mulatto named Juan Nieto reported that Gruber was handing out *papelitos* with “+ABNA+ADNA+” written on them and telling people that if they swallowed them no harm could come to them from “that hour of this first day to that same hour of the second day.” On April 19, 1668 Captain Joseph Nieto, the *alcalde mayor* of the Jurisdiction of Salinas, Fray Gabriel Torija, the Franciscan minister of San Gregorio de Abó and notary for the Inquisition, and Juan and Joseph Martín Serrano, left Abó for Quarai to arrest Gruber on charges of practicing magic.

After being held for nearly a month in a cell at Abó Gruber was transferred to an *estancia* called San Nicolás, owned by Captain Francisco de Ortega, in the Jurisdiction of Sandía Pueblo. Gruber remained a prisoner there for nearly two years, during which there was no action from the Inquisition authorities in New Mexico. On June 22, 1670, Gruber made his escape with the aid of two accomplices: his guard, Juan Martín Serrano; and one of his Apache servants, Atanasio.

Although Ortega was able to pick up Gruber’s trail on the *Camino Real*, he was unable to catch up with him or his servant Atanasio. However, it was Atanasio who later provided information regarding what happened to Gruber. According to Atanasio, he and Gruber spent June 24 on the trail somewhere near Senecú. That night they camped at a place called Fray Cristóbal, and the next day they made it through the “hot wasteland” to Las Peñuelas. After Atanasio returned from two days of searching for water, he discovered that Gruber was gone; apparently he had taken one horse and gone south on the *Camino Real*. Atanasio tried unsuccessfully to locate Gruber and then decided to report the incident to Fray Francisco Nicolás Hurtado, *ministro de doctrina* of the Convento de Senecú, not

far from Socorro. Later it was said, albeit hastily, that Atanasio murdered Gruber. Although searches were conducted for Gruber, the only evidence found were what was believed to be his remains at a point which would later be called Alemán; New Mexico lore would then commemorate the trail as *La Jornada del Muerto* (Sánchez 1987: 120-128).

In his popular history of New Mexico, Dan Murphy wrote that the Jornada del Muerto was named for the death of a man named Robledo, for whom the *paraje* was named, during Oñate's 1598 entrada (Murphy 1985: 39). James L. Haley thought that the name Jornada del Muerto came from Mescalero attacks on caravans in the area (Haley 1981: 30). Tenorio Oclides explained that it was given because of the deaths of many people and animals from thirst and fatigue (Oclides 1975: 2).

³⁷ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres, *Colección*. 1871: XVI. 246-247.

³⁸ On 24 May 1726 Rivera left Robledillo and traveled northwest, then west, through land with hills, flat mesas, and thickets of gorse, mesquite and rosemary. He stayed at a pleasant *paraje* located between the bank of the river and a high hill called San Diego, said to contain minerals, Alessio Robles 1946: 49.

On 12 May, 1760 Bishop Tamarón, to prepare for the Jornada del Muerto, made a detour to find the river at a place called San Diego and filled barrels with water (Adams 1953: 200). On 9 August 1766, Lafora gave this name to a mountain range at the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto. He described the landscape as flat and barren with wild palms that gave dates comparable to those found in Spain. At San Diego, travelers prepared themselves and their livestock for the crossing of the arid Jornada, Alessio Robles 1939: 92.

³⁹ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871: XVI. 247-248.

⁴⁰ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871: XVI. 248-249.

⁴¹ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871: XVI. 249. See also Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: I. 317.

⁴² Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: II. 633.

⁴³ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871: XVI. 249-248. Qualacú has been called the most southerly of the Piro settlements on the east bank of the river, at the foot of the Black Mesa, near San Marcial (Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: I. 318). However, in 1682 Otermín noted passing the ruins of Qualacú between the hacienda of Luis Lopez to the north and the ruins of San Pasqual further south, see also Hackett 1915: 39.

⁴⁴ Villagrà 125, Canto XIV, lines 58 to 69.

⁴⁵ Villagrà 125-126, Canto XIV, lines 79 to 86.

⁴⁶ Villagrà 126, Canto XIV, lines 104-108.

⁴⁷ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres, *Colección*, 1871: XVI.25. Teypana was a pueblo of the Piro, on the west bank of the Río Grande, near the modern town of Socorro, see also Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: I.318.

⁴⁸ Translated by Joseph P. Sánchez. Original translation is found in Villagrà 128, Canto XIV, lines 203-208.

⁴⁹ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres, *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 251-252. This came to be known as Sevilleta, so named because of its resemblance to Seville, Spain. This Piro pueblo was located on the east bank of the Río Grande, about 20 miles north of Socorro, Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: I.318.

⁵⁰ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres, *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 252-253. A. Wislizenus camped near this small town on 24 July 1846 and noticed that, coming from the north, this was the first time that substantial bluffs approached the Río del Norte. See also, Wislizenus 1848: 35-36. In 1846, Abert commented on the abundant fields where the valley widened at La Joyita, Abert 1962: 119.

⁵¹ Villagr  143, Canto XV, lines 174-188.

⁵² Pacheco, C rdenas y Torres, *Colecci n*, 1871: XVI. 254.

⁵³ Villagr  144 Canto XV, lines 216-224.

⁵⁴  bid, lines 228-233.

⁵⁵ Villagr  145-146. Canto XV, lines 274-306.

⁵⁶ Vetancurt 1971: 99.

⁵⁷ Mecham 1926: 277, 285-289; Hammond and Rey 1927: 46-47, 50,53.

⁵⁸ Hackett 1915:381. Lux n described it as three stories high and containing 400 houses. The residents fled to the nearby mountains and refused to return. The Spanish helped themselves to provisions there as well as at other pueblos and continued on to visit the Keres. They returned to the Tiwa area and again approached Puala on 22 June 1583. This time they determined to teach this pueblo a lesson. According to Lux n, they executed sixteen Indians and burned others to death along with their pueblo (Hammond and Rey 1929: 80-82,115-116).

⁵⁹ Villagr  144, Canto XV, lines 233-254.

⁶⁰ Pacheco, C rdenas y Torres, *Colecci n*, 1871: XVI. 253-254.

⁶¹  bid, 272-273.

⁶² Pacheco, C rdenas y Torres 1871: XVI.254. Vetancurt reported in 1692 that the convent at “San Felipe” was a well stocked infirmary. It also had a music chapel (“Capilla de musicos”) and, together with the smaller Santa Ana pueblo nearby, accounted for many faithful. There were 600 persons in the two pueblos, Vetancurt 1971: 100.

⁶³ Going north from Tiwa country during their 1581 entrada, S nchez Chamuscado entered the land of the Keres speakers at the pueblo which they called “Campos.” It was found on the east side of the R o Grande in the vicinity of the pueblo of Santo Domingo (Mecham 1926: 278-279; Hammond and Rey 1927: 47-48). On 8 and 9 March 1591, Casta o de Sosa moved his camp from San Marcos in the Galisteo basin to near Santo Domingo, apparently being the one to give it that name. It was at a ruined pueblo near Santo Domingo and “Gipuy” that Casta o de Sosa was arrested by Morlete (Hull 1916: 328-330; Schroeder and Matson 1965: 142;157-160; Pacheco, C rdenas y Torres 1871: IV. 347).

⁶⁴ Pacheco, C rdenas y Torres 1871:XVI.253-254; see also Mecham 1926: 278.

⁶⁵  bid, 256. Keres (or Queres): In his 1634 memorial, Benavides reported that the Keres nation consisted of seven pueblos, four thousand souls, all baptized and docile, and three convents and churches in addition to one in each pueblo (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945: 65). After the Espejo party came up the R o del Norte in 1583 through the lands of the Tiwa, they entered the Keres and then followed the Jemez River to the north and turned west, going as far as Arizona. They returned to the R o Grande valley in the northern Tiwa area and again entered Keres. This time they exited the valley by way of the Galisteo basin and made their way to the great plains, then down the Pecos River back to Mexico. During this second stay, Lux n recorded the names of all of the Keres pueblos. The names he gave were Catiete (also Catiste and La Tiete), Gigue, Tipolti, Cochita, and Sieharan. These have been identified as follows:

Catiete = San Felipe (the native name is Katishtya).

Gigue = Gipuy (O ate) or Santo Domingo.

Tipolti = Tamy or Tamaya (O ate) or Santa Ana.

Cochita = Cochit .

Sieharan = Sia or a nearby pueblo (Hammond and Rey 1929: 116-117).

Castaño de Sosa moved his camp from San Marcos in the Galisteo basin to near a pueblo reported to be Santo Domingo. It was at a ruined pueblo in the Keres region that he was arrested by Morlete for his illegal colonization (Hull 1916: 328-329).

⁶⁶ Hammond and Rey. *Oñate*, 1953: II. 643,662.

⁶⁷ *Íbid*, 711.

⁶⁸ *Íbid*, 747.

⁶⁹ Moorhead 1958: 26.

⁷⁰ Schroeder and Matson 1965: 142; 157-160.

⁷¹ Vetancurt described the area between Santa Domingo and Santa Fe as flat and noted no settlements between the two. This probably means that, before the 1680 revolt, he thought of the route through the Galisteo basin as the usual way to Santa Fe rather than a road through Cochití and along the Santa Fe River (Vetancurt 1971: 100).

⁷² Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 258-259.

⁷³ Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres. *Colección*, 1871: XVI. 254-255.

⁷⁴ Hammond and Rey. *Oñate*, *Colección*, 1953: I. 320.

⁷⁵ *Íbid*, 481.

⁷⁶ Villagrà 148. Canto XVI: 10-37.

⁷⁷ Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: I. 17.

⁷⁸ Hammond and Rey, *Oñate*, 1953: II. 626-627.