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“The First Province of that Kingdom”

NOTES ON THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE PIRO AREA

Michael Bletzer

To the casual observer, the Piro Pueblo area appears to have been largely on the periphery of events in early colonial New Mexico.¹ The very term *Piro* does not occur in written records until the founding of the first Piro missions in the mid-1620s. Sixty years later, the Piro pueblos lay in ruins, the last of them abandoned in the wake of the Pueblo Revolt. Today the Piro and their place in New Mexican history are often overlooked. Drawing on current documentary and archaeological research, this essay offers a broad outline of developments in the Piro “province” during the critical years from 1600 to 1680.

Like most, if not all, Native groups in what later Spanish explorers would call the “Kingdom of New Mexico,” the Piro undoubtedly had their share

Michael Bletzer is an archaeologist with Four Corners Research and research associate with Jornada Research Institute. He has been investigating the Piro area since 1999, originally as part of his PhD work at Southern Methodist University where he graduated in 2009. The bulk of the Piro fieldwork focuses on Site LA 31744, Plaza Montoya Pueblo; parts of which were excavated between 2001 and 2010. Since 2012, he has been conducting archival research and archaeological testing to identify the location of Site LA 791, Pilabó Pueblo, in downtown Socorro, New Mexico. He wishes to thank the dozens of volunteers who braved both the elements and the thorny vegetation that covered much of the Plaza Montoya Pueblo site. He gives special thanks to Brenda Wilkinson, Tom O’Laughlin, his wife Silke, the late René Steensma, and to the three landowners—Holm O. Bursum III, the late Charles Headen, and the late Barbara Remington—whose properties shared in the site. Years of research in various archives have resulted in still further debts, above all to Nancy Brown-Martinez at the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico. He also extends many thanks to the editorial staff at the New Mexico Historical Review for making sure that this piece would see the light of publication.

of encounters with the peripatetic Coronado Expedition of 1540–1542. Unlike their Puebloan neighbors to the north and west, however, the Piro probably saw only small numbers of Coronado's men. In the fall of 1540, the first party to travel through Piro territory may have been led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado himself while en route from Zuni to Tiguex, the land of the southern Tiwas. Neither this nor perhaps two later visits by other members of the expedition seem to have been more than scouting forays. Whether and to what extent those occasional early encounters with Spanish parties affected individual Piro communities or the Piro as a whole over the long run cannot be determined from extant Spanish sources.² Nothing in the Coronado documents indicates adverse relations, let alone anything approaching the transgressions committed by Coronado's men in the neighboring Tiguex province. Historical records are largely silent on these ventures, apart from mentioning Tutahaco, a province comprised of eight pueblos down the Rio Grande from Tiguex, and four pueblos located still farther south.³

It is not until the late sixteenth century that the Piro enter the historical record with certainty, although not yet by name. In late August 1581, the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition—a party of Spanish friars and soldiers drawn north by rumors of large settlements of “people wearing [cotton] clothes” and visions of a “new Mexico”—halted outside a ruined pueblo not far from the basalt ridge known today as Black Mesa.⁴ After a month and a half on the trail, the party christened both the pueblo and the region “San Felipe del Nuevo México.” The soldier Hernán Gallegos wrote that “judging by the buildings” there once lived “a large number of people, who must have been very advanced, and whose discovery would be of great importance, if they could be found.”⁵ Over the next several days, Gallegos and his companions did just that, discovering a “nation” whose pueblos lined a long stretch of the Rio Grande bottomlands. “We journeyed through the territory of this nation for four days, always passing numerous pueblos—indeed, we sometimes passed through two a day—continuing until we reached the frontier of another nation,” wrote Gallegos.⁶

In January 1582, the explorers reappeared at the Piro pueblos, homeward-bound. No information on this stage of their journey exists other than that they undertook some side trips to prospect for mineral deposits. Once back on the Spanish frontier word of their discoveries spread quickly, and before the year was out another expedition was on its way north. On 1 February 1583, the Espejo-Beltrán party passed by the ruined pueblo of San Felipe. The accounts of this group's march through Piro territory in many ways mirror those of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition, including a lack of anything resembling Native ethnonyms or toponyms.⁷ While the Espejo-Beltrán party

was still deep in Pueblo country, officials in Madrid were deciding the future of New Mexico.

On 19 April 1583, King Philip II decreed that the newly discovered land “be settled by Spaniards and pacified so that the Holy Gospel can be preached there.”⁸ More than a dozen years later, Juan de Oñate led and financed a formal colonizing expedition. Before that, two unauthorized expeditions threatened to undercut the official process. In 1590 Gaspar Castaño de Sosa led more than 150 would-be colonists up the Pecos River and on to the Rio Grande pueblos. The enterprise collapsed when the viceroy in Mexico City, fearing the mistreatment of Native populations, sent troops to bring Castaño’s group back to New Spain. A few years later, a military party led by Francisco de Leyva Bonilla also made a run for the Rio Grande. After a year or so of imposing themselves on the Pueblos, Leyva and his men ventured out on the Plains and were never seen again.⁹

Following the arrival of Oñate and his colonists in January 1598, fray Juan Claros was assigned to “the province of the Chiguas, or Tiguas, [and] the province of Atzigues down the river, with all its pueblos” — a clear acknowledgment of the area that would eventually become known as the “Piro province” (fig. 1).¹⁰ This mission assignment in September 1598 is the first explicit mention of Spanish interest in the Piro area. There are no other references to Spanish missionary efforts among the Piros prior to 1626, nor is there evidence of other Spanish activities in the area before 1630. An early outpost may have existed at Senecú, the southernmost Piro pueblo, but the fragile state of early Spanish settlement in northern New Mexico left little room for a permanent presence in Piro territory. Even so, with the bulk of the Piro pueblos sitting astride the colonists’ lifeline to Mexico, Piro-Spanish contact was probably frequent. At least the northernmost Piro pueblos may have been visited by some of the requisitioning parties that harassed Puebloan communities located closer to the nascent Spanish center on the upper Rio Grande.¹¹

Some twenty years before the Claros assignment, members of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo-Beltrán parties noted a dense occupation of the Piro lowlands along the Rio Grande. All their accounts, though, lack detail and consistency in numbers, distances, directions, and names. According to Gallegos, “There were . . . twenty-odd pueblos,” and traveling from one pueblo to the next, he and his companions were surrounded by “more than twelve thousand people.” Another explorer mentions “ten inhabited pueblos on both sides of the river and close to its banks, in addition to others which seemed to be off the beaten track,” with a total population of “more than twelve thousand people, including men, women, and children.” A third observer saw fourteen pueblos, including five occupied by four hundred people, one by eight hundred

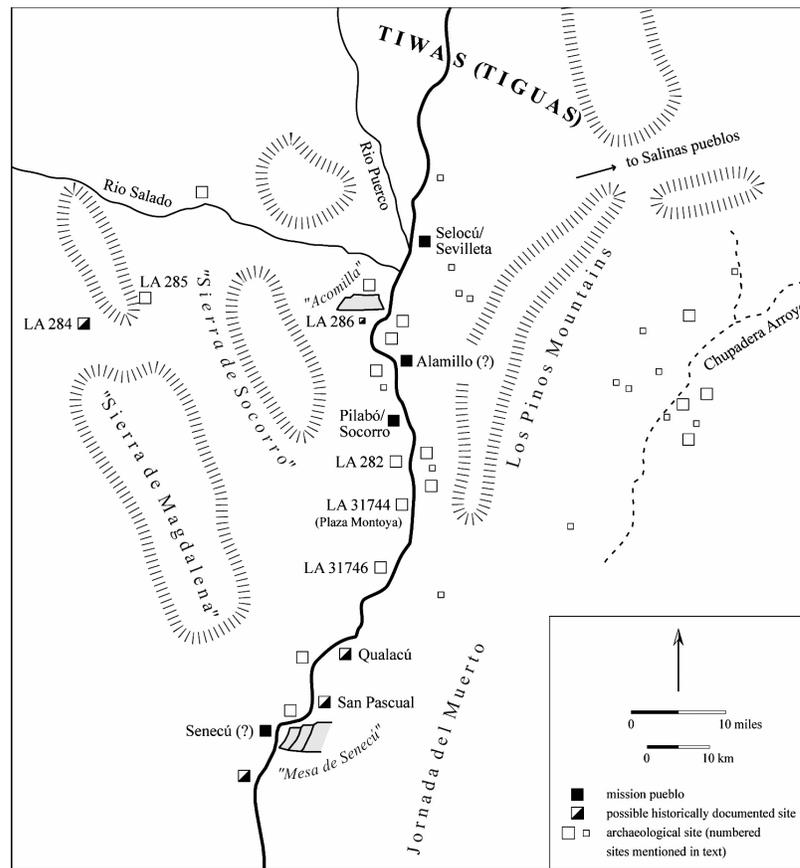


FIG. 1. HISTORIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES OF THE PIRO AREA
(Map courtesy of author)

“souls,” and four others in ruins. A fourth explorer recalled “twelve pueblos with two hundred and fifty flat-roofed houses each.”¹² Adding to this ambiguity, the Claros assignment lists a total of forty-four “Atzigues” pueblos.

The missionary assignment is intriguing because for the first time settlement names are given as transcriptions of Native terms. Its interpretive value, however, is limited by duplications, name splits, and the possible inclusion of pueblos in the Salinas area. Settlement names in the assignment are listed in relation to the Rio Grande (east or west of the river) and in north-south order, without further locational data. In its scope the list is impossible to reconcile with the so-called Martínez map of 1602, the sole contemporary source specifically on pueblo locations, which shows thirty-two numbered and several unnumbered pueblos as far north as Taos. Of the twenty-five named pueblos, three are identifiable as Piro. Based on map location, at least three of the unnamed and some of the unnumbered pueblos must have been Piro also.¹³

Settlement figures in the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo-Beltrán expedition accounts, though limited, indicate a double-digit number of Piro pueblos. Scale and length of habitation of specific pueblos remain unknown. This is also true for the initial years of the Oñate colonization. Several Oñate-period sources mention temporary abandonment of pueblos, but the available information is too vague to reveal extended trends. Fray Alonso de Benavides, founder of the first permanent Piro missions in the mid- to late 1620s, hints at general long-term population continuity; at the time of his work among the Piro there still existed fourteen Piro pueblos.¹⁴

Little archaeological data exists to help clarify the picture of contact-period and early colonial Piro settlement. Along the Rio Grande, in the uplands west of Socorro, and in the Chupadera Basin to the east, some thirty sites of potential sixteenth- and/or seventeenth-century affiliation range from ceramic scatters to multi-component pueblos with hundreds of rooms (see fig. 1). Most sites are greatly reduced and subject to continuing man-made and natural deterioration. Given the general lack of preservation and the scope of modern changes to the riverside landscape, it is uncertain to what extent this archaeological record represents colonial Piro settlement as a whole. To cloud matters further, few sites are known beyond simple surface observations. Attempts to link even the largest lowland sites to historically documented pueblos are thus precarious at best. Indeed, based mainly on location only four sites can be identified with some certainty: the mission pueblos of Socorro (Pilabó, Site LA 791, under modern Socorro); Sevilleta (Selocú, LA 774); and the two southernmost pueblos on the east side of the Rio Grande, Qualacú (LA 757), and San Pascual (LA 487) (see fig. 1).¹⁵

The case of Senecú Pueblo perhaps best illustrates some of the basic flaws in the historical and archaeological site inventory. A mission pueblo for half a century, Senecú was undoubtedly large. There are references to a church and *convento* (convent), a cemetery, corrals, and at least one warehouse. Documents consistently place the pueblo across the Rio Grande from the basalt ridge of Mesa de Senecú, today's Black Mesa (see fig. 1). Yet the gravel benches and bottomlands in the area are entirely devoid of remains that might indicate the presence of a mission pueblo. Aggradations have transformed the river margins to such an extent that today even the ruins of the early twentieth-century town of San Marcial are hardly visible. Any traces of Senecú that could have survived the rise of San Marcial are likely to be buried under the modern floodplain as well.¹⁶

As at Puebloan sites to the north and east, key archaeological indicators of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Piro occupations are diagnostic glaze-decorated ceramic rims archaeologists label Glaze E (dated to the sixteenth

to mid-seventeenth century) and F (seventeenth century). Samples exist for only four of the large riverside Piro sites (see fig. 1). Site LA 757 is probably the historic pueblo of Qualacú. Discoveries of Glaze E and F rim sherds at Qualacú are few and occur mainly in the pueblo's unexcavated northwest section, indicating limited post-contact occupation. At LA 282 (south of Socorro), a low frequency of Glaze E and F also points to a limited late occupation. At LA 31746 (located in the village of San Antonio), only a trace of Glaze E occurs on site, but the sample is too small to suggest a site-wide pattern of distribution.¹⁷ Individually and as a group the three sites contrast markedly with LA 31744 (known now as Plaza Montoya Pueblo). Multiyear archaeological testing of this site has produced substantial surface and excavation samples of glaze wares. Glaze E specimens dominate all samples. Glaze F rims are more thinly distributed, but can be found across the site. Together with metal objects in and under rooms, the Plaza Montoya ceramics point to sizeable building or remodeling between the first contacts with Spanish explorers in the 1580s and the founding of the first Piro missions in the mid-1620s. The data from Qualacú, LA 282, and LA 31746 suggest a good deal of variability in Piro settlement during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Comparisons require caution, however, for only Plaza Montoya has seen sufficient excavation coverage to permit detailed analysis of site construction and occupation (fig. 2). Overall, questions of how densely or consistently Piros occupied contact-period sites are impossible to address without a much-expanded archaeological database for the region as a whole.¹⁸

Colonial Beginnings: Missions and Mission Pueblos

In Santa Fe on 3 August 1626, Franciscan fray Alonso de Benavides heard testimony concerning an incident at Socorro “in the convent and oratory where the friars reside.”¹⁹ This is the earliest reference to a Piro mission. Benavides states that after arriving from Mexico as *custos* (superior) of the Conversion of St. Paul in New Mexico, he began converting Piros by “consecrating their principal pueblo [of Pilabó] to the blessed Most Holy Virgin of Socorro.” On his arrival there, he claims, all residents “hid or hurried away, so that I did not see anybody in the streets. The first thing I did, as in all other conversions, was to conjure and banish the devil from this place through the exorcism of the church.” He then persuaded an ailing “100-year old chief” to have “a house . . . given to me in which to live,” and received from the chief “advice as to how I ought to proceed to convert the people of this nation.”²⁰

The historical record of the Piro area mentions four missions: Socorro, Senecú, Sevilleta, and Alamillo. Only Socorro and Sevilleta can be located



FIG. 2. PLAZA MONTOYA PUEBLO

Contours are 20 cm, zero-elevation is main site datum.

(Map courtesy of author)

today, and only the latter is still visible. Alamillo and Senecú have vanished completely.²¹ Benavides claims to have founded all Piro missions except for Alamillo, but with his time in New Mexico limited to little more than three years (1625–1629), his involvement would have been largely preparatory. Judging by the record of missions in the Salinas area and the later Manso mission at El Paso, the friars likely invested up to six years to erect a full-fledged operation. Benavides himself notes that once he “put this conversion [of the Piro] in good order and baptized the majority and the important persons” he handed the mission over to fray Martín de Arvide, who “baptized and converted many people and founded a convent in which to minister to them.”²²

In all, the record of these early missionary activities is fragmentary at best and contains little on the Piro. Benavides’s sketch of his reception at Pilabó/Socorro affords a rare glimpse of Native responses to the appearance of a representative from an alien, absolutist belief system. Elsewhere, Benavides derides the Piro work ethic—especially the male work ethic—and, by extension, traditional Piro labor divisions. Piro, however, not only built the missions in the first place, but turned them into centers of agriculture, ranching, and handicrafts such as weaving and carpentry. They produced the surpluses that the friars stored in mission warehouses as safeguards against lean times and sold to get money for the church.²³

Although the general processes of development indicated by Benavides undoubtedly played out at all three of the Piro missions he founded, at Sevilleta he faced a different challenge, namely a population dispersed by conflict. The pueblo, whose Piro name he gives as “Selocú,” had been burnt in a war “with other nations,” and its residents were “scattered over sundry hills.” Benavides says that he resettled Selocú with the refugees and “many others,” probably from neighboring pueblos.²⁴ This is the only statement about a *reducción*, or settlement to consolidate people in the Piro area. By establishing such settlements, civil and religious officials aimed to “reduce” the number of Native villages and thus to facilitate civil control and religious indoctrination of the Native residents. In so doing, officials were instructed to make sure that there were “lands, waters, and forests and everything else necessary for every kind of ranching and farming,” and the locale chosen should be similar to that of the original settlements to avoid “turmoil or discontent among the Indians.”²⁵

Information on reducciones in New Mexico is scarce. For the seventeenth century, the only documented reducciones were located in the Jemez and northern Salinas areas. In other parts of the Spanish Americas, this type of settlement was usually reserved for mobile groups, small and isolated sedentary communities, or villages with declining populations.²⁶ In the case of Selocú/Sevilleta, no data suggest demographic volatility beyond the village level. As late as 1629, Benavides counts fourteen Piro pueblos, a number generally in line with pre-Claros figures. Benavides adds that each mission had “under its charge other neighboring pueblos, which the religious attend to with great care and spirit.” In this hierarchy the mission pueblos served as administrative centers for *visitas* (occasionally-visited outlying settlements). This arrangement implies some level of demographic constancy, to which Benavides himself seems to have contributed. “I refounded several pueblos which had been burned down during their wars,” he writes in his passage on Sevilleta, indicating that some pueblos were restored, rather than abandoned in favor of the mission pueblos.²⁷

As the sole surviving Piro mission pueblo, Sevilleta is of unique interest, but archaeological data are limited to surface observations and a few ceramic samples. Sited on a gravel bench east of the Rio Grande, Sevilleta had at least five room blocks, grouped loosely around a large plaza, with the mission a short distance to the southeast. The church foundations measure 23 x 6.5 meters on the inside, and an adjoining structure, probably the convento, measures 8 x 14 meters. By comparison, the church of San Isidro established in 1629 at the Salinas pueblo of Las Humanas or Gran Quivira (LA 120) is 35 x 9 meters on the inside, and the first convento there measures 13 x 12

meters. The first convento was a fifteen-room suite at the west end of the pueblo's main room block, with rooms modified (windows, corner fireplaces, and low-threshold doors) to fit the tastes of the new Franciscan occupant(s). As such, the remodeled rooms at Las Humanas very likely approximate the structure and layout of the first Benavides house at Pilabó/Socorro.²⁸

Settlers and Civil Officials

As missionaries like Benavides were trying to induce Natives to part with traditional beliefs, Spanish colonists were eager to secure grants of *encomienda*. The viceroy of New Spain had authorized Oñate to assign *encomiendas* to his fellow colonizers, but it was not until the tenure of Juan de Eulate (1618–1625) that governors allotted *encomiendas* on a wider scale.²⁹ In a land that held little other discernible material value for Spanish settlers, an *encomienda* essentially ensured socioeconomic elevation and outright survival. Not surprisingly, Spaniards contested these grants, sparking partisan struggles and triggering a range of abuses harming Pueblo communities throughout New Mexico. To curb the worst excesses, the Crown in the 1640s capped the number of all New Mexican *encomiendas* at thirty-five, but this did not necessarily cap the ranks of *encomenderos* as well. Some colonists held *partes* (partial grants) in one *encomienda*, others in several, and still others a full one or more. In the Piro province, for instance, Senecú was held by both Felis de Carvajal and Juan de Mondragón in 1660, and there may have been others with *partes* in that pueblo.³⁰

Besides giving access to Native resource and labor pools, *encomiendas* could also bring their holders close to choice agricultural lands. Royal decrees protected portions of ancestral Native lands from alienation, but in remote Spanish provinces like New Mexico enforcement of such rules tended to be arbitrary and uneven. For example, although forbidden to live among their charges, New Mexican *encomenderos* often settled near their *encomiendas*—as did Diego de Guadalajara, *encomendero* of Sevilleta in the early 1660s.³¹ Although legal restrictions on *encomiendas* and land grants were only spottily enforced, the Pueblos were at least aware of them. They “sometimes start to plant some corn fields in reserved parts,” observed one governor in the late 1630s, “to prevent the establishment of *estancias*.” It was ultimately the governor’s responsibility to avert *encomienda*- and land-related troubles. However, private interests and political partisanship, often involving the missionaries, trumped considerations of Native welfare.³²

Neither the first *encomiendas* nor the beginnings of Spanish settlement are recorded for the Piro area. Benavides mentions an effort to exploit mineral

deposits in “el cerro del pueblo del Socorro,” but there is no other record of this undertaking.³³ The earliest reference to colonists in the Piro area is found in a document from 1631 that mentions an estancia at Acomilla and its owner, Gerónimo Márquez. One of the leading and more controversial figures of the Oñate period, Márquez may have been the first Spaniard to reside among Piro and appears with some frequency in early colonial documents. In 1614 he was condemned to perpetual banishment from New Mexico for various transgressions committed during the Oñate years, but apparently the sentence was not carried out. In 1627 he was accused of “having always been an enemy of the church,” and Benavides, as comisario of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Mexico, had him investigated. In Santa Fe, the Inquisition questioned six witnesses who knew Márquez. None of the witnesses who gave affidavits are described as residents of the Piro area. Despite such troubles, Márquez and his family apparently were still well entrenched in the Piro area by 1630.³⁴

Although Spanish sites in the Piro area have yet to be positively identified on the ground, the Márquez story may have an archaeological dimension to it. A small site (LA 286) north of Socorro has an unusual layout of two small L-shaped room blocks, the larger of which has what appears to be an interior courtyard. The site’s ceramic assemblage is comparable only to that of the mission complex at Sevilleta, a pattern also pointing to non-Piro residents. The possible identification of LA 286 as the Márquez estancia of Acomilla rests on the identification of San Acacia Butte with the prominent landmark known historically as Acomilla.³⁵ If LA 286 is indeed the Márquez estancia, it was probably one of the “ten or twelve farms of Spaniards.” In the late 1630s, Spanish farmers planted “wheat and maize by irrigating” along the fifty-league (130-mile) stretch from Senecú to Santa Fe.³⁶

Surviving records identify only about two dozen Spanish residents of the Piro area between 1630 and 1680. Some of these settlers served as *alcalde mayor*, an unsalaried office with administrative and judicial authority over a *jurisdicción* (district). Appointed by the governor, the *alcalde mayor* also held the title of *capitán a guerra* (war captain) in military campaigns. In theory, an *alcalde mayor* could not be in charge of a *jurisdicción* in which he resided or held an *encomienda*; but as with *encomienda* regulations, enforcement of the rule was erratic.³⁷ No information exists on when *alcaldes mayores* were first installed in the Piro area, although it seems unlikely that much time would have elapsed between the establishment of the missions and the introduction of civil government, especially with Spanish settlers already present in the area by the early 1630s. The first known reference to the office is from the governorship of Diego de Peñalosa (1661–1664), when Luis López held the post variously

described as *alcalde mayor* “de los Piros” or “de Senecú.” Inquisition records show that the church investigated López for blasphemy in the mid-1660s, but by 1668 he may have had charge of the Senecú district again.³⁸

Opportunities for enrichment through the management of Native labor and tribute came easily to civil officials in New Mexico. Some indication of how official collusion and factionalism exposed the Piros to abuse comes from Inquisition records on governors Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659–1661) and Diego de Peñalosa. The records show a mix of accusations and counter-accusations over abuses of office and other transgressions by governors, *alcaldes mayores*, and *encomenderos* throughout New Mexico. These abuses included forcing the Piros to make lengthy trips (sometimes as far as the mining center of Parral in what is now southern Chihuahua) to collect and transport salt, piñon nuts, hides, and maize; to weave; and to build storage facilities (recorded for Senecú)—all for little or no compensation. The case of Governor López and Nicolas de Aguilar, his *alcalde mayor* in the Salinas district, highlights the extreme factionalism between officials and settlers over partisan economic and political interests. Most of the known documentation of López’s tenure is in a lengthy Inquisition file on his alleged hostility toward New Mexico’s Franciscan friars. Charges brought against López by Antonio González, the “*protector y defensor de los naturales cristianos de Nuevo México*” (protector and defender of the Christian Natives of New Mexico), in the summer of 1661 shed light on “official” activities in the Piro area. Among other things, González accused López of ordering “nine Indians on horseback” from Senecú to the “*paraje de los mimbres*” on the Sonora road as an escort for female Apache slaves, an unpaid, twenty-day trip of “more than 100 leagues coming and going.” Documents suggest that neither such slaving expeditions nor the compulsory use of Native “auxiliaries” were isolated occurrences. As residents of New Mexico’s *de facto* port of entry, the Piros of Senecú in particular faced frequent demands for provisions, horses, carts, escorts, and other supplies and services.³⁹

Dubious dealings by officials also affected the Piros of Sevilleta. According to Governor López, his predecessor had settled Sevilleta’s residents at Alamillo in return “for a number of sheep and a valuable horse.” The priest in charge of Sevilleta (then a *visita* of Socorro) endorsed this move. Next, the pueblo was sold to a rancher in the Isleta district. Claiming increased risk of Apache raids, López reversed the move and directed Diego Romero, then *protector de los naturales cristianos*, to send the Sevilletans back to their pueblo. This may not be the whole story, for Romero was possibly a kinsman of Felipe Romero, the son-in-law of Diego de Guadalajara, *encomendero* of Sevilleta in 1661.⁴⁰ Because tributes were levied by household, *encomenderos* were hardly keen on

relocating their tributaries. In another case, Juan de Mondragón, encomendero of Senecú, apparently tried to stop the relocation—overseen by Senecú’s resident priest—of several families from Senecú to assist in the conversion of the Mansos at El Paso. Such a stance may reflect a fear of losing revenue since Mondragón only held title to a partial grant. Few details of this episode are known, but Mondragón’s resolve was allegedly driven directly by Governor López or indirectly through the *alcalde mayor* of the Senecú area.⁴¹

Piro (Mis)Fortunes

Regardless of whether they touch on actions by missionaries, settlers, or civil officials, the sparse records relating to the Spanish presence in the Piro area leave little doubt that the Spanish actions were intrusive and often harmful to the lives of Piro from Senecú to Sevilleta. The extent to which “man-made” effects contributed to the decline of Piro communities remains vague, however, as does the role of external factors such as epidemic disease and climatic fluctuations. The spread of foreign pathogens is especially unclear, both in terms of timing and scale.⁴² In general, Native population levels in New Mexico seem to have remained more or less stable into the mid-1630s. There are no records of major disease outbreaks until the late 1630s, when an epidemic ravaging much of northern New Spain reached New Mexico. Up to one third of the Puebloan population may have perished in this epidemic (possibly smallpox). Contemporary demographic figures are sketchy, but some indication of the scale of loss comes from a statement, relating to the mid-1660s, that there were “more than 24,000 Indian men and women in all the missions” of New Mexico. This represents a dramatic drop from figures given at the start of the century.⁴³

For the Piro area, evidence of the epidemic’s impact is even more circumstantial. Again, in the late 1620s, Benavides gives figures of fourteen pueblos and six thousand “souls,” which are by and large in agreement with the contact-period estimates and perhaps reflect a Pueblo-wide trend of relative demographic stability.⁴⁴ The subsequent absence from the record of references to non-mission pueblos is problematic. Whether this reflects extensive settlement consolidation (i.e. *reducciones*) in favor of the mission pueblos or simply observer bias is unclear. Even references to missions lack consistency. A New Mexican inventory from the early 1640s lists only Socorro as a Piro mission. Sevilleta and Alamillo appear as *visitas*, suggesting a sharp drop in parishioners. Puzzling at this time is the absence of references to Senecú. Barring scribal oversight, Senecú then seems to have had neither resident missionaries nor even *visita* status—an odd scenario unless the pueblo had

suffered a catastrophic decline. How long this hiatus (if such it was) lasted is unknown, but Senecú does not reappear in the documentary record until the 1650s.⁴⁵

A possible demographic breakdown in the late 1630s raises the question of scale. If just one of four mission settlements maintained its status, what then happened to the ten non-mission pueblos after 1630? Archaeologically, the surface distribution of Glaze E and F ceramics hints at a complex process of settlement change. Of forty sites with structural remains ranging in size from single rooms to multiplaza pueblos, twenty-nine have Glaze E and/or F forms in their surface assemblages, but only at the possible Spanish ranch of LA 286 are Glaze F forms in the majority. Among large sites (over one hundred rooms) that may represent pueblos seen by Benavides, fourteen have Glaze E or F forms in varying quantities and combinations with and without earlier ceramics. This category includes Sevilleta, two pueblos (sites LA 284, 285) in the uplands west of Socorro, and Plaza Montoya Pueblo. In addition, the ceramic inventories of a dozen smaller sites (down to individual field houses) scattered throughout the Rio Grande Valley and adjacent uplands also include Glaze E or F forms.⁴⁶

Variability in site size, structure, location, and ceramic distribution suggests a range of continuous and discontinuous occupation histories far beyond the reach of the documentary record. Yet only Plaza Montoya Pueblo has a database of sufficient breadth to approximate a construction and occupation sequence. Excavation tests throughout the pueblo show substantial postcontact construction; it must have ranked (with approximately 250 ground-floor rooms) among the largest Piro communities (see fig. 2). Radiocarbon dates, metal and other foreign artifacts, and a predominance in all excavation levels of diagnostic late glaze rim sherds (currently 132 E, 102 E/F, 52 F rims) place the apogee of the pueblo's occupation in the late 1500s and early 1600s. All this differs substantially from the data for Qualacú and the neighboring sites LA 282 and LA 31746. Moreover, artifact distribution and patterns of refuse disposal and room maintenance at Plaza Montoya are consistent with rapid and planned site abandonment, possibly in a *reducción*-context following the establishment of the nearby Socorro mission.⁴⁷

The example of Plaza Montoya demonstrates that without some understanding of site stratigraphies it is impossible to say how long into the mid- or late 1600s Piro Glaze F sites persevered. Throughout the Piro area, conditions seem to have had increasingly destructive effects on settlement persistence by mid-century. Climate reconstructions show that most years from 1653 to 1671 experienced drought. Crops reportedly failed several times, and by 1670 a "very great famine" was ravaging the province. In 1671 an

epidemic carried off people as well as livestock, and a year later Apaches went on a rampage.⁴⁸ During this period only the mission pueblos of Socorro and Senecú figure in the historical record of the Piro area. In early 1668, Gov. Fernando de Villanueva called for provisions from the mission stores of Socorro and Senecú for an Apache campaign. According to a local settler, the friars at both missions had earlier handed out rations “on Sundays for the entire week.” That mission stores were deemed capable of aiding a military venture, while also being able to alleviate local food shortages, implies not only some degree of economic resilience but also centralized control over local food production and supply.⁴⁹ During the mid-1660s, the priest residing at Socorro was also in charge of two unnamed *visitas*—presumably Alamillo and Sevilleta—and two *estancias*. Another priest was said to be “necessary” for the Socorro mission to function properly. Two friars worked at Senecú, but at least one more was said to be needed. Such a concentration of friars seems unusual given that no references suggest any *visitas* or *estancias* assigned to the Senecú mission.⁵⁰

Politically, the years after 1660 kept pace with the worsening ecological situation. During Governor Villanueva’s tenure (1665–1668), the Mansos at El Paso rose against the Spaniards in a rebellion allegedly backed by Gila Apaches. Villanueva sent the *alcalde mayor* of Senecú into the Gila Mountains to pacify the rebels. Shortly thereafter, similar troubles erupted in the Piro province involving both Piro and Apaches. An ambush in the Sierra de Magdalena killed the *alcalde mayor* and five other Spaniards. Severe Spanish reprisals followed. Six “Christian Indians” including the main Piro ringleader, “called in his language El Tanbulita,” were hanged. Another source mentions an unspecified number of captives “hanged and burned as traitors and witches in the pueblo of Senecú.” Militia detachments subsequently stationed at both Socorro and Senecú may have kept further Piro unrest in check, but otherwise seem to have had little effect. In June 1671, at El Muerto, two days south of Senecú, Gila Apaches trapped the wagon train bringing the new governor, Juan de Miranda. Apparently only the arrival of a relief force from Senecú saved Miranda and his party. Perhaps in retaliation for this rescue, the Gila Apaches next carried out a daylight raid on Senecú, driving off horses and livestock. A Spanish-Piro party pursued the raiders but was ambushed and only narrowly averted a repeat of the Sierra de Magdalena disaster.⁵¹

In 1672 new priests took over at Senecú, Socorro, and Alamillo. That the Spanish were again operating missions at these three Piro pueblos was likely caused by an influx of refugees from the Salinas area. Documents and paleoclimatic data paint a dismal picture for the Salinas pueblos after 1670. They were abandoned by the mid-1670s; most surviving residents moved to

pueblos in the Rio Grande valley. One of those Rio Grande pueblos was most likely Senecú (fig. 3). In 1674 Senecú saw the arrival of fray Alonso Gil de Ávila who had served at the Salinas mission pueblo of Abó until that pueblo was abandoned in 1673 or 1674. Ávila's appearance at Senecú several months later suggests that he brought some of Abó's residents with him.⁵² In early 1675, however, Ávila was killed with many Senecú residents in another Apache raid or Piro rebellion. By June 1675, Senecú was deserted and remained so until late 1677 or early 1678, at which time "more than one hundred families of Christian Indians" of unspecified origin were sent to resettle the "frontiers" of Senecú. Despite scant provisions and the continued threat of Apache raids, this reoccupation seems to have lasted until August 1680.⁵³

Beyond large-scale officially sanctioned population transfers to bolster flagging frontier pueblos like Senecú, both individual and group movements

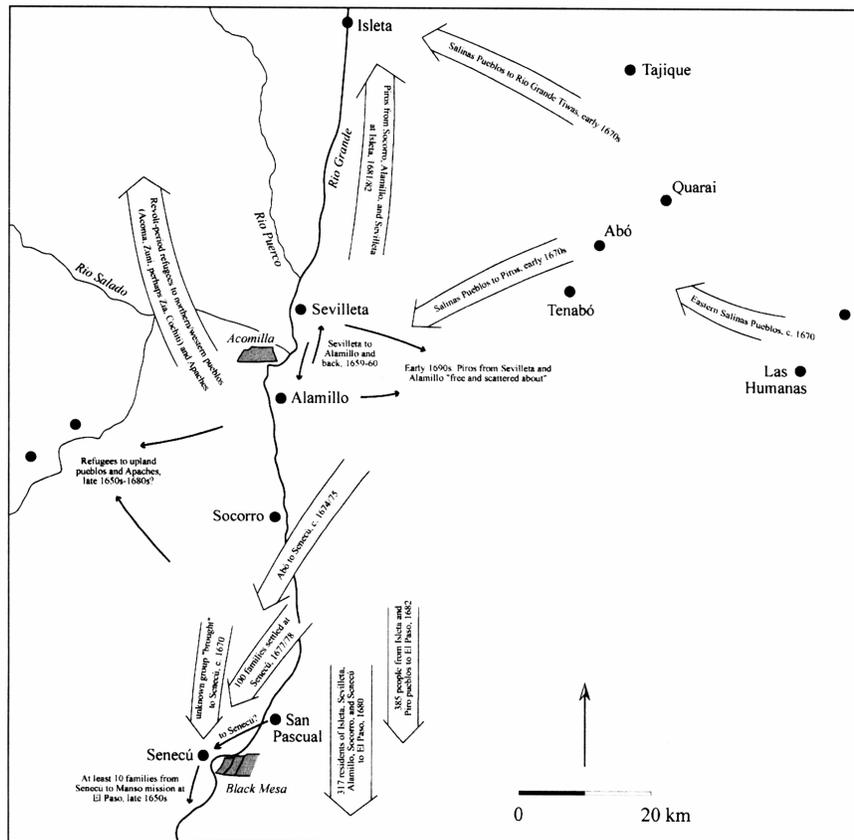


FIG. 3. PIRO-AREA POPULATION MOVEMENTS BETWEEN C. 1650 AND 1692/1693 AS INDICATED IN CONTEMPORARY RECORDS

(Map courtesy of author)

into, within, and from the Piro area were likely common during the 1660s and 1670s (see fig. 3). Mobility as a strategy to cope with environmental and societal changes, as well as with economic facets of life, had been part of the Puebloan adaptive toolkit long before Spanish contact. A number of documents point to how the burdens of colonial rule prompted Natives to retreat from areas of Spanish control, but those documents rarely indicate scale and permanence of such efforts. Archaeology could help fill in some of the documentary gaps but only through concerted research.⁵⁴

In the Piro area, assumptions about population movements after the mid-1600s rely necessarily on surface data and site location, a tenuous combination as illustrated in arguments regarding a possible refuge function of sites LA 284 and 285. The two sites stand out because of their location in the uplands west of Socorro. Some scholars suggest that their isolation (in relation to the large lowland Piro pueblos) could have attracted Piros who wanted to move away from the Spanish-dominated pueblos along the Rio Grande.⁵⁵ Yet the impression of isolation is more apparent than real. Both pueblos were easily accessible via tributaries of the Rio Grande, and with 150 or more rooms, both were far from inconspicuous to the vigilant Spaniards. Moreover, pre- and post-Pueblo Revolt references to Spanish activities in the Sierra de Magdalena cast doubt on whether the two pueblos were beyond the reach of Spanish influence.⁵⁶

As elsewhere in New Mexico, the troublesome history of Native-Spanish relations came to a head in the Piro area with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Spanish accounts of the revolt state that the Piros and Tiwas of Isleta did not actively participate in the uprising, but at the same time they indicate that the province of the Piros was not a safe haven for the retreating Spaniards. At least some Piros considered attacking the Spanish refugees collecting themselves in Piro territory. According to testimony relating to the Spanish withdrawal, the Piros of Socorro, “on account of an envoy who came to them from the enemy,” were planning to join the revolt even as hundreds of Spanish refugees were encamped at the pueblo.⁵⁷ In response to this threat, the Spanish leaders decided to remove the remaining residents of Socorro and the three other Piro mission pueblos, as well as the residual population of the Tiwa pueblo of Isleta—317 “women and men, old and young”—to the El Paso area. Spanish documents do not mention if the 317 individuals went of their own free will, but whatever the precise circumstances of their relocation, they did not represent the whole surviving Piro and Tiwa populations. Even if losses from disease, conflict, and malnutrition were severe, the Spaniards would have unlikely maintained one mission pueblo for an average of just sixty residents, let alone five of them. In addition, references to rebel plans

to carry the fight to El Paso furthermore indicate that Piro and Tiwas were to play a major role in such a thrust.⁵⁸ Where those Piro and Tiwas resided is not explicitly mentioned, though some Piro were reportedly then living among the Zunis, Keres, and Apache groups. Subsequently, a large number of displaced Piro also gathered at Isleta, where Gov. Antonio de Otermín found them in early December 1681.

Marching up the Rio Grande, Otermín and a force of 260 men from El Paso (including some sixty Piro conscripts from among those taken south the previous year) had passed the riverside pueblos of the Piro province but encountered no inhabitants, only signs of people, especially at Sevilleta, where a kiva had been built with materials taken from the mission. Otermín found all Piro missions burnt. He blamed the destruction on Apaches and “apostates”—an allegation indicating that former residents of the mission pueblos had come back to demolish the missions. At Otermín’s approach the “apostates” fled to the mountains. In the end, the Spanish governor had the four Piro pueblos and the pueblo of Isleta torched, taking from the latter 385 persons back to El Paso, among them Piro from Sevilleta, Alamillo, and Socorro.⁵⁹

Yet, even after those final acts of devastation, some Piro remained in their homeland, though not apparently in their old settlements. In January 1693, Gov. Diego de Vargas noted that the “inhabitants” of Sevilleta and Alamillo were “free and scattered about” and should be “reduced” to their former pueblos. Vargas suggested that Piro from El Paso reoccupy Socorro, but not Senecú, “because the river has ruined the fields, and it is Apache country.” Although later officials from time to time voiced similar ideas, no Piro pueblo was ever reconstituted. Socorro and Senecú lived on only in the names of two of three new settlements south of El Paso. Piro and members of other Puebloan groups who had ended up with the Spaniards settled there, again under the supervision of friars, but remained at times willing to fight against the role assigned them in the colonial system.⁶⁰

The fate of the Piro is one of the most extreme manifestations of the crisis of seventeenth-century Puebloan life. The twin issues of demographic decline and settlement abandonment have long attracted scholarly interest. Even so, assumptions about cause, effect, and process tend to be based on limited data.⁶¹ Archaeology has the potential to address some of the gaps and biases inherent in the historical record, especially if research focuses on sites that were not mission pueblos. In the case of the Piro area, for instance, the excavations at Plaza Montoya Pueblo have created a sizeable database relating to a period when immense outside pressures were beginning to disrupt established patterns of Piro settlement. Stratigraphic and depositional

data from Plaza Montoya indicate more variability in pre- to post-contact Piro population and settlement trends than was previously apparent from historical and archaeological data. Given this, more information from other Piro sites, both large and small, and better comparative data from other Puebloan sites should improve understanding of the demographic consequences of the colonial encounter in New Mexico.⁶²

Notes

1. The phrase “la primera Provincia de aquel Reyno” (the first Province of that Kingdom) reflects the fact that Piro were the first Puebloan group Spanish travelers encountered on the journey north along the Rio Grande. Edward E. Ayer, trans., *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, 1630, annot. Charles F. Lummis and Fred W. Hodge (Chicago: privately printed, 1916), 95.
2. It is possible that rumors of Spanish slavers raiding north from the mining frontier of New Spain during the 1570s may have reached the Piro. Yet given the hazy geographical knowledge evident in the accounts of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo-Beltrán expeditions—both of which originated on that frontier—it seems unlikely that any Spanish slave-raiding party ever came near to reaching Piro territory.
3. One of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado’s scouting parties reportedly went so far down the Rio Grande that it reached a stretch “where the river disappeared underground like the Guadiana in Extremadura,” which seems to indicate that the party reached a point beyond the San Marcial–Black Mesa area, where the southernmost Piro pueblos were located in the 1580s. See Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, “Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola,” in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542*, ed. and trans. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), fol. 92r-v, 682 n. 367. See also H. P. Mera, *Population Changes in the Rio Grande Glaze-Paint Area*, Technical Series Bulletin 9 (Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, 1940), 14, 16; Adolph F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885, Part I*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, no. 3 (Cambridge, Mass: John Wilson and Son, 1892), 234; Adolph F. Bandelier, “Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico, Part I—1536–1542,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (October 1929): 327–28; Elinore M. Barrett, *The Geography of Rio Grande Pueblos Revealed by Spanish Explorers, 1540–1598*, Research Paper Series, no. 30 (Albuquerque: Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, 1997), 3–4; and David H. Snow, “Initial Entradas and Explorations: 1540–1593,” in *The North Central Regional Overview: Strategies for the Comprehensive Survey of the Architectural and Historic Archaeological Resources of North Central New Mexico*, ed. Boyd C. Pratt and David H. Snow, 2 vols. (Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Division and New Mexico Office of Cultural Affairs, 1988), 1:79–128.
4. Dr. Juan Bautista de Orozco to the king, 25 November 1576, Mexico City, in *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History*, comp. and ed. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 1:50.

5. "Gallegos' Relation of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition," in *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580–1594*, ed. and trans. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 81–83. On the location of this first abandoned pueblo, see Michael P. Marshall and Henry J. Walt, *Rio Abajo: Prehistory and History of a Rio Grande Province* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, 1984), 229–30, 248.
6. "Gallegos' Relation of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado Expedition," in *Rediscovery*, Hammond and Rey, 83.
7. There are accounts of the Espejo-Beltrán Expedition by Antonio de Espejo, by the soldier Diego Pérez de Luxán, and by Baltasar de Obregón (who did not participate but interviewed another soldier, Bernardino de Luna). The first two are in Hammond and Rey, *Rediscovery*, 213–31, 153–212, respectively; and the latter is in Baltasar de Obregón, *Historia de los descubrimientos de Nueva España* (Sevilla: Ediciones Alfar, 1997), 256–73.
8. "The king to viceroy conde de Coruña," 19 April 1583, Madrid, in *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 (CDII)*, 42 vols. (Madrid: Ministerio de Ultramar, 1864–1884), 16:297.
9. Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson, eds., *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590–1591* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School of American Research, 1965). On the Leyva party, see "Account of an Indian of the flight of Leyva and Humaña from New Mexico," in *Rediscovery*, Hammond and Rey, 323–26; and George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds. and trans., *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 1:416–19.
10. Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate*, 1:346.
11. Testimonies of Capt. Manuel Correa Falcón, 29 July 1626, Santa Fe, Archivo General de la Nación, México, D.F. [hereafter AGN], Inquisición, tomo 356, fol. 296r; and Capt. Diego de Santa Cruz, 3 August 1626, Santa Fe, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 356, fol. 297v; France V. Scholes and Lansing B. Bloom, "Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598–1629 (Part I)," *New Mexico Historical Review* 19 (October 1944): 320–23; and Michael Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names: A Case Study of Piro Settlement in Early Colonial New Mexico" (PhD diss., Southern Methodist University, 2009), 284–98.
12. "Diego Pérez de Luxán's Account of the Espejo Expedition into New Mexico, 1582," and "Report of Antonio de Espejo," in *Rediscovery*, Hammond and Rey, 82, 172–74, 219; and Obregón, *Historia*, 272.
13. Of these pueblos, notes the map's anonymous author, "I have no notice of their names." Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 296–98. The Martínez map is in the frontispiece of Hammond and Rey, *Rediscovery*.
14. Bletzer, "Pueblos Without Names," 286–321.
15. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 235–56; Michael P. Marshall, *Qualacu: Archaeological Investigations of a Piro Pueblo* (Albuquerque: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, 1987); David R. Wilcox, "Discussion of Pueblo Research," in *Current Research on the Late Prehistory and Early History of New Mexico*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra (Albuquerque: New Mexico Archaeological Council, 1992), 103–6; and Elinore M. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*:

- Changing Rio Grande Settlement Patterns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 20–22.
16. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 252–54; and Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 59, 91–92, 303.
 17. Michael P. Marshall, *Archaeological Investigations in a 16th- to Early 17th-Century Pueblo in the Village of San Antonio, New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, 1986); Marshall, *Qualacu*; and Amy C. Earls, *An Archaeological Assessment of “Las Huertas,” Socorro, New Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, 1987).
 18. Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 624–34.
 19. Testimonies of Capt. Diego de Santa Cruz, 3 August 1626, Santa Fe, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 356, fol. 297r; and Capt. Juan Gómez and Antonio Baca, 22 October 1627, Socorro, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 363, exp. 6, fols. 3–4r.
 20. *Fray Benavides’ Revised Memorial of 1634*, ed. and trans. Frederick W. Hodge, George P. Hammond, and Agapito Rey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945), 63, 248 n. 72.
 21. France V. Scholes and Lansing B. Bloom, “Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598–1629 (Part II),” *New Mexico Historical Review* 20 (January 1945): 69–72; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 254–56.
 22. Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Revised Memorial*, 62–63, 79; Scholes and Bloom, “Friar Personnel (Part II),” 77–80; James E. Ivey, *In the Midst of a Loneliness: the Architectural History of the Salinas Missions* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: National Park Service, 1988), 54; and James E. Ivey, “Pueblo and Estancia: The Spanish Presence in the Pueblo, A.D. 1620–1680,” in *Current Research*, Vierra, 221–24.
 23. Ayer, *Memorial*, 33; Ivey, *In the Midst*, 229–35; and Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 311–12, 328–32.
 24. Ayer, *Memorial*, 17; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 245–47.
 25. Lansing B. Bloom and Ireneo L. Chaves, eds. and trans., “Ynstruccion a Peralta por Vi-Rey,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (April 1929): 184.
 26. Peter Gerhard, “Congregaciones de Indios en la Nueva España Antes de 1570,” *Historia Mexicana* 103 (1977): 347–95; Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 307–10; and Jeremy Kulisheck, “Settlement Patterns, Population and *Congregación* on the 17th Century Jemez Plateau,” in *Following Through: Papers in Honor of Phyllis S. Davis*, ed. Regge N. Wiseman, Thomas C. O’Laughlin, and Cordelia T. Snow (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 2001), 77–101.
 27. Ayer, *Memorial*, 17, 19; Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Revised Memorial*, 64; and “Petition of fray Juan de Prada,” 26 September 1638, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, ed. and trans. Charles Wilson Hackett, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1923–1937), 3:108. See also Ivey, “Pueblo and Estancia,” 225.
 28. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 203–7, 245–48; Ivey, *In the Midst*, 157–70; Gordon Vivian, *Gran Quivira: Excavations in a Seventeenth-Century Jumano Pueblo* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1964), 61–93; and Alden C. Hayes, Jon Nathan Young, and A. H. Warren, *Excavation of Mound 7, Gran Quivira National Monument, New Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1981), 31–36.
 29. Viceroy marqués de Guadalcázar to the king, 27 May 1620, Mexico City, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain [hereafter AGI], México, 29, N. 127; H. Allen

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30. France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 (April 1935): 75–80; and Primera audiencia de don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, 1663, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 594, exp. 1, fol. 45; tomo 507, pp. 281, 456; and tomo 587, p. 133.
 31. Testimony of Capt. Juan García Holgado, 21 April 1667, Senecú, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, exp. 6, fol. 427r.
 32. "Petition of Francisco de la Mora," 4 February 1639, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:118; and Roxanne A. Dunbar, "Land Tenure in Northern New Mexico: An Historical Perspective" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974).
 33. Ayer, *Memorial*, 97–99; and Hodge, Hammond, and Rey, *Revised Memorial*, 63.
 34. Testimonies of Francisco Márquez, 1 October 1631, and María Núñez, 14 October 1631, Sandía, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 372, exp. 19, fols. 18r and 19, respectively. Gerónimo Márquez's inquisition file is in AGN, Inquisición, tomo 318, fols. 492r–496v. See also fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families: A Genealogy of the Spanish Colonial Period* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1992), 69–70.
 35. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 199–201, 254–56, 344.
 36. "Petition of Francisco Martínez de Baeza," 12 February 1639, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:119.
 37. Scholes, "Civil Government," 80–99.
 38. Testimonies of Capt. Juan García Holgado, 21 and 24 April 1667, Senecú, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, exp. 6, fols. 426v, 427v; and Capt. Joseph Téllez Girón, 19 April 1667, Socorro, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, fols. 424r–425v. These testimonies are part of the incomplete Inquisition file on Luis López, AGN, Inquisición, tomo 608, fols. 417–428.
 39. On the López years, see France V. Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659–1670* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942). See also Van Hastings Garner, "Seventeenth Century New Mexico," *Journal of Mexican American History* 4 (1974): 41–70; and Charles R. Cutter, *The Protector de Indios in Colonial New Mexico, 1659–1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 21–40. The episode with the Piro slave escort is in AGN, Tierras, tomo 3268, fols. 4v–5r. For official involvement in slave trading of "enemigos apaches," see the letters of fray Cristóbal de Quiros Zambrano to the viceroy, 1 December 1636, Santa Fe, AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 35, exp. 3, fol. 93; and Francisco Gómez to the viceroy, 23 October 1638, Santa Fe, AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 34, N. 1, fol. 27r. See also Rick Hendricks and Gerald Mandell, "The Apache Slave Trade in Parral, 1637–1679," *Journal of Big Bend Studies* 16 (2004).
 40. Scholes, *Troublous Times*, 29; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 246–47, 254–55.
 41. "Testimony of fray Nicolás de Freitas," 24 January 1661, Mexico City, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:158.
 42. See for example Daniel T. Reff, "The Introduction of Smallpox in the Greater Southwest," *American Anthropologist* 89 (1987): 704–8; Ann F. Ramenofsky, "The Problem of Introduced Infectious Diseases in New Mexico: 1540–1680," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 54 (1996): 161–84; Henry E. Dobyns, "Disease Transfer at Contact," *Annual*

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43. “Declaration of fray Miguel de Menchero,” 10 May 1744, Santa Bárbara, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:396. See also Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*, 62–64.
 44. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*, 59–62, 67.
 45. France V. Scholes, “Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions (Part I),” *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (January 1929): 50; and Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 323–24.
 46. Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 113–89, 343–406; and Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, appendixes 1 and 2.
 47. Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 530–634.
 48. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*, 76–77, apps. A–D; James E. Ivey, “‘The Greatest Misfortune of All’: Famine in the Province of New Mexico, 1667–1672,” *Journal of the Southwest* 36 (1994): 76–100; and John P. Wilson, “Before the Pueblo Revolt: Population Trends, Apache Relations and Pueblo Abandonments in Seventeenth Century New Mexico,” in *Prehistory and History in the Southwest*, ed. Nancy Fox (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 1985), 113–20.
 49. Petition of Fernando de Villanueva, 18 February 1668, Santa Fe, Biblioteca Nacional de México, México, D.F. [hereafter BNM], 1, N. 29, p. 2.
 50. “Letter of fray Domingo Cardoso,” in “Documents,” Scholes, 55–56.
 51. Amy C. Earls, “Raiding, Trading and Population Reduction Among the Piro Pueblos, A.D. 1540–1680,” in *Current Research*, Vierra, 15–18; Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 131–41; Wilson “Before the Pueblo Revolt,” 114–16; and Michael Bletzer, “Attack at El Muerto: Raiding and Rebellion on the Southern Pueblo Frontier, 1650–1680” (unpublished manuscript, 2011).
 52. Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 327–29; Wilson, “Before the Pueblo Revolt,” 113–20; Lansing B. Bloom and Lynn B. Mitchell, “The Chapter Elections in 1672,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 13 (January 1938): 113–15; and Ivey, *In the Midst*, 231–32. In the 1880s, residents of Senecú del Sur told Adolph Bandelier that they were “the last descendants of the Abó tribe.” See Bandelier, *Final Report*, 2:273.
 53. Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 328–29; “Petition of fray Francisco de Ayeta,” (ca. 1679), in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:292; “Petition of fray Francisco de Ayeta, Mexico,” 10 May 1679, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:297–98; and Declaration of Juan Martín Serrano, 15 June 1675, Socorro, AGN, Civil, 511, fol. 13v.
 54. Perhaps most famous is the flight in the 1660s of families from Taos Pueblo to El Cuartelejo. See Alfred B. Thomas, *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696–1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 11–12. On Puebloan mobility, see Sarah H. Schlanger, “Patterns of Population Movement and Long-Term Population Growth in Southwestern Colorado,” *American Antiquity* 53 (October 1988): 773–93; Mark D. Varien, “New Perspectives on Settlement Patterns:

- Sedentism and Mobility in a Social Landscape” (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1997); Michael L. Elliott, “Mission and Mesa: Some Thoughts on the Archaeology of Pueblo Revolt Era Sites in the Jemez Region, New Mexico,” in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*, ed. Robert W. Preucel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 45–60; and Ann F. Ramenofsky, Fraser D. Nelman, and Christopher D. Pierce, “Measuring Time, Population, and Residential Mobility from the Surface at San Marcos Pueblo, North Central New Mexico,” *American Antiquity* 74 (July 2009): 505–30.
55. Marshall and Walt, *Rio Abajo*, 213–17; and Jeremy Kulisheck, “Pueblo Population Movements, Abandonment and Settlement Change in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century New Mexico,” *Kiva* 69 (Fall 2003): 44–45.
 56. Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 255–67, 631–32.
 57. *Auto* of Alonso García, 24 August 1680, Socorro, AGN, Historia, tomo 26, p. 34.
 58. “Muster at the paraje de la Salineta,” 3 October 1680, in *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin’s Attempted Reconquest*, ed. and trans. Charles W. Hackett and Charmion Clair Shelby, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 1:159.
 59. The destruction of the Piro pueblos in 1681 is in the records of the Spanish army’s advance and retreat between 5 November 1681 and 10 February 1682, in *Revolt*, Hackett and Shelby, 2:203–8, 361–64.
 60. “Petition of fray Francisco de Ayeta,” 10 May 1679, in *Historical Documents*, Hackett, 3:298–99; “Letter of Diego de Vargas to Viceroy conde de Galve,” 12 January 1693, El Paso, in *To the Royal Crown Restored: the Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692–94*, ed. John L. Kessell, Meredith D. Dodge, and Rick Hendricks (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 114–15.
 61. See for example Albert H. Schroeder, “Pueblos Abandoned in Historic Times,” in *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, vol. 9 of Handbook of North American Indians, ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 236–42; Stuart Baldwin, “Studies in Piro-Tompiro Ethnohistory and Western Tompiro Archaeology” (manuscript, Mountainair, N.Mex.: Salinas National Monument, 1988); Wilcox, “Discussion,” 101–7; Kulisheck, “Pueblo Population Movements,” 30–54; and Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe*.
 62. Bletzer, “Pueblos Without Names,” 624–33.

