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THE SUPPLY SERVICE OF THE NEW-MEXICAN MISSIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

PART III, 1663-1680

By FRANCE V. SCHOLES

THE negotiations which culminated in the adoption of a new system of administration for the supply trains deserve detailed discussion. The famous contract of 1631, which had placed entire control in the hands of the friars and which seems to have been well suited to the needs of the New Mexican missions, came to an end. Although many elements in the older system were carried over into the new, changes were made which were fundamental in character, of which the most significant was the substitution of a layman as actual administrator of the supply trains in place of the procurator-general of the custodia. This change seems to have had an evil effect on the efficiency of the service, for whereas Bishop Manso and Fray Ramírez had had no personal interest in making the supply trains a profitable venture, the new administrator sought to make them a source of gain for himself. This was especially significant, for the later years of the decade of the 1660's and the first few years of the 1670's were years of famine in New Mexico. Failure to maintain the supply service at the older level of efficiency must have contributed both to the decline of the missions and to the general weakness of the entire provincial administration which characterized the decade preceding the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.

It will be recalled that in 1660-1661 the Superiors of the Franciscans in New Spain tried to force the removal of Fray Juan Ramírez as administrator of the service. It was alleged that it was inconsistent with the obligations of the Order for a friar to assume actual administration of and control over the large sums of money granted by the Crown

for the missions. Such inconsistencies do not appear to have been noted during Bishop Manso's term as administrator, but apparent irregularities in the account of Fray Ramírez for the triennium 1657-1660 had precipitated discussion of the issue. The Franciscans had proposed: (1) that the actual administration of the wagons be turned over to a layman by means of contract or auction; or (2) that the wagons be sold, and that, whenever necessary, wagons could be rented for the transportation of supplies, in this manner saving the cost of maintenance during the year and a half that usually intervened between the return of the caravan from New Mexico and its next departure; (3) that henceforth the cost could be lowered by reducing the number of wagons by making one wagon serve the needs of three friars instead of two; (4) that money granted by the Crown for supplies should be turned over to the Syndic of the Order (a layman) who would have actual control over expenditures, under the guidance and direction of the procurator-general of the custodia.¹

The Treasury Officials had refused to accept these proposals for the triennium 1660-1663, although it had been agreed that after the return of the caravans the wagons would be put up at auction and a new system of administration devised.² So when the caravan returned in 1663, discussion of these problems was renewed. Early in June, 1663, the provincial called the viceroy's attention to the 1661 negotiations and petitioned for action.³ After consultation with the fiscal and the asesor general, the viceroy ordered that the treasury officials should examine Fray Ramírez' accounts as a preliminary to any scheme for reorganization of the service.⁴ During the summer of 1663 Ramírez pre-

1. See documents cited in Part II, note 39; also Petición, June 5(?), 1663, in *Informe*, A. G. I. 58-4-9 and in *Bib. Nac., Mexico, M. H. N. M. Leg. 1, Doc. 18.*

2. Junta General de Hacienda, May 24, 1661. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

3. Petición, June 5(?), 1663. *Ibid.*

4. Decreto, July 6, 1663. *Ibid.*; also in *Bib. Nac., México. M. H. N. M., Leg. 1, doc. 18.*

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sented his accounts, and except for disagreement on certain lesser points, the accounting was entirely satisfactory to the Treasury. The action of the treasury officials in refusing to accept the recommendations of the Franciscans in 1661 seemed to have been justified.

Nevertheless, the Franciscans continued to press the point. Moreover, Don Juan Manso, ex-governor of New Mexico, expecting a change in the system of administration, had made a formal bid for the wagons and a contract for the transportation of supplies. The viceroy was obliged, therefore, to make a decision.⁵ He called for advice from the fiscal and the asesor general, both of who praised Ramírez' administration of the service. The fiscal stated that the accounting was proceeding satisfactorily, although certain matters were still unsettled and that it would not be wise to proceed hastily with any plans for the future. Moreover, he said that Don Diego de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico, had asked leave to come to Mexico to make proposals regarding the government of the province and regarding the mission supply service, and that, if any action were taken at once, any benefit to be gained from Peñalosa's advice would be lost. The fiscal recommended, therefore, that no action should be taken until after Peñalosa's arrival and that Ramírez should remain in "free use and administration of the wagons." The opinion of the asesor general is also significant. The asesor general stated that only "urgent utility" could be a good reason for altering a system "approved by such wide experience." The original contract, he pointed out, had been made at the request of the Order, and inasmuch as the service was established for the benefit of the missions, it had been appropriate that the Order should have had control over it. Not only was this to the advantage of the Order, but it had resulted in definite saving for the Treasury. The service had been efficiently and punctually managed by Bishop Manso, and the administration of

5. Memorial, Oct. 22, 1663. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

Fray Ramírez had maintained the same high standard of efficiency. In fact, the accounts of Ramírez indicated that his administration had been so advantageous that "it may be said that his Majesty has need" of his services, and that for the good of the Treasury he should be retained. The asesor general also made the point that the original contract had provided that the contract should remain in force in future until "his Majesty or the Viceroy" should see fit to change it. This left the matter completely in the hands of the civil administration of New Spain, and the asesor general recommended a continuance of the old system and that Ramírez remain in charge.⁶

Accepting the recommendations of these advisers, the viceroy, by decree of October 26, 1663, refused to alter the system as desired by the Order, and Ramírez was retained as administrator of the service.⁷

The documents contain very little information for the period between October, 1663, and July, 1664. Fray Ramírez continued to liquidate the accounts for the preceding six years and to prepare for the 1663-1666 caravan. In November, 1663, the attorney of the Holy Office presented a formal accusation against Ramírez, and the trial, which was not closed until after a year had passed, was begun. The documents contain no reference to the influence which the trial may have had on Ramírez' position as head of the supply service, but it must have been a source of great embarrassment and no doubt contributed to the change in the viceroy's decision regarding the service.

Meantime the Superiors of the Franciscans continued their opposition to Ramírez, and on July 6, 1664, the Commissary-General of the Franciscans of New Spain and the Provincial of the Province of Santo Evangelio appointed a new procurator-general of the custodia of New Mexico in the person of Fray Fernando Ricardo.⁸ The terms of the

6. For the documents, see Bib. Nac., México, *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, docs. 18, 20.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Patentes, July 6, 1664. *Informe*, A. G. I. 58-4-9.

appointment are interesting in that they indicate the consistency with which the Franciscans continued to urge the point of view adopted in 1661. The appointments specifically stated that Fray Ricardo was not to have charge of the wagons. His duty was to administer the royal alms, to provide wine, oil, and other supplies, to see that they were transported to New Mexico—without in any manner having any share in the business of the wagon train itself, for the obligations of the Order denied to a friar dominion over things temporal. The actual cash to be granted by the Treasury was to be received by the Syndic of the Order, a layman, and expended by him as Fray Ricardo should indicate. Fray Ricardo was also charged that, in case of the death of any of the New Mexican friars for whom alms may be received, all sums received for such purpose must be returned to the Treasury, and that the accounting for the same could not be permitted to run over from one triennium to another.

A day or so following his appointment of Fray Ricardo, Zapata, the Commissary-General of the Franciscans who had been the leader in the opposition to Fray Ramírez, addressed a petition to the viceroy in which he asked the viceroy to admit Fray Ricardo as the new procurator-general, and in which he also proposed terms for the reorganization of the supply service.⁹ After reviewing the history of the service, Zapata, in the name of his Order, made a formal renunciation of the administration of the wagons. For the future he offered to accept a reduction in the number of wagons by assigning one wagon for three friars instead of two as had been the custom in the past. Assuming that provision would be made for the normal quota of sixty-six friars, this would mean a reduction in the number of wagons from thirty-three to twenty-two, and a saving of more than twelve thousand pesos for each caravan.¹⁰ Zapata

9. Petición, July 7 (8?), 1664. *Ibid.*

10. The cost per wagon had been 1,123 pesos, 4 tomines, for each three year period. The saving would be 12,358 pesos, 4 reales.

promised that Fray Ricardo would act only in the manner required by his patent of appointment, and that all sums granted for friars who died would be returned to the Treasury. The petition closed with an appeal for immediate action, inasmuch as it was necessary that the next caravan should leave Mexico City in October, 1664.

The petition and related *autos* were considered in a Junta de Hacienda on July 19, and although no formal action was taken regarding Zapata's offer to reduce the number of wagons, it was decided to revert to the action of the Junta, May 24, 1661, in which the viceroy had decided to put the wagons up for auction on their return in 1663. Inasmuch as ex-Governor Manso had made a bid for the wagons in the preceding October (1663), the Junta voted to inquire whether Manso would re-affirm his bid or make a new one.¹¹ This action of the Junta, reversing the action of the viceroy in decree of October 26, 1663, preceding, in which Ramírez was maintained as administrator of the supply service, clearly indicates that some new and important consideration had been exerting an influence on the policies of the treasury officials. There is nothing to indicate that the final accounting with Ramírez was not satisfactory,¹² nor is there any evidence to indicate dissatisfaction regarding the preparations for the 1663-1666 caravan. Although the documents do not give us any information of a positive character to prove the point, it would appear that the only factor that could have caused the viceroy and his associates to reverse their decision was the fact that Ramírez was in the midst of his trial by the Holy Office, that there was no immediate prospect of the trial coming to an end, and that, anyway the civil government could hardly maintain in an office of trust a priest accused of violating the teachings of the Church and the obligations of his office.

11. Junta, July 19, 1664. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

12. On the contrary, one of the Royal Officials, in a certification, March, 1666, stated that Ramírez had returned more than ten thousand pesos, an act unprecedented in the history of the service. See Bib. Nac., México, *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, doc. 24.

Ramírez gave up his post on August 31, 1664. Zapata had won his point at last, although the Order was soon to regret the change. It was a personal victory for Zapata, but costly for the Order as a whole.

In accordance with the decree of the Junta, the wagons were posted for sale in the real almoneda on July 29, and Manso was cited to renew his former bid or make a new one. Manso renewed his bid in most of its essential points, although certain modifications were made. During August and September the treasury officials went through the formality of auctioning off the wagons, but Manso's bid was the only one received. There was considerable discussion and criticism of certain parts of Manso's renewal bid, but by the end of September the final details of the contract had been worked out.

The terms of the contract with Manso were as follows:¹³

1. Number of Wagons and Cost of Same.
 - a. The number of wagons was reduced by an agreement to provide one wagon for three friars instead of one for two, as had been customary. In his original bid Manso had proposed the usual number (on the basis of one for every two friars), but when Fray Zapata renewed his proposal of one for every three (see above), Manso, in his modified renewal bid, made a similar proposal. It was provided, however, that the maximum load for each wagon could not exceed 160 *arrobas*, or about 4,000 pounds.
 - b. Manso agreed to provide, at his own cost, the necessary cooks and servants for the use of the friars during journey.
 - c. It was agreed that Manso should receive 800 pesos per wagon for each triennium. This was a reduction of 323 pesos, 4 tomines per wagon, as compared with costs under the contract of 1631.
 - d. At the end of the nine year term Manso was to turn over to the Treasury all the mules, wagons, harness, etc.

13. For Manso's original bid, the modified renewal offer, discussion of the latter by the treasury officials, and the final arrangements, as summed up in the text of this article, see *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

These terms represented a very great saving for the Treasury of New Spain. The number of wagons provided for Ramírez' second caravan had been twenty-five (for the service of the fifty friars for which provision had been made), and an additional wagon for the military escort. The total cost had been 29,211 pesos. For the 1663-1666 caravan, the first under Manso's administration, provision was also made for fifty friars, but at the rate of one wagon to every three friars—total of seventeen wagons. Two more were provided for the new governor and one for Manso's use—making twenty in all. At 800 pesos each, the cost was 16,000 pesos, as compared with the more than 29,000 pesos for the preceding caravan.

2. Escort.

Whereas it had been customary for the Crown to provide a military escort of fourteen soldiers and a chief-tain for each caravan, at a cost of 4,400 pesos, Manso proposed to dispense with a regular escort and to provide one at his own cost whenever necessary. An additional saving of 4,400 pesos.

3. Term of the Contract.

The contract was to run for nine years, or for three round trips to and from New Mexico.

4. Bond.

Manso was obliged to give bond for 20,000 pesos for prompt fulfillment of the contract, and for delivery of the supplies to the friars in New Mexico.

5. Jurisdiction.

Manso was granted considerable power and authority over the civil members of the caravans, subject to appeal to the tribunals in Mexico City.

These terms, although based on the older contract, represented notable changes. The most important was the abdication of authority over the wagons by the friars. Henceforth, during the term of Manso's contract, the procurator-general of the custodia was to have power only to oversee the selection and purchase of supplies. All authority over the wagons and the transport of the supplies was placed in the hands of the contractor, a layman. This change had been made at the instance of the Franciscans themselves, and blame for any difficulties created by the new system of

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administration rested with them. The contract represented a clear saving for the Treasury of New Spain, but the documents indicate that the treasury officials, although desirous of reducing costs, did not place that consideration first. The good of the service was paramount. The Treasury approved the change only after long agitation and discussion, and the evils in the new system can not be attributed to the policy of the Treasury.

d/ Don Juan Manso, the *asentista*, was the brother of Bishop Manso. He had made several trips to New Mexico in Bishop Manso's service, and had been appointed governor of the province as the predecessor to Mendizábal and Peñalosa. At the end of his term as governor Manso had entered the service of the Inquisition as *alguacil* and had been charged with the arrest of Mendizábal and his associates. On his return to Mexico City in 1663 he had bid for the administration of the wagons and the transport of the mission supplies. During the negotiations for the contract one of the viceragal officials had raised questions concerning his integrity and had pointed out to the viceroy that Manso had not, at that time, satisfied the officers' charges with taking his residencia. Sidelights on Manso's personal character are furnished by the papers of the Inquisition, for although Manso was *alguacil* of the Holy Office, he did not escape the inquiring activities of Fray Alonso de Posada, the commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico. Numerous persons gave information which was detrimental to Manso's reputation, the most serious charge being adultery.¹⁴

The first caravan that was despatched under Manso's administration left Mexico City in the autumn of 1664. From the beginning the friars were dissatisfied with the service. By the time the caravan reached New Mexico in the summer of 1665, the dissatisfaction was so general that

14. For deposition before Fray Posada, see numerous procesos in the Inquisition papers, Arch, Gen., México, Tomos 507, 593, 594, etc. These points will be discussed in detail in the author's forthcoming study of the Inquisition and the Conflict between Church and State in New Mexico in the 17th century.

the *definitorio*, or governing council of the friars of the custodia, sent a general complaint to New Spain when the caravan returned in the autumn.¹⁵

The burden of the complaint had to do with the fact that Manso had used the caravan for his own profit and had made the transportation of the mission supplies secondary to his own gain. The caravan had consisted of two sections during part of the journey. The first contained sixteen wagons, loaded far above the limit of 160 *arrobas*, which were used for the transportation of the mission supplies. The second section, also containing sixteen wagons, was used for the transportation of passengers and commercial freight, and left Mexico City several days after the first section. Meeting at San Juan del Rio, the two sections went on to Zacatecas, where the caravan was delayed by the delivery of freight and the loading of iron for the mines of Parral. Another delay was incurred in waiting for Manso, who had not accompanied the wagons when they left Mexico City. At Parral the freight was delivered, and more taken on for delivery in New Mexico. Sixteen days were consumed in unloading and loading the wagons. Then about ninety leagues beyond Parral, the caravan was reloaded in order to free ten wagons to be sent to a salt field and loaded with salt for the Parral mines. Finally, with twenty-two wagons, the caravan arrived at the Rio Grande in May, 1665, in time for the spring floods. It was not until August that the caravan reached the Pueblo of San Felipe, and then with only fourteen wagons for the account of the friars.

It had been the custom of Fray Ramírez and his predecessors to deliver the supplies to the several pueblos and conventos, but Manso merely unloaded them at San Felipe and left it to the individual friars to come from their respective missions, apportion the supplies, and haul them away to their conventos. When the friars complained, Manso in-

15. For the text of the complaint, dated at Sandia, October 24, 1665, see *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

sisted that the contract merely required delivery in San Felipe.

The contract required that Manso must provide wagons for the return of all supplies sent to friars who had died during the preceding period and also for the transport of other ecclesiastical effects and ornaments and for the service of friars leaving the New Mexican mission field. The provision which Manso actually made was not sufficient. Most of the wagons were used to freight salt from the New Mexican salt fields to the Parral mines for Manso's account.

In view of these deficiencies in the service, the *definitorio* requested the cancellation of Manso's contract. The *definitorio* believed that the time had passed when a special supply caravan was necessary. The unoccupied area between Parral and New Mexico was constantly shrinking, and the need was not so great as it had been earlier in the century. The *definitorio* cited the example of the Jesuits in Sonora, who managed without a regular caravan service. Why could not the Franciscans of New Mexico do the same? Let the Treasury pay the alms and permit the friars to assume all responsibility for the transportation of supplies to New Mexico.

It was also recommended that henceforth the procurator-general should be a New Mexican friar with experience in the needs of the custodia.

Before this complaint concerning Manso's administration of the service reached Mexico and Spain, the problem had been presented to King and Council in Spain. On July 20, 1664, and again on January 11, 1665, the Bishop of Puebla had addressed the Crown concerning the New Mexican supply service and had expressed dissatisfaction with the trends of viceregal policy.¹⁶ The Council found it impossible to take any intelligent action, due to the fact that it did not possess a copy of the original 1631 contract.¹⁷ By

16. A. G. I., 58-4-9.

17. This may seem surprising, but it is an indication of the fact that during the period 1609-1680 the home government was not in close contact with New Mexican

cédula of Oct. 12, 1665, the Crown ordered the viceroy to submit a full report, on the basis of which the Council could formulate recommendations.¹⁸ In accordance with this order a full report was submitted, together with the complaint of the *definitorio*, on November 29, 1666. It is this report, cited in the notes as *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9, that is the chief source for the history of the supply service up to 1666.

Meantime the policy of the Franciscans in New Spain had changed. Fray Zapata had been succeeded by a new Commissary-General, Fray Hernando de la Rúa, who was not animated by Zapata's old dislike of Fray Ramírez. It was clear that Manso was using the caravan as a means of his own personal profit and was subordinating the needs of the New Mexican missions to his own gain. As a result of these new conditions the Franciscans came to regret the decision made in 1664 and to urge a change which would once more place authority over the caravan in the hands of the Order.¹⁹

The viceregal report and correspondence from Fray Hernando de la Rúa were duly considered by the Council. On recommendation of the Council a *cédula* was despatched on June 30, 1668, ordering the viceroy to consult with the Audiencia and other royal officers of New Spain and to do whatever he might deem necessary with regard both for the New Mexican supply service and for lessening the expenses chargeable to the Treasury of New Spain. A thorough investigation of Manso's conduct and suitable punishment of any of his shortcomings were also ordered.²⁰

The documents do not give us much information concerning the action of the viceregal government in carrying

affairs. Only occasionally, when some event of importance, such as the Rosas episode, occurred, did the home government get a full report on New Mexican affairs.

18. Real Cédula, Oct. 12, 1665. Arch. Gen., México. *Reales Cédulas y Ordenes (Principales)*, Tomo 8, no. 74; also in A. G. I., 87-5-7, Libro F21, ff. 118v-119v.

19. See Bib. Nac., México, *M.H.N.M.*, Leg. 1, docs. 17, 25, 27.

20. Real Cédula, June 30, 1668. Arch. Gen., México. *Reales Cédulas y Ordenes (Principales)*, Tomo X, no. 69; also in A. G. I., 87-5-7. Libro F22, ff. 100-103.

out the mandates of the cédula. On Sept. 29, 1668, the viceroy ordered the cédula executed,²¹ but there is an almost complete lack of information for the next two or three years. It seems that the Franciscans started some sort of litigation against Manso which finally resulted in a re-adjustment in 1671.²² By decision of a Junta in March, confirmed by action of the viceroy in June, it seems that Manso was deprived of responsibility and authority for the transportation of the supplies, although final decision was not reached regarding the question whether the contract should be regarded as null and void at once, in advance of the expiration of the nine year term. Although this action apparently took the service out of Manso's hands, the Junta and viceroy refused to restore the former authority of the Order. The arguments that the friars, because of the obligations of the Order and the impossibility of placing the friars under bond, could not assume responsibility for the administration of the service were accepted. It was decided, therefore, to pay the friars of New Mexico an annual lump sum, 330 pesos for each priest and 230 pesos for each lay brother. With these sums the procurator-general of the custodia could purchase supplies and provide transportation for the same. Wagons could be rented or the procurator-general could make use of any commercial freight service which the occasion offered.²³ This arrangement was in line with the recommendations of the *definitorio* of the custodia in 1665. From the standpoint of the Treasury it represented a distinct saving in the item of expense for the transportation of the supplies. It was the first official action looking to the policy which characterized the greater part of the eighteenth century.

21. *Ibid.*

22. For the period of the 1670's the chief source is a series of miscellaneous viceregal decrees, etc., in Arch. Gen., México, *Reales Cédulas y Ordenes (Duplicados)*, Tomo 31. Cited hereafter as A. G. M., R. C. O. D., Tomo 31.

23. A. G. M., R. C. O. D., Tomo 31.

Robles, *Diario*, 109, in *Nov. 7^a Hist. Mex.*, Series 1, vol. 2

Discussion concerning the validity of Manso's contract was apparently pending when, in the summer of 1673, the term of the contract elapsed, and Manso's widow (Manso having died in the preceding period) asked for a final adjustment of accounts. Discussion of future policy continued throughout the autumn of 1673. Two bids were received for the wagons. One bid was made by the Franciscan Order, which now returned to its old point of view and sought to control the wagons as had been the practice prior to 1664. Its experience, 1664-1673, had been costly, and for the good of the service, the Order sought to return to the old ways. The second bid was made by Don Juan de Medrano (ex-governor of New Mexico). Medrano's bid was the more favorable, but the viceroy, the Duke of Veragua, decided to turn the wagons over to the friars, provided they would make a new bid offering better terms. This decision seems to have been a reversal of the policy formulated in 1671.²⁴

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But Veragua's decision, made in December, 1673, was rescinded a few weeks later by a new viceroy, Archbishop Payo de Rivera. The latter ordered a review of all the autos and decrees of the preceding three years, and on Jan. 17, 1674, they were thoroughly discussed in a Junta. The members of the Junta were about evenly divided concerning future policy. Some wished to sustain Veragua's decision; others voted to uphold the decision of 1671. The viceroy cast his vote in favor of the latter. He rested his decision in part on the formal renunciation of the wagons which the Order had made in 1664, and in part on the point of view that the Order could not assume authority over things temporal. The wagons were ordered sold, Manso's accounts adjusted, and any balance paid to his widow.²⁵ On Sept. 21, 1674, the King confirmed this decision.²⁶

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24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. Bib. Nac., México, *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, docs. 37, 38.

Thus the regular caravan service, specially organized for the purpose of transporting supplies to New Mexico and under contract with the friars or a layman, came to an end. But this was not the end of the supply service. The transportation of supplies continued, but in such form as the procurator-general wished to arrange.

1674 ✓ With the royal alms paid in 1674 the procurator-general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, purchased wagons and mules for the account of the Order and transported the usual supplies.²⁷ Fray Ayeta was one of four or five outstanding figures in the New Mexican church in the seventeenth century—ranking with Benavides, Perea, Bishop Manso, and Posada. His greatest services to the province were in connection with the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt, the settlement at El Paso, and the attempted reconquest in 1681. He was appointed later to important offices in Franciscan administration in New Spain. He is also well known for his writings in defense of the privileges of the friars as against the claims of the bishops and the secular clergy.²⁸

When Ayeta arrived in New Mexico in 1675 he found the province in desperate straits. For years the strength of the provincial government had been slowly, but surely, weakened and undermined. The Church and State quarrels of the 1660's had had an evil effect on the efficiency of the provincial administration and had given the Indians the unfortunate example of division of authority in high places. The Indians, both the Pueblo villages and the nomadic tribes, were inspired by a growing contempt for Spanish rule. Following on the heels of this controversy there had been several years of drouth and famine. Crops failed, the Indians were faced with starvation, and the Apaches, also suffering from a similar lack of food, launched forth on a policy of guerilla warfare more intense than ever before. To make matters worse, Manso's administration of the caravans materially lessened the efficiency of the supply

27. A. G. M., R. C. O. D., Tomo 31.

28. See Ayeta Book, *Crisol de la Verdad*.

service. The Pueblos grew more and more restless day by day. So long as the missions could make a strong appeal to the Indians by furnishing food in time of disaster, the Indians maintained a certain loyalty to the Church. But now, with food scarce, the missions could no longer make the same appeal. The influence of the old Indian priesthood increased and the danger of revolt became greater and more menacing than ever before. Meantime the Apache peril increased year by year. The efforts permanently to convert and pacify the Apache and Navajo tribes had failed, and throughout the century these nomadic groups had become an ever increasing danger to the settled Pueblos. The Apaches raided the Pueblo villages, burning and pillaging the dwellings, carrying off dozens of captives, and stealing hundreds of cattle and other livestock. In the late 1660's and the early 1670's these raids became still more frequent, for the growing weakness of the provincial government encouraged the practice of guerrilla warfare, and the general condition of drouth urged the Apaches to even greater boldness. Three sections of the Pueblo area suffered more than others: The Zuñi villages, the Tompiro or Saline villages, and the Piro towns on the lower Rio Grande.²⁹

Thus the province was in a precarious state in the decade of the 1670's. On his arrival in New Mexico in 1675, Fray Ayeta found the provincial government and Spanish population discouraged. Grave fears for the future existed. It was decided, therefore, that Ayeta, on his return to Mexico City, should advise the viceroy concerning the situation and appeal for aid.

Ayeta's memorial to the viceroy, presented late in August or early in September, 1676, was a telling document.³⁰ It reviewed the affairs of the province, cited numer-

29. The documents are full of references to Apache raids. Among the more significant documents in this respect are: *Servicios personales del Maestro de Campo Don Juan Dominguez de Mendoza*. . . Bib. Nac., Madrid. MSS. 19,258; *Ayeta's Memorial*, 1676, in A. G. M., *Historia*, Tomo 25, in R. G. M., *Prov. Int.*, Tomo 37, Exp. 5, and in A. G. I., 67-3-32.

30. See documents cited in Note 29.

ous instances of Apache raids and their disastrous consequences, and appealed for a special grant of aid. This appeal was not for the missions but for the strengthening of the military defense of the province without which the whole New Mexican experiment, and the missionary enterprise especially, would go down in ruin. Ayeta asked for fifty additional soldiers for the garrison, full equipment for the same, one thousand horses, and other supplementary equipment. For the transport of the soldiers the Order offered twenty-five wagons. After consultation with his advisers, the viceroy, convinced of the very urgent need of reinforcing New Mexico's defenses, granted the request and ordered the treasury officials to prepare for the despatch of the men and horses.³¹

The details of this episode belong rather to a study of general New Mexican conditions on the eve of the Pueblo Revolt than to a study of the mission supply service. The organization of the reinforcement went ahead rapidly, and in 1677 Ayeta conducted it to the province. About the same time Don Antonio de Otermín was appointed governor of the province and received full instructions for government of the same.³²

Ayeta was back in Mexico City again the next year preparing for the next regular mission supply service. In 1680 he departed for New Mexico and in August arrived at the Rio Grande, where he was informed that a general revolt of the Pueblo villages had taken place. Without hesitation Ayeta put all the mission supplies at the disposal of Otermín and the Spanish colonists who had been able to escape from the central pueblo area to the northward. Throughout the winter of 1680-1681 Ayeta played a leading part in the resettlement at El Paso and in the plans for the attempted reconquest in 1681. The failure of reconquest made necessary a thoroughgoing readjustment of New Mexican administration and the establishment of new permanent settle-

31. See documents cited in note 29.

32. A. G. M., R. C. O. D., Tomo 31.

ments in the El Paso area. These changes had an immediate effect on the status of mission supply. For this reason the author brings this study to a close at this point.

It is impossible to over-emphasize the services of the mission caravans in the history of New Mexico, 1609-1680. They were the most important bond of union between New Spain and the faraway frontier settlements in New Mexico. Throughout the seventeenth century New Mexico was little more than a mission province, and the successful expansion of the mission field was based on the steady, sure service of supply which the Crown provided. The caravans opened up a roadway to the north country and made it "hub-deep"—a roadway which, except for a few short intervals, has been kept open ever since. To the administrators of the caravans—Bishop Manso, Fray Ramírez, and Fray Ayeta—we owe homage and respect. Their names deserve a prominent place in that long roster of men who conquered the West.

APPENDIX B. [1665]

List of the friars who are at present (serving) in this Holy Custodia of the Conversion of St. Paul in these Provinces of New Mexico.

Padre Custodio Fray Juan de Paz.

Padre Fray García de San Francisco, Padre de la Custodia.¹

Padre Fray Antonio de Ybargaray, Padre de la Custodia.

Padre Fray Francisco de Salazar, Padre de la Custodia.

Padre Fray Tomás de Albarado, Difinidor Actual.²

Padre Fray Nicholas de Echabaría, Difinidor Actual.

Padre Salvador de Guerra, Difinidor Actual.

Padre Fray Francisco Muñoz, Difinidor Actual.

Padre Fray Juan de la Chica.

Padre Fray Francisco de Acebedo.

Padre Fray Diego de Parraga.

Padre Fray Diego de Santander.

1. Padre de la Custodia—a sort of title given to friars who had been custodio or vice-custodio.

2. Difinidor actual—at present a member of the definitorio, or governing council of the custodia.

Padre Fray Fernando de Monroy.
 Padre Fray Joseph de Espeleta.
 Padre Fray Benito de la Natividad.
 Padre Fray Juan de Plasencia.
 Padre Fray Nicolás de Freitas.
 Padre Fray Nicolás de Henríquez.
 Padre Fray Miguel de Quebara.
 Padre Fray Joseph de Paredes.
 Padre Fray Fernando de Velasco.
 Padre Fray Juan Talaban.
 Padre Fray Nicolas del Villar.
 Padre Fray Andrés Durán.
 Padre Felipe Rodríguez.
 Padre Fray Gabriel de Torija.
 Padre Fray Salvador de Antonio.
 Padre Fray Pedro de Villegas.
 Padre Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena.
 Padre Fray Diego Henríquez.
 Padre Fray Sebastian de Contreras.
 Padre Fray Luís de Morales.
 Padre Fray Juan de Álvarez.
 Padre Fray Francisco de Sandoval.
 Padre Fray Tomás de Torres.

Lay Brothers

Fray Blas de Herrera.
 Fray Pedro Moreno.
 Fray Rafael de Santa María.
 Fray Juan de la Cruz.
 Fray Joseph de Figueroa.
 Fray Tomás Gallardo.
 Fray Joseph de Arias.

The forty-two friars who are enumerated in this list (drawn up) on the occasion of the departure and return of the wagons to New Spain are at present and will remain in this Custodia of the Conversion of St. Paul of New Mexico. Year 1665. Dated the 19th of October of the said year.

FRAY JUAN DE PAZ,
Custodiá. (Rúbric).

Copied and translation from the original, which exists in the Museo Nacional, México, *Asuntos de Conventos y Colegios*, Tomo 165, folio 73.

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F. V. S.