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## THE CROWN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO<sup>1</sup>

By GEORGE P. HAMMOND AND AGAPITO REY

IN the Spanish conquest of America, expeditions of exploration and conquest were usually organized and financed by private individuals. Columbus' expedition of discovery furnishes a good example of this pattern, although the daring conquests of Cortés in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru are no less striking. In each case, a private individual made a contract, or *capitulación*, with the Crown. This contract contained a specific list of rights and privileges conferred by the King on the new conqueror and his people, those reserved by the Crown, all in great detail. Rarely did the King contribute to the cost of such an expedition, except to defray the costs of the friars.

These private conquering expeditions were undertaken in the hope of discovering new lands and peoples, of enlarging Spain's boundaries in unknown parts of the world, of gaining wealth and fame for those who participated in the Conquest, and of extending the sway of the Christian Church over the heathen people, and thereby fulfill the King's obligations to convert and Christianize the Indians. Most of the conquerors who obtained contracts to discover and settle new areas made great investments of funds and labor, and made heroic personal sacrifices. Many spent all their resources in

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1. This article is based primarily on documents in the Contaduría section of the Archives of the Indies in Seville, selected many years ago by France V. Scholes and the late Lansing B. Bloom, both of the University of New Mexico, and microfilmed by the latter in 1938.

such ventures — many failed to win the expected reward. A far larger number became rich in experience only — and so felt entitled in later years to petition the Crown for government positions or for grants of land because of their many sacrifices in the royal service.

New Mexico furnishes a fine example of a newly discovered province thought to be rich, which a private individual and his friends sought to conquer and settle, at great expense and hardship to themselves. The King's participation was expected to consist largely in the granting of favors to the prospective colonists, the payment of the costs of the friars, and some help in the form of loans of quicksilver, small cannons, or other items over which the Crown had a virtual monopoly. Actually, the Crown soon became involved in large expenditures, ending with complete responsibility for the welfare of the province.

New Mexico, explored by Coronado in 1540-42 and virtually forgotten for some forty years, was rediscovered in 1580, at a time when most of the "push" had gone out of Spain's expanding empire. By that date, Spanish miners and cattle ranchers had established a foothold as far north of Mexico City as modern Chihuahua, where they found excellent mines, as well as good grazing for their stock. Some of these mines, such as San Francisco del Oro a few miles from modern Parral, discovered in 1567, are still in operation. At these mining settlements news was picked up that there was a great country far to the north, rich in mineral prospects and inhabited by people living in settled towns like the Indians of Mexico. The combination of resources suggested by these rumors pointed to the discovery of "another Mexico," and credulous seekers after wealth were deluded by tales of riches just as Coronado and his men had been many years earlier. Expeditions of discovery followed, which seemed to bear out these rumors, with the natural result that the Crown in 1595 authorized the settlement of New Mexico and the appointment of some suitable individual to assume the burden of directing the conquest.

There was no dearth of volunteers. The man finally se-

lected was Don Juan de Oñate, the descendant of a family which had played a major part in the conquest and settlement of New Galicia, opening mines and pacifying Indians in that rich area. Not only did his family have a reputation for successful military conquest and great mining wealth, but it was well known in Mexican society, including the Viceroy's own circle. A contract was made between Oñate and the Viceroy and hopes ran high for a successful conquest.<sup>2</sup>

Oñate's petition to undertake the new discovery was dated in Mexico, September 21, 1595. In return for his offer to enlist 200 men for the New Mexican expedition, with appropriate supplies of all kinds, all at his own cost, the Crown was to assume the cost of sending along six friars, three small field pieces, thirty quintals of powder, and one hundred quintals of lead. In addition the Crown loaned Oñate one dozen coats of mail, which he was required to pay for, and granted him a loan of six thousand pesos for six years. Oñate was also given ten quintals of quicksilver, but these he was to return or pay for. (Oñate had asked for a loan of twenty thousand pesos, but by his contract the King granted him a loan of six thousand, on condition that he give security to return them by the end of January, 1596.)

The Crown's participation in equipping the Oñate expedition was not large in comparison with the cost of providing for two hundred men and their families, the burden of which was carried by Oñate, his relatives, and a few close friends.

These costs were greatly increased by unexpected delays, extending from 1595 to 1598, occasioned by a dispute over Oñate's right to continue as leader of the proposed conquest. The men recruited in Mexico City and elsewhere in the fall of 1595 had been taken first to Zacatecas and then to the Chihuahua frontier, beyond the settled border. While there, in 1596, the news came by courier that the King had suspended Oñate and that the expedition would not be permitted to pro-

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2. Chief recent works on Oñate are: George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico*, Albuquerque, 1953, 2 vols.; George P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*, Santa Fe, 1927; Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. 1, Washington, 1923, pp: 193-487.

ceed.<sup>3</sup> Against this order, Oñate and his powerful friends made strenuous protests, but before it was revoked and Oñate reinstated, in 1598, he and his army had undergone two official inspections by officials of the Viceroy's staff. He weathered them, however, and managed to keep his army together, although in reduced number and at very great cost. When the ban of suspension was finally lifted and Oñate had passed his last inspection, he set out for New Mexico with a force that had been sadly depleted, both in men and supplies, by the long period of waiting. The effect on the morale of the expedition can be conjectured, though all put the best face on the venture that they could.

Before these events came to pass, Oñate had the expense of recruiting, organizing, and equipping his followers and sending them to Zacatecas, the point of rendezvous on the northern frontier of New Spain. To accompany these parties to that city, the Viceroy sent an escort to maintain discipline and to protect the people along the way from pillage. For this purpose, Juan de la Mota and Juan de Sotelo, who were commissioned to lead these escorts, received 344 and 223 pesos, respectively.<sup>4</sup>

One of the problems of the day is shown by the fact that Captain Juan de la Mota, who had been paid 250 pesos in advance, absconded with the money — thus causing the Crown added expense — though he was later captured and imprisoned! Meantime, Sotelo had been commissioned to take over the escort.

Beyond Zacatecas the frontier lay wide open, with only occasional settlements, mines, and cattle ranches. Here Oñate had enemies, such as Colmenares, and perhaps the colonists sought to live off the country, for Oñate and his men were charged with cattle stealing and other irregularities on this stretch of their march northward.<sup>5</sup> To investigate these

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3. Gaspar de Villagrà tells the story in verse in *Historia de la Nueva México*, Alcalá, 1610. A new edition, with additional documents, was issued in México in 1900, in two volumes. Gilberto Espinosa made a prose translation into English, published by the Quivira Society as Vol. IV of its series in 1933.

4. Archivo General de Indias, *Contaduría*, legajo 245A. In giving these figures on costs, we have dropped the fractions.

5. See the article, "Was Oñate a Marauder?" in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. X (1935), pp. 249-270.

charges and to protect the frontier settlements, the Audiencia of Mexico sent one of its agents, an *alcalde* named Pedro de Rojas, with a small police force. By June 22, 1596, he and his men had received 812 pesos.<sup>6</sup> There may indeed have been other such expenses, for we find that on November 7, 1596, one Pedro Ponce, an interpreter, was paid fourteen pesos in an inquiry involving mistreatment of the natives by Oñate's soldiers.

When the blow of suspension fell on Oñate in August, 1596, he refused to give up the expedition, continued to encourage his people, and maintained them on the frontier in southern Chihuahua at his own expense. To prove that his force was fully equipped, and that he had met the terms of his contract, he demanded an official inspection.<sup>7</sup> The Viceroy was finally constrained to meet this request, and sent Don Lopé de Ulloa y Lemos with a group of officials to make the investigation. Apparently it cost more than four thousand pesos, judging by two vouchers, one dated June 6, 1596, and the other February 26, 1597, for payments made to Don Lope and his staff.<sup>8</sup> The inspection itself was held at Santa Bárbara in southern Chihuahua in December, 1596, and January, 1597. The royal agents therefore had to make the long and costly trip from Mexico City to perform their mission and verify the fact that Oñate had enough men, equipment, and supplies to fulfill his contract.

Even though Oñate weathered this first review, the ban of suspension was not lifted, owing to machinations in Spain which had as their objective his replacement by a certain Pedro Ponce de León, an elderly Spanish nobleman, of some financial and political resources. After waiting another year, Oñate again demanded and received permission for another inspection, likewise carried out at the King's expense. Captain Juan de Frías Salazar, the officer in charge, carried out this assignment in December, 1597, and January, 1598. He and his staff came from Mexico City, which required a journey of several weeks, coming and going. The record shows

6. A. G. I., *Contaduría*, leg. 245A.

7. The documents on this topic will be found in Hammond and Rey, *Oñate, Colonizer*, I, 94ff.

8. A. G. I., *Contaduría*, legajos 245A and 696.

that Salazar was employed from October 2, 1597, to March 25, 1598, in this commission. The review, carried out with great severity, and quite obviously under difficult circumstances for the colonists, was tedious and difficult. The colonists made every effort to make a good showing, after nearly two years of waiting, and the inspector to make a thorough and accurate report. The figures that have been preserved, and which we have found, show that Salazar received a trifle over 1,165 pesos for his services, and that his various assistants received a total of about 1,550 pesos. Salazar had three assistants, Captain Luis Guerrero, four pesos per day; Jaime Fernández, secretary, three pesos per day; and Francisco Romero, alguacil, two and one-half pesos per day. The men were paid for a total of 169 days, possibly longer.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the officials named, there must have been servants and camp assistants, but as to this the record is silent.

In this inspection, Oñate fell short of his obligations, but he was permitted to launch the conquest when friends undertook to make up what was lacking. The guarantors who went bond for him were his relatives, Juan Guerra de Resa and the latter's wife, Doña Ana de Mendoza. They pledged to recruit the 71 men needed to make up the 200 called for in the contract, and to provide other necessary goods and supplies.<sup>10</sup> These reinforcements were sent on their way to New Mexico in 1600. They assembled at the mines of Santa Bárbara, in southern Chihuahua, where they had to undergo an official review, which was carried out under the direction of Captain Juan de Gordejuela and Captain Juan de Sotelo y Cisneros in August, 1600. It showed a total of 73 soldiers and officers, with the necessary carts, oxen, munitions, and supplies of all kinds. The actual cost of all this, we are informed, amounted to more than 100,000 pesos, supplied by Oñate's chief guarantor, Juan Guerra, and something less than that sum, supplied by Oñate's brother, Don Cristóbal.

The cost of inspecting this force was met from the King's treasury and was no small amount. The records do not disclose all that must have been spent, but we have substantially correct figures for the cost of hiring Captain Juan de Sotelo,

9. *Ibid.*, leg. 699.

10. Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.*, I, 75-82.

who served 11½ months on this assignment at a salary of 11 reals per day. Sotelo received 3,148 pesos, and his alguacil, Francisco Romero, 759 pesos.<sup>11</sup> We have found no statement of how much was paid to Captain Juan de Gordejuela, or others connected with the inspection, but their expenses would have been comparable to those of the other officers.

After these relief forces had been sent to New Mexico, Oñate and his colonists were able, in 1601, to make the projected expedition to the Kingdom of Quivira, supposed to be rich in both population and wealth. Although Oñate was able to make this trip, which took him as far as the Wichita area of Kansas, the new discovery proved a great disappointment, though he had heard of other kingdoms farther on which were said to be rich and which he was eager to prospect. Now Oñate could only return to Santa Fe to await additional reinforcements, for he was too weak to explore further at the moment. There, most of the colonists who had remained behind to hold the province had fled to Mexico, thereby paralyzing him and preventing him from any future activity.

In this emergency, he sent his brother, Don Alonso, to Mexico and Spain to seek additional support. The cost of this trip was met by Oñate and his family, but there was not much that the Crown could do at that moment to help Oñate, in view of the disappointing prospects of New Mexico, according to what had been found to that date. Don Alonso did succeed, however, in obtaining in Spain forty musketeers and ship carpenters and two pilots, to enable his brother to continue his exploration, for New Mexico was supposed to be near the Strait of Anian and they entertained hopes of finding that a ship route could be opened to New Mexico by way of the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans which would facilitate more direct communication with Spain and replace the cumbersome land route to Mexico City.

The cost of arms and transportation for these men was 1,500 ducats.<sup>12</sup> In the absence of further information, we may infer that they probably were sent to New Mexico, and though there was no need for them as ship's carpenters, they may

11. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, legajos 700, 701, 703, and 704.

12. *Ibid.*, leg. 707.

have been the reinforcement which enabled Oñate to make the expedition to the Gulf of California in 1604. The records for the period after the Quivira expedition of 1601 are very few, except for the great adventure to California, and for this we have only the diary of Father Francisco de Escobar — no other details of what preceded it or how Oñate got enough men and supplies to undertake such an extensive exploration through an unknown country. These forty men, sent at the cost of the Crown in 1603, were additional evidence of the royal interest in New Mexico and of the government's investment in its development.

The desertion of Oñate's colonists from Santa Fe in 1601 caused him and the Crown alike much grief and expense. Oñate was determined to bring them back and punish the guilty, but the parties he sent in pursuit failed to overtake the fleeing colonists. The Viceroy, in the meantime, had sent an escort to succor the deserters and to protect them from the governor's wrath, the cost of which was borne by the government.

For Oñate, the loss of so many of his colonists, about one-half of the total force, was a severe blow, and he made strenuous efforts to re-establish his fortunes by seeking renewed aid from the Crown. His brother, Don Alonso, continued to act as his agent at the Spanish court, where he was paid various sums by the government, an indication that he was on the royal payroll. We find, for example, that the Crown paid him, as Captain of Artillery, Arms, and Munitions, something over 220 pesos as salary for the last quarter of the year 1605, which was at the rate of four hundred pesos for each six months. The date of this voucher was March 4, 1606. A little later he received another like payment for the first quarter of 1606, as seen by a voucher of May 18, 1606.<sup>13</sup>

In 1602, Don Cristóbal, another brother of the governor, was paid four thousand pesos for iron for horseshoes, clothing, and other materials for the use of the people who had deserted New Mexico in 1601 without permission. This voucher is dated January 2, 1602. But it was only a loan, for

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13. *Ibid.*, leg. 708.

Oñate was required to pay back one-half of the sum in 1602 and the other half in 1603.<sup>14</sup>

Other members of the Oñate family received various sums as government officials. On February 27, 1606, Don Fernando de Oñate, Don Juan's younger brother, was paid 214 pesos on his salary for the last quarter of 1605 (as corregidor of the City of Mexico). Luís de Oñate, another brother, was Assayer General of the mines in New Spain in 1606 and was paid a salary.<sup>15</sup> These expenses cannot be charged against the New Mexico enterprise, but these incidents serve to show the prominence of the Oñate family and the fact that they received financial support from the government. It may be noted that this was after New Mexico had proved a costly failure and they presumably had to find other means of support, after they had staked, and spent, their fortunes in the New Mexico venture.

By his contract Oñate was to receive, at royal expense, six friars who would accompany the expedition to New Mexico. The first group, named in 1596, included Fray Rodrigo Durán, as leader of the party, and a certain Fray Diego Márquez, who went as representative of the Inquisition, but who, at the request of Viceroy Monterrey, was not permitted to go, owing to the possibility of stirring up conflict between the friars and the Holy Office of the Inquisition. After Oñate's suspension in August, 1596, and the consequent delay of the expedition, Fray Durán returned to Mexico.<sup>16</sup>

This Durán-Márquez group, it would appear, entailed heavy expense to the Crown. On March 6, 1596, we find a statement that the factor, Pedro de los Ríos, was paid 5,560 pesos for goods and support for these friars, and the cost of their journey to Zacatecas, and food, clothing, and supplies for the founding of convents in New Mexico.<sup>17</sup>

The next year, 1597, the escort for the group of friars, led by Fray Alonso Martínez, cost 1,290 pesos. The voucher of payment is dated September 30, 1597.<sup>18</sup> Provisions and supplies amounted to 4,760 pesos, as shown by a payment of

14. *Ibid.*, leg. 703.

15. *Ibid.*, leg. 708.

16. Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.*, I., 15, 386.

17. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, leg. 245A.

18. *Ibid.*, leg. 842A.

December 22, 1597; and a suit of clothes for the leader of the wagon train cost 47½ pesos.<sup>19</sup>

Earlier, there had been a plan to send Carmelite friars from Spain to New Mexico, the expenses for which were charged to the Crown. This appears from the story of one Fray Joseph de Santa María, one of a group of 15 friars who experienced some misfortune in the port of Cádiz in which they lost all their supplies and equipment. Though the Council of the Indies approved more money for them, they did not go to New Mexico.<sup>20</sup> This field had been assigned to the Franciscans, and members of other religious orders were not permitted to go, in spite of the efforts of such groups to invade this fertile area.

In the year 1600, when the 73 soldiers were sent north to reinforce Oñate, they were accompanied by a party of nine friars, led by Fray Juan de Escalona as commissary. The cost of supplies for this group was approximately 9,185 pesos, paid to Pedro de los Ríos, leader of the supply train. In addition to daily needs for the road and for use in New Mexico, they brought books and articles for the vestry, dining room, kitchen, infirmary, and blacksmith shop.

The supply train of 1600, commanded by Bartolomé Sánchez from Zacatecas to New Mexico, was large and costly. Sánchez was paid 500 pesos for his service. Eight of the wagons, drawn by 83 mules and provided with certain equipment, cost 5,204. Six other wagons, with their quota of 56 mules, cost 3,575. To man the wagons and handle the animals there were six negroes, purchased for this purpose by order of the Viceroy, at a cost of 3,310 pesos, and eight or ten Indians and an interpreter, at a cost of 880 pesos for a period of eight months. Six or more Indian servants, certified by Father Escalona, earned 360 pesos, and a chap named Cabañuelos, in charge of six of the wagons, got 200 pesos. Steers, sheep, etc., cost 811 pesos, transport of corn, 82½, horseshoes, 271½, certain clothing and supplies, 180½, iron and hardtack, 2,266½, and the blacksmith, 84 pesos, earned in shoeing the animals.<sup>21</sup>

19. *Ibid.*, leg. 697.

20. *Ibid.*, leg. 245A.

21. *Ibid.*, leg. 700.

The accounting records disclose also that in 1603 four friars were sent to reinforce those already in New Mexico. This was doubtless in response to Oñate's plight following the desertion of so large a number of his colonists and friars in 1601, while he was absent in Quivira. For equipping these four friars (of whom Francisco de Escobar was commissary but whose names are not given),<sup>22</sup> the Crown paid 3,925 pesos, possibly more, for we find the statement that the royal treasury paid a total of 4,890 pesos for this purpose, including the soldier escort. The ten soldiers in it received 250 pesos each, or a total of 2,500 pesos, and 965 pesos for equipment.<sup>23</sup> It may be observed that the general documents relating to the Oñate expedition make no record of this group of friars, from which we infer that small parties may have reinforced him occasionally.

Viceroy Montesclaros in 1605 sent a special reinforcement of two friars and twenty soldiers to New Mexico, as appears from the accounting records once more. Each of the soldiers was paid 200 pesos in advance, by an order of July 5, 1605, but was required to serve at least six months and to provide himself with horses, arms, and other necessary equipment for the journey, "this being the time for which they received salary from his Majesty, while a decision was reached on matters pertaining to New Mexico."<sup>24</sup> The question was whether Oñate would remain as governor or whether the Crown would take over the province. These twenty soldiers brought supplies for the friars, including tents, blankets, incense for Masses, soap, razors, axes, hoes, and other supplies, all of which cost 207 pesos. This sum was augmented by 748 pesos for other supplies, especially iron, nails, and heavy materials of like nature, for the use of the friars. This disbursement was dated September 3, 1605.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, the names of the two friars do not appear in the sources at our command.

Since Oñate had failed to maintain the confidence of the government, it was decided to recall him, and this was ordered by the Council of the Indies on June 17, 1606. The next

22. *Ibid.*, leg. 842A.

23. *Ibid.*, legs. 704 and 705.

24. *Ibid.*, leg. 707.

25. *Loc. cit.*

year, at the end of his resources, Oñate resigned, declaring that he could not remain in New Mexico after June 30, 1608.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, the Viceroy of Mexico sent Fray Lázaro Ximénez to investigate and report on the situation, with an escort of a captain and eight soldiers. Another party consisting of a captain and nine soldiers was commissioned to take supplies and cattle to New Mexico. The first group received an advance on their salaries of 2,800 pesos, paid February 11, and the second, 3,000 pesos, paid April 7, 1608.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, the Crown appointed Don Pedro de Peralta as governor to succeed Oñate and breathed new life into the half-starved colony:

These new expenses, as gleaned from the accounting records, show the following initial costs, all chargeable to the Crown:

February 11, 1608, to Captain Juan Lucas de Oropesa and eight soldiers, escort to Fray Lázaro Ximénes, as noted above .....	2,800 pesos
April 7, 1608, to Captain Marcos García and nine soldiers, bringing cattle and supplies to New Mexico .....	3,000 "
April 7, 1608, to Captain Juan Velarde, commissary of the supply train, per year .....	450 "

Most of these men served for limited periods of six months or so. Those who remained in New Mexico received wages at the same rates, all duly paid by the Crown.

The great event of the period, as is clear from the foregoing, was the appointment of Don Pedro de Peralta as royal governor of New Mexico in March, 1609, at a salary of 2,000 pesos per year, with an allowance of 500 pesos for travel expenses. This meant the end of the private adventurer and his replacement by the strong arm of the government. His escort consisted of 15 soldiers, whose salary was 450 pesos annually. An alférez, Bartolomé de Montoña, hired at the same salary, was to accompany two friars from Mexico City to Zacatecas. These sums were paid in February and March,

<sup>26</sup> Hammond, *The Founding of New Mexico*, pp. 172-73.

<sup>27</sup> A.G.I., *Contaduría*, leg. 710.

1609, in preparation for the governor's journey to New Mexico.<sup>28</sup>

To give new impetus to the work of the missionaries, nine Franciscan friars were sent to New Mexico in 1609, led by Fray Isidro Ordoñez and Fray Alonso Peynado. Mounts and clothes for these nine friars totaled 1,755 pesos. There was an expenditure of 30 pesos to Fray Joseph Tabera for carrying dispatches to Zacatecas from Mexico. Provisions and supplies for these friars amounted to 10,703 pesos, paid on June 23, 1609. There was an additional expenditure on October 27, 1609, of 5,108 pesos for plowshares and other hardware and supplies, and of 45 pesos on April 7, 1610, to clothe an Indian chief and his wife from the pueblo of San Marcos in New Mexico who were returning there.<sup>29</sup> There were other costs, such as for escorts or couriers between New Mexico and Mexico City. And the cattle and supplies that ex-Governor Oñate had left behind were taken over by Peralta and charged to the Crown. These amounted to 1,365 pesos for livestock and 2,247 for supplies and equipment, as appraised by Alonso de Salazar Barahona, accountant, and Rafael de Alzate, treasurer.<sup>30</sup>

To equip the missions and churches of New Mexico, the viceroy on October 1, 1611, authorized an expenditure of 18,671 pesos for church ornaments, bells, provisions, and religious paraphernalia of various kinds. The list of these materials was prepared by Fray Isidro Ordoñez, who returned to Mexico from Santa Fe to supervise the shipment.<sup>31</sup> A little later, December 9, 1611, the sum of 1,067 pesos was added to meet the costs of the friars, especially for wagons and similar equipment for the journey.<sup>32</sup>

There were other bills, such as for wages of the soldiers who served the king continuously between 1608 and 1610. Among these were Juan de Lara and Melchior de Torres,<sup>33</sup> who went with the supply train to New Mexico early in 1608 and returned with the party escorting the two ex-governors,

28. *Ibid.*, leg. 711; Hammond and Rey, *op cit.*, II, 1084-86.

29. A.G.I., *Contaduría*, legajos 711, 712, and 713.

30. *Ibid.*, leg. 713.

31. *Ibid.*, leg. 714.

32. *Ibid.*, leg. 715.

33. *Ibid.*, legajos 713 and 715.

Don Juan de Oñate and his son, Don Cristóbal, April 30, 1610, to Mexico City.

These investments, after 1609, when the Crown assumed complete responsibility for New Mexico, marked the beginning of a new period in its history. While Oñate was governor, captain general, and adelantado, he had the obligation of paying the bills, except those of the friars, but the failure to discover riches had left him in virtual bankruptcy. Actually, Oñate was one of the last of the adelantados in the Spanish Empire, for by this time it was clear that there were no more Indian kingdoms to despoil and that only the Crown itself could afford the costs of such new conquests.

In New Mexico, the burden of holding the colony and converting the Indians now devolved completely on the Crown. Friars, soldiers, and settlers alike looked to the government for everything. Santa Fe, the new capital, became the center of administration for the next two hundred years. The soldiers were paid a salary of 450 pesos a year. Fifty men were to be stationed in the capital as guards for the missionaries and as soldier colonists, though at the outset there were probably less than one-half of that number.<sup>34</sup> As already suggested, there was also the cost of supporting the friars, their clothing, supplies, provisions, church equipment — in short, everything — to say nothing of the cost of travel from Mexico to Santa Fe and the transport of supplies over a distance of about 1,200 miles.

This became the pattern of life in New Mexico after 1609. There was a governor in the capital, at Santa Fe, who commanded a small group of soldier-colonists, his army of defense against Indian hostility. Governor and soldiers alike were paid a regular salary, with additional allotments for travel, supplies, and equipment for defense. At first the number was small, but this number was augmented with the passing years.

To make friends with the Indians and to baptize and teach them, the government maintained a number of mis-

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34. Cf. Hammond & Rey, *op. cit.*, I, 33-35, II, 1082ff.

sionaries. There were nine in the party who went to New Mexico in 1609 with Peralta,<sup>35</sup> and there must have been a few there from Oñate's time. These friars built missions and churches, labored among the natives, visited the distant or hostile tribes, and ministered to the spiritual needs of the Spanish colony. For them the government provided food, clothing, books, vestments — the wine, oil, and other sacred needs for their churches, and the bells and other equipment for their houses of worship. From the time they left Mexico City till their return (and many spent a lifetime in the distant colony) the Crown paid for their every need, in so far as it could be provided.<sup>36</sup>

Some figures are available on the government's expenditures in New Mexico for the decade after Peralta became governor on March 3, 1609. His term lasted three years and 242 days, or till October 31, 1612,<sup>37</sup> after which came Admiral Bernardino de Zavallos, though he was not appointed till August 5, 1613. Besides the 15 soldiers who escorted him and remained in New Mexico, there were a few hold-overs from those who went to New Mexico in 1608, as is shown by their demands for payment, claims which were duly honored. Among these we find the names of Alonso Ramírez de Salazar, one of the supply train of 1609; Francisco de Barrios, who enlisted in August, 1608, and served till October, 1613; Francisco González Pita, Captain Diego de Bañuelos, Francisco Zapata, Juan Rodríguez de Herrera, Gáspar Pérez, all of whom returned to Mexico in October, 1613; and Tomás Ochoa and Alférez Juan de la Cruz, who remained till 1614. Early in 1614, Zavallos sent a courier to Zacatecas, which cost 304 pesos.<sup>38</sup>

The salary of Zavallos was 2,000, with 500 additional for equipment for the journey. His train included one covered wagon (*carreta fuerte*) with eleven mules, which cost 830 pesos.<sup>39</sup> It would seem that he traveled in style and security.

35. A. G. I., *Contaduría*, leg. 711.

36. Cf. France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, V (1930), 93ff.

37. A. G. I., *Contaduría*, leg. 716.

38. *Loc. cit.*

39. *Loc. cit.*

Other than this, we have no other records of the expenses of his administration.

In 1616, a new group of seven friars was sent to New Mexico, with Fray Bernardo de Aguirre as president,<sup>40</sup> though we do not have the names of the others, and a new governor, Don Juan de Eulate, replaced Zavillos. We have very few details of these events, but the accounting records state that seven friars left Zacatecas in September, 1616, after waiting there since January 4. The cost of their support in Zacatecas for this time had been 1,006 pesos, and warehousing of their goods cost 87 pesos. Eleven iron-clad wagons, with eight mules for each, cost 8,038 pesos, and four more, with 16 extra mules, cost an additional 3,192. And there were 60 mules for the friars, which cost about 37 pesos each, or more than 2,220 pesos. Most of these bills were paid on September 30, 1616, suggesting that the supply train and the friars were then on their way to New Mexico. The goods and supplies for the friars and soldiers for use on the journey totaled 2,588 pesos; the blacksmith required another 213 for materials and equipment; a mayordomo and his drivers, comprising 15 Indians and four Indian women, cost 2,480 pesos. And the provisions for the seven friars, 834 pesos.<sup>41</sup>

Salaries of the soldiers amounted to 4,776 pesos. With these details we come to the end of the records for that supply train and the expenses of sending the friars and soldiers who went to New Mexico with Governor Eulate and Father President Aguirre.

We bring to a close this decade of New Mexico affairs with the sending of a new group of friars, in 1621, of which Fray Miguel de Echavarría was custodio, according to the accounting records, and his associates were Fray Ascencio de Zárate, Fray Gerónimo de Zárate (Salmerón), Fray Martín de Arvide, Fray Francisco Fonsi, and Alonso de San Juan, lay brother. Goods furnished them in Zacatecas cost 1,065 pesos, and other expenses 136 pesos. Food and pro-

40. *Ibid.*, leg. 845B.

41. These facts are culled from papers in the same legajo in A. G. I., *Contaduría*, 845B.

visions for the trip amounted to 1,395 pesos; two Indian servants made it 340 pesos more, and storage of goods, 10 pesos.

This brings to an end the story of the Contaduría records of New Mexico affairs till 1621, after which more abundant sources are available, much of which has been published by France V. Scholes.