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DON FÉLIX MARTÍNEZ AND
THE SANTA FE PRESIDIO, 1693-1730

TED J. WARNER

NEW MEXICO during the seventeenth century was profoundly influenced by the character and personality of individual governors and of prominent missionary friars.¹ In the eighteenth century de-emphasis of the missionary program and a greater emphasis on civil, economic, and military aspects of provincial life provided greater opportunities for political and military leaders to dominate local affairs. The career of Captain don Félix Martínez de Torrelaguna illustrates the manner in which military men, especially of the Santa Fe presidio, influenced life in that frontier province.

In the spring of 1693 don Diego de Vargas, newly appointed governor and captain general of the Kingdom and Provinces of New Mexico, arrived in Zacatecas to recruit men for the recently authorized one-hundred-man garrison at Santa Fe. Don Félix Martínez, a native of the city of Alicante in Valencia, Spain, and a new arrival in Mexico, was among the first to enlist. During the campaigns of reconquest Martínez served bravely, displaying exceptional valor during the final assault upon the native stronghold in Santa Fe. One of the first Spaniards "over the wall" of the villa, his courageous conduct made a very favorable impression upon Governor Vargas.

During the siege of San Ildefonso in 1694 he was painfully wounded in the arm while attempting to scale the mesa but refused to return to Santa Fe.² On April 17, after forcing Cochiti pueblo to submit, the troops withdrew to the capital, leaving San Ildefonso still in rebel hands. Later that summer Vargas led the presidial soldiers north to Picuris, Taos, and on into present-day

Colorado.³ On their return from this expedition in July, the troops compelled the pueblo of Jemez to surrender. In September the Spaniards again besieged the mesa of San Ildefonso, which capitulated on the eighth.⁴ The governor later certified that don Félix Martínez had served "in all this combat and bloody war as a valiant and obedient soldier." He commissioned Martínez aide-de-camp on October 1, 1694; he was to receive the same "honors, freedom, liberties, and exemptions enjoyed by the *ayudantes de gobernadores* of Flanders and Africa.⁵ The new ayudante served with "great zeal and ability" until August 16, 1695, when he was transferred to the presidio at El Paso in the same capacity.⁶

After serving two years there, Martínez petitioned Governor don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero for permission to return to Mexico, claiming that his military efficiency was impaired by "attacks" he suffered, and that necessary treatment was not available in New Mexico.⁷ The exact nature of his malady, perhaps malaria, is not known. The chief surgeon stated that if he did not return to a more temperate climate his life would be in grave danger,⁸ and the governor allowed him to go to Mexico City. There he remained for almost three years, presumably recuperating from his illness. There is no record of his activities during this period. In July 1700 he returned to El Paso, reenlisted, and volunteered for many difficult and arduous Indian campaigns.⁹

When Diego de Vargas took office for the second time in November 1703, he summoned Martínez to Santa Fe and appointed him captain of the presidio, with "all the honors, privileges, exemptions, and liberties enjoyed by all other presidial captains."¹⁰ When Governor Vargas died on April 8, 1704, and don Juan Páez Hurtado became acting governor pending the arrival of a viceregal or crown appointee, Martínez was kept on as captain of the presidio. In mid-July 1704, Páez Hurtado sent Martínez, with 44 soldiers and 110 Indian auxiliaries, to subdue the Faraon Apache in the Sandia mountains east of Albuquerque, and finish the campaign interrupted by Vargas' death.¹¹ No journal of this expedition is extant, and the results are unknown.

The viceroy appointed don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés governor ad interim on October 11, 1704, and notified the king of his action. On March 10, 1705, Cuervo reached Santa Fe, where he received the *bastón* of office from Páez Hurtado.¹² At a general muster of the garrison Cuervo found "the presidial soldiers . . . without arms, or horses, ill clothed, and without supplies."¹³ These wretched conditions were attributed to wear and tear of military operations and to the severity of the winter climate.¹⁴ At any rate, the presidial captain was not held responsible, and on March 19 Governor Cuervo issued a commission continuing Martínez in his post. Indeed, despite the grave shortages of supplies and equipment, Captain Martínez' soldiers were expertly trained and disciplined.¹⁵

Although Cuervo ardently desired to continue as governor and sought royal appointment, he was replaced by Admiral don Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marqués de la Peñuela, to whom the king sold the office for a five-year term on March 31, 1705. Peñuela arrived in Santa Fe on August 1, 1707, and was formally installed as governor on that date.¹⁶ One of the new governor's first official acts was to reappoint don Félix Martínez captain of the Santa Fe presidio. No doubt the new governor, who knew practically nothing of New Mexico, welcomed the assistance of this experienced soldier. Peñuela commissioned him on August 24, 1707, and set his salary at 431 pesos a year.¹⁷ Early in September Martínez conducted a *visita* of all the pueblos to reassure the Christian Indians by a display of arms that the Spaniards were prepared and able to protect them from their enemies.¹⁸

During the next few years Martínez engaged in a series of punitive expeditions. When the alcalde mayor of the villa of Albuquerque complained that Apache Indians had raided that jurisdiction and rustled a hundred head of cattle, the governor ordered Martínez to conduct a campaign against them. In January 1708, with thirty soldiers, some settlers, and sixty Pueblo auxiliaries, he pursued the Apache rustlers to the Sierra de los Ladrones and killed a number of them.¹⁹ In June, complaints of Apache

depredations from officials at Laguna and Acoma prompted a reconnaissance of the Sierra de Magdalena near the old pueblo of Alamillo.²⁰

A smallpox epidemic in the Taos region made it impossible for the Indians to defend themselves against Ute and Comanche raids. On January 27, 1709, the Ute stole seventy horses from Taos and attacked Picuris, San Juan, and Santa Cruz. Martínez and his troops were dispatched to punish the raiders.²¹ In December 1709 he led an expedition against some Faraon Apache who had attacked Isleta.²² On May 8, 1710, he was sent to reconnoiter the "Sierra Azul and Salinas" area for evidence of Mescalero Apache reported raiding the western pueblos.²³ For six months the troops patrolled the Zuñi-Navajo-Moqui frontiers.²⁴

After his return from this tour of duty in western New Mexico, Captain Martínez was entrusted with an important mission on behalf of the soldiers of the Santa Fe presidio. Upon his return to Mexico City in 1707-1708, Cuervo y Valdés had started litigation to substantiate his claim that the presidials of Santa Fe owed him forty-three thousand pesos for supplies distributed to them during his term of office. From time to time the soldiers sent prominent members of the presidio to Mexico City to represent them in this case. In 1710 the courts handed down a final decision (*sentencia de revista*) in favor of Cuervo. Antonio de Ulibarrí, acting as attorney for the soldiers, filed an appeal to the Council of the Indies and returned to Santa Fe to report his action to the troops. Although some of them doubted that further litigation would serve a useful purpose, the majority agreed to support the appeal, and on December 3, 1710, they granted power of attorney to Félix Martínez, authorizing him to proceed to Mexico, and to Spain if necessary, to take charge of the case. They authorized an expense account of up to ten thousand pesos as a charge against the salaries payable to them by the royal treasury.²⁵

Thus during the early years of don Félix Martínez' military career in New Mexico he evidently established a satisfactory record as a soldier in the ranks and as commander of the garrison. The provincial governors regarded him as a loyal and competent

officer; his troops were willing to entrust an important mission to him. There is little to suggest that he was motivated by unusual personal ambition or that he might seek to advance his own interests at the expense of his superiors or of his subordinates.

II

IN mid-December 1710 Captain Martínez, armed with power of attorney from the soldiers, departed for Mexico City, where he arrived in March 1711. His activities during the next ten months constitute an important landmark in his career and had a profound influence on his subsequent role in New Mexico affairs. Don Félix had taken care to obtain from the governor and the cabildo of Santa Fe certifications of his faithful and loyal service to the crown. As he passed through El Paso he prevailed upon the garrison commander, Captain don Antonio de Valverde, to grant him a similar recommendation.²⁶ His later use of these "testimonials" indicates that if he had not heretofore sought personal advancement, it was for lack of opportunity. In Mexico his deliberate purpose to seek selfish ends rather than the welfare of his soldiers became obvious.

There is no evidence that during his stay in Mexico City in 1711 he took any effective action to intervene in the lawsuit which Governor Cuervo had brought against the soldiers, nor did he go to Spain to present the appeal. On July 29, 1711, he wrote to his troops assuring them that their case was in "good shape" and that he had not spent a single *real* of the ten thousand pesos granted to him for expenses.²⁷ This letter was misleading, to say the least, since his failure to press the appeal could have only one result: the enforcement of the decision in favor of Cuervo's claim. In short, the soldiers lost.

Martínez was using his stay in Mexico to seek personal preferment. The certifications he presented at the viceregal court obviously created a favorable impression of his military talents and experience. On July 7, 1711, Viceroy Duque de Linares con-

firmed don Félix as captain of the Santa Fe presidio and specified that he should not be removed without just cause, and then only after the provincial governor of New Mexico sought and received viceregal permission to do so. This, of course, was tantamount to a life-tenure appointment, and there are frequent references in later documents to Félix Martínez as *capitán vitalicio* (captain for life). The Linares commission conferred upon him the privileges, exemptions, and immunities conceded to those holding equivalent military rank, and carried with it the same authority as that exercised by the presidio captains of El Paso and Nueva Vizcaya, including the right to name and appoint officers for the troops under his command.²⁸

Nevertheless, much to Martínez' disappointment, the viceroy confirmed the salary of 431 pesos authorized by Governor Peñuela. Don Félix believed that he deserved a salary commensurate with that of the presidial captains at other military posts in New Spain. Most of them received six hundred pesos a year, although some commanded garrisons of only fifteen to fifty men. He decided to petition directly to the king and Council in Spain, summarizing his past military service and requesting royal confirmation of his life-tenure appointment, with a salary of six hundred pesos.²⁹ The Council of the Indies, which reviewed his petition on November 6, 1712, recommended approval of the life-tenure appointment with appropriate thanks for Martínez' past services, but confirmed the salary established by the provincial governor. The king approved these recommendations on December 10, 1712.³⁰

Martínez also made representations to the viceregal officials concerning management of presidial supply service. His power of attorney from the soldiers seems to have contained more than simple authorization to act as their representative in the litigation with former governor Cuervo, for Martínez also claimed authority to collect salaries due and payable to the Santa Fe troops and to take charge of presidio supply.³¹ The authorities in Mexico City accepted this claim and issued drafts in favor of Martínez on the royal treasury for payment of presidio salaries for the years 1710 and 1711.³²

In these negotiations Martínez apparently alleged that the governors of New Mexico had charged exorbitant prices for supplies distributed to the garrison.³³ Since there is some evidence that as captain of the presidio he had facilitated and perhaps participated in the activities of Governor Peñuela in provisioning the soldiers, such allegations smack of hypocrisy and were obviously intended to serve his own ends. To buttress his pretensions for authority to provision the troops and to demonstrate a desire to improve the lot of the soldiers, Martínez agreed to distribute supplies at "cost plus costs" (*costa y costas*). It was on this condition that Viceroy Linares authorized him to take full charge of presidio supply.³⁴ "Cost plus costs" was generally interpreted as meaning that prices would be based on the purchase prices paid in Mexico plus transportation costs, without the usual profit markup charged by the provincial governors, and also without any charge for *quites*, which presumably were deductions to cover the expenses of collecting the soldiers' salaries.

Captain Martínez contacted don Pedro de Otero Bermúdez and made arrangements for the purchase of equipment and supplies. Don Félix took part of the supplies with him on his return to New Mexico in the winter of 1711-1712, but the major consignment, consisting of clothing and other dry goods, was dispatched in care of caravan agents after he left the capital. Funds for the purchase were provided by viceregal drafts on the royal treasury issued in favor of Martínez, which he assigned to Otero Bermúdez for collection, as payments on account of the presidial salaries for 1710-1711.³⁵

Martínez left for New Mexico in November 1711. At Zacatecas he contracted for the purchase of horses for the presidio, and they were brought to Santa Fe several months later. On March 26, 1712, capitán vitalicio don Félix Martínez made a grand entry into Santa Fe. Later an eyewitness testified that the captain, wearing a gala three-cornered hat, rode into the villa in a calash, preceded by a Negro slave with a bugle.³⁶

Martínez promptly made formal announcement of his appointment as life-tenure captain of the presidio and stated that the

viceroys had authorized him to serve as provisioning officer (*pagador*) of the garrison. He again reported satisfactory progress in regard to the Cuervo lawsuit, but made no adequate explanation of his reasons for not taking the appeal to Spain. Although some soldiers were not content to accept his assurances at face value, the dissidents were silenced for the time being because he had brought badly needed supplies for distribution at cost plus costs and more were on the way.

The captain took advantage of the favorable reception to obtain a new and sweeping power of attorney from the soldiers. This document, executed on April 7, 1712, gave formal approval to all the business transactions he had conducted in Mexico in the name of the presidio. It also gave him full and complete authority to collect the troops' annual salary allowances and to administer the supply service in the future.³⁷ Approval of his recent activities in Mexico was important to Martínez, but it was the imminent arrival of the second consignment of goods that made a new power of attorney urgent, since he intended to take immediate charge of distributing them, without regard to the interests of the governor. On April 15, 1712, he entered into an agreement with Governor Peñuela which stipulated that Martínez should take charge when the next shipment arrived.³⁸

When the supplies reached Santa Fe in May or June, Peñuela received letters from Otero Bermúdez dated April-November 1711. They contained statements indicating that Martínez had not expressed any intention of making innovations in supply procedures.³⁹ He took a different position when he arrived in Santa Fe. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Peñuela learned that don Félix had told Otero that the governor would continue in authority over presidio supply, he challenged Martínez' right to assume it. The troops then filed a sharply worded complaint before the Santa Fe cabildo against the governor, accusing him of violating the agreement made with don Félix. They set forth in rather specific detail the benefits the presidio had realized from Martínez' moderate prices.⁴⁰ They asked the cabildo to summon the Franciscan missionaries resident in the capital to testify in support of their

representations and to make a formal report to the viceroy. Several friars, including the Father Custos, were called in and agreed to request a conference with Governor Peñuela, the results of which are unknown.

It is significant that on July 6, five days before the soldiers made their petition to the cabildo, Martínez had obtained from them an instrument by which they obligated themselves not to annul the power of attorney they had granted him on April 7.⁴¹ His motives for requesting a new power of attorney making provision for a possible increase in prices for supplies can only be surmised. Perhaps Peñuela had reminded him of his commitments of the preceding year as stated in the Otero Bermúdez letters, which placed him in an equivocal position in relation to both the soldiers and the governor. Moreover, the arrival of a new governor was imminent. What would his attitude toward the problems of presidio supply be? It is quite possible that from Martínez' standpoint the instrument of July 6, 1712, would serve a dual purpose: reaffirmation of his right to provision the garrison, and protection of Peñuela's financial interest in the supplies distributed during 1712 when his successor audited the accounts.

III

THE NEW GOVERNOR of New Mexico was don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón, a veteran of colonial service in Mexico, who had served as governor of Nuevo León. He was well along in years when he purchased the New Mexico governorship, for which he paid 3,500 pesos in cash, plus 1,000 pesos of *media anata*.⁴² No doubt he expected to recoup his original investment, plus a handsome profit for his retirement, through manipulation of the presidio supply accounts.⁴³ Flores Mogollón received the office from Peñuela on October 5, 1712, and six days later, in direct violation of the terms of Martínez' commission from Viceroy Linares, he summarily dismissed him.⁴⁴ The new governor justified his action by alleging that the captain was guilty of fraud in the distribu-

tion of provisions and this had resulted in grave hardships and lowering of morale. Flores based these charges on an audit of the presidio accounts for the year 1712, which revealed that the soldiers had been subjected to unexpected charges for quites. Moreover, during April-October 1712, they had been charged according to the old schedules of marked-up prices, instead of cost plus costs. On November 2, 1712, the garrison demanded revocation of Martínez' power of attorney, listing complaints based upon the audit and expressing dissatisfaction with Martínez' handling of the Cuervo litigation. They asked Governor Flores Mogollón to take charge of presidio supply. Flores acceded to the soldiers' requests and notified Martínez without delay.⁴⁵ The soldiers then gave Flores formal power of attorney as provisioning officer.⁴⁶

Naturally, Martínez protested, denying the charges of dishonesty and challenging Flores Mogollón's motives. He stoutly maintained that he had distributed supplies at cost plus costs, but admitted a modest charge for quites. He explained that he had kept two sets of account books to show the soldiers and the viceroy how much his administration of presidio supply had benefited them. He now alleged that Flores Mogollón was using the second set, with its higher prices, to serve his own selfish ends. Martínez claimed that the presidio had revoked his power of attorney under duress from the governor, whose real motive was the hope of personal profit from administration of presidio supply.⁴⁷

Captain Martínez remained in Santa Fe for five months after his dismissal. On March 8, 1713, he left for Mexico, still smarting over the actions of the new governor and with the intention of appealing directly to the viceroy for reinstatement.⁴⁸ Linares kept him waiting for a year and a half, pending clarification of the true status of New Mexico affairs. Meanwhile, Martínez filed representations to prove how beneficial his administration of the supply service had been to the soldiers, and maintained that the existence of two sets of accounts was not evidence of fraud. He accused Flores Mogollón of charging excessive prices and of forcing the soldiers to revoke his power of attorney. Flores Mogollón denied

these charges, as did letters from the Santa Fe garrison which Martínez characterized as further evidence of duress by the governor.⁴⁹

During his stay in Mexico, 1713-1715, Martínez refused to renounce his claim that the power of attorney was still valid. He apparently continued to exercise some control over supplies destined for New Mexico. In view of the charges, countercharges, claims, litigation, and pleas, and conflicting reports on the state of affairs in New Mexico, it is no wonder that Linares postponed his decision, until the arrival of a royal decree, dated December 10, 1712, approving Martínez' commission as life-tenure captain forced him to order his reinstatement on October 20, 1714. The viceroy ordered Captain Antonio de Valverde of the El Paso presidio to accompany Martínez to Santa Fe and formally restore him to his former rank.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, the viceroy thought it advisable to seek further information. On October 31 he ordered Valverde and Juan Páez Hurtado to review the presidio accounts for Flores Mogollón's term of office.⁵¹ Then new reports from the governor and some of the soldier's denouncing Martínez' administration of supplies during 1712, came in. As a result, another viceregal order, dated February 4, 1715, instructed Valverde and Páez Hurtado to conduct a *pesquisa secreta*. Neither Martínez nor Flores Mogollón was to be aware that it was going on.⁵²

Meanwhile, Pedro de Otero Bermúdez was to act as temporary *aviador* in Mexico City and send the needy garrison livestock and other provisions at cost plus costs. As presidio captain, Martínez was to distribute them, but with the assistance of the Custos, probably to forestall dishonesty.⁵³ As in 1711, the governor was denied control over presidio supply.

In April 1715 Captain Martínez left for El Paso, where Captain Valverde awaited his arrival. They reached Santa Fe on May 25. In accordance with instructions from Valverde, Governor Flores Mogollón ordered a general muster of the garrison on June 3 and formally reinstated Martínez.⁵⁴ The very next day seventy-six

presidials renewed Martínez' April 1712 power of attorney and revoked the one issued in March 1715 in favor of Flores' agents in Mexico City. The new instrument contained a lengthy and significant statement about Flores Mogollón's use of deceit and threats of reprisal to induce the soldiers to revoke Martínez' power of attorney in November 1712. The governor had summoned a small group of soldiers whom he thought he could influence and threatened to send them on escort duty to the frontier, without proper equipment, if they did not go along with his wishes. They informed the rest of the garrison. By these tactics Flores Mogollón had induced them to revoke Martínez' power of attorney and to sign documents which led to the *pesquisa secreta*.⁵⁵ In some cases signatures were forged, or those of illiterates were made "at their request" even though they were ignorant of the content.⁵⁶

The *pesquisa secreta* took place between May 27 and July 15.⁵⁷ Valverde interrogated fifty-eight members of the Santa Fe presidio on the basis of important points raised by the viceroy in his commission. These were: Martínez' actions as representative of the presidio in the Cuervo case; prices for supplies in 1712; the circumstances and results of the October 1712 audit; and the reasons for revocation of Martínez' power of attorney and the grant of another to Governor Flores Mogollón.

Most of the witnesses expressed their dissatisfaction with Martínez' conduct of the Cuervo lawsuit, and felt that he had used his time in Mexico City in 1711 to obtain his life-tenure commission. Although the majority believed that the expense account for the Cuervo litigation had not served any useful purpose, a small minority stated it had been money well spent.

The evidence regarding prices in 1712 was conflicting. Several witnesses made the simple statement that they had received them at cost plus costs, and that this had induced them to subscribe to the April 1712 power of attorney. Others stated that although the prices of some items were lower than those charged by the governors, others were little, if any, less than before. The majority testified that the charges entered in the October 1712 audit were much higher than they had anticipated. Although there are refer-

ences to the two sets of account books, few witnesses seemed to have any clear notion why Flores used the second book, with the higher schedule, in his audit.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the testimony deals with the revocation of Martínez' power of attorney in November 1712. Most of the witnesses had something to say on this point, but the names of only thirty-five appear on the revocation. Many of the latter are missing from the renewal dated June 4, 1715, which contained allegations of duress and threats of reprisal by Flores Mogollón and others. Changes in presidio personnel because of deaths, new enlistments, etc., may explain some of the discrepancies. The testimony of the thirty-five witnesses whose names appear on the revocation alone may be summarized as follows: Twenty-six stated that the revocation was voluntary. Eight of this group amplified this statement; for example, five said they had signed because they knew other members of the garrison had done so. Seven said that they had not been willing to sign; three of these mentioned specific pressure or threats. Two gave equivocal answers. Of the nineteen witnesses who signed both documents, twelve said the revocation was voluntary; six had gone along against their will, three of whom mentioned pressure and threats; one made an equivocal answer.

The references to duress are of considerable interest. Flores Mogollón is not mentioned. The complaints concern the conduct of Cristóbal de la Serna, whom the governor had named to command the presidio after dismissing Martínez. This lends some credibility to the charges that Flores Mogollón had used certain soldiers to influence their fellows. On May 27, 1715, Serna testified that the revocation had been voluntary, and on June 3 he was replaced by Martínez as captain of the presidio and put on the retired list. The following day he signed the new power of attorney to Martínez which alleged that the 1712 revocation had been prompted by threats of reprisal! It is not surprising, therefore, that the twelve common soldiers who testified, nine of whom were illiterate, also contradicted themselves. All were vulnerable to pressure by their officers, the governor, and other officials. It is

indeed difficult to evaluate documents issued in the name of the presidio, and there is some support for don Félix' claim that the soldiers often subscribed to documents of which they had little exact knowledge. Five of the 1715 witnesses said that before leaving for Mexico in 1713, Martínez obtained some thirty signatures to a petition for his reinstatement as captan and paymaster, but one common soldier testified that they signed a blank piece of paper.

On June 7, 1715, Valverde and Páez Hurtado initiated their investigation of Flores Mogollón's presidio accounts, including the 1712 audit. They ordered him to present Martínez' two books for that year. He did so, but it appears that they were not the originals but copies made before the audit by Captain Alonso Rael de Aguilar, alcalde ordinario of Santa Fe and a member of the audit committee, to which don Félix gave formal credence. Certified copies were made to send to the viceroy.⁵⁸ The copy of the first, or cost plus costs, book contains no record that the soldiers signed receipts for supplies at these prices, and thus does not constitute positive evidence to absolve Martínez of charges of fraud.

Objections by both Flores Mogollón and Martínez forced the commissioners to suspend the investigation, and the only document concerning Flores Mogollón's administration of presidio supply during 1712-1715 is a certification by the cabildo, signed by Martínez, that Flores had used the Vargas-Páez Hurtado schedule of 1703-1704 to set his prices.⁵⁹ Late in July 1715 Captain Valverde returned to El Paso, and forwarded the records of his investigations to Mexico City. They reached the viceregal authorities toward the end of September.⁶⁰

Martínez' reinstatement was a stinging rebuke to Governor Flores Mogollón. This was not the first time the viceroy had interfered in provincial affairs and embarrassed the governor. In May 1714, contrary to the wishes of the missionaries, Flores had accepted the recommendations of the military and confiscated all European weapons then in the possession of friendly Christian Pueblo Indians. The military favored this because the specter of another Pueblo Revolt constantly haunted them. The religious

opposed it, contending that there were not enough soldiers to protect the frontiers against Indian attacks on isolated settlements and missions, and that help from the presidio was not always available or in time. According to one writer, the Franciscans won their point when the viceroy ordered the governor to return the weapons, realizing the value of armed, friendly Indians as auxiliaries in the protection of the frontiers.⁶¹

Flores Mogollón tendered his resignation. Although Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante later wrote that he did so because he was old and infirm,⁶² the real reasons appear in a letter the governor wrote to the viceroy on July 12, 1715.⁶³ He was deeply concerned lest Martínez' reports might lead to doubt of his integrity. He had understood that he would enjoy the same authority as his predecessors to provision the presidio and that no specific power of attorney would be necessary. He had provided supplies and equipment to the value of more than 104,000 pesos. He made special note of the fact that during his administration the horses of the garrison had increased by almost one hundred fifty per cent. The muster of the troops when Martínez resumed command showed that the men were fully armed and equipped. They were no longer in debt as they had been when he assumed control in the autumn of 1712. As a high official, Flores Mogollón could not tolerate the attacks on his character, and by revoking his authority to provision the presidio the viceroy had made it impossible for him to make an adequate living. He begged that his resignation be accepted because "here there must be either a governor or a captain with full authority."

The letter arrived in Mexico City not later than September 25, 1715, and was referred to the fiscal of the Audiencia. His opinion apparently favored granting Flores' request, and on October 5, 1715, the viceroy relieved him of his post and named don Félix Martínez governor ad interim pending a royal appointment for the normal five-year term. Martínez took office on December 1, 1715.⁶⁴

IV

BY VIRTUE of the viceregal decree of October 5, 1715, don Félix Martínez, a man who had entered the royal service as a common soldier twenty-two years earlier, became governor and captain general of New Mexico. In view of the confused information relating to his role in provincial affairs, his elevation to high office calls for comment. Although inconclusive in some ways, the record of the *pesquisa secreta* did not give a favorable picture of Martínez' conduct. But Valverde's reports did not reach Mexico City until the last week in September and could not have been thoroughly studied and analyzed by the time Viceroy Linares appointed Martínez to succeed Flores Mogollón. Since Martínez was captain of the Santa Fe presidio, he was the logical successor to the governorship, rather than Antonio Valverde, the captain at El Paso, even though the latter had been entrusted with important special commissions.

Martínez served from December 1715 to January 1717. Information concerning his year in office is incomplete, but what is known about his provisioning of the Santa Fe presidio, Indian campaigns, his relations with the ex-governor, his removal as governor, and his relations with his successor, Captain Antonio Valverde, will be summarized below.

It will be remembered that as temporary aviador, Otero Bermúdez had dispatched a shipment of supplies with Martínez when the latter returned to New Mexico in the spring of 1715.⁶⁵ A much larger consignment arrived in Santa Fe in December, just two weeks after Martínez took office as governor.⁶⁶ Knowing that it was on the way, the soldiers had filed a petition on November 6, requesting a price ceiling. The schedule they wanted represented a sharp reduction from the Vargas-Páez Hurtado price lists used by Flores Mogollón. Don Félix agreed to it with the understanding that the men would reaffirm and keep in force the power of attorney to him of June 4, 1715.⁶⁷ By the time the goods arrived he had taken office and, in accordance with viceregal policy, had been

automatically deprived of authority to provision the troops. Therefore, on December 20, 1715, the presidials granted a new power of attorney giving don Pedro de Otero Bermúdez and his nephew Antonio de Otero Bermúdez complete and exclusive authority to collect their salaries and purchase supplies.⁶⁸ Martínez continued to exert considerable influence and control. He made don Juan Páez Hurtado official distributing officer, with some nominal assistance by the Father Custos. Later, in 1718, a number of soldiers testified that a large part of the livestock and other provisions had been diverted to the personal and selfish use of Governor Martínez and his clique, and that the rank and file were very dissatisfied.⁶⁹

For more than a year don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón was unable to go to Mexico City to file his defense. The viceroy had issued an order on October 8, 1715, incorporating the decree of October 31, 1714, requiring an audit and liquidation of his accounts with the Santa Fe presidials. Páez Hurtado and Captain Joseph de Tagle Villegas were appointed *jueces de comisión* to execute this order.⁷⁰ When the investigation began in February 1716, the soldiers asked Martínez to represent them because of his knowledge of the 1712 audit, but he refused to do so without their specific power of attorney. On February 28 they gave him *poder cumplido* to act in their name "in the adjustment, liquidation, and rebatement" of their accounts. The price schedule agreed upon by Martínez and the soldiers in November 1715 was to be the basis for settling their accounts with Flores Mogollón.⁷¹ Don Félix had shrewdly maneuvered himself into a very advantageous position in relation to the man who three years before had dismissed him as captain of the presidio and taken over as supply officer. Now he could both embarrass his rival and justify his own administration of presidio supply.

Unfortunately the record of the 1716 audit has not been found. Doubtless there was bitter disagreement between Martínez and Flores Mogollón. A document of May 1717 mentions that the petitions filed by both men raised issues requiring clarification by the viceregal authorities. Therefore, on April 4, 1716, the commis-

sioners suspended the investigation and sent the record to the viceroy for review and final decision.⁷² Litigation dragged on for a long time after Flores returned to Mexico.

Martínez' denial of repeated requests for permission to leave New Mexico forced the ex-governor to appeal to the viceroy, whose license reached Santa Fe in August 1717. Martínez said that he could not spare soldiers to escort Flores Mogollón to El Paso because of an impending expedition to the Moqui country. More than half the garrison was going and the rest were needed to protect the capital.⁷³ Although he promised to authorize an escort after the campaign, when he returned in October, he again refused it, in direct violation of viceregal orders, on the grounds that the presidials insisted that Flores remain until his accounts with them were settled. On November 10 the ex-governor addressed an impassioned letter to the soldiers:

You cannot deny that I have annually adjusted your accounts, as is of record in my books, in the presence of three witnesses who signed the books, which contain no entry that was not just; or that the prices have been in accord with the customary schedules . . . based upon the statement that General Juan Páez gave me. I have not charged expenses for the collection of your salaries, except for an item of forty pesos, which is much less than other governors charged. The malice of your governor, don Félix Martínez, has persuaded you that I am going to Mexico to file an unjust claim against you as don Francisco Cuervo did.

Continuing in this vein, Flores Mogollón told the soldiers that time would open their eyes to Martínez' real purpose and would show that in him they had had a governor concerned only with their best interests, "not a tyrant" like Martínez who destroyed and robbed them.⁷⁴

During his year as governor Martínez led two campaigns in the summer and autumn of 1716. The first was for the "reduction" of the Moqui, who had resisted all efforts by the Franciscans to renew missionary work. Martínez' predecessors had from time to time attempted to solve this problem with no success, and don Félix felt

that the time had come "to rescue from captivity of the devil the large number of souls in that area who were apostates and outside his Majesty's obedience."⁷⁵ The cacique of the Zuñi pueblo of Alona negotiated with some of the Moqui leaders, and there seemed to be some reason for hoping that a new effort could be successful. Martínez took command of a force consisting of 68 soldiers from the garrison, 41 settlers, and more than 200 Pueblo Indian auxiliaries, and set out from Santa Fe on August 16. They encamped at El Morro on August 26. Like others before and after him, don Félix carved an inscription:

On August 26 in the year 1716, don Félix Martínez, Governor and Captain General of this Kingdom, passed by here on his way to the reduction and conquest of Moqui.

The results of the campaign were a great disappointment. All the governor managed to accomplish was to run off livestock and ruthlessly destroy all the crops in the fields below the mesas. The response was complete defiance of the Spaniards.⁷⁶

During the Moqui campaign Martínez was informed that Ute and Comanche were raiding in the northern part of the province. He dispatched a small force of soldiers, settlers, and Indian allies under the command of Captain Cristóbal de la Serna. They met and defeated the marauders thirty leagues north of Taos, killing and capturing many Indians. Later the governor and his brother sold the captives as slaves in Nueva Vizcaya.⁷⁷

V

A CHANGE of viceroys during Martínez' governorship had repercussions in New Mexico. On August 16, 1716, the Marqués de Valero succeeded the Duque de Linares as thirty-sixth viceroy of New Spain. Six weeks later, on September 30, 1716, Valero directed Martínez to turn the government of New Mexico over to Captain Antonio de Valverde of the El Paso presidio on an interim basis and come to Mexico City without delay.⁷⁸

After seeing letters from Martínez, dated July 12, 1716, concerning the plans for the Moqui campaign, and a "report of contrary nature," he had decided to summon Martínez. The decree gives no hint as to the content of this report, but it is unlikely that a conflict of opinion over the Moqui expedition would have been sufficient reason for such an action. Vélez de Escalante, who had access to records no longer extant, said that the recall was prompted by "secret reports" of misconduct.⁷⁹

In accordance with long-standing custom, the Duque de Linares had made a report to his successor. Among other problems, he discussed conditions in the frontier presidios, especially the chronic abuses characteristic of presidio supply, although he made no specific reference to New Mexico. Even though the outgoing viceroy was well aware of the conflicting reports about Martínez, on more than one occasion he had displayed a certain degree of confidence in the man. Linares' report did contain one statement which might explain Valero's rather summary recall of Martínez: For further information the new viceroy should consult don Domingo de la Canal, a prominent member of the Mexican merchant guild.⁸⁰ Canal had served as a supply agent for the Santa Fe garrison during the governorship of Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón,⁸¹ and his advice, if sought by the new viceroy, might have reflected an anti-Martínez bias.

Any report by Canal could hardly have omitted mention of the 1712 audit controversy. There is evidence that someone briefed Valero, and that he resolved to settle the issues as expeditiously as possible. A document executed in Santa Fe in early December, to be described in detail below, specifically states that the viceroy summoned both Martínez and Flores Mogollón to Mexico, where a final adjustment of accounts would be made.⁸² It may be assumed that by September 1716 the results of the 1715 pesquisa had been carefully studied. The ensuing report would explain Viceroy Valero's critical attitude toward the New Mexico governor. Finally, in addition to any secret information which the new viceroy may have received, it was well known that Martínez had prevented his predecessor from returning to Mexico City.

Valero's decree was not a formal dismissal of Martínez as governor. "During the interim" Captain Valverde was to administer the affairs of the province in his stead.⁸³ When Valverde received word of his new assignment in November 1716, he arranged his affairs in El Paso and left for Santa Fe toward the end of the month. Arriving in Santo Domingo on December 7, he wrote to the cabildo that he was on his way to relieve Martínez.⁸⁴ The cabildo probably received this letter the same day.

Although we do not know the exact date Martínez was apprised of the viceregal decree of September 30, it is significant that on the same date that Valverde wrote the cabildo, the Santa Fe presidials executed a new power of attorney in favor of don Félix. This instrument stated that the soldiers were aware that Martínez and Flores Mogollón had been summoned to Mexico City to liquidate and adjust the presidio accounts. In order that Martínez might have leeway as agent of the garrison, they granted him *poder cumplido*. It was the desire of the signers that Martínez should serve as "our perpetual paymaster," without impediment by any provincial officer "here or in Mexico City."⁸⁵ The date and circumstances of this document suggest that don Félix had hastened, while still governor, to obtain reaffirmation of his authority as supply officer. In 1720 an attorney serving the viceregal court asserted that, by means of this December 7, 1716, instrument, Martínez had maliciously sought to serve his own selfish ends "before the authorities and soldiers discovered his evil deeds."⁸⁶

Valverde came to Santa Fe on December 9, 1716. He summoned the cabildo to explain its failure to comply with his instructions of December 7 relative to his reception in the capital.⁸⁷ The cabildo continued to support Martínez, who refused to surrender the bastón of office or the government records. Rebuffed, Captain Valverde withdrew from Santa Fe to the mission at San Ildefonso, where an old friend, Fray Juan de Tagle, served as minister.

Martínez' action was a direct contravention of Viceroy Valero's decree. In later years he justified himself by claiming that some thirty prominent citizens of Santa Fe had appeared before the cabildo to oppose recognition of Valverde.⁸⁸ In a long communica-

tion addressed to Viceroy Valero in 1720, which may be described as an apologia of his governorship, he stated that having taken an oath and sworn homage to serve as governor, he was not ready to relinquish the office except to a "person to my satisfaction." Valverde, for reasons he set forth in some detail, did not meet this requirement. He insisted that the viceroy's decree had been prompted by the "sinister representations" of Flores Mogollón, Valverde, and don Domingo de la Canal.⁸⁹

Martínez could not, however, disobey the viceroy's summons to Mexico City. He notified Domingo Mizquia, sergeant of the squad that had escorted Valverde to Santa Fe, to make ready for an early departure.⁹⁰ In January 1717 he turned the government over to his old friend and companion-in-arms, don Juan Páez Hurtado, and delivered to him the provincial records and presidio account books. He instructed him to continue distributing provisions to the troops in the same manner and at the same prices as he had.⁹¹ Then, between January 12 and 20, he left for Mexico City.⁹² Ex-governor Flores Mogollón was a member of the party. The atmosphere must have been strained during the journey of these two strong-willed men, each seeking advantage over the other.

VI

AS ACTING GOVERNOR of New Mexico, don Juan Páez Hurtado continued to supply the garrison, following the procedures established by Martínez. Testimony taken in 1726 indicates that the troops were well satisfied with his administration.⁹³

From the pueblo of San Ildefonso, Antonio Valverde sent his account of the New Mexico situation to the viceregal authorities and awaited instructions.⁹⁴ Viceroy Valero, having been apprised of the crisis in Santa Fe, both by Félix Martínez upon his arrival and by Valverde's letter, decided in favor of the latter. He issued a decree reaffirming Valverde's appointment as governor ad interim, and ordered that Páez Hurtado and the cabildo be arrested and dispatched to Mexico at once to face the very serious charge of disobedience to viceregal decrees.⁹⁵

On June 15, 1717, don Antonio Valverde became acting governor of New Mexico. He, like Martínez, had risen through the ranks from soldier to captain general. Once in the governor's chair he ruled with an iron hand. He sent the cabildo and Juan Páez Hurtado to Mexico City "in irons."⁹⁶ Free from the restraining influence of the cabildo, Valverde was "absolute dictator."⁹⁷ During his administration he led a reconnaissance expedition into the Ute and Comanche territory of northeastern New Mexico. He also ordered the ill-fated expedition of Captain Pedro de Villasur to the Plains, where Villasur and most of his command were massacred by Pawnee Indians. Valverde served until March 2, 1722, when he was succeeded by his nephew don Juan Domingo de Bustamante.

The residencia of don Félix Martínez took place some six years after his departure from Santa Fe. Normally a residencia was conducted by the incoming governor as one of his first official acts. The ex-governor was not permitted to leave until the investigation was completed. Since Martínez, who had departed before being relieved of office, did not return, Captain Antonio Bezerra Nieto, commander of the presidio at Janos, in Nueva Vizcaya, was appointed to conduct the residencia early in 1723. Although it appears that Bezerra Nieto was a personal friend of Valverde and of Governor Bustamante, his judgment seems to have been quite impartial. He absolved Martínez of certain charges, including his alleged failure to maintain proper records and accounts; his harsh treatment of the king's vassals and favoritism in administering justice; his conferring of military and political offices on unworthy persons; and his failure to suspend use of cattle brands and to issue new licenses for them. No decision was rendered on the charge that Martínez had failed to provide the soldiers with provisions at cost plus costs, because lawsuits were then pending in Mexico City involving this matter. The juez de residencia simply transmitted the testimony to higher authorities without comment. As for the charges that Martínez' campaign against the Moqui Indians in 1716 had done more harm than good, the judge ruled that since there was no proof that Martínez had been remiss, he should be

absolved on this point. Furthermore, the evidence revealed that it was the Moqui who broke the peace. Martínez had accomplished about all that might be expected under the circumstances.⁹⁸

Martínez was not absolved on all counts however. He was found guilty of disobedience for refusing Flores Mogollón permission to return to Mexico, and for not relinquishing the governorship to Antonio Valverde. On these two counts, don Félix was fined five hundred pesos. Furthermore, he was found guilty of not following the rules in criminal proceedings and of not meting out proper punishments. His administration had heaped scandal upon New Mexico, and he was guilty of maintaining a store at his residence in Santa Fe contrary to law.⁹⁹

After investigation the ex-governor was blamed for using bad judgment in regard to the 1716 campaign against the Ute and Comanche, and for enslaving the captives. Testimony revealed that these Indians' sole intention was to trade with the Spaniards and that the misguided campaign had resulted in cessation of commerce with them. The juez de residencia ordered Martínez to restore the slaves his brother had sold in Nueva Vizcaya to their homes and tribes at his own personal expense. According to Vélez de Escalante, Martínez said that he could not comply, because most of them had died in a smallpox epidemic. Added the friar, "It would have been better to have said [they had died] of greed."¹⁰⁰ On these charges, don Félix was fined another 1,500 pesos, bringing the total to two thousand. One half was to go into the royal treasury; the other was to be applied to the cost of the residencia.

Soon after the conclusion of the residencia, a group of principales from the pueblo of Pecos appeared before Bezerra Nieto and complained of unjust treatment by Martínez. They charged that the former governor had compelled the natives of that pueblo to cut, dress, and transport two thousand boards to his residence, and that the forced labor at the planting season had resulted in great hardship and near starvation. Yet he refused to help them. One of the Pecos delegation charged that Martínez took a captured Indian boy as a slave and did not keep his promise to pay two horses in

return. Martínez was ordered to pay for the lumber, and to pay the promised horses or return the boy.¹⁰¹

The juez de residencia forwarded his judgments to the viceregal capital in August 1723. Martínez was deeply distressed by these adverse decisions, and immediately appealed to Viceroy Casafuerte, who had taken office in 1722, to postpone his decision. He requested permission to return to Santa Fe to gather testimony to refute the charges of which he had been judged guilty. The time was propitious. At that very moment the viceroy was formulating plans for a sweeping inspection of the chain of frontier presidios, including the garrison at Santa Fe. Casafuerte had already sought royal approval of his plans and had recommended that don Pedro de Rivera be commissioned a brigadier and named to conduct the visita.

VII

WHEN don Félix Martínez arrived in Mexico City in the spring of 1717 in response to the viceregal summons, he doubtless hoped for prompt clarification of his status. Such expectations were dispelled when he was placed under arrest and confined in the *cuerpo de guardia* of the viceregal palace, where, it would appear, he remained in custody for the next eight years (1717-1725). During this time he was at least permitted to maintain contacts with friends and officials in Mexico and Spain, and to carry on legal proceedings on his own behalf. He appealed to influential persons in Spain. On July 21, 1717, he addressed a letter to doña Isabel de Vargas, daughter of the reconqueror of New Mexico, then residing in Madrid, in which he attributed the viceroy's displeasure to "sinister representations" by Domingo de la Canal, Flores Mogollón, and Valverde.

So many were the frauds, complaints, and plots which they charged against me that His Excellency (since he was newly arrived and had no knowledge whatever of affairs in this Kingdom) acted

solely on the basis of these vicious reports and issued a dispatch that I should appear before him, as I did at once. And when I had arrived he ordered me held in this city, and that the charges of which I was the target should be brought against me. . . .

He was optimistic about his future, since he believed the viceroy was "now learning the truth" about the New Mexico situation. Nevertheless, he requested sympathetic intervention by his friends in Madrid.¹⁰² Martínez drew up a relation of his services in New Mexico prior to 1717, which he dispatched to the king and Council of the Indies in support of a petition for a royal appointment as governor of New Mexico.¹⁰³ These appeals fell upon deaf ears.

In July 1720 don Félix addressed an impassioned appeal to Viceroy Valero in which he again asserted that he was the victim of intrigue and malice. He vigorously asserted his fidelity and loyalty to the king and claimed that during his more than twenty years of service in New Mexico he had no purpose "other than the welfare of that realm, the protection of those dominions, and the preservation of the Faith." He had sought to achieve these aims "without passion, hatred, or ill intent" toward his superiors and associates. As reward for his loyalty and his long years of faithful service, he found himself "deprived of the governorship and flung into prison" because of the malicious reports and evil intentions of Captain Antonio Valverde and don Juan Ignacio Flores Moggollón.¹⁰⁴ There is no record of any formal response to this appeal. Indeed, it is not likely that stern Valero, who had ordered Martínez' recall and confinement, would be moved by Martínez' feelings of frustration and despair.

When the Marqués de Casafuerte replaced Valero in 1722 it gave Martínez an opportunity for further efforts to vindicate his personal honor and his conduct of New Mexico affairs. Accordingly, in 1723 he requested permission to return to Santa Fe to obtain testimony. The viceroy's legal advisors recommended that the petition be granted but stipulated certain procedures for the inquiry proposed by Martínez. Casafuerte referred these recom-

mendations to the fiscal of the Audiencia, which had the effect of tabling the question for two years. The fiscal's favorable report was not filed until July 7, 1725. Ten days later, the viceroy granted Martínez' petition, subject to the conditions set forth by his legal advisors and the fiscal.¹⁰⁵

The viceroy authorized the release of Martínez on bail for a period of 120 days, during which he could travel to Santa Fe and take testimony. Witnesses were to be examined by an *alcalde ordinario* of the villa on the basis of an interrogatory already formulated by Martínez and appended to the viceregal order. This covered a wide range of topics and was designed to elicit evidence to justify his conduct and to prove the enmity of Flores Mogollón and Valverde, as well as their graft and incompetence.¹⁰⁶

Martínez promptly objected to the stipulation that he present his witnesses before one of the *alcaldes ordinarios* of Santa Fe. He pointed out that Valverde had abolished the *cabildo* and that Governor Bustamante had not reestablished it, despite a viceregal order of December 25, 1724, to conduct an election to restore that body. Don Félix was fearful that this might make it impossible for him to achieve the purpose of his journey. He suggested, therefore, that Brigadier don Pedro de Rivera, then conducting his inspection of the northern presidios, be instructed to hear the witnesses. This proposal received viceregal approval on August 17, 1725.¹⁰⁷

After eight years of confinement and fruitless litigation in Mexico City, Martínez had won a considerable victory. In the opinion of the new viceroy's legal advisors, the Flores Mogollón-Otero Bermúdez-Martínez lawsuits had reached an impasse which might be overcome by an on-the-spot inquiry. For Martínez his parole and proposed visit to New Mexico offered the long-hoped-for opportunity to enlist support to win final vindication.

Because don Pedro de Rivera had been detained in Nueva Vizcaya, don Félix was forced to wait about four months longer before going north. He set out sometime in the last weeks of 1725, and arrived in New Mexico in mid-January 1726. Rivera was delayed even longer and did not reach Santa Fe until June 4. The

delay aided Martínez' cause. It gave him ample time to prepare his case and to enlist friendly witnesses. He made his headquarters at the pueblo of Isleta, seventy-five miles south of Santa Fe. He did not visit the capital lest the governor learn of his mission and appoint a magistrate to hear his witnesses.

Although Rivera passed through Isleta on his way to Santa Fe on June 1, his journal makes no mention of the former governor's presence.¹⁰⁸ Martínez followed him to the capital and on June 6 presented the viceroy's orders. Rivera had already discovered that there were no *alcaldes ordinarios* in Santa Fe, a fact which inspired numerous complaints during his inspection. He therefore declared that he would hear the Martínez witnesses, after completing his formal inspection,¹⁰⁹ which lasted until July 15.

In the meantime, Martínez and his associates were actively putting into effect plans carefully prepared before the *visitador* arrived. Those who could be relied upon to respond in a satisfactory manner were now definitely committed to Martínez' cause. They may even have rehearsed their responses. Apparently they overdid it, for in a note to the inspector general, dated July 16, the *presidio* officers complained that don Félix and his friends, Ramón García, Martín Hurtado, Luis García, and Salvador Martínez, while seeking witnesses in Isleta and surrounding jurisdictions, were stirring up trouble and urging individual soldiers and settlers to disobey their officers and the civil authorities. They were charged with "sowing seeds of discontent, hatred, and gossip" among the Spaniards in New Mexico. The officers requested that the *visitador* order a halt to such activities at once.¹¹⁰ Rivera replied that he was not authorized to concern himself with civil matters and thus could not intervene in this dispute, but he agreed to forward their petition, along with the depositions taken, to viceregal headquarters.¹¹¹

After inspecting the garrison, Rivera turned his attention to the Martínez investigation. Martínez was ready with forty-two witnesses. He was confident that he would be cleared. He had managed to secure the support of ten Franciscan missionaries.¹¹²

It was later charged that he bribed many of his witnesses, but there is no evidence that this was true in the case of the Franciscans. It should be noted that most of the religious already had complained about Valverde's policies in regard to the Indians and the labors of the missionaries among them.¹¹³ Possibly they felt that their testimony before the visitador would strengthen their case. Although he probably was aware of their motives, Captain Valverde later suggested that the religious had been "deceived or else badly misinformed."¹¹⁴ The remaining thirty-two witnesses included eight presidial soldiers, ten Albuquerque settlers, five from La Cañada, five from Santa Fe, two from Rio Arriba, one from Isleta, and one whose residence was not stated.¹¹⁵ Few could be considered prominent citizens of the province.

Prior to his presentation of witnesses Martínez petitioned Rivera that, in accordance with Viceroy Casafuerte's order of July 15, 1715, Governor Bustamante and Captain Valverde, who had accompanied the visitador to Santa Fe from El Paso, and the other provincial officials and presidio officers, be compelled to withdraw ten leagues from the capital so that their presence would not hinder the inquiry or intimidate the witnesses.¹¹⁶ Valverde strongly protested this "indignity" but was obliged to comply.¹¹⁷ The inquiry took place between July 22 and August 17.

The Martínez interrogatorio comprised twenty-seven questions covering a wide range of topics relating to provincial affairs during the years 1710-1720. It was designed, of course, to vindicate him. As might be expected, many of the questions dealt with the administration of presidio supply, and sought to show that whereas Martínez had charged moderate prices, in accordance with Viceroy Linares' orders and to the entire satisfaction of the garrison, Flores Mogollón and Valverde had charged excessive prices and were motivated solely by personal gain.

Specific questions had been framed to prompt the desired responses: (1) In 1712 Martínez, in accordance with viceregal instructions, distributed supplies on the basis of cost plus costs as shown in his account book. (2) The two sets of books kept by

Martínez for supplies received by the soldiers prior to October 1712 did not constitute evidence of conscious fraud on his part; the purpose of the second book, in which supplies were entered at higher prices, was to demonstrate to the viceroy the financial advantages of Martínez' administration. (3) Flores Mogollón used the 1712 audit, based upon Martínez' second book of accounts, for his own advantage. (4) The 1712 revocation of Martínez' power of attorney as supply officer was not a voluntary act on the soldiers' part, but reflected duress by Flores and his associates. (5) Flores Mogollón as supply officer charged excessive prices in violation of viceregal orders. (6) Flores Mogollón used his position as governor to exert pressure on the soldiers to make unfavorable reports to the viceroy concerning Martínez' administration of local affairs. (7) Martínez, as governor ad interim, served the best interest of the soldiers; moreover, he conducted the Moqui campaign of 1716 with distinction and at his own expense. (8) His refusal to grant authorization for Flores Mogollón to leave New Mexico in 1716 was prompted by local exigencies or by request from the soldiers. (9) Valverde, as captain of the El Paso presidio, charged his troops high prices, and demonstrated lack of leadership and incompetence in the conduct of campaigns against enemy Indians in the El Paso area. (10) Finally, Valverde and Flores Mogollón, because of their close friendship, were inspired by mutual hatred of Martínez.¹¹⁸

The testimony was a virtual whitewash of Martínez' administration. He was lauded for his handling of presidio supply and his governing of the province. His honest management had insured that the troops were well supplied and equipped, that their morale was high, and their fighting effectiveness vastly improved. New Mexico was protected from potential invasion, and when necessity dictated campaigns against hostile Indians, under his competent and valiant leadership, the Indians were always properly punished and forced to respect Spanish authority.¹¹⁹

In contrast to his honest, efficient, and beneficial administration were those of Flores Mogollón and Antonio Valverde. By the time of this investigation Flores Mogollón was dead. Without fear of retaliation, the witnesses were devastating in their denunciation

of him. Their testimony against Valverde is somewhat more restrained, but it must be remembered that Valverde was the incumbent governor's uncle.

After hearing the last witnesses testify on August 17, Rivera notified the governor, Valverde, and the other officials that they were free to return to Santa Fe. Valverde objected violently to the inconvenience which leaving the capital had caused him. He was particularly offended because he was ordered to withdraw while the partisans of Félix Martínez vilified him and denounced his administration. He had objected in the beginning because he felt in no way connected with the suit. Now that he learned the tenor of the declarations, he was furious.

Valverde labeled the charges against him utterly false, libelous, and inspired solely by the ill will and malice of don Félix Martínez. He requested permission to present witnesses in his behalf. They would be, he assured the visitador, of "greater distinction" than those presented by Martínez.¹²⁰ Valverde drew up an interrogatorio, but Rivera informed him that his instructions prohibited involvement in civil suits and disputes while on his tour of inspection. Only the special order of July 17, 1725, had made it possible for him to receive testimony in the Martínez case. Consequently, despite the charges that the Martínez testimony had been obtained fraudulently and through bribery, there was nothing the visitador could do except append the Valverde interrogatorio to the testimony of the witnesses already heard and forward the entire expediente to the viceregal authorities.¹²¹

Don Antonio Valverde was not without considerable influence in Santa Fe. His friends and relatives among the officers and men of the garrison came to his defense with a petition they dispatched to the viceroy. They claimed that the "proofs" presented by Félix Martínez were not legitimate; that they had not been spontaneous, but premeditated; that the witnesses had vacillated between truth and fiction and testified with great malice toward Valverde. Contrary to Martínez' claim that he had provisioned the garrison at cost plus costs, he had, in fact, charged extremely high prices which resulted in "fattening of his own purse" and impoverishing the

soldiers. The men claimed that as a result they were unable to perform their solemn obligations in the royal service. In addition, they alleged that in December 1716, when Martínez made his final adjustment of presidio accounts, they had settled with him in the amount of 65,000 pesos, but when he arrived in Mexico he sued them for recovery of 71,000 pesos he claimed they still owed him. This, they asserted, was but a single example of the swindles he had committed while governor. To the troops, however, disciplined in obedience to orders, perhaps the worst offense was his blatant refusal to turn over the governorship to Valverde when ordered by Viceroy Valero to do so.¹²²

There were other complaints. Rivera received at least ten petitions from "poor and destitute" widows and children, heirs of deceased soldiers, who claimed that Martínez had failed to adjust or liquidate the accounts of their dead husbands and fathers and still owed them sums ranging from 50 to 450 pesos. Don Félix maintained that he had instructed Juan Páez Hurtado to settle up when a new consignment of provisions arrived. According to these petitions, Páez Hurtado had refused, claiming he knew nothing about them. It was charged that in this way Martínez and Páez Hurtado had cheated these people of more than 6,000 pesos.¹²³ Rivera was compelled to inform them of the limits of his commission, but he agreed to submit their complaints to the viceroy.¹²⁴

Upon conclusion of his three-fold mission, viz., inspection of the garrison, inquiry into Valverde's responsibility for the Villasur massacre, and gathering the Martínez testimony, Brigadier don Pedro de Rivera departed Santa Fe on August 24 and reached El Paso September 7. Here he conducted a visita of the presidio before proceeding on his tour of the garrisons in Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Texas. On October 4, 1726, he sent the voluminous papers pertaining to his New Mexico investigations to viceregal headquarters.¹²⁵



VIII

DON FÉLIX MARTÍNEZ, whose 120-day parole had long since expired, accompanied the visitador to El Paso and from there returned to the capital. The extensive files of testimony and other documents arrived in Mexico City on November 4, 1726, but there is no record of viceregal action. Apparently Martínez believed he had been vindicated, and he continued to petition the authorities for reinstatement as governor of New Mexico.¹²⁶

The story of don Félix Martínez de Torrelaguna covers some thirty-three years (1693-1726). His career demonstrates that conditions on the northern frontier of New Spain in the eighteenth century afforded opportunity for an aspiring and ambitious soldier to rise from the ranks to the command of an important garrison outpost and to achieve appointment as provincial governor. As soldier and officer (1693-1710), don Félix won the respect and approbation of provincial governors and the confidence of the rank and file of the Santa Fe presidio. That he should have aspired to a position of greater importance and power is not surprising. Unfortunately it appears that his ambition was not tempered by qualities of complete honesty and integrity. Influenced by the example of other governors he too was motivated by desire for personal gain. His lack of probity is evident from his apparent misuse of the large expense account granted him by the Santa Fe soldiers for prosecution of the Cuervo suit. It is also obvious enough that he used his position as representative of the garrison to win appointment as lifetime captain with authority to administer presidio supply.

It is difficult to form a completely impartial judgment of his role as provisioning officer in 1711-1712 and later because of the mass of conflicting evidence. Although there is strong indication of fraud, it should be noted that the viceregal authorities never pronounced definite judgment on this point. There are also indications that Martínez as governor used his authority to divert presidio supplies to his own use.

The sentence pronounced by Bezerra Nieto, who conducted Martínez' residencia, imposed rather severe fines on certain of the

charges filed during the proceedings, but we have no record of the final judgment by the Audiencia of Mexico.

That Félix Martínez was able to retain the confidence of Viceroy Linares, despite reports that must have inspired some doubt about his honesty and competence, cannot be ignored in assessing his New Mexico career. Although the stern attitude later adopted by Viceroy Valero may be attributed, in part, to a searching review of Valverde's *pesquisa secreta* of 1715 and later reports, the recall of Martínez as governor was prompted largely by his contravention of viceregal orders for the prompt return of Flores Mogollón to Mexico. Accumulated evidence of questionable conduct as supply officer for the garrison, together with claims of dubious validity filed by Martínez after his arrival in Mexico City in 1717, and hostile representations made by Flores Mogollón, Valverde, and Canal, apparently provided adequate justification in the eyes of viceregal officials for holding him in custody.

The parole granted by Viceroy Casafuerte in 1725 offered Martínez a final opportunity to vindicate his record. It is apparent that he employed devious methods in securing favorable testimony during the 1726 inquiry conducted by Visitador Pedro de Rivera.

In justice to Martínez, it must be noted that he was probably no better or worse than his contemporaries in New Mexico—Cuervo, Peñuela, Flores Mogollón, and Valverde—who, like him, were inspired by personal interest. The profit motive that induced provincial governors during these years can be attributed to the crown's policy of selling royal appointments for a high price not commensurate with the annual salary for the post. It was inevitable, therefore, that persons aspiring to this office on an isolated frontier of New Spain had to be thinking of the prospect of personal gain. The most obvious means to satisfy their aim was provisioning the troops of the Santa Fe presidio. It should arouse no surprise that Martínez followed their example.

When don Pedro de Rivera transmitted the record of the Martínez inquiry of 1726 to the viceroy, he made no comments in his covering dispatch. But for this conscientious servant of the crown, the testimony he had heard and the representations made by Val-

verde and the soldiers of the Santa Fe garrison, were ample evidence of long-standing evils in the system of presidio supply. His inspection of other frontier garrisons demonstrated that similar evils existed in all. After his return to Mexico City on June 21, 1728, he made a lengthy report to Viceroy Casafuerte, which became the basis for a general Reglamento, the first of its kind, for the government and reform of the frontier presidios, including those of El Paso and Santa Fe.¹²⁷

That Rivera's report and the new reglamento failed to cure existing abuses, especially in regard to presidio supply, and that these evils continued during later decades of the eighteenth century, shows the inability of the crown and its agencies of government in Mexico to impose effective control over military government and organization in northern New Spain. The abuses were of such long standing and reflected such ingrained motives of personal interest in frontier districts that they could not be altered simply by royal directives.

For better or worse, the career of don Félix Martínez serves to illustrate this rather dreary aspect of frontier history in the last century of Spanish enterprise in Mexico.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Félix Martínez". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "F" and a decorative flourish at the end.

NOTES

1. See France V. Scholes' scholarly studies, *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Albuquerque, 1937) and *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670* (Albuquerque, 1942).
2. Certification by Diego de Vargas, Santa Fe, Sept. 27, 1697, Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla (AGI), Audiencia de México, leg. 377. He enlisted on April 1, 1693, as a common soldier.
3. See J. Manuel Espinosa, "Governor Vargas in Colorado," NMHR, vol. 11 (1936), pp. 179-87, and *Crusaders of the Río Grande* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 163-208.
4. Certification by Diego de Vargas, Santa Fe, Sept. 27, 1697, AGI, Aud. de México, leg. 377.
5. Certification by Diego de Vargas, Santa Fe, Oct. 1, 1694, *ibid.*
6. Certification by Diego de Vargas, Santa Fe, Aug. 16, 1695, *ibid.*
7. Martínez to Rodríguez Cubero, Santa Fe, July 27, 1697, *ibid.*
8. Juan de Ulibarrí to Rodríguez Cubero, Santa Fe, July 27, 1697, *ibid.*
9. Certification by Antonio Valverde y Cosío, El Paso, Jan. 14, 1711, *ibid.*
10. Certification by Diego de Vargas, Santa Fe, Jan. 5, 1704, *ibid.*
11. Certification by Páez Hurtado, Santa Fe, July 15, 1704, *ibid.*
12. Viceroy Alburquerque to the king, México, Oct. 11, 1704, AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 142. Before the reconquest of New Mexico governors were appointed by the viceroy. Beginning with Vargas they received their appointments directly from the king. Only when a royally appointed governor died in office or resigned could the viceroy make appointments and then only on an interim basis.
13. *Bando* of Gov. Cuervo, Santa Fe, March 10, 1705, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State of New Mexico Records Center, Santa Fe (SANM), no. 107.
14. Order of Viceroy Alburquerque, México, Feb. 2, 1706, SANM, no. 122.
15. Certification by Gov. Cuervo, Santa Fe, March 19, 1705, AGI, Aud. de México, leg. 377.
16. Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, Extracto de Noticias, Biblioteca Nacional, México, Archivo Franciscano, New Mexico documents (BNM), leg. 3, no. 1.
17. Certification by Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, Aug. 24, 1707, AGI, Aud. de México, leg. 377.
18. Order of Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, Sept. 10, 1707, *ibid.*
19. Order of Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, Jan. 16, 1708, *ibid.*
20. Order of Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, June 16, 1708, *ibid.*

21. Order of Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, Feb. 3, 1709, *ibid.*
22. Order of Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, Dec. 8, 1709, *ibid.*
23. Order of Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, May 8, 1710, *ibid.*
24. Certification by Gov. Peñuela, Santa Fe, Dec. 6, 1710, *ibid.*
25. Testimony of soldiers of the Santa Fe presidio, Santa Fe, May-July 1715, Archivo General de la Nación, México (AGN), Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 57; petition of the Santa Fe presidials, Santa Fe, Nov. 2, 1712, SANM, no. 184.
26. These certifications are in AGI, Aud. de México, leg. 377.
27. The writer has not seen Martínez' letter to the soldiers of July 29, 1711, but reference to it is made in SANM, no. 184.
28. Certification by Viceroy Linares, México, July 7, 1711, AGI, Aud. de México, leg. 377.
29. Memorial of Martínez to the king, México, ca. July 1711, *ibid.*
30. Council of the Indies, Madrid, Nov. 6, 1712, *ibid.*
31. Unfortunately the text of the power of attorney dated Dec. 3, 1710, has not been located. In other documents (SANM, no. 175) we find reference to it as a "poder general," i.e., a general power of attorney. It should be noted, however, that in 1715 some of the Santa Fe soldiers testified that the poder did not authorize Martínez to serve as provisioning officer of the garrison. AGN, Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 57.
32. Joseph Méndez, *Breve Memorial, Extrato, y Declamacion, Que hazen los cien Soldados del Presidio de la Nueva-Mexico . . . Contra Los Excesos De D. Pedro de Otero Bermúdez y D. Félix Martínez . . .* (México, 1720). The author of this *Breve Memorial*, an attorney attached to the viceregal court, was called upon in 1720 to review documentation relating to presidial supply in New Mexico, specifically with reference to claims against the soldiers of Santa Fe filed by Martínez and Otero Bermúdez, merchant of Mexico City. Marginalia on Méndez' report refer to a wide range of documentation which he had examined. Part of this material is extant and has been used in writing this paper.
33. Specific documentary records of Martínez' representations have not been seen, but the nature of his discussions with viceregal authorities is implicit in other sources for the period.
34. I do not have any document specifically authorizing Martínez to provision the Santa Fe presidio, but viceregal recognition of such authority is implicit in other sources consulted. Moreover, although the commission as life-tenure captain of the presidio granted to Martínez by Viceroy Linares on July 7, 1711, contains no reference to presidio supply, the grant of authority equal to that exercised by the captain of the El Paso garrison, who served as supply officer at that post, would imply similar authority for Martínez in Santa Fe.

35. Méndez, *Breve Memorial*, fols. iv-4 *passim* and SANM, nos. 175 and 177.
36. Testimony of Joseph Domínguez, Santa Fe, May 28, 1715, AGN, Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 57.
37. Power of attorney to Martínez and Otero Bermúdez, Santa Fe, April 7, 1712, SANM, no. 175.
38. Agreement of Gov. Peñuela and Martínez, Santa Fe, April 15, 1712, *ibid.*
39. Méndez, *Breve Memorial*, fol. 3.
40. Petition of Santa Fe soldiers to the cabildo, Santa Fe, July 11, 1712, SANM, no. 177.
41. Petition of Santa Fe soldiers to Gov. Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón, Santa Fe, Nov. 2, 1712, SANM, no. 184.
42. Título de Gobernador de don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón, Madrid, Sept. 27, 1707, AGI, Aud. de México, leg. 1216.
43. Flores Mogollón had purchased the governorship of New Mexico in 1707, four years before Viceroy Linares authorized Martínez to take charge of presidio supply.
44. Relación de Servicios de don Félix Martínez, México, July 17, 1717, AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 141.
45. Petition to Gov. Flores Mogollón, Santa Fe, Nov. 2, 1712, SANM, no. 184.
46. Testimony of Santa Fe soldiers, May-July 1715, AGN, Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 1757.
47. In 1778 Vélez de Escalante wrote that Martínez was of "quarrelsome nature," that he did not get along well with Governor Flores Mogollón, and that this was the cause of his dismissal. Extracto de Noticias.
48. Declaration of don Pedro Durán y Chávez, Santa Fe, Aug. 4, 1713, SANM, no. 198.
49. Méndez, *Breve Memorial*, fols. 2-5.
50. Relación de Servicios de don Félix Martínez, México, July 17, 1717.
51. Viceroy Linares to Antonio de Valverde y Cosío and Juan Páez Hurtado, México, Oct. 31, 1714, AGN, Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 57.
52. Viceroy Linares to Valverde, México, Feb. 4, 1715, *ibid.*
53. Martínez Interrogatorio, México, July 1725, AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4.
54. Muster of Santa Fe garrison, Santa Fe, June 3, 1715, SANM, no. 239 i.
55. Power of attorney to Martínez and Pedro de Otero Bermúdez, Santa Fe, June 4, 1715, SANM, no. 220.
56. It should be noted that the majority of the presidials could not write and that other soldiers signed for them at their request. This was

true of the April 1712 poder, the revocation of November 1712, and also this new instrument of June 4, 1715.

57. AGN, Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 57.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Certification of Santa Fe cabildo, Santa Fe, June 18, 1715, *ibid.*

60. Note of the fiscal, México, Sept. 25, 1715, *ibid.*

61. Benjamin M. Read, *Historia ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico* (Santa Fe, 1911), p. 208.

62. Extracto de Noticias.

63. Flores Mogollón to the viceroy, Santa Fe, July 12, 1715, AGN, Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 57.

64. Relación de Servicios de don Félix Martínez, México, July 17, 1717.

65. See p. 279, *supra*.

66. Investigation by Captain Francisco Bueno de Bohorques, Santa Fe, July 20-27, 1718, SANM, no. 288.

67. Petition of the Santa Fe soldiers to Martínez and reply of Martínez, Santa Fe, Nov. 16-17, 1715, SANM, no. 234.

68. Power of attorney to Pedro and Antonio Otero Bermúdez, Santa Fe, Dec. 20, 1715, SANM, no. 238.

69. Investigation by Captain Francisco Bueno de Bohorques, Santa Fe, July 20-27, 1718.

70. Petition of Agustín de Salazar, *contador*, to Viceroy Marqués de Valero, México, May 31, 1717, AGN, Civil, tomo 1712, exp. 57.

71. Power of attorney to Martínez, Santa Fe, Feb. 28, 1716, SANM, no. 268.

72. Petition of Agustín de Salazar, *contador*, to Viceroy Marqués de Valero, México, May 31, 1717.

73. Testimony of Fray Antonio Miranda, Santa Fe, July 30, 1726, AGN, Civil, Tomo 2249, exp. 4.

74. Flores Mogollón to the Santa Fe soldiers, Santa Fe, Nov. 10, 1716, SANM, no. 258.

75. Martínez to Tomás Olguín, Santa Fe, Aug. 2, 1716, SANM, no. 250.

76. Martínez' campaign journal of the Moqui expedition, translated by R. E. Twitchell and edited by L. B. Bloom, has been published in the NMHR, vol. 6 (1931), pp. 158-226.

77. Extracto de Noticias.

78. Decree of Viceroy Valero, México, Sept. 30, 1716, SANM, no. 257.

79. Vélez de Escalante, Extracto de Noticias.

80. Viceroy Linares to Marqués de Valero, 1716, in *Instrucciones que los Vireyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores* (2 vols., México, 1873), I, pp. 269-71.

81. Power of attorney to Domingo de la Canal, Santa Fe, May 30, 1714 and March 26, 1715, SANM, nos. 205a and 218.

82. Power of attorney to Martínez, Santa Fe, Dec. 7, 1716, SANM, no. 259.

83. Decree of Viceroy Valero, México, Sept. 30, 1716, SANM, no. 257.

84. Valverde to Santa Fe cabildo, Santo Domingo, Dec. 7, 1716, SANM, no. 261.

85. Power of attorney to Martínez, Santa Fe, Dec. 7, 1716, SANM, no. 259.

86. Méndez, *Breve Memorial*, fol. 4v.

87. Antonio Valverde to the Santa Fe cabildo, Santa Fe, Dec. 9, 1716, SANM, no. 278.

88. Martínez interrogatorio, México, July 1725, AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4.

89. Martínez to Viceroy Valero, México, 1720, in Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *After Coronado* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1935), pp. 177-87.

90. Martínez to Mizquia, Santa Fe, Jan. 10, 1717, SANM, no. 281.

91. Martínez interrogatorio, México, July 1725.

92. Vélez de Escalante, Extracto de Noticias, fixes the date of Martínez' departure as Jan. 20, 1717.

93. Martínez interrogatorio and testimony thereto, question no. 15, AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4.

94. Vélez de Escalante, Extracto de Noticias.

95. I have not seen the viceroy's second decree but reference is made to it in other documents. For example, in response to question no. 22 in the Martínez interrogatorio, various witnesses testified that when Valverde assumed the governorship he had, on his own volition and with the sole desire of destroying the cabildo as a check upon his actions as governor, thrown the *capitulares* into chains and dispatched them to Mexico where they languished in prison for three and a half years. AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4. On the other hand, in an interrogatorio prepared by Valverde to refute the testimony of the Martínez witnesses, he claimed that the viceroy had given him explicit instructions to arrest and send the cabildo members to Mexico. Valverde interrogatorio, Santa Fe, ca. Aug. 19, 1726, *ibid.*

96. Martínez interrogatorio, question no. 15, *ibid.*

97. Santa Fe vecinos to viceroy Casafuerte, Santa Fe, July 15, 1726, BNM, leg. 7, no. 8. The Santa Fe cabildo had a stormy existence. It was frequently at odds with the provincial governor. It was abolished during the administration of Flores Mogollón, who appointed a subordinate as alcalde mayor to carry out the functions normally performed by the cabildo. Flores Mogollón found this an excellent expedient for promoting his own ends.

The Cabildo was restored during the administration of Félix Martínez. Valverde, however, eliminated the cabildo and used viceregal authority to do so. Valverde followed Flores Mogollón's precedent and appointed one of his men, don Francisco Bueno de Bohorques, to serve as alcalde mayor in Santa Fe and stipulated that he should, in this position, exercise and conduct the affairs normally performed by the cabildo. Valverde's successor, don Juan Domingo de Bustamante did not reestablish the cabildo when he became governor. It was charged that Valverde and Bustamante established themselves as "absolute masters" in New Mexico by this means.

98. Judgment in the Martínez residencia, Janos, Aug. 16, 1723, SANM, no. 322.

99. *Ibid.*

100. Extracto de Noticias.

101. Additional judgment in the Martínez residencia, Janos, Aug. 16, 1723, SANM, no. 323.

102. Martínez to doña Isabel de Vargas, México, July 21, 1717, AGI, Aud. de Mexico, leg. 379.

103. Relación de Servicios de don Félix Martínez, México, July 17, 1717.

104. Martínez to Viceroy Valero, México, July 1720, AGN, Historia, tomo 394.

105. Martínez' petition and related documents are preserved in AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4. It would appear that the long delay in reaching a decision was caused, at least in part, by receipt of reports of the results of the residencias of Martínez and Valverde as governors of New Mexico. Inasmuch as Bezerra Nieto had found Martínez guilty on certain charges, the fiscal may have felt that these should be reviewed before he formulated his opinion.

106. Order of Viceroy Casafuerte, México, July 17, 1725, AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4.

107. Order of Viceroy Casafuerte, México, Aug. 17, 1725, *ibid.*

108. Diario y Derrotero de lo Caminado, Visto y Observado en la Vista que hizo a los Presidios de la Nueva Espana Septentrional el Brigadier Pedro de Rivera, AGN, Historia, tomo 395, exp. 6. Rivera's Diario was first published in Guatemala in 1736. Vito Alessio Robles published it with an introduction and notes in Mexico, 1946.

109. Note of Pedro de Rivera, Santa Fe, June 6, 1726, AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4.

110. Santa Fe presidio officers to Rivera, Santa Fe, July 16, 1726, *ibid.*

111. Decree of Rivera, Santa Fe, July 17, 1726, *ibid.*

112. These were Fray Antonio de Miranda, Acoma; Fray Andrés de Cevallos, Albuquerque; Fray Carlos Delgado, San Felipe; Fray Francisco

Irazábal, Santo Domingo; Fray Domingo de Arauz, Santa Ana; Fray Antonio de Gabaldón, Pecos; Fray Joseph de Irigoyen, Galisteo; Fray Juan de la Cruz, Nambe; Fray Manuel de Sopena, Santa Cruz; and Fray Joseph Antonio Guerrero, vice-custos at Santa Fe.

113. Complaints of the religious against Valverde, Santa Fe, June 1726, BNM, leg. 7, no. 8.

114. Valverde interrogatorio, Santa Fe, Aug. 19, 1726, AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 4.

115. Testimony to the Martínez interrogatorio, Santa Fe, July 22-Aug. 17, 1726, *ibid.*

116. Martínez to Rivera, Santa Fe, June 6, 1726, *ibid.*

117. Order of Rivera, Santa Fe, July 15, 1726, *ibid.*

118. Martínez interrogatorio, *ibid.*

119. Testimony to the Martínez interrogatorio, *ibid.*

120. Valverde to Rivera, Santa Fe, Aug. 19, 1726, *ibid.*

121. Order of Rivera, Santa Fe, Aug. 19, 1726, *ibid.*

122. Santa Fe soldiers to Viceroy Casafuerte, Santa Fe, n.d., AGN, Civil, tomo 2249, exp. 3.

123. Petitions of Juana de Cangas Cabsin, Francisco Renden, Joseph Manuel Gilthomas, Isabel Jorge de Berra, Salvador Olguín, Phelipe de Tamaris, Teresa López Olguín, María de Ledesma, Juan Phelipe de Uribera, and Cristóbal Vega, Santa Fe, n.d., *ibid.*

124. Rivera to Viceroy Casafuerte, El Paso, Sept. 28, 1726, *ibid.*

125. *Ibid.*

126. Extracto de los Meritos de los suxetos que han acudido a pretender el gobierno del nuevo Mexico, 1728, AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 129.

127. Reglamento Para Todos Los Presidios de las Provincias internas de esta Governacion, con el numero de oficiales, y soldados, que los ha de guarnecer; Sueldos, que unos, y otros avran de gozar; Ordenanzas para el mexor Gobierno, y Disciplina Militar de Governadores, Oficiales, y Soldados; Prevenciones para los que en ellas se comprehenden: Precios de los Viveres, y Vestuarios, con que a los Soldados se les assiste, y se les avra de continuar. México, April 20, 1729, AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 144.

