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*THE SANTA VISTA OF AGUSTÍN FERNÁNDEZ
DE SAN VICENTE TO NEW MEXICO, 1826*

CONNIE CORTAZAR

IN 1826 THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT sent Agustín Fernández de San Vicente as special envoy to New Mexico in a belated effort to end the growing antagonism engendered by the many years of neglect from church and state. His mission had two main objectives: he was to investigate reports of clerical abuse and institute reforms wherever possible,¹ and he was to gather information regarding certain individuals suspected of seeking the overthrow of the Mexican Republic.² Basic to his enterprise was the urgent need to reestablish a peaceful and orderly society in which the Mexican church and state might rule without fear of an effective opposition. Thus, in 1824 the bishop of Durango, Marqués de Castañiza, nominated Fernández as vicar-general and ecclesiastical governor of New Mexico. The appointment became official two years later when the vicar's nephew, President Guadalupe Victoria, and the Mexican Senate gave their approval to Castañiza's selection.³

Early in the year 1826 the well-rounded, slightly less than energetic *racionero* (prebend) Agustín Fernández de San Vicente took leave of his fellow clerics at the cathedral of Durango to begin a long journey to the remote frontier province of New Mexico.⁴ As was usual during such assignments, a fawning entourage accompanied Fernández and catered to his every whim.⁵ Although the trip was long and difficult for the peripatetic canon, it allowed him to pursue his interests in wine, women, and gambling far from the watchful eyes of his religious superiors.⁶ Yet the cost of his personal indulgence was high and within a few days of his arrival in New Mexico Fernández found himself in the embarrassing position of writing to a clerical associate in Durango imploring financial aid.

I have arrived almost penniless because of my many travelling expenses. Then if you take into account my household expenditures and other daily outlays . . . you will understand my situation. Because of this I ask D. M. Pacheco to find out if there is any way by which I might receive my monthly allowance here without fail, and now I am making the same request of you in the hopes that you will be able to resolve my urgent needs. There is no hope on this end as around here one never sees any currency unless by a rare accident. . . .⁷

Despite the vicar's inability to handle his monetary affairs, Fernández was not merely a bonvivant mindful only of the hedonistic pleasures to be found along the road to Santa Fe; he was also an astute politician well-seasoned for his assignment. In 1821 Agustín de Iturbide had sent the prelate to the Californias to encourage a peaceful transition from Spanish to Mexican rule. During this trip, Fernández travelled northward past Bodega Bay to the Russian settlement at Fort Ross to determine whether the Russian occupation constituted a danger to Mexican claims of sovereignty in the region. In addition, Fernández served as chaplain of the National Army and was well-acquainted with important military officers.⁸ But perhaps most significant in his list of qualifications, aside from family connections, Fernández was a secular cleric and a liberal who supported the ideals and policies of President Victoria's administration.⁹

Fernández not only supported his nephew's policies, he also shared a fear of Spanish intrigues against Mexico. Spain clearly had not relinquished the idea of regaining control of her former possession. Fernández knew that the Vatican supported Spain in this matter and therefore opposed a transition from Spanish to Mexican control of the Patronato.¹⁰ Without the rights and privileges of patronage, ecclesiastical positions remained vacant, and the church was plunged into a chaotic paralysis that affected the lives of the faithful throughout Mexico. Worse still, without the *patronato*, Mexican independence was incomplete and government plans for a state church became impossible. Spain seized the patronage issue as an opportunity to create further dissension and controversy in the already shaky republic. Meanwhile, Franciscans in New Mexico

remained loyal to Spain and spoke openly against the establishment of a Mexican church.¹¹ Reports of Franciscan faithlessness reached authorities in Mexico City and reenforced the government's determination to secularize the missions the Spanish priests still controlled. President Victoria instructed Fernández to make a thorough investigation into the "political and moral" conduct of the mission fathers as a preliminary step to the proposed secularization.¹² The prelate was to relay this information to the government before taking independent action.

The secularization issue was a second major ingredient in Fernández's growing xenophobia; he believed that disloyal Spanish friars were using their position to further their partisan goals.¹³ The desire for secularization ran deep in Fernández and perhaps may only be understood after a brief review of some of the significant elements in the controversy. Secularization was the child of a liberal age grown heady with the intoxicating idealism of the philosophes who had championed the rights of all men while denouncing the royal prerogative of all monarchs. Those favoring secularization pointed to the injustice of the mission system that perpetuated economic and social inequality by allowing an ecclesiastical oligarchy to control the destinies of its Indian wards. The collapse of this system, these philosophers believed, would not only free the natives, but also open up thousands of acres of land theoretically held in trust for the Indians by the mission fathers.¹⁴ In addition, by transferring control of the missions from the Franciscans to the secular priests, the Mexican government would save a large sum of money, since salaries for the Franciscans were paid out of the national treasury while secular priests were recompensed by the parishioners within their particular jurisdiction.¹⁵ Finally, and possibly most important for Fernández, secularization represented a symbolic victory of the secular orders over the mendicants after more than two centuries of struggle for supremacy. The Franciscans (one of the mendicant orders) enjoyed enormous influence in the early years under Hernán Cortés, but by the end of the sixteenth century they had grown too powerful for the tastes of the Spanish king who likened their pretensions to those of the would-be feudal lords of his American empire.¹⁶ The subsequent rise of the secular orders signaled the beginning of the decline of the mendicants in

New Spain. Franciscans and their fellow nonseculars were then, in effect, given the option of dying a slow death by attrition in the prestigious metropolitan areas or of braving the hazards inherent in the conquest of the frontier.¹⁷ The Franciscans chose the latter alternative and contributed enormously to the northern advance of the Spanish frontier in America, yet the bitter legacy of factionalism did not end with the Franciscan hegira to New Mexico. Sentiments of mutual antagonism continued into the early nineteenth century and eventually formed the backdrop for many of the activities of the secular canon Fernández during his *santa visita*.

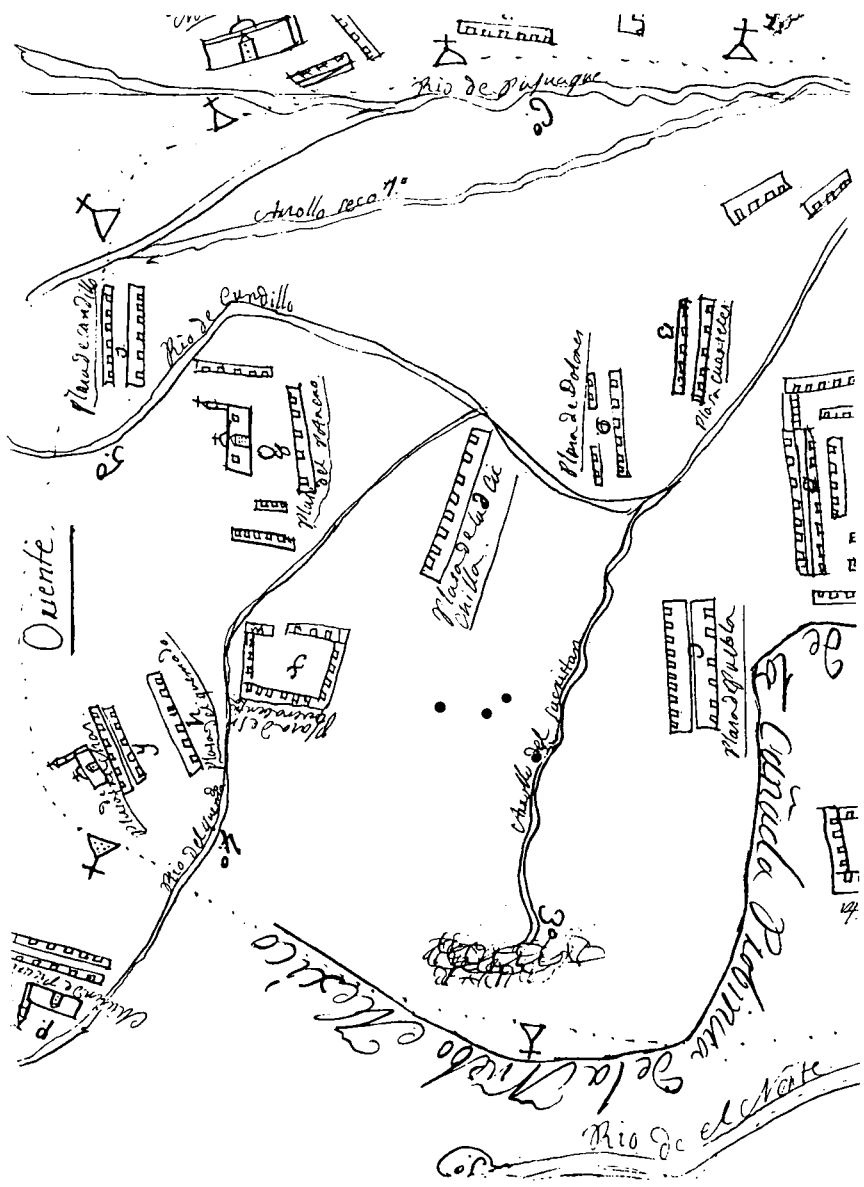
Thus, Fernández set out for the remote province of New Mexico with a firm commitment to reform the beleaguered church in that area. Certainly he was not the first to realize how badly reform was needed among the churches and clerics of New Mexico. It is probable that Fernández's briefing on circumstances in the province included a review of the constant flow of written complaints from that area to the bishop in Durango. If so, he knew that in 1820 don Juan Bautista Guevara, visitor-general of New Mexico, wrote Bishop Castañiza regarding the church's decline in the region. Guevara explained that twice the number of priests then working in New Mexico would still be insufficient to enable the church to function properly.¹⁸ A year later, two clerics from Belen stated that the inadequate number of priests was aggravated by the scarcity of religious materials needed to perform the sacraments and masses.¹⁹ Others lamented the great distances between parishes and the greed of the priesthood that sought to enrich itself by exploiting the natives.²⁰ Perhaps Antonio Barreiro provided the most graphic description of the New Mexico of Fernández's time in his *Ojeada* published in 1832; while travelling through the province Barreiro discovered that because of a lack of cemeteries the dead began to decompose before a place was found to bury them.²¹

New Mexico's critics attacked not only the church and its clergy, but also the land and its inhabitants. In a report to the bishop of Durango in 1821, Presbyter José Francisco Leyva wrote that in the villa of Albuquerque where the castes (mixed-bloods) outnumbered Spaniards two to one, small clusters of farmers and herdsmen clung tenaciously to the land along the banks of the Rio Grande. These people complained of neglect by both religious and civil

authorities.²² Leyva explained that by the 1820s even church buildings in New Mexico reflected the poverty and frustration of the population. For example, the church of San Felipe de Neri in Albuquerque, where Leyva worked as interim priest, had cracked interior walls. Five niches held sacred statues, and two of the statues were damaged or broken, while the others were only in fair condition.²³ Moreover, in a nearby storeroom, two boxes of ornaments and an oil portrait of Christ lay forgotten and yellowing with age. Leyva stated that the church had fallen into such a state of disrepair that in order for the priest to deliver his sermon he was forced to mount a rickety old ladder attached to the pulpit. Repeated pleas for financial aid had apparently gone unheeded as Leyva concluded his message to Castañiza explaining that because of lack of funds neither the church nor the priests were properly equipped to fulfill their assigned functions in the community.²⁴

Similarly, in 1825, don Manuel de Jesús Rada, proprietary curate of the villa de Santa Cruz de la Cañada and future secretary to the vicar-general during his *santa visita* in New Mexico, described the geography, climate, and people of the region in the most derisive terms.²⁵ He wrote that New Mexico was a barren place with harsh winds that swept the land continually. There was hardly any water, wood, currency, or basic necessities of life to be found, and the people were poor and weakened from a variety of diseases. Most New Mexicans made their living by working with wool and its byproducts. Rada explained that raising animals for food was difficult because so much of the livestock died during the cold winters and marauding Indians usually stole the few that managed to survive.²⁶ Thus men who lived and worked in New Mexico of the early nineteenth century often characterized the province as a wasteland of misery and despair dominated by an ecclesiastical elite burdensome to its own people. It was here that the Mexican church and state sent peripatetic canon Agustín Fernández de San Vicente with orders to curb abuses and reestablish good government.

Fernández arrived in Santa Fe on 7 April 1826 and a few days later wrote his associates at the cathedral of Durango regarding his impressions of New Mexico. His words echoed the testimony of Guevara and others who had expressed indignation at the abandoned state of the church and the apathy of so many of its func-



Santa Cruz de la Cañada, 1825, by Father Manuel de Jesús Rada. Courtesy of author.

tionaries. Clerics, Fernández reported, were in such short supply that some congregations had no priests; others had them, but they were too far removed from centers of population to administer to the needs of the people.²⁷

Although Fernández arrived in the New Mexican capital in early April, he did not officially begin his tour of inspection until 17 August. The intervening period of four months found the prebend busily engaged in gathering data to aid him in his program of reform. On 10 May he left the city to examine the few cemetery sites in and around Santa Fe. He found them run-down, overgrown with weeds, and too overcrowded. To alleviate the problem, he immediately ordered the construction of as many new burial sites as necessary to meet the needs of the people. A week later he sent out a circular to all parishes and missions requesting an ecclesiastical census and report on all clerics working in the province. He requested detailed personal information as well as a description of their duties and positions.²⁸ On 30 May he issued a second circular that he ordered distributed to everyone living within the limits of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the sole exception of the missions and their personnel.²⁹ Although Fernández mentioned the need for greater religious devotion and discipline, the majority of his remarks concerned clerical abuses and the need for reform. He called on New Mexicans to come forward without fear of retaliation and denounce any priest who behaved in a fashion unbecoming his Christian calling, and to make sure that no one could plead innocence regarding his directives, he instructed his secretaries to make copies of his requests and to place one in each public gathering place.³⁰ This circular, printed at the behest of such an important church dignitary, became a tool that Fernández manipulated in order to extract information from a people anxious to comply with their Christian duty. Also Fernández distrusted the sympathies of several New Mexican priests, especially those born in Spain, and he used the circular to aid him in determining political as well as moral deviation among the clergy.³¹

The archives in the cathedral in Durango contain numerous complaints regarding the vicar's dealings with the Franciscans. This hostility, of course, is understandable in light of the circumstances. Even before Fernández arrived in New Mexico, many New Mex-

icans had learned to resent the presence of the mendicants, and some had even asked for the immediate secularization of the missions.³² The friars now feared that the secularization process, begun in 1797 with the removal of the missions at Santa Fe, La Cañada, and Albuquerque from their control, might be part of a larger scheme for total seizure of their holdings. They became increasingly apprehensive when in 1824 the New Mexican legislature requested the secularization of the missions at Taos, San Juan, Belen, and Bado,³³ but no further action took place until 1826 when Fernández began his investigation into their affairs.

Fernández concluded that none of the Spanish priests favored the Mexican government or the liberalism it expoused.³⁴ Regarding these clerics, Fernández said: "I pretend not to notice the dislike which they all have for our system of government. . . ."³⁵ Apparently this ostrich-like attitude soon evaporated upon closer contact with recalcitrant friars. Fernández was particularly incensed by the behavior of Father Sebastián de Alvaréz, *custos* of the New Mexican missions; Fernández blamed Alvaréz for inciting mission personnel to rebel against the newly constituted authorities of the Mexican church and state.³⁶ He was so angry with Alvaréz that he revoked his *licencias* until the curate promised to mend his ways.³⁷

Fernández's relations with other mission priests were not much better than they had been with Alvaréz. In July 1826, the vicar-general suspended Father Buenas Muro from all further religious activity in the San Gerónimo de Taos Mission. He accused Muro of clerical improprieties relating to indulgences and foreigners living within the province.³⁸ Muro vehemently protested his suspension and wrote that he held Fernández responsible for the loss of everything from the use of his arm to his reputation and honor.³⁹ Muro's complaints were useless because on 23 July 1826 Fernández secularized the mission at Taos and replaced Muro with don Antonio José Martínez y Santiestevan.⁴⁰

Fernández's correspondence suggests that of all the experiences he had with the missions, the situation he encountered at the mission of San Lorenzo de Picurís affected him most.⁴¹ In a brief diary concerning the events of his visit there, he wrote that he felt great mortification from the moment of his arrival at nine in the morning until his departure three hours later. He refused to remain

long enough to eat his lunch. Fernández found the religious buildings on the premises crumbling with rot and decay, while the friars did not even bother to wash their vestments, which he described as filthy kitchen rags. Fernández also discovered that the priests demanded rigorous labor from the natives of the area, and when the Indians sought recompense for their efforts, Father Manuel Bellido, the head of the mission, told them to go to hell. In addition, Fernández accused Bellido of seizing the best of the mission's lands as well as most of the water from the nearby river for his own cattle. As far as Bellido was concerned, if the Indians wanted water they had to work for him to get it.

Moreover, Bellido's activities were not confined to those of an entrepreneurial nature. The vicar denounced him as an unrepentant profligate whose scandalous affair with Rosalia Baca had become the talk of the town. Rumor even had it that this liaison had produced a daughter approximately six years of age. The feeling of controlled rage the august prelate must have experienced when confronted by an individual such as Bellido who openly broke the laws of the church and then flaunted his errancy in public view permeates the list of complaints. Fernández knew that Bellido had been warned repeatedly to make the appropriate changes in his life style and clearly indicated that Bellido was not going to get away with mere lip service this time. The canon warned Bellido that he intended to return soon to see if his demanded reforms had been implemented. In view of Fernández's reputation as an inveterate philanderer, Bellido must have found the vicar's exhortations slightly absurd. Bellido listened to the vicar impatiently and finally became so incensed with the prolonged sermonizing that in one last display of defiance he made an ugly face at Fernández and then stuck out his tongue at him. Fernández reacted severely, permanently relieving Bellido from his curacy and secularizing Picurís as well as the other northern mission sites.⁴² Thus, by the end of the summer of 1826, Agustín Fernández de San Vicente had broken the back of the New Mexico mission system and initiated the painful transition from a Spanish church to the church of Mexico.

Fernández's tour of duty did not begin officially until 15 August 1826 when he went to the parochial church in Santa Fe, where

Father Juan Tomás Terrazas greeted him at the door, led him inside and celebrated mass. Fernández reported that the church had been abandoned to such an extent that there were not even any wax candles for the altar.⁴³ Later that same day, the prelate was further chagrined when he visited the Third Order of Saint Francis chapel that adjoined the parochial church on its southern side. This religious edifice had considerable historical significance since it had been established toward the end of the seventeenth century when Diego de Vargas was governor of New Mexico. Franciscans, whose by-laws demanded that it remain exclusively in their hands,⁴⁴ had always operated the chapel. Fernández was apparently unmoved by the institution's historicity, however, because when Terrazas explained that the chapel lacked the basic materials necessary to say mass, Fernández became disgusted and revoked its "document of concession" and instructed the priest to refrain from participating in any future religious services held there.⁴⁵

Fernández also stopped to examine the chapels of San Miguel, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and Nuestra Señora del Rosario. He found them in even worse condition than that of the Third Order of Saint Francis; they were dirty with broken doors and windows and utilized inadequate security precautions. Indignant at finding the chapels so dilapidated, Fernández demanded that they be repaired or closed.⁴⁶

It is noteworthy that Americans travelling through Santa Fe more than twenty years after Fernández's sojourn there found conditions quite as deplorable and chaotic as those the canon described. It was almost as though they had somehow been led to expect more from New Mexico than circumstances warranted, and then, disappointed with their discovery, had sat down in unison to criticize the place and its people. Private Marcellus B. Edwards, marching with Colonel Doniphan's troops in 1846, wrote a letter to his brother portraying Santa Fe as a filthy little mud village where women often relieved themselves on the public street without embarrassment.⁴⁷ He described the many canals that ran throughout the city carrying a contaminated water supply used for cooking, washing, playing, right up to the door of each citizen.⁴⁸ In the center of the town, Edwards went on, was the traditional plaza, flanked on one side by the Palace of the Governors and on the other by small

trading establishments and the town jail. According to his account, when American troops converged on Santa Fe after the war with Mexico, they entered this jail and in one of the empty cells found a long rope strung with human ears.⁴⁹

George F. Ruxton recounted a similar tale in *Adventures in Mexico*, published in 1847. Ruxton dwelled at some length on the miserable social and economic conditions that he found throughout New Mexico. Like Edwards, he was critical of the exclusive use of mud and adobe for town construction, and he was exasperated to discover that there was not even one stone building in all of Santa Fe, which he described as looking more like a "prairie dog town" than the capital of a newly conquered American territory.⁵⁰

Fernández would, no doubt, have noted a grim irony in the fact that he and the interloping Americans agreed on so much concerning New Mexico. Yet, there could have been no satisfaction for him in this concurrence, as his goal was to strengthen national unity while Americans endeavored to sever it. His study of the ecclesiastical structures of Santa Fe concluded, Fernández next turned to the church's recordkeeping system. He saw that Father Terrazas had been entrusted with the duty of registering all baptisms in his diocese since 10 June 1821. The canon commented that these ordinances appeared to have been correctly administered although he was disappointed with the way in which baptisms before 1787 were documented; they often lacked sufficient information regarding the grandparents of the individuals baptized.⁵¹ Then on 5 September 1826, while continuing his examination of Terrazas' work, Fernández encountered two baptismal registers. In one of these Terrazas had listed 1,096 entries, but according to Fernández, although the documentation was adequate, the methodology was not.⁵² Thus, despite Terrazas' kind words regarding the vicar's integrity expressed in a letter to his superiors at the cathedral in Durango, Terrazas, like so many other New Mexican clerics, failed to escape Fernández's censure.⁵³

Father Manuel Rada had directed similar criticism against Terrazas in 1821, by protesting Terrazas' slowness in implementing the suggestions of Juan Bautista Guevara during his term as vicar-general of New Mexico.⁵⁴ Rada faithfully served as Fernández's secretary during the prebend's visit to New Mexico and was one

of the few to receive approval for his activities and behavior.⁵⁵ Perhaps it was for this reason that shortly before leaving New Mexico, Fernández appointed Rada his official replacement as vicar-general with the same duties and privileges that Fernández had held during his *santa visita*.⁵⁶

With autumn approaching, Fernández decided to commence the long journey back to Durango. He had not wanted to stay very long in the forlorn province and had repeatedly expressed his revulsion for many of the people and circumstances he encountered there. He had failed to institute any lasting reforms among the clergy; perhaps he was too great a philanderer to convince his co-religionists concerning the joys of celibacy. However, he was somewhat more successful in determining the pro-Spanish sympathies of several priests thus corroborating official suspicions of foreign intrigue and hastening the secularization process. Nonetheless, aside from Fernández's detective work, the government might have achieved the same results of secularization simply by sending orders from Mexico City demanding immediate compliance by the friars. The friars, Fernández maintained, thwarted all his efforts to reduce factionalism and restore peaceful relations to the area. But the Franciscans were not solely responsible for conditions in New Mexico during the 1820s. These had been precipitated by Napoleon's invasion of Spain and the uncertainty and chaos that followed throughout Spanish America, as well as by Spain and Mexico's neglect of that distant region.

Fernández's mission in New Mexico resembled that of the little Dutch boy who single-handedly sought to hold back the tides. In 1826 chronic civil strife divided Mexico. Conservatives battled liberals for the dominant position in Mexico's government, while clerics loyal to Spain sought to undermine Mexican efforts to unify the disparate elements of her far flung northern empire.

On 16 April 1834 a federal decree secularized all Mexican missions. This legislation had little effect in New Mexico because all the priests there, regular or secular, were in such short supply. A strong possibility exists that the mission system in New Mexico would have collapsed of its own weight without Fernández's assistance. The ideals of the Enlightenment and the theoretical equality conceded each citizen under Iturbide's *Plan de Iguala* would have

eventually eroded the power base of the mission system by removing the institution's *raison d'être*. Even without ideological influences, however, the mission could not have continued indefinitely without sufficient personnel. But the Mexican government determined that the missions served as an archaic reminder of a despised colonial past and as such would have to be legally terminated.

Fourteen years after Fernández completed his *santa visita* in New Mexico, the new bishop of Durango, José Antonio Laureano de Zubiría, sent Franciscan friar Mariano de Jesús López to New Mexico in a futile effort to stem the mounting antagonism that many years of civil and clerical neglect had engendered. So desperate was the need for priests in New Mexico that Zubiría had apparently been tempted to foster the reestablishment of the mendicants there. At any rate Zubiría's decision proved irrelevant because three years after López's arrival in New Mexico, the Franciscan father died, and New Mexico became a territory of the United States. Perhaps had Fernández been able to gaze into the future and witness the reinstatement of his old enemies in New Mexico, he might have shrugged his shoulders good-naturedly. Gambler that he was, he probably knew that the odds were against him all along.

NOTES

1. Report by the Dean and Cabildo of the Holy Cathedral of Durango (HCD), 14 November 1825, *Varios 1825*, Archives of the Cathedral of Durango (ACD), Durango, Mexico.
2. Data concerning Agustín Fernández de San Vicente's instructions to investigate the moral and political behavior of the *custos* and the New Mexican friars and other European clerics may be found in the following directive President Guadalupe Victoria gave him: Guadalupe Victoria to Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, Mexico, 30 September 1826, *Loose Documents 1818-1829*, Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe (AASF), reel 54.
3. Dean and Cabildo of the HCD to don Miguel Ramos Arizpe, Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs of Mexico, 12 January 1826, ACD, and *Memoria que en cumplimiento del artículo 120 de la constitución federal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos leyó el Secretario de Estado y del Despacho Universal de Justicia y Negocios Eclesiásticos, en la cámara de diputados el día 3 y en la de senadores el día 4 de enero de 1826, sobre los ramos del ministerio de su cargo*, *Varios 1826*, ACD.

4. Fernández's personal characteristics are deduced from the information contained in the diary of the California Franciscan, Father Mariano Payeras (Mariano Payeras, "Diary of the expedition undertaken by the Mexican Imperial Commissioner for both of the Californias, Lord Prebendary Don Agustín Fernández de Vicente, from the Mission of Our Father San Francisco to the Russian establishment of Ross, alias Cosoff, written by the one who accompanied him," University of California at Berkeley, Bancroft Library, and official documents prepared for the establishment of the vicar-general of New Mexico, 1825, Varios 1825, ACD.)

5. Payeras, "Diary," Bancroft Library.

6. Irving Berdene Richman, *California Under Mexico and Spain, 1535-1847* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), p. 231, and Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, ed., *History of California*, 5 vols. (New York: Century History [1915]), 2: 174.

7. Fernández to don José Cayetano Salcedo, New Mexico, 13 April 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.

8. Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, to the Bishop of Durango, Marqués de Castañiza, 19 November 1821, ACD.

9. José María Mateos, *Historia de la masoneria en México desde 1806 hasta 1844* (Mexico: Publicada con autorización del Sup. Gr. Oriente del mismo rito en su periódico oficial "La Tolerancia," 1884), p. 36, and Lucas Alamán, *Semblanzas e ideario* (México: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1939), p. 151.

10. W. Eugene Shiels, "Church and State in the First Decade of Mexican Independence," *Catholic Historical Review* 28 (July 1942): 207-10.

11. Fernández to the Dean and Cabildo, New Mexico, 1 September 1826, ACD.

12. Victoria to Fernández, Mexico, 30 September 1826, Loose Documents 1818-1829, AASF, reel 54.

13. Fernández to the Cabildo and Governor of the Durango Bishopric, New Mexico, 15 August 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.

14. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), p. 47.

15. Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, p. 44.

16. John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. 54.

17. Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, p. 54.

18. Don Juan Bautista de Guevara to Castañiza, New Mexico, 24 May 1820, Varios 1820, ACD.

19. Don Dionisio Baca, First Councilman and Don Baltazar Perea, Attorney for the Constitutional City Council, of the Mission of Santa María de Belen, New Mexico, to the President and Representative of the Provincial Legislature of Durango, 18 March 1821, ACD; and Fernández to the Dean and Cabildo of the HCD, 13 April 1826, ACD.

20. D. Lorenzo de Závala, *Ensayo histórico de la revolución de México* (México: Oficina Impresora de Hacienda, 1918), 1: 275, and Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. David Freeman Hawke (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), p.

261. For the view that American writings regarding church conditions in New Mexico were prejudiced and lacked balance, see Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, p. 81. Although Weber is correct in arguing that it is always necessary to allow for cultural myopia, it is also true that most eye-witness Mexican accounts coincide with the opinions that Americans expressed while travelling through New Mexico.

21. Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada in Three New Mexico Chronicles*, trans. with introduction and notes by H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1942), p. 301.

22. José Francisco Leyva, interim priest for the Church of San Felipe in Albuquerque, to Bishop Castañiza, 17 July 1821, Varios 1821, ACD.

23. Leyva to Castañiza, 17 July 1821, Varios 1821, ACD.

24. Leyva to Castañiza, 17 July 1821, Varios 1821, ACD.

25. The term *santa visita* merely refers to an ecclesiastically sanctioned holy visit by a church dignitary.

26. Manuel Rada to Presbyter Don Juan Tomás Terrazas, New Mexico, 2 April 1825, Varios 1825, ACD. For a similar view, see George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico* (London: John Murray, 1847), p. 197.

27. Fernández to the Dean and Cabildo of the HCD, New Mexico, 13 April 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.

28. Fernández, circular, New Mexico, 17 May 1826, Loose Documents 1818–1829, AASF, reel 54.

29. Fernández, circular, New Mexico, 30 May 1826, Loose Documents 1818–1829, AASF, reel 54.

30. José Luis Rodríguez to Padre Juan Caballero, New Mexico, 31 May 1826, Loose Documents 1818–1829, AASF, reel 54.

31. Fernández to the Dean and Cabildo of the HCD, New Mexico, 1 September 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.

32. Lansing Bartlett Bloom, "New Mexico Under Mexican Administration," *Old Santa Fe* 1 (January 1914): 247.

33. Bloom, "New Mexico Under Mexican Administration," p. 247, n. 189.

34. Fernández to the Dean and Cabildo, New Mexico, 1 September 1826, ACD.

35. Fernández to the Dean and Cabildo, New Mexico, 1 September 1826, ACD.

36. Fernández, diatribe against Father Sebastián de Alvaréz, New Mexico, 1819, Loose Documents 1818–1829, AAFS, reel 54.

37. Fernández to Don D. Vicente Simón González de Cosío, Capitular Vicar, New Mexico, 14 July 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.

38. Fernández to González de Cosío, New Mexico, 14 July 1826, ACD.

39. Father Buenas Muro to González de Cosío, Durango, 20 November 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.

40. Don Antonio José Martínez y Santiestevan, "Apologia of Presbyter Antonio J. Martínez," *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 (October 1928): 337.

41. Fernández to the Cabildo and Governor of the Durango Bishopric, New Mexico, 15 August 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.
42. Fernández to the Cabildo and Governor of the Durango Bishopric, New Mexico, 15 August 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.
43. Fernández, New Mexico, 5 September 1826, Baptisms, AASF, reel 16.
44. J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona and California* (Banning, Calif.: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898), p. 161.
45. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, p. 161.
46. Fernández, report, New Mexico, 5 September 1826, Baptisms, AASF, reel 16.
47. Marcellus B. Edwards, Philip Gooch Ferguson, and Abraham Robinson Johnston, *Marching with the Army of the West 1846-1848*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1936), p. 169.
48. Edwards, Ferguson, and Johnston, *Marching with the Army of the West 1846-1848*, p. 169.
49. Edwards, Ferguson, and Johnston, *Marching with the Army of the West 1846-1848*, p. 163.
50. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico*, p. 198.
51. Fernández, report, New Mexico, 7 September 1826, Baptisms, AASF, reel 16.
52. Fernández, New Mexico, 5 September 1826, Baptisms, AASF, reel 16.
53. Juan Tomás Terrazas to Don Bautista de Olmo, Capitular of the Durango Cathedral, New Mexico, 14 April 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.
54. Rada to Castañiza, New Mexico, 30 April 1821, Varios 1821, ACD.
55. Fernández to Dean and Cabildo of Durango Bishopric, New Mexico, September 1826, ACD; and Rada to Dean and Cabildo, HCD, 29 August 1826, Varios 1826, ACD.
56. Fernández to Dean and Cabildo, New Mexico, September 1826, ACD; and Rada to Dean and Cabildo, New Mexico, 29 August 1826, ACD.