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Fray Francisco de Ayeta in The Service of New Mexico, 1673-1683

Russell L. Hankins

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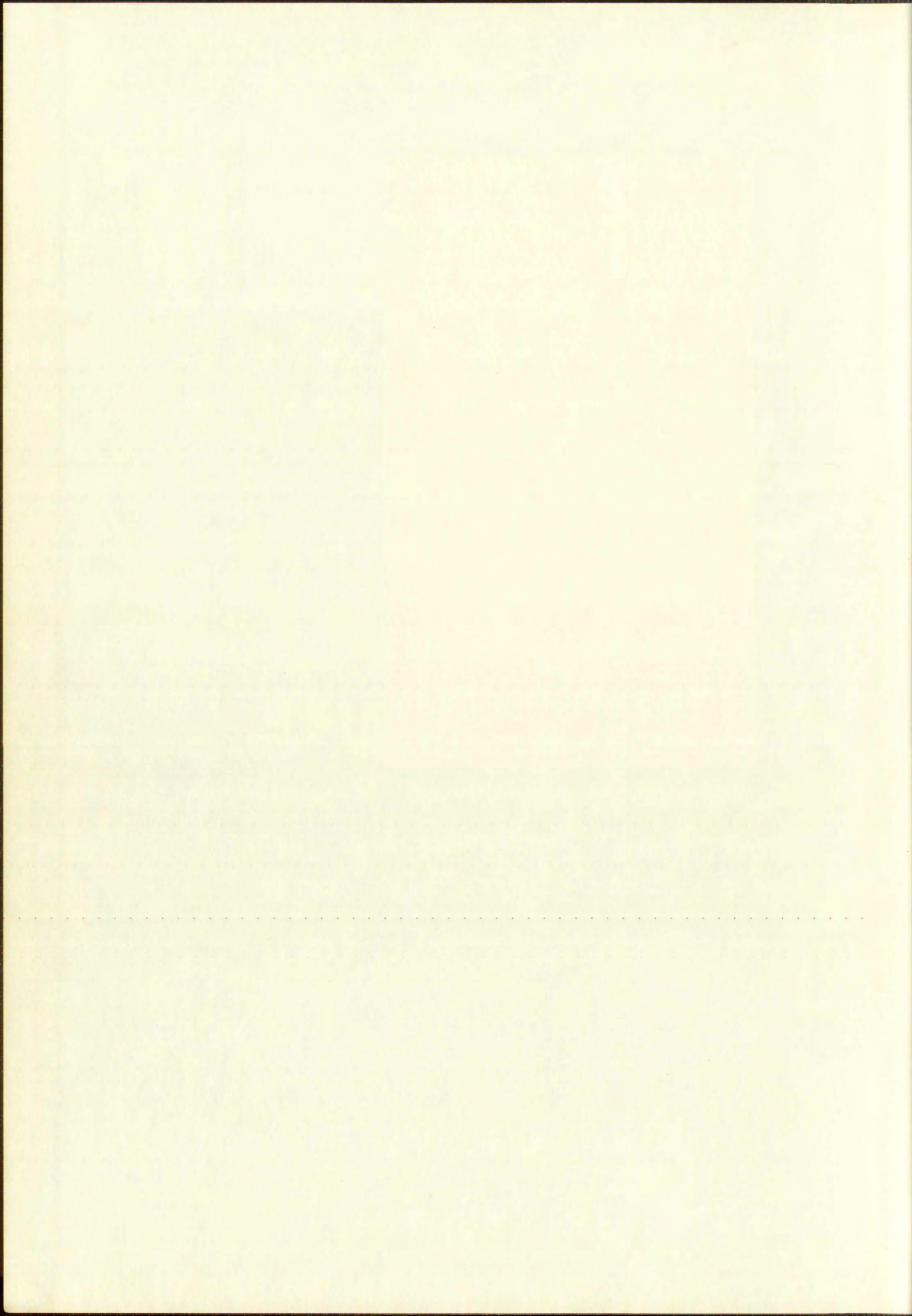
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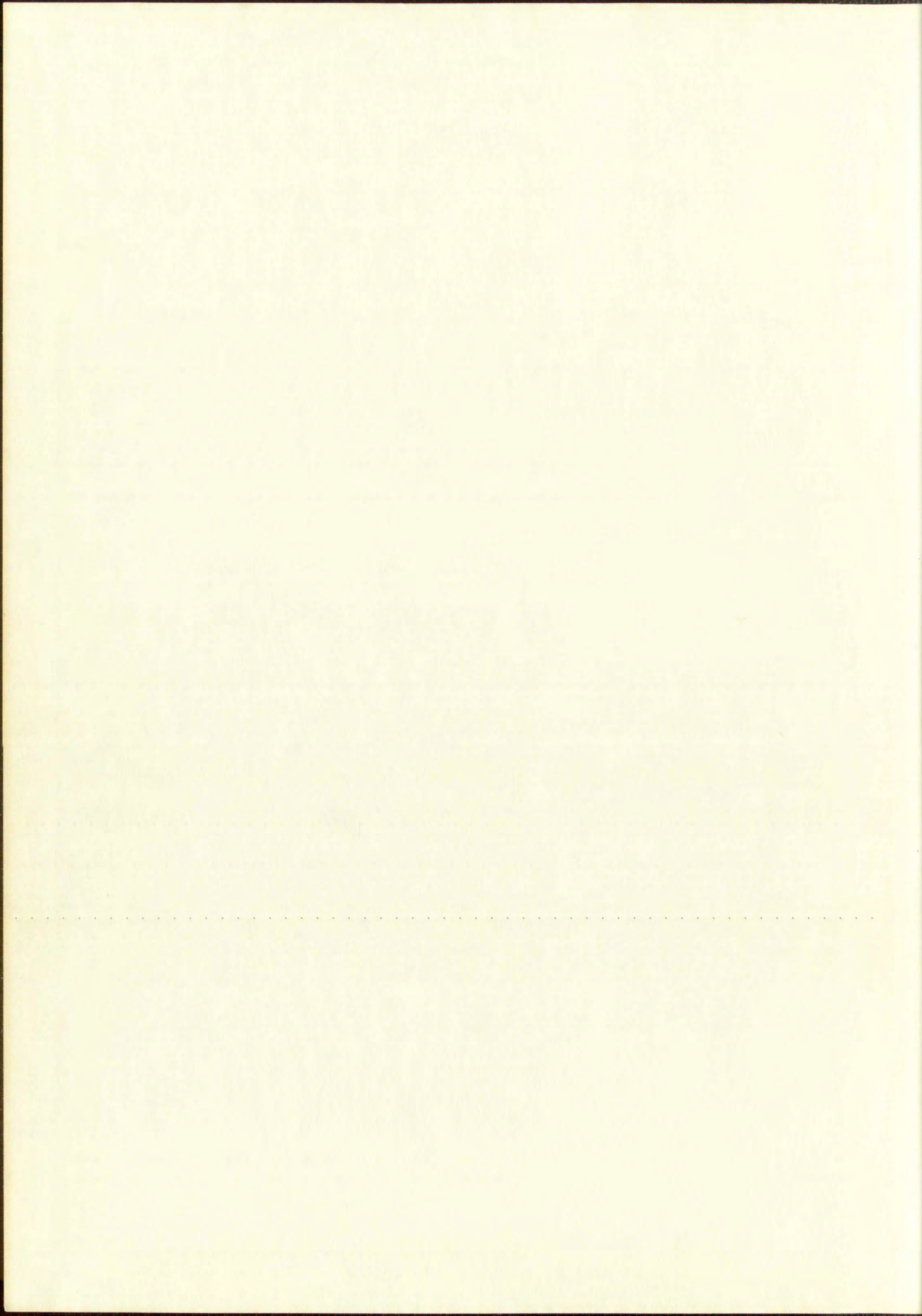
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FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA IN
THE SERVICE OF NEW MEXICO, 1673-1683



By
Russell L. Hankins

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in History

The University of New Mexico

1962



This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Stuart A. Matthews
DEAN

DATE

June 7, 1962

FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA IN

THE SERVICE OF NEW MEXICO, 1673-1683

By

Russell L. Hankins

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This thesis, revised and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYALA IN

THE SERVICE OF NEW MEXICO, 1675-1683

BY

Russell L. Harkins

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Russell L. Harkins

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PREFACE

During a critical decade (1673-1683) in the history of colonial New Mexico Father Francisco de Ayeta, a Franciscan friar, performed outstanding service to the Spanish crown in and for this isolated province on the northern frontier of New Spain. With considerable justice it may be said that Ayeta's adroit presentation of the interests of the colony at the viceregal court in Mexico City, his skillful management of the caravans which conveyed urgently needed supplies and reinforcements from New Spain, and his timely council and prompt actions in time of emergency were in large measure responsible for preventing the complete abandonment of New Mexico following the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. It is the purpose of this thesis to describe in detail and evaluate the career of Father Ayeta in the service of New Mexico during the years immediately preceding and following the Pueblo "War for Independence."

In the preparation of this study the author has given major attention to primary sources, published and unpublished. Photocopies of important unpublished documents in manuscript collections in Seville and Mexico City are available in the Coronado Room of the University of New Mexico Library. Additional archival material of this kind was supplied by Professor France Scholes, who has served as the author's major advisor in his research

investigations.

Some facets of Ayeta's activities in or on behalf of New Mexico have been described by other writers. None has, however, presented a detailed and connected study of these services based upon all available documentation. Lack of such a comprehensive account is the principal reason for the author's choice of this theme for his graduate thesis.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED
IN FOOTNOTE CITATIONS

- AGI Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla
- Contaduría Sección de Contaduría
- Guadalajara Audiencia de Guadalajara
- México Audiencia de México
- AGN Archivo General de la Nación, México City
- Historia Ramo de Historia
- Prov. Int. Ramo de Provincias Internas
- Reales Céd. Dupl. Ramo de Reales Cédulas Duplicadas
- BNM Biblioteca Nacional, México City
- Hackett, Historical Documents Charles Wilson Hackett (ed.),
 Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva
 Vizcaya, and the Approaches Thereto, to 1773 (3 vols.,
 Washington, 1923).
- Hackett and Shelby, Revolt Charles Wilson Hackett and
 Charmion Clair Shelby, trans. and eds., Revolt of
 the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's
 Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682 (2 vols., Albuquer-
 que, 1942).
- Walz Vina Walz, "History of the El
 Paso Area, 1680-1692" (unpublished Ph.D. disser-
 tation, Dept. of History, University of New Mexico,
 1951).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IV. ABBREVIATIONS

AGI

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico

Contaduría

Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público

Embajada

Embajada de México en Washington

México

Ministerio de Fomento

AGN

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Historia

Historia de México

Prov. Int.

Provincia Interoceánica

México Cód. Civil

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CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS IN NEW MEXICO, 1675

In the year 1675 the Hispanic colony in New Mexico appealed to the viceroy in desperation for aid. The appeal marked the climax of events which had seen their beginning early in the history of the colony. The intervening years had witnessed the growth to major proportions of a multitude of problems which faced the Spaniards and the mission effort. By the 1670's the situation seemed insurmountable and threatened the security, even the survival of the colony and the Christian missions. The Spanish settlers had become disheartened; their charges, the Pueblo Indians, were restless and increasingly antagonistic; the Apaches continually raided pueblos and settlements; and nature had completed the dismal picture with a prolonged and severe drought. Three-quarters of a century of missionary effort would be lost if the situation could not be remedied.¹

The unrest which the Pueblos exhibited in 1675 cannot be blamed, as the Spanish colonists chose to do, entirely on the heathen nature of the aborigines. For, although the Pueblos always resented the denial of their ancient religious customs, they took their cue for showing increasing disrespect for Christianity and

¹For a concise yet detailed survey of the mission effort see Frank D. Reeve, History of New Mexico (New York, 1961), I, 132-67.

CHAPTER I

CONSTITUTION IN THE COLONY

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for those who imposed it from the Hispanic community itself. Contrary to the very purpose for the presence of Spanish settlers, the colony was continually rent by internal dissension. This schism produced, in its worst phases, open conflict between the missionaries and members of the secular colony, usually under the leadership of the governor. This example of disrespect for the representatives of Christianity could not but serve as evidence to the Pueblos that they might also show similar feelings. It further gave evidence of a weakness which the Hispanic colony could ill afford to broadcast.²

The province of New Mexico yielded no profit for the Spanish crown in spite of the myriad legends which had spurred explorers onward to that area. But a yield of another nature was found with the opening of a vast mission field. For this purpose was the decision made in 1608-1609 to maintain the colony. The central regions of the province, especially the fertile lands along the Río del Norte, were settled by soldier-citizens to support and protect the missions. Following a pattern long established these Spaniards took up lands bordering those of the pueblos whose protection was their obligation. Thus the stage was set for the first source of dispute, not only between colonists and aborigines, but also with the clergy who took upon themselves the task of protecting the rights of the Indians. By claim of prior ownership the Pueblos held the most desirable arable land and water rights. That

²For a detailed study of this period see France V. Scholes, Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650 (Albuquerque, 1937), and Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670 (Albuquerque, 1942).

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the colonists would infringe upon these rights was inevitable.

There was no provision for a paid military garrison in New Mexico prior to 1683. In return for their services as soldiers a selected group of permanent settlers were given grants of encomienda. Although such grants called only for payment of tribute by the Indians and constituted no legal claim by the encomenderos to the lands of the Pueblo villages assigned to them, the status enjoyed by this select group encouraged their infringement on Indian land and water rights. Other colonists, those without encomendero status, followed this example. Attachment of these Spaniards to the land grew as succeeding generations became increasingly involved in farming and ranching activities, which, in turn, brought further encroachments. The result of the situation was strenuous and condemnatory accusations against the secular colony brought by the Spanish missionaries.³

But the missionary friars, in turn, became the subject of similar charges. The clergy, in the eyes of the colonists, were also amassing wealth by farming and raising livestock at the expense of Indian laborers. That this activity was pursued by the missionaries cannot be denied. But some justice for it seems to be found in the fact that the missions were, in times of famine, frequently the sole source of sustenance for both Indians and Spanish alike. At such times their doors were opened to all comers.

³France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," New Mexico Historical Review, X (1935), 71-111.

111-11, (211) 2

This conflict over the right to land and water, however, was only an initial and relatively minor phase of the internal schism of the colony. A more fundamental problem involved the use of Indian labor by Spanish settlers. The example for this was set by a majority of the governors who, taking advantage of the distance separating them from the seat of higher authority, grossly violated Spanish legislation enacted for the protection of the Indians. It was common practice for the governors to utilize their office as a source of personal gain. Their methods were numerous. They required the manufacture of mantas for which the Indian weavers were paid a pittance. Indians of the pueblos near the salt fields were forced to transport that valuable commodity to the Río del Norte for subsequent shipment to México. Others were required to gather and transport valuable piñon nuts which brought a high price in México. In certain instances the Indians were required to aid in transporting these and other products to México, with no provision being made for their return.⁴

One result of this exploitation of Indian labor by the governors and, to a lesser extent, by colonists, was vociferous condemnation by the missionary clergy; the governors and colonists in turn accused the friars of making excessive use of their Indian charges. These accusations and counter-accusations served to accelerate a Church-State controversy--a controversy in which the Indians found an opportunity more openly to defy their missionary teachers, often with unveiled support from the colonists.

⁴Ibid., 80-85.

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By far the greatest single complaint the Pueblo Indians held against the Spaniards in New Mexico involved the effort to impose on them the Christian religion. Out of this resentment against the requirements of the new faith arose another facet of the schism within the Hispanic colony. The governors and colonists, rather than giving support to the mission program, frequently seemed to encourage the practice of native customs and ceremonials. Failure of the civil authorities to exert positive influence in support of the missionary program and its methods merely strengthened Pueblo resistance to the new faith.

Apparently neither clergy nor secular officials understood fully the import of the native religion. If they did understand, they failed to take cognizance of the facts and act accordingly. The Pueblo religion fulfilled purposes in the lives of the aborigines that could not be served by Christianity. Therefore the outward acceptance of Christianity, even though willing and sincere, did not serve as a replacement for ancient rites. The needs of the Indians demanding material fulfillment were left wanting. Moreover, the complex relationship linking Pueblo social organization and religion found no replacement in Christianity. Thus the entire structure of Pueblo society was threatened. Christianity became a burden for which few compensating advantages were found.

With hindsight the danger in enforcing mission discipline can be seen. For, while maintaining an external observance of Christianity, the Pueblos found it necessary to begin again, this time clandestinely, their practice of ancient superstitions and

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religious rites. In order to maintain discipline and halt these occurrences the friars resorted to physical punishment. For failure to attend mass, sexual immorality, and participation in ceremonials, whipping, executed by the fiscal of the pueblo, was the customary penalty. To this was often added forced labor. (A Spaniard found guilty of the same charge seldom suffered more than a fine or brief jail sentence.)⁵

The extent of these punishments can be inferred from various accounts, including the records of the extremes to which a few overly zealous friars carried their duties. Perhaps the most serious incident involved Fray Salvador de Guerra at the pueblo of Xongopavi. The friar reportedly whipped and then tarred with hot turpentine an Indian accused of idolatry. The accused man died. Similar actions by the friar were subsequently reported, causing his recall and arrest by the Order. No record of the execution of his punishment is available.⁶

It is possible that the friars never would have had to require these punishments had the secular colony fulfilled its role of supporting, rather than hindering, the mission effort. But the enforcement of discipline and the prohibition of ancient ceremonials were not alone as sources of antagonism for the Pueblos. Had the secular Spanish colony supported the Church's actions fully, perhaps Indian acceptance of these impositions would have come with less difficulty. But the general situation within the colony only

⁵Scholes, Troublous Times, 11-15.

⁶Ibid., 11-13.

religious rites. In order to be able to attend these rites, the Indians were obliged to leave their homes and go to the place where the rites were held. This was often a long journey, and the Indians were often subjected to hardships and privations. The extent of these hardships was often determined by the distance from their homes to the place where the rites were held. The Indians were often subjected to the same hardships as the Spaniards, and the extent of these hardships was often determined by the distance from their homes to the place where the rites were held.

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² Scholastic, *Tratado de Indias*, lib. 1, cap. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, lib. 1, cap. 1.

furthered the Indian's resentment. "Ignorance, superstition, and moral laxness characterized the life of the Hispanic community, and the governors--and even the clergy--often set an evil example for the humbler members of the colony."⁷ Contemporary records give evidence of Spaniards even participating in Indian ceremonials. What resulted was only to be expected. For, if the Spaniards held no respect for the dictates of the Church, the Pueblos, having far greater reason than the colonists, could see no cause to restrain them from engaging in the practice of their former ways. The result was an increasing decline in the effectiveness of the mission program.⁸

The results of the strict enforcement of Christian standards on the Pueblos became only too evident after the Pueblo Revolt. At that time Indian captives, under questioning by Governor Otermín, testified that they had rebelled "because the religious and the Spaniards took away their idols and forbade their sorceries and idolatries."⁹ Still further evidence was exhibited in testimony: the leaders of the revolt had instructed all Pueblos, under threat of punishment, to burn and destroy all religious articles, to abandon the use of Christian names, and "wash off" their baptism with river waters; they were to leave their Christian wives, taking whichever women they wished; none were to utter words taught them by the

⁷Ibid., 6.

⁸Ibid., 357-58.

⁹Declaration of one of the rebellious Indians, El Alamillo, September 6, 1680, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 60-62. This work contains translations of a majority of the documents covering the Revolt and attempted reconquest.

friars or to speak the Castilian language; every vestige of their subjection to Christianity was to be destroyed.¹⁰

Infringement of the Spaniards on Indian lands and water rights, exploitation of Indian labor, and resentment against the missionary effort prompted increasing unrest among the Pueblos. This rising tide of unrest was heightened by the division of opinion within the Hispanic colony evidenced by the continual Church-State quarrel. Manifestations of Pueblo discontent occurred as early as the 1640's when Governor Argüello hanged, lashed, or imprisoned more than forty Indians as punishment for what was apparently an abortive plot to rebel. In 1650 Governor Hernando de Ugarte y Concha discovered another plot, this time with the Pueblos joining in league with their customary enemy, the Apaches. Reportedly, Indians from the pueblos of Sandía and Alameda were delivering horses of the Spanish citizens to the Apaches in preparation for an all out attack. Following arrests throughout the pueblos nine Indians were hanged and others sold into slavery for a period of ten years. Little more than a decade later six Indians of the Piro nation were hanged for the same crime.¹¹

Still the conspiracies continued. The Indian governor of Las Salinas, Don Esteban Clemente, was charged with a conspiracy to be carried out by all the pueblos. After discovery of the plot Don Esteban was hanged, whereupon the Spaniards found within his

¹⁰ Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, Place of the Río del Norte, December 19, 1681, *ibid.*, II, 245-49.

¹¹ Declaration of Diego López Sambrano, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 22, 1681, *ibid.*, 292-303.

house large quantities of idols and other articles of native worship. Even with this increasing evidence of the dissatisfaction of the Pueblos with their subjection to the Christian religion and other impositions which came with Spanish occupation, the Spaniards, both secular and religious, apparently struggled with only the symptoms and not the causes. The more flagrant the disrespect evidenced by the Indians, the harsher the punishment. Thus a cycle was created which could only end in disaster.¹²

By the early 1670's a delicate state of affairs existed within the provinces of New Mexico. With an apparent and certainly long-overdue awareness of the causes of the problems, the quarrel between Church and State was brought to a halt. (There were other influencing factors in bringing about this cessation of hostilities.) But subsequent events were to prove that it had come too late. The quarrels between the clergy and colonists over jurisdiction and privileges, exploitation of the Indians, and the maintenance of Christian discipline had left the colony demoralized and in a dangerously fragile state of mind. The Pueblo Indians had also arrived at an attitude from which there was apparently no return.

Although the Hispanic colony had more than it could handle in the conflicts within itself and the rising rebellious attitude of the Pueblos, its problems did not end there. The Apache Indians, who had raided the regions of the Pueblos long before the coming of the Spaniards, had since increased their depredations.¹³ The only

¹² Ibid.

¹³ The term Apache used here refers to all nomadic Indians surrounding the Pueblo region except the Utes.

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defense of the colony against these attacks was its citizen-soldiery. It became a major duty of the governor to maintain small detachments of Spanish soldiers at the more distant missions and to conduct campaigns of "just war" against this enemy. Abundant documentation reveals the extent to which this problem occupied the colony.

Apache raids on the mission villages had occurred prior to the 1660's, but these marauding attacks became more frequent toward the end of this decade and during the succeeding ten years. The greater frequency of these depredations at this time may be attributed, in part, to a period of drought from 1667 to 1672 which brought famine conditions to many of the Pueblo areas and prompted Apache raids on the livestock herds of Spaniards, missions, and Pueblos alike. In 1667 the Apaches had sued for peace and henceforth no war would be waged against them.¹⁴ But this peace was short-lived. Within months new depredations were occurring along the frontiers of New Mexico.

In February of 1668 Governor Villanueva received two letters which described "the pertinacity of the Apache enemy in robbing, killing, and laying siege to the houses . . ." of Vicente Cisneros and Captain Felipe Romero near Sevilleta. The Apaches, Villanueva protested in his call for a council of war, had supposedly been

¹⁴Servicios personales de Don Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS 19258. Cited hereinafter as Servicios personales de Juan Domínguez. The copy used is a translation in the personal collection of France V. Scholes. The author has taken the quotations used in the text of the thesis from this translation.

defense of the colony against these attacks. It became a major duty of the government to maintain the defense of Spanish soldiers at the more distant frontier. Campaigns of "just war" against these attacks were organized. The extent to which this was done is revealed by the extent of the Apache raids on the mission villages and settlements in the 1680's, but these raiding attacks became more frequent at the end of this decade and during the second half of the century. Greater frequency of these depredations is also indicated by the fact, in part, to a period of drought from 1685 to 1695 when famine conditions so many of the Pueblo people in Spanish lands. Raids on the livestock herds of Spaniards, which were common in 1687. In 1687 the Apaches had been so numerous and destructive that war would be waged against them. Within months new depredations were common in the northern part of New Mexico.

In February of 1688 Governor Villaverde wrote to the king which described "the pertinacity of the Apaches in their killing, and laying siege to the houses . . . of Spanish towns and Captain Felipe Romero near Navajo. . . . Villaverde protested in his call for a council of war, but the king was not

¹⁴ Guerrillas personales de Don Juan de los Rios, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. 10000. This document is a letter in the personal collection of Don Juan de los Rios. The author has taken the quotations used in this study from this translation.

granted peace.¹⁵ The council was held in the Casas Reales of Santa Fe, where general agreement was reached on the necessity for an expedition against the enemy in order to remedy this "deplorable state" of affairs. An appeal was made to the Father Custodian, Fray Juan Talabán, for provisions to be supplied by the friaries of Jémez, Isleta, Sía, Socorro, Senecú, Ácoma, and others for the maintenance of fifty men for two months.¹⁶ When Fray Talabán promised fifty fanegas of maize from each friary in spite of their food shortages and also the use of the friars' horses, Villanueva called another council. The military leaders at this meeting declared the provisions insufficient and advised cancellation of the expedition. This was apparently the final decision since there is no further mention of this expedition.¹⁷

But the situation could not long remain unattended. In June of 1669 Custodian Talabán received letters relating an Apache attack on the pueblo of Ácoma in which twelve Christian Indians had died and two women were abducted, not to mention extensive losses from the herds. "The [Apaches] and the Salineros have congregated with those of Casa Fuerte [Navajos]," claimed the Father Definitor, Fray Fernando de Monnroy. The Apaches, he declared, were proclaiming the destruction of the kingdom. This time Spanish retaliation was quick in coming. By early July fifty Spanish soldiers and six

¹⁵Edicts concerning a council of war, 1668, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 29.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

hundred Christian Indians were gathered at the pueblo of Jémez ready to undertake the expedition. A plea was again sent to the Custodian for provisions from the various convents, stating that supplies were unavailable for purchase due to the famine which had engulfed the provinces.¹⁸

Father Talabán answered with a modest amount of provisions, claiming that the custodia was hard pressed because it was supplying the various pueblos with provisions during the drought. He also advised Governor Medrano Messía (who had taken office the preceding year) that the Church was provisioning an expedition for the purpose of "defensive" war only, solely for the punishment of the enemy by destroying his crops. Medrano accepted these terms, and on July 4 put in writing the necessity of the punitive action. During the previous seven months, he claimed, Apaches had killed six Spanish soldiers and three hundred seventy-three Christian Indians. They had stolen over four thousand head of livestock of all kinds from the convents and citizens. This, combined with the famine which Indians and Spaniards suffered alike, was cause for the expedition.¹⁹ It was recorded that the expedition was prepared and sent according to plan, but the documentation ends at this point.²⁰

¹⁸ Documents concerning provisions for an expedition against the Apaches, June-July, 1669, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 32.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

Two years later (June, 1671) the incoming governor, Don Juan de Miranda, met an Apache ambush in the Paraje del Muerto en route to Santa Fe. A military detachment, under the command of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, was promptly dispatched by Governor Medrano to rescue his replacement. In the document assigning Domínguez to the task Medrano stated: "[The province] is alive with and destroyed by the infidel Apaches . . . [especially] those of the cordilleras of Gila and Siete Ríos."²¹

Governor Juan de Miranda, less than a month after his arrival in New Mexico, had apparently become well informed of the serious nature of the ever-increasing war being waged by the Apaches. In an appointment of Juan Domínguez as Maestre de Campo in preparation for intensified military action, the new governor summed up the situation:

As a result of the continual wars which the Apache nation, common enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith, continually wage in all this kingdom and its districts and environs, going forth from ambush to [attack] the royal roads and paths, Christian pueblos, and estancias of the Spanish citizens, there is nothing in all these provinces secure from their treasons and artfulness. They atrociously kill Spaniards and natives, profanely destroy the holy temples and sacred things, at which they have scoffed, making a mock of them with excessive insolence and shamelessness; and they steal the herds of horses and livestock belonging to the citizens and natives of these provinces.²²

In August of the same year, 1671, Governor Miranda, in person, led an expedition of reprisal against the Apaches. Reports indicated that depredations by these tribes were increasing

²¹ Servicios personales de Juan Domínguez.

²² Ibid.

especially in the district of Senecú.²³ In the summer of 1673 Miranda was compelled to organize a force against the "Apaches," probably Navajos, in northwestern New Mexico. The enemy, he charged, was burning churches and pueblos and profaning religious objects.²⁴ And again, in January of 1675, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza had been commissioned to lead an expedition "to make reprisal on the Apache nation called Faraones . . . and other nations allied with them . . ."²⁵

Spanish success against the Apaches was still, at best, only temporary. The Spanish force on any of these expeditions seems never to have numbered more than fifty or sixty men. Although bolstered by a large number of Christian Indians armed with bows and arrows, this force was incapable of combatting the surprise raiding tactics of the Apaches. It was a physical impossibility for the Spanish to defend with armed men all of the pueblos as well as the Spanish settlements. Retaliation was the only weapon left to them and this, it would appear, served to cause new raids. The Spaniards made it a frequent practice to take captives, often women and children, during these punitive expeditions.²⁶ This only gave the enemy greater reason for his attacks. It should be noted that throughout the worst period of drought and

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.; Scholes, Troublous Times, 17.

especially in the district of Genoa. In the summer of 1875

Miranda was compelled to organize a force against the "Apaches."

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And again, in January of 1875, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza had been

commissioned to lead an expedition "to make reprisals on the Apache

nation called Tarascan. . . and other nations allied with them .

"25

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raids. The Spaniards made it a frequent practice to take captives,

often women and children, during these punitive expeditions.

This only gave the enemy greater reason for his attacks. It

should be noted that throughout the worst period of drought and

25 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

20 Ibid. 17. Sanchez, Francisco

famine the civil authorities, obeying the wishes of the Custodian of the missions, declared the purpose of the reprisal expeditions to be nothing more than the destruction of fields cultivated by the Apaches. As the depredations grew in severity and as the civil colony again became able to supply its own provisions on these expeditions no mention was made of such limitations on reprisals.

Beginning apparently in the winter or spring of 1667 an additional burden was placed on the provinces of New Mexico in the form of a drought which, according to all accounts, was severe. Its force was felt by both the Pueblos and the Spanish population; and while it lasted the justice of the extensive mission fields and herds was proven. The Hispanic colony was reduced to sustaining itself, to use the words of Governor Medrano, "only with a little meat and milk."²⁷ If enough food were available for normal consumption, there was no excess with which to provision military expeditions against the Apaches. Thus the missionary clergy were called upon to furnish sustenance for these campaigns. It is in the replies of the Custodian to such requests for provisions that the most graphic statements of the extent of the drought and resultant famine are to be found.

In reply to such a request for the proposed campaign of 1668 Father Talabán cited a plague of locusts and "scourge of sterility" which had struck New Mexico in the previous year. Some

²⁷ Documents concerning provisions for an expedition against the Apaches, June-July, 1669, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 32.

examining the civil authorities, noting the wishes of the Custodian of the Mission, declared the purpose of the present expedition to be nothing more than the destruction of the mission and the removal of the Apaches. As the Apaches grew in number and as the civil colony again became able to supply its own provisions on these expeditions no mention was made of such limitations on the mission.

Beginning apparently in the winter or spring of 1887 an additional burden was placed on the province of New Mexico in the form of a drought which, according to all accounts, was severe. The force was felt by both the Pueblo and the Spanish population and while it lasted the justice of the extensive mission fields and herds was proven. The Hispanic colony was reduced to starvation itself, so was the work of Governor Meade, "only with a little meat and milk."²⁷ If enough food were available for non-mal consumption, there was no excess with which to provision military expeditions against the Apaches. Thus the missionary clergy were called upon to furnish sustenance for these campaigns. It is in the replies of the Custodian to such requests for provisions that the most graphic statements of the extent of the drought and resultant famine are to be found.

In reply to such a request for the proposed campaign of 1888 Father Falcón cited a plague of locusts and "scourge of sterility" which had struck New Mexico in the previous year. Some

²⁷ Documents concerning provisions for an expedition against the Apaches, June-July, 1888, BNM, leg. I, doc. 32.

of the missions felt the full force of the disaster, others only partially. Those whose losses were heaviest, he claimed, were being provisioned by the others. Quantities of maize had already been delivered to the Villa of Santa Fe from the friaries of Santo Domingo and Pecos because of the "extreme need" in the capital. In the pueblo of Santo Domingo the Fathers were feeding the Indians daily, since many were dying of hunger according to the Custodian, and others threatened to join the Apaches in the hope of finding food.²⁸ This was only one instance of a widespread and increasingly serious situation. The following year, 1669, the governor repeated the Custodian's thoughts regarding its gravity. "The land is so impoverished as a result of such great famines and misfortunes," he declared, that provisions for a punitive expedition could not be purchased.²⁹ The storehouses filled by the friars now proved their value, and their suppliants included both Indians and Spanish colonists.

The same year Father Talabán revealed to the governor the effects of the drought on the missionizing effort. Handouts given by the various missions had been insufficient to deter the Pueblos from resorting to thievery, taking and killing the herds belonging to the convents. This was further compounded by similar thefts of both mission and Indian herds by the Apaches. Succor had been given to the pueblos of Senecú and Socorro and was now being

²⁸ Edicts concerning a campaign against the Apaches, 1668, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 29.

²⁹ Documents concerning provisions for an expedition against the Apaches, June-July, 1669, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 32.

of the missions felt the full force of the epidemic, which was
 partially. Those whose houses were destroyed, the mission, and
 being provided by the others. The number of missions which
 been delivered to the Villa of Santa Fe from the mission of Santa
 Domingo and Teco because of the "epidemic" in 1662.
 In the people of Santa Domingo the epidemic was so bad that the houses
 daily, since many were dying of hunger according to the accounts,
 and others threatened to join the Apaches in the hope of finding
 food.²⁸ This was only one instance of a widespread and serious
 serious situation. The following year, 1663, the epidemic was repeated
 the Guastatana's thoughts regarding the year. "The epidemic was
 impoverished as a result of such great death and sickness," he
 declared, that provisions for a punitive expedition could not be
 purchased.²⁹ The stores were filled by the Indians and missionaries
 value, and their supplies included both Indian and Spanish
 colonists.

The same year Father Talaran reported to the Governor the
 effects of the drought on the mission of Santa Fe, which was
 by the various missions had been insufficient to meet the needs
 from reserving to himself, taking and selling the goods of the
 to the convent. This was further complicated by the fact that
 both mission and Indian herds by the Apaches, who were
 given to the people of Santa Fe and Socorro, and was a great

²⁸ Effects concerning a campaign against the Apaches, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 29.

²⁹ Documents concerning provisions for the mission of Santa Fe, the Apaches, June-July, 1663, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 31.

extended to Ácoma. The friaries of Nambé, San Ildefonso, and San Juan were also in desperate need of aid. "The famine has affected this custodia no less than the rest of the kingdom because it has continued for two years and something more . . . ," he wrote. Indians were "dying of hunger on the roads, feeding on hides, herbs of the field, and vermin" ³⁰

The practice of the missions supplying nearly all of the Pueblos' food soon became common throughout the provinces. By June of 1669 the pueblos of Senecú, Socorro, and Ácoma had been given provisions. The friaries of Jémez, Santo Domingo, Pecos, Taos, and Pecurías, as well as the above, had opened their storehouses to both Indians and Spaniards. Galisteo, Sandía, and Sía were also receiving wheat and maize from the other missions. ³¹ By the late summer of 1672 the friars reported that the inhabitants of the pueblo of San Miguel de Tajique had nothing to eat and were being fed at the mission. Also the nearby pueblo of Chililí and the detachment of soldiers stationed there were being supplied with beef, maize, beans, and mutton. The Indians of Tajique, having no wool, had also been given two hundred varas of sayal with which to clothe themselves. ³²

A compilation made for the entire custodia of the succor given during the year ending in August, 1672 gives an estimation

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Inventory of the missions of New Mexico, 1672, BNM, leg. 1, doc. 34.

extended to homes. The number of homes, the number of men were also in desperate need of food. This condition no less than that of the Indian people continued for two years and something more. Indians were "dying of hunger on the plains, leaving no bones of the field, and vermin."

The practice of the government supplying food to the Indians' food soon became common throughout the country. In June of 1869 the people of Texas, Georgia, and other states given provisions. The practice of Texas, Georgia, and other states, and Texas, and Georgia, as well as the other states, were also receiving food and many from the other states. In the late summer of 1869 the Indian people reported that the abundance of the people of San Diego, the Indians had nothing to eat and were being fed at the mission. The Indians of California, the detachment of soldiers stationed there, were being fed with beef, mutton, and other food. The Indians of California, and no wool, had also been given the Indian people of California, which to them was a blessing.

A commission was sent to the entire country of California given during the year ending in 1870. The Indians of California

of the extent to which the Pueblos, and even the colonists, were reduced to reliance on the missions for sustenance. The friar at Socorro reported that he had given aid to the pueblos of Socorro, Sevilleta, and Alamillo to the extent of one hundred seven head of livestock, both cattle and sheep, and one hundred twenty fanegas of maize, barley, beans, and chick peas. There was no wool left in the area because it had long since been distributed and the sheep removed to Río Arriba to escape the Apache depredations.³³

In the western provinces the combination of famine and loss of herds to the Apaches made the burden on the missions duly heavy. The friar at Hálona reported all the available wheat used and that the herds were insufficient to feed the people due to several raids carried out by the Apaches. The Indians of this and other pueblos in western New Mexico were reported by the friars to have nothing with which to feed or clothe themselves except what the missionaries gave them. The situation in the Moqui pueblos had become so grave that, receiving no aid from the governor or encomenderos, some of the vestments of the friary were sold to finance aid for the Indians.³⁴

The situation at the pueblo of Hawikuh reached its climax in 1672 when, in October of that year, Fray Pedro de Ávila y Ayala was killed there and the church desecrated. At an undetermined date soon thereafter the pueblo was abandoned due to a combina-

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

tion of famine, internal revolt, and Apache raids. The pattern of destruction spread. In January of 1675 Fray Gil de Ávila was killed at his mission at Senecú, and in a statement made in this year the provincial governor also reported that between 1672 and 1675 five "settlements" had been abandoned as the result of Apache attacks.³⁵

Such was the situation in 1675. Aware that the balance was precarious, that the province could not long endure these stresses, the Hispanic colony turned in despair to the viceroy as its only hope for survival.

³⁵AGN, Provincias Internas, tomo 37, exp. 5; Servicios personales de Juan Domínguez; Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 298.

tion of famine, internal revolt, and African slave
destruction spread. In January 1875, the British
killed at his mission at Benson, and the British
year the provincial governor also died. The British
1875 five "settlers" had been killed in the
attacks.²⁵
Such was the situation in 1875. The British
was precarious, that the province could not lose its
settlements, the British colony turned to the British
its only hope for survival.

²⁵ AGN, Provinciales Insurrecciones, vol. 1, 1875.
personas de Juan Dominguez, Echeverri, 1875.

CHAPTER II

FRAY FRANCISCO DE AYETA AND DEVELOPMENTS IN NEW MEXICO, 1673-1680

In 1631 the viceroy and treasury officials of New Spain entered into an agreement with representatives of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel pledging royal support for a triennial supply service for the maintenance of the missions of New Mexico. For thirty-three years this service was administered by a member of the Order, with the title procurador general for New Mexico, who had charge of both the purchase of supplies and the management of the supply caravan. In 1664, when the Franciscans relinquished the management of the supply train, the viceregal government contracted with Don Juan Manso for the transport of friars and mission supplies to New Mexico. Dissatisfaction with Manso's administration and the death of Manso during the third three-year term of his contract led to negotiation of a new agreement with the Franciscans under which the Order again assumed responsibility for the transport of friars and supplies. This change became effective on February 14, 1674.¹ Fray Francisco de Ayeta, who had previously received appointment as procurador general for New Mexico, was

¹France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century," New Mexico Historical Review, V (1930), 392-400; AGI, Contaduría, leg. 765 B, Data.

given the task of reorganizing the mission supply train.

Information regarding Fray Francisco de Ayeta is scant for the period prior to 1673-1674. He was born in Pamplona, Spain in 1640 or 1641, the legitimate son of Juan de Ayeta and Graciosa de Osios, both of that city. At some time during his youth he came to New Spain where, at the age of twenty, he made his profession as a Franciscan in Mexico City on November 27, 1660.² Little is known about Ayeta's activities between the years 1660 and 1673, but there is evidence that he soon achieved some prominence in the Order and was chosen to represent the Franciscans of New Spain at the royal court in Madrid. In 1680 the Franciscan Commissary General of the Indies (in Madrid) certified that in earlier years Ayeta had been in Spain on business of his Order.³ The purpose of this visit, which probably occurred prior to 1671, is not specified, but it would appear that he had been sent as representative of the Franciscans in litigation with the bishops of Mexico. This supposition is based on a memorial dealing with this subject published by Ayeta, which does not bear a place or

²Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, Becerro general, Menológico y Chronológico de todos los Religiosos que . . . ha auido en esta Sta. Provincia . . . desde su Fundación hasta al presente Año de 1764 y de todos los Prelados . . . que la han gobernado, MS, Newberry Library, Chicago, 304 (Photocopies of this MS were made available to the author by Eleanor B. Adams); Fray Francisco Atanacio Domínguez, The Missions of New Mexico, 1776, trans. and ed. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque, 1956), 329-30; Bancroft Library, Mexican MSS 218, fol. 157.

³Patent of Fray Juan Luego to Ayeta, Madrid, January 25, 1680, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 255-57.

date of publication, but was issued prior to August of 1671.⁴

Thus, it would appear, at this early date Ayeta was already engaged in the kind of polemical controversy in which, as we shall see (Chapter VI), he spent the last years of his career. This would suggest that his training as a Franciscan friar had included extensive study of both civil and canon law, as well as the history of his Order in New Spain. Apparently he had, at this time, already achieved recognition as a person to whom his superior prelates could assign important duties of an administrative and business character. It is not surprising then that in 1673 Ayeta was chosen to serve as procurador general for the Custody of New Mexico with responsibility for the mission supply service.⁵

During the succeeding quarter-century Ayeta served with distinction both Church and State. In addition to his duties as administrator of the supply caravan for a period of nine years he held the office of Custodian of the New Mexico missions for a

⁴This memorial is entitled Manifestación breve, radical, y fundamental de la persecución que ha padecido, y padece la Religión serafica en las provincias de Nueva España: Noticia, y razón de los litigios que se han motivado por la dignidad episcopal Dado a la estampa por el Padre Predicador Fray Francisco de Ayeta On the only known copy there is this date: Cholula, August 8, 1671. See Robert Streit, Bibliotheca Missionum (Aachen, 1924), II, 579.

⁵Ayeta is first mentioned as procurador general for New Mexico in a document dated December 6, 1673. AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31. Transcripts of the New Mexico materials in this volume were made available to the author by France V. Scholes.

three-year term (1676-1679).⁶ For a brief period (1679-1680) he held the title of Comisario of the Holy Office of the Inquisition for New Mexico.⁷ In 1675 the Hispanic community of New Mexico named him as their representative (procurador) before the viceregal court; he continued to serve in this capacity during the critical years immediately preceding and following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Following a decade of service to New Mexico, Ayeta went to Spain in 1683 as representative at the royal court of all the Franciscan provinces of New Spain.

Viceregal appropriations for the New Mexico missions for the triennium 1674-1677 included provision for twenty-nine friar-priests and three lay brothers already serving in New Mexico, and for twenty-four friar-priests and ten lay brothers scheduled to go with the 1674 caravan.⁸ These figures reveal that the corps of missionaries serving in New Mexico during the early 1670's was far short of the number needed to maintain more than forty missions. The appropriation for the 1674-1677 triennium provided for a full quota of sixty-six friars as set forth in the original mission supply service agreement in 1631.

Recruitment of thirty-four new friars for service in New Mexico, purchase of mission supplies, and organization of the

⁶Custodios de Nueva México, BNM, leg. 9, doc. 8.

⁷Evidence regarding Ayeta's Inquisition title is scant. Documents of 1680 give him this title and it may be assumed that the appointment was made the preceding year. Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, passim.

⁸AGI, Contaduría, leg. 765 B, Data.

caravan undoubtedly took considerable time following the viceregal orders authorizing these arrangements in February of 1674. Exact dates for the departure of the supply train under Ayeta's direction and its subsequent arrival in New Mexico are not available. Purchase of wagons and mules for the train had been completed by the end of May, 1674,⁹ but it is doubtful that all preparations for the journey were completed until early in the following autumn. If the journey to New Mexico took no more than six months (the time normally required for the outgoing caravan in past years), the date of Ayeta's first arrival in New Mexico was probably in late February or early March of 1675. This supposition is reinforced by the fact that the new governor, Don Juan Francisco Treviño, who probably accompanied the caravan, took office in Santa Fe on March 11, 1675.¹⁰

The arrival of a large contingent of new friars must have caused considerable rejoicing among the depleted missionary staff who, during preceding years, had maintained the scattered missions under adverse conditions. Records of mission assignments made in August of 1672 showed that several mission pueblos lacked resident friar-priests.¹¹ Although the arrival of a new group of friars with Ayeta in 1674-1675 may have made possible the assignment of some to the pueblos which had not had resident clergy during the

⁹AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31.

¹⁰AGI, Contaduría, leg. 766, Data.

¹¹Lansing B. Bloom and Lynn B. Mitchell, "The Chapter Elections in 1672," New Mexico Historical Review, XIII (1938), 85-120.

caravan undoubtedly took a considerable time to assemble the various
orders authorizing them and to travel to the frontier of 1875. About
dates for the departure of the caravan from Mexico's borders
and its subsequent arrival in New Mexico are not available. The
chase of wagons and mules and the time and cost involved in the
end of May, 1875, but it is probable that all the caravans
the journey were completed within a few days of the
If the journey to New Mexico took no more than a few days (the time
normally required for the journey over the trail), and that
of Ayeta's first arrival in New Mexico was probably in late January
or early March of 1875. This suggestion is based on the fact
that the new governor, Don Juan de los Rios Treviño, who
accompanied the caravan, took office in March of 1875.

1875. 10

The arrival of a large number of men and their families
caused considerable trouble among the natives who were
who, during preceding years, had maintained good relations with
under adverse conditions. Records of Mexican authorities in
August of 1875 reveal that several hundred men and their families
fairly peaceful. Although the situation was not entirely
with Ayeta in 1875-1876 and have been mentioned in the past
some to the people which had not been mentioned during the

⁹ AGN, Mexico City, Mexico, 1875.
¹⁰ AGN, Mexico City, Mexico, 1875.
¹¹ Don Juan de los Rios Treviño, "Don Juan de los Rios Treviño
stone in 1875." AGN, Mexico City, Mexico, 1875.

preceding triennium, the general outlook for the mission effort in New Mexico was still dim.

Conditions at the time of Ayeta's arrival were viewed with grave concern by the entire Hispanic community. Apache and Navajo raids continued to threaten the security of frontier pueblos despite military reprisals against the marauders in the preceding years. In the summer or early autumn of 1675 new "Apache" (probably Navajo) raids occurred on the western frontiers. To punish these "atrocities" Governor Treviño organized a force of forty Spanish soldiers and three hundred Pueblo auxiliaries under the command of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza for a campaign into the area northwest of Sía. During the expedition Domínguez "inflicted punishment on the said Indians, killing fifteen of them, rescuing from captivity six Christian Indians and a girl daughter of a Spanish citizen. And he captured thirty-five persons of said enemies, burning large quantities of their maize and other supplies" This action, according to the governor, brought about a "reduction" of the forces which the Apaches assembled for their ambushes.¹² Although this reprisal may have served to check for the moment enemy activity in the western areas, it was evident that any large-scale effort to ensure protection of the frontiers against continuing attacks by Apaches and Navajos would require greater resources of both men and equipment than were available in the colony.

In view of this fact Governor Treviño, the cabildo of Santa Fe, and the missionary clergy drew up appeals to the viceregal

¹²Servicios personales de Juan Domínguez.

preceding information, the General Agent for the Western States
New Mexico was visited by
Gonzalez, who on the 15th of March, 1900, was visited by
grave concern of the people of the Territory, and the
raids continued to increase the number of the people of the
Military, and the people of the Territory, and the
In the summer of 1900, a raid of the "Geronimo" band
raids occurred on the western border of the Territory.
Governor Frisco organized a force of 1000 men, and
three hundred Pueblo volunteers under the command of John D. Hays,
de Mexico, for a campaign into the Territory of the
the expedition, known as "Geronimo's" raid, on the 1st of
killing fifteen of them, including four soldiers and four
Indians and a great number of a great number of
thirty-five persons of each nation, including four soldiers
their names and other details. This raid, however, was
the Governor, ordered a "raid" of the people of the
Apaches assembled for their raid. This raid, however, was
may have served to check the raid, and the people of the
western areas, it was evident that the people of the
were protection of the people of the Territory, and the
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Fe, and the mission, were again given protection of the

authorities of New Spain in which they detailed the increasing threat to the colony and the mission effort by the Apache and Navajo depredations. They represented the urgent need for reinforcements to assure the security of the province. The Hispanic colony then empowered Father Ayeta to act as their representative in presenting this petition for aid before the viceroy.¹³ By this action Ayeta became the official agent (procurador) of all the Spaniards in New Mexico, both secular and religious. Ayeta and the mission wagons probably left New Mexico in the autumn of 1675, arriving in Mexico City in the spring of the following year. The earliest record of Ayeta's presence in the viceregal capital in that year is dated June 16, 1676.¹⁴

On his return to Mexico City Ayeta's appointment as procurador general for the New Mexico missions with responsibility for the supply service was reaffirmed by the prelates of his Order. To lend greater authority and prestige to his position the definitorio of the Province of the Holy Gospel, on July 25, 1676, elected Ayeta Franciscan Custodian for New Mexico for a three-year term.¹⁵ During the summer and autumn of 1676 Ayeta made preparations for the dispatch of friars and supplies to the New Mexico missions for the triennium 1677-1680. The treasury accounts indicate that the full allotment of sixty-six friars was again provided for, including fifty-

¹³AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31.

¹⁴This document is a petition by Ayeta relating to the purchase of sacramental wine for the New Mexico missions, ibid.

¹⁵BNM, leg. 9, doc. 8.

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15. The document is a petition of Juan Pineda to the

three already serving in New Mexico and thirteen new recruits to accompany the next caravan.¹⁶ (These thirteen new friars constituted replacements for missionaries who had died in New Mexico during the years 1672-1675 or who had returned to New Spain with Ayeta in 1675-1676.)

Ayeta's most important task in Mexico City was presentation before the viceregal authorities of the appeal of the Hispanic community in New Mexico, lay and ecclesiastical, for military reinforcements. In late August, 1676 he made formal petition to the viceroy requesting such aid. The province, he declared, was on the threshold of complete ruin. The loss of seventy years of missionary effort was imminent if substantial aid were not granted. He reviewed the precedents on which such aid might be based, and followed with a recapitulation of the history of the Church in New Mexico. It was the very purpose of the province, he stated, to maintain the missions; it was the obligation of the crown to make whatever efforts were necessary toward the furtherance of this purpose.

Having set forth the obligations of the viceregal government, Ayeta presented his own estimate of the extent of the required aid: fifty men, either volunteers or conscripts, to serve as soldiers in the province; one hundred arquebuses (fifty for the soldiers and fifty for men already in New Mexico); other items of armament; one thousand horses (for the fifty soldier-recruits and for the needs of the colonists). The soldiers, arms, and horses

¹⁶ AGI, Contaduría, leg. 768 A-B, Data.

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could be taken to New Mexico with the twenty-five carts in which the mission supplies would be transported. The total cost of this, according to Ayeta's figures, would amount to 14,700 pesos. All this was necessary, the friar reiterated, to save the province from what he apparently considered its most pressing and immediate threat--the Apaches--and to attempt to pacify these Indians and convert them to Christianity.¹⁷

In support of this petition Ayeta presented the memorials of Governor Treviño, the cabildo of Santa Fe, and the definitorio of the Custody of New Mexico which also described the critical state of affairs in the province and the urgent need for reinforcements. To illustrate the continuing Apache menace these reports told of the killing of the missionaries at Hawikuh and Senecú, and also stated that during the past three years (1672-1675) the Apaches had "destroyed five villages, setting fire to the churches, carrying off the sacred vessels, [and] profaning the holy images." The number of Spanish men in the province capable of military service was not sufficient to insure the security of the capital; this meant that the outlying districts could not be defended. And to further complicate the situation many of those who might otherwise be available for military duty were excluded because they lacked mounts.¹⁸

Ayeta's petition and the supporting documents were reviewed by the viceroy's military advisor (auditor de guerra), the fiscal

¹⁷AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31.

¹⁸The contents of these memorials are summarized in AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31 and Prov. Int., tomo 37, exp. 1. The complete texts have not been preserved.

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of the audiencia, and members of the junta general de hacienda. These officials concurred in the opinion that aid should be promptly dispatched to New Mexico to insure the security of the province, and also as a precautionary measure to protect the frontiers of Nueva Vizcaya where there was chronic Indian unrest; but the grant of such aid should not set a precedent for future requests of such nature. On September 9 the viceroy affirmed these recommendations and instructed the treasury officials of Mexico City to formulate the necessary arrangements in consultation with Father Ayeta.¹⁹

Between September 22 and October 19 the treasury officials and Ayeta worked out an agreement which obligated the viceregal government to provide fifty soldiers, volunteers or conscripted convicts, for service in New Mexico for an unspecified period. Volunteers would receive pay at the same rate as those sent to the Philippines; convicts freed from prison to serve in New Mexico would receive no salary. It was agreed, however, that for the anticipated six-month journey to New Mexico each recruit would receive an allowance of ninety pesos for the purchase of clothing and other personal needs, two-thirds to be paid in advance and the remainder on arrival in New Mexico. The treasury officials also agreed to pay the salary of a person to serve as military commander of the soldiers on the journey to New Mexico. Payment of the clothing allowance for the soldiers and the salary of their military commander would be disbursed by Ayeta from funds advanced by the royal treasury. The

¹⁹AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31.

of the audience, and members of the Junta General de Hacienda. These officials commented in the opinion that aid should be promptly dispatched to New Mexico to insure the security of the province, and also as a precautionary measure to protect the frontiers of Nueva Vizcaya where there was chronic Indian unrest; but the grant of such aid should not set a precedent for future requests of such nature. On September 2 the viceroy returned these recommendations and instructed the treasury officials of Mexico City to formulate the necessary arrangements in consultation with Father Ayeta. Between September 12 and October 12 the treasury officials and Ayeta worked out an agreement which obligated the viceroy's government to provide fifty soldiers, volunteers or conscripted convicts, for service in New Mexico for an unspecified period. Volunteers would receive pay at the same rate as those sent to the Philippines; convicts freed from prison to serve in New Mexico would receive no salary. It was agreed, however, that for the anticipated six-month journey to New Mexico each recruit would receive an allowance of ninety pesos for the purchase of clothing and other personal needs, two-thirds to be paid in advance and the remainder on arrival in New Mexico. The treasury officials also agreed to pay the salary of a person to serve as military commander of the soldiers on the journey to New Mexico. Payment of the clothing allowance for the soldiers and the salary of their military commander would be disbursed by Ayeta from funds advanced by the royal treasury. The

treasury was also obligated to provide one hundred arquebuses, one hundred sets of side arms (swords and daggers), one thousand horses, and other miscellaneous equipment, and to pay the wages of twelve mozos to guard the horses during the journey. Ayeta agreed to transport the soldiers and arms in the mission caravan. The treasury officials, in turn, gave him an allowance for food for the soldiers for six months (the anticipated length of the journey to New Mexico) and wages for eight female servants to prepare the food. Finally, Ayeta accepted general responsibility for delivery of the soldiers, horses, and arms in New Mexico.²⁰

During the autumn of 1676 Ayeta completed preparations for the mission supply service, for which the viceroy authorized full payment on December 22.²¹ Recruitment of the fifty soldiers and the assembly of munitions and horses by the viceregal officials took a somewhat longer time. Finally, on February 24, 1677, the viceroy issued a warrant to Ayeta for the allowances to be paid the soldiers. Two days later Ayeta gave two-thirds, or sixty pesos, to each soldier. A detailed listing of these payments shows that the recruits included forty-seven convicts and only three volunteers.²² On February 27, 1677 the caravan set out on the long journey to New Mexico.

With the caravan went Don Antonio de Otermín, the newly appointed governor of New Mexico, who had previously served as

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ AGI, Contaduría, leg. 765 B, Data.

²² Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 316-22.

treasury was also obliged to provide the necessary funds for the purchase of the arms (some of which were of the type of the 1870s) and other miscellaneous equipment, and to provide the necessary transport for the arms and equipment. The arms and equipment were transported by the railway from the coast to the interior, and the transport was provided by the railway. The arms and equipment were transported by the railway from the coast to the interior, and the transport was provided by the railway. The arms and equipment were transported by the railway from the coast to the interior, and the transport was provided by the railway.

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captain of the presidio of Sinaloa.²³ The viceroy's instructions to Otermín followed the general pattern of those issued to earlier governors, but they also reflected concern about conditions in the province as revealed by Ayeta's representations in Mexico City. Otermín was ordered to make a prompt report on the current state of affairs in New Mexico, the condition of its residents, especially those of the Villa of Santa Fe, in order that necessary aid might be provided.²⁴

Under the general direction of Father Ayeta the twenty-five carts with their extra burden of arms and soldier-recruits reached Parral without incident worthy of report. At this point one convict, reportedly suffering an attack of epilepsy, was released from his fetters. He was not seen again. The caravan proceeded on until its route was blocked by the flooding Río del Norte at El Paso. Unable to ford the high water with his carts Ayeta awaited its recession. During the halt here the train was met by the maestre de campo general of the province, Pedro de Leiva, to whom the forty-nine soldiers were delivered on express order of the governor. The transfer was fortunate for Ayeta. While still halted at El Paso del Norte six convicts, standing night guard over the horses against the threat of Apache raids, deserted the caravan. They took with them fifty-seven horses and several weapons and saddles.²⁵

²³AGI, Contaduría, leg. 763 B, Data.

²⁴AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31.

²⁵Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 290.

From the El Paso area the caravan moved upstream to Santo Domingo, the mission capital, where the supplies were unloaded for distribution to the several missions. The exact date of arrival is not recorded, but inasmuch as the journey from Mexico City took nine months instead of the usual six it would appear that the caravan reached Santo Domingo in late November, 1677. As the new Custodian of the Franciscans in New Mexico, Ayeta probably spent most of December on matters of mission administration. In the last days of 1677 he went to Santa Fe to make formal report of his activities in behalf of the Hispanic community to the cabildo and to Governor Otermín, who had taken office on November 30.²⁶ It was also necessary that he make final payment to the soldier-recruits on account of the allowances authorized for the journey to New Mexico and to obtain appropriate certification by provincial officials that he had carried out the responsibilities placed on him by the viceregal government.

In a petition filed before Governor Otermín and the cabildo of Santa Fe on December 31, 1677 Ayeta reviewed his representations to the viceregal officials which had resulted in the grant of special aid for the province and the reasons for the protracted journey of nine months to New Mexico. He directed attention to the fact that he had been obliged to provide food for the soldiers for a longer period than had been envisaged in his agreement with the treasury officials; he also disclaimed responsibility for the escape of the six conscripts at El Paso. Ayeta requested official

²⁶ AGI, Contaduría, leg. 766, Data.

From the El Paso area the caravan moved upstream to Santa Domingo, the mission capital, where the supplies were unloaded for distribution to the several missions. The exact date of arrival is not recorded, but it was as the journey from Mexico City took nine months instead of the usual six it would appear that the caravan reached Santa Domingo in late November, 1677. As the new Guatemalan of the Provinces in New Mexico, Ayala probably spent most of December on matters of mission administration. In the last days of 1677 he went to Santa Fe to make formal report of his activities in behalf of the Hispanic community to the officials and to Governor Otermín, who had taken office on November 28. It was also necessary that he make final payment to the soldiers' recruits on account of the allowances authorized for the journey to New Mexico and to obtain appropriate certification by provincial officials that he had carried out the responsibilities placed on him by the viceregal government.

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attestation of his petition for presentation to the viceregal authorities.²⁷

On the same day (December 31, 1677) Governor Otermín and members of the cabildo certified the truth of Ayeta's statements and expressed their gratitude for his services in obtaining aid for the colony.²⁸ On February 12, 1678 Ayeta made the final payment owed to the forty-three soldiers who had completed the journey to New Mexico.²⁹

During the two years (1675-1677) of Ayeta's absence the Apaches had continued their marauding raids on the frontier mission villages. In July of 1676 Governor Treviño received reports of attacks on the pueblos of Socorro and Senecú during which herds of cattle, sheep, and horses had been carried off. These raids had apparently been made by Apaches operating from the Magdalena and Ladrón Mountains. To effect reprisals a punitive expedition was sent out under the command of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza.³⁰ No report of the results of this expedition is recorded in available documentation.

For several years the Tigua and Tompiro pueblos on the eastern frontier of the province, where the drought of 1667-1672 had resulted in serious shortages of food, had been subjected to continuing attacks by the Apaches. We have already called attention

²⁷ Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 290-95.

²⁸ Ibid., 293-95.

²⁹ Ibid., 323-24.

³⁰ Servicios personales de Juan Domínguez.

attention of his position for presentation to the viceregal authorities.²⁷

On the same day (December 31, 1877) Governor O'Leary and members of the Council verified the truth of Ayeta's statements and expressed their gratitude for his services in obtaining aid for the colony.²⁸ On February 12, 1878 Ayeta made the final payment owed to the forty-three soldiers who had completed the journey to New Mexico.²⁹

During the two years (1875-1877) of Ayeta's absence the Apaches had continued their marauding raids on the frontier mission villages. In July of 1876 Governor Fierste received reports of attacks on the pueblos of Socorro and Sandoz during which herds of cattle, sheep, and horses had been carried off. These raids had apparently been made by Apaches operating from the Magdalena and Ladron Mountains. To effect reprisals a punitive expedition was sent out under the command of Juan Dominguez de Mendoza.³⁰ No report of the results of this expedition is recorded in available documentation.

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²⁷ Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 290-92.

²⁸ Ibid., 292-93.

²⁹ Ibid., 323-24.

³⁰ Expediciones punitivas de Juan Dominguez.

to reports in 1675 concerning the "destruction" of five mission villages. Data recorded in Ayeta's petition presented to Governor Otermín and the cabildo of Santa Fe on December 31, 1677, and a memorial of Ayeta to the viceroy on May 10, 1679, specifically identify these five towns as Abó, Cuarac, Las Salinas (Tajique?), Chililí, and Las Humanas. These documents also include Senecú as being among the towns "depopulated" since 1675.³¹

Although there may be some doubt as to the actual extent of the destruction and depopulation of these villages, the situation was critical enough that Ayeta, after his arrival in New Mexico in 1677, gave it prompt attention. With the assistance of Governor Otermín he took action for the protection and security of the eastern and southern frontier districts. To this end supplies of grain, two hundred goats, and forty head of cattle were sent to the friary of Galisteo "for the support of the Spanish soldiers and all the Indians of the Salineros nation." (The term "Salineros nation" obviously refers to pueblos east and south of the Manzano Mountains.)³² For the same purpose grain and livestock were assigned to the friary of Senecú, "which is being rehabilitated," for the support of the Indians and a detachment of soldiers stationed there. Ayeta's petition of December 31, 1677 also implied that he had taken measures for the rebuilding of the missions "on the frontiers of Cuarac in Las Salinas."³³

³¹Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 293-98.

³²These pueblos were: Chililí, Tajique, Abó, Cuarac, Las Humanas, and Tabirá.

³³Ibid., 292.

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The term of office of Governor Treviño was also characterized by increasing unrest among the Pueblo Indians prompted by resurgence of native religions. On the basis of testimony recorded in 1681 we learn that in 1675 Treviño ordered punishment for forty-seven Indian "sorcerers and idolaters" of the "Tegua nation" for having killed "seven religious and three Spaniards by witchcraft" at the pueblo of San Ildefonso. The only name of a reported victim recorded in the testimony was that of Fray Andrés Durán, and the deponent stated only that the friar and others were "bewitched." Whatever the crime, it was considered serious enough by the governor to warrant severe punishment. Three of those accused were put to death at the gallows by Francisco Xavier, the secretary of war and government for the Spanish colony, one each at Jémez, San Felipe, and Nambé. A fourth saved Xavier the task by hanging himself.³⁴

The remaining forty-three Indian prisoners received punishments varying from reprimands to lashings, prison sentences, and slavery. Sometime later, the date is not recorded, more than seventy Tegua Indians forced their entry into the residence of Governor Treviño in Santa Fe, entering the room where the governor was in bed. They declared their purpose was to kill him. But first they demanded the release of those Indians who had been imprisoned. Heeding the advice of Diego López Sambrano and others,

³⁴Declaration of Luis de Quintana, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 22, 1681; Declaration of Diego López Sambrano, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 22, 1681; Opinion of Ayeta, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 295-303, 305-18.

Treviño ordered the release of the prisoners. The would-be assassins then departed. Several days later López Sambrano was informed by Indians from the same area that the governor would have been killed, in spite of probable consequences, if the prisoners had not been freed. Among those released was an Indian from the pueblo of San Juan called El Popé, who, in 1680, achieved fame as a leader of the Pueblo Revolt.³⁵

The punishments meted out in 1675 obviously did not bring an end to increasing Pueblo unrest and open contempt for the Spanish. Instead, it gave the Indians, especially the Teguas, more specific objects on which to vent their wrath--the persons of Francisco Xavier, Luis de Quintana, and Diego López. It was these three who, in the words of an Indian declarant, "would not leave them alone." López had served as juez confiscador in the 1675 proceedings and, along with Francisco Xavier, executed most of the punishments. Quintana acted as interpreter.³⁶

On March 28, 1678 Father Ayeta again left New Mexico, having observed that the Apaches and those confederated with them were restrained by the knowledge that there was now within the province a Spanish force sufficient to more effectively protect the pueblos and prevent depredations.³⁷ Indeed, it did appear that the situation

³⁵Declaration of Diego López Sambrano, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 22, 1681, ibid., 292-303.

³⁶Declaration of Juan Lorenzo and Francisco Lorenzo, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 20, 1681, ibid., 249-53.

³⁷Petition of Ayeta, México, May 10, 1679, Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 296-305.

Travieso ordered the release of the Indians. Several days later, however, he was informed by Indians from the same area that the Indians had been killed, in spite of probable consequences. Among those released was a man named Juan of San Juan called El Pope, who, in fact, was a member of the Pueblo Revolt.³⁵

The punishment meted out to the Indians was not an end to increasing Pueblo unrest. Instead, it gave the Indians, especially those who were objects on which to vent their anger, a new focus. Xavier, Luis de Guzman, and Diego Lopez, in the words of an Indian declaration, were considered as their confidants. Along with Francisco Xavier, who acted as interpreter, Guzman acted as interpreter.³⁶

On March 28, 1680 Father Lopez observed that the Apaches and Indians were restrained by the knowledge that their actions were being witnessed by a Spanish force sufficient to not only prevent and prevent aspirations.³⁷

³⁵ Declaration of Diego Lopez, December 22, 1681, 1682, 1683.

³⁶ Declaration of Juan Lopez, December 22, 1681, 1682, 1683.

³⁷ Petition of Ayer, Mexico, 1681, 1682, 1683. Verdial Documents, III, 296-305.

might stabilize, allowing the Spaniards to re-establish the pueblos on the frontiers which had been depopulated. With the detachments of armed and adequately mounted soldiers at the pueblos and with the stores which Ayeta had provided the missions in these locations it seemed that not only might the Apaches be held in check, but also that the Pueblos might be less inclined to continue their unrest and plotting. It must be noted, however, that the pueblos which had evidenced the greatest dissatisfaction were those of Río Arriba, and not those which were most severely subjected to the Apache raids, even to the extent of being forced from their homes.

Ayeta set out on his return journey to Mexico on March 28, 1678, arriving in Mexico City probably toward the end of August or early in September. Probably soon after his arrival Ayeta made his formal report to the viceroy with the certifications to show that he had duly carried out the mission entrusted to him in delivering in New Mexico the military reinforcements. In a business-like and systematic manner characteristic of all his work, Father Ayeta reviewed for the viceroy and council the reasons for his and the other original petitions for aid in 1676 and the events of his journey to New Mexico with the assistance which had been granted. He thus submitted the attestations of Governor Otermín and others in Santa Fe who certified the fulfillment of his obligations. With the mark of a true businessman, leaving nothing to chance, Ayeta also requested certified copies of all documents verifying his prompt fulfillment of the duties which he had been assigned and relieving him of all obligation in the matter. With requests for

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On September 11 the fiscal reviewed Ayeta's petition in its entirety, including a complete summary of the assistance which the Custodian had given the several pueblos from his own mission supplies, in order that they might be rebuilt. Having done this, the fiscal recommended that the crown thank Ayeta for the aid he had rendered at his own and fellow friars' expense, both for the supplies given the pueblos and for the extra three months' rations which he had supplied the soldiers in his caravan. He then added, parenthetically, that this should be done so that Ayeta would be encouraged¹ to continue his service to both Majesties. Thus, with the closing of the accounts with the royal treasury, on October 5 Ayeta officially and satisfactorily concluded his first assignment as secular procurador general for the province of New Mexico.³⁹

During the ensuing months Ayeta undoubtedly pursued the various activities required of him by the Order of Saint Francis and pertaining to his several offices. Although whatever correspondence he received from New Mexico at this time is unavailable, it is without question that he did receive letters from the province, undoubtedly from the friars, but also very probably from

³⁸Petition of Ayeta, México, September 7, 1679, ibid., 286-87.

³⁹For the fiscal's opinion and other related documents see ibid., 287-90, 310-14.

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the governor or other citizens. For on May 10, 1679 Ayeta was again before the viceroy with a petition. The situation in New Mexico, he now protested, had suffered a drastic setback since his last report, some nine months earlier. The Apaches had again begun their "cruelties and atrocities," but the Spaniards and Christian Indians, although suffering hunger and hardships, had not, as yet, been forced to abandon any of the mission villages, as had once been the case. Ayeta stressed his argument that the situation could not be alleviated from within. Of the seventeen thousand Christian Indians in New Mexico only six thousand were capable of military service. And in the Hispanic colony, because of its wide dispersal throughout the province, only a small fraction of the one hundred seventy fighting men could be readily assembled. The only solution, Ayeta declared, was to increase the number of Spaniards living in New Mexico.⁴⁰

Ayeta then proceeded to show himself not unskilled in the fields of jurisprudence and diplomacy. Citing a royal cedula of June 18, 1678, in which the crown approved the aid which the viceroy had authorized for New Mexico in 1676 and demanded an account of what this had achieved, Ayeta said he felt it necessary to give an account of the present state of affairs. He then reviewed his 1677 journey to New Mexico, the condition in which he found the area, and the disposition of the aid which he had personally delivered. This aid, he claimed, had arrived barely in time to save the province from destruction and loss. But, now, the security of New

⁴⁰ Petition of Ayeta, México, May 10, 1679, *ibid.*, 296-305.

Mexico again lay in the balance; the aid had failed to bring about a permanent alleviation of the problems plaguing the distant colony. Hence it was necessary to request authorization for another fifty soldiers and for supplies equivalent to those sent in 1677 for the relief of the province. This should be done, he stated, by establishing a paid presidio in the Villa of Santa Fe.⁴¹

The commissary general of the Order, Ayeta continued, had instructed him to arrange to relieve the need for provisions within the province. Ayeta had sent couriers to Otermín with a request that the governor supply such provisions, apparently to the missions, that they might be distributed by the friars as had earlier been done. The succor would be paid for by the Order from its allowance from the royal treasury.⁴²

Apparently harboring the premonition that the above reasons would not be sufficient to convince the viceroy of the necessity and advisability of this new aid, Ayeta backed his arguments with a series of precedents which covered every aspect of such action. The king had commanded in 1670, he reminded the viceroy, that the latter take "much care and attention to see that the frontier garrison of the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya is complete," in order that Indian hostilities might be quelled. Certainly a king so zealous in his maintenance of Nueva Vizcaya would not hesitate to take similar action for New Mexico. Not only did the precedents which Ayeta cited justify the establishment of a paid presidio, but other repeated orders implied that the viceroy was expected

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

to take the initiative in such matters.⁴³

Ayeta's recommendations for the garrison were the same as those he had made three years earlier, with the exception that he left out this time the item of one thousand horses. The 3,000 pesos which had previously been spent for mounts this time would have to be paid to the Order to cover the expense of transporting the soldiers and supplies. The Franciscans, Ayeta pleaded, had spent so much on the previous aid that they were no longer able to supply the transportation at their own expense. Apparently recalling his misfortune with the epileptic, Ayeta also asked that any convicts conscripted as soldiers be of sound body. Then Ayeta made a final request, which revealed how seriously he was concerned with the situation in New Mexico--seriously enough to risk interference in the affairs of secular government. He pleaded that, because of the present situation, the viceroy retain Otermín as governor of New Mexico "for some time." The praise which Ayeta bestowed on the governor apparently found receptive ears, for no new governor was sent to New Mexico the following year. All of this Ayeta stated in such a way as to imply that, were his request not heeded, it would be a serious neglect of duty on the part of the viceroy.⁴⁴

In spite of the obvious and sincere effort which had gone into the petition, the desired results were not forthcoming. On May 16 the fiscal reviewed the plea and stated that the precedents

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

to take the initiative in such matters.

Agate's recommendation for the military was to

those he had seen were entirely new and different from

left out this time the item of the woman's dress.

pieces which had previously been examined and found

have to be said to the Order to make the evidence of

the soldiers and supplies. The items were

agent so much as the previous one that they were

to supply the transportation of their own supplies.

calling his attention to the evidence, Agate

any convicts connected with the case.

made a final report, and finally he was

with the situation at the time--namely, enough to

farance in the office of a military

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new governor was sent to the

Agate stated in such a way as to

needed, it would be a

viscous.

In spite of the

into the petition, the

May 18 the fiscal

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cited were not "sufficiently convincing." It could not be inferred that approval by the crown of the aid in 1677 implied authorization of additional aid so soon, and to support his reasoning he directed attention to the fact that the royal coffers were not in the best condition. The fiscal's arguments seem typical of the hesitancy found among Spanish officials in the New World to take initiative in any but the clearest cases. With the viceroy's concurrence on the recommendations of the fiscal the petition of Father Ayeta was forwarded to Madrid for consideration by the crown. Ayeta assuredly knew that there was but slight chance of any answer, favorable or otherwise, being received before he had to depart for New Mexico early the following year.⁴⁵

On June 19 the viceroy, Archbishop Payo de Rivera, wrote to the king reporting Ayeta's petition and the recommendations of the fiscal, but stating that he felt it proper to suspend execution of the request and renewed aid for the present. The decision he would leave to the crown. He enclosed a copy of Ayeta's account and report for the king's examination.

But already Ayeta had taken the next step in his fight to aid the province of New Mexico. On May 28, 1679 he had dispatched directly to the king a petition similar to that which he had presented before the viceroy. But this representation before the viceroy in what was a matter of urgency had been put off by referral to the king. "I am therefore under obligation," Ayeta stated,

⁴⁵Reply of the fiscal, México, May 16, 1679, *ibid.*, 305-307.

⁴⁶Viceroy to the king, México, June 19, 1679, *ibid.*, 285.

"to continue with the said representation because of these provinces being . . . among the most important that your Majesty possesses in all this New Spain" If New Mexico had yielded no royal income it was because there were too few Spaniards there. As an added incentive Ayeta offered a possibility which many Spaniards were to consider--a route from New Mexico to California and a new source of wealth for the Spanish treasury.⁴⁷

The viceroy's dispatch was received by the Council on October 16, 1679; Ayeta's letter arrived on January 22, 1680. Both were referred to the fiscal of the Council, who filed his recommendations on February 7, 1680. It was the fiscal's judgment that the decision on the request for a new grant of reinforcements for New Mexico should await further reports by the viceroy concerning the necessity for more aid, the most suitable means for expediting it, and the harm that might result from further delays in resolving the issue.⁴⁸ Thus it would appear that the fiscal was not impressed by Ayeta's arguments as to the urgency of the matter. But those arguments evidently had some effect on the final decision of the king and council as set forth in a royal order of June 25, 1680. By this decree the viceroy was directed to take suitable action on his own authority, without further consultation with the crown, for "the succor and defense" of New Mexico and for the advancement of the missionary effort.⁴⁹ If this royal order represented in some

⁴⁷ Ayeta to the king, México, May 28, 1679, *ibid.*, 308-10.

⁴⁸ Reply of the fiscal, Madrid, February 7, 1680, *ibid.*, 286.

⁴⁹ Royal cedula, Madrid, June 25, 1680, *ibid.*, 307-08.

measure a victory for Father Ayeta, it was essentially a hollow victory, except for the fact that he could cite the crown's decision in his negotiations for succor of the survivors of the Pueblo Revolt.

As we have noted above, Ayeta's representation to the viceroy in May of 1679 had been prompted by reports from New Mexico that conditions there had worsened since he had left the province in March of the preceding year. Although these reports have not been preserved, they doubtless related new and repeated attacks by Apaches and Navajos. The increasing tempo of these raids is illustrated by measures taken by Governor Otermín to combat them.

On July 28, 1678, less than four months after Ayeta had left New Mexico, Otermín, in a decree calling for a punitive expedition against "Apaches" in northwestern New Mexico, stated:

The hostile infidel Apache nation, irreducible and perverse common enemies of our Holy Faith who surround this kingdom on all sides, are continually committing grave crimes, such as atrocious killings in the fields and settlements and thefts of herds of horses and all kinds of livestock. As is obvious from their treacherous artifices, they aim at the complete destruction of this kingdom for their daring and barbarous designs have reached such a peak that they have laid waste the holy temples, stolen their images and sacred things, even setting fire to them, and have killed the ministers and Spanish soldiers, without reserving from their anger even the innocent babes.

Nothing was secure. During these same months Indians had entered Santa Fe in daylight and stolen three horses.⁵⁰

The expedition, led by Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, was directed into the area of the San Juan River to the northwest of

⁵⁰ Servicios personales de Juan Domínguez.

measure a victory for the Japanese. I was...
victory, except for the fact that the...
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vict.

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Nothing was...
Santa Fe in...
The...
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Santa Fe, to return by way of the cordillera of the Piedra Alumbre. Two months later, in August of 1678, Otermín reported that the expedition had punished the "infidels," brought back fifty captives, and inflicted heavy damage on their crops.⁵¹ But the action failed to deter the enemy and two months later another expedition of reprisal was felt necessary. This one, again, was into the western cordilleras, but farther to the south than the previous expedition. Here the enemy was met in the vicinity of Ácoma, apparently, and an ambush prepared for the Spaniards was thwarted.⁵² But again the results were not lasting, as was evidenced by documents of the following summer. Another reprisal was undertaken--the most extensive one thus far. One detachment, under Domínguez, departed from the pueblo of Sía against the Apaches of Navajo, Casa Fuerte, and Río Grande. A second force, this one under Francisco Xavier, departed from Taos with the intention of destroying whatever had escaped the first party.⁵³

Thus the Spanish colony in New Mexico found no relief from the continual war with the Apache and Navajo marauders. Had they been able to devote their attention more to matters closer to home they might have found means of at least forestalling further Pueblo conspiracies. But the question will remain unanswered whether they could have, if necessary, modified their own policies sufficiently to placate Pueblo discontent and thereby bring stability to the province.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

CHAPTER III

AYETA'S ROLE IN THE CRISIS OF 1680

After dispatching his petition to the crown in May of 1679 Father Ayeta turned his attention to the coming journey of the mission supply caravan to New Mexico. He had served out his three-year term as Custodian and to that office the definitorio of the Province of the Holy Gospel now elected Fray Juan Bernal, who had been serving as a missionary in New Mexico since 1667.¹ Ayeta was reappointed procurador general with the task of continued responsibility for the supply service. In addition his prelates named him visitador general for the custody of New Mexico, a title which carried broad supervisory powers.²

For the triennium 1680-1683 the viceroy and treasury officials again authorized expenditure for a full quota of sixty-six friars.³ That such a provision was made was extremely fortunate,

¹BNM, leg. 9, doc. 8. The list of friars killed in the Pueblo Revolt published in Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 335-39, gives the date of Bernal's arrival in New Mexico as 1677. Another version of this same list in BNM, leg. 1, doc. 45, has the date as 1667, the year in which he left Mexico en route to New Mexico. This is doubtless correct inasmuch as there is evidence (Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 269-78) that Bernal was serving in New Mexico in 1669-1670.

²There are several references to Ayeta as visitador general in Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, passim.

³AGI, Contaduría, leg. 769, Data.

for the mission supplies procured by Ayeta in the summer of 1679 were to be the source of immediate succor for the refugees fleeing from New Mexico a year later.

In the late autumn of 1679 Ayeta set out from Mexico City on his third journey to the Río del Norte.⁴ For some unexplained reason this trip took longer than either his 1674-1675 or 1677 journeys. Although the date of his arrival at El Paso is not recorded, it was apparently not until mid-summer of 1680. Doubtless, as the wagon train moved slowly along the Camino Real to Zacatecas and beyond Father Ayeta was troubled by the failure of his petitions for additional reinforcements for New Mexico. But, surely, he was aware, from his own years of administrative experience, that the reluctance of the viceroy to approve his extraordinary request reflected the effects of crown policies which had progressively discouraged the exercise of initiative by officials of colonial government. As the wagons moved northward across the arid wastes of Chihuahua Ayeta probably experienced an increasing anxiety regarding the conditions he would find across the Río del Norte. But it is doubtful that in these moments of anticipation he foresaw the tragic turn of events which had taken place before he arrived at El Paso.

Sometime in mid-summer (probably in August) the caravan

⁴The wagon train left Mexico City on September 30, 1679 (Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, lxxxv), but Ayeta was detained in the capital city for perhaps a month longer completing financial transactions relating to payment for supplies which had been purchased on credit before the viceroy had issued the necessary treasury warrants. AGN, Reales Céd. Dupl., tomo 31.

for the mission...
were to be...
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In the late...
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El Paso.

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(Hackett and...)
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reached the Manso pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso on the south side of the Río del Norte. Again Ayeta's progress was delayed, as it had been on his second journey, by the river which now flowed beyond its banks, turning the adjacent lands into a mire and making the crossing unsafe. The wagon train was thus forced to halt at the Guadalupe mission and await the recession of the flood waters. It was here that the Padre Procurador received the news of the disastrous Pueblo uprising which had just occurred in New Mexico.⁵

For the purposes of this study it is not necessary to relate in any detail the events which took place in New Mexico beginning on August 10, during which more than three hundred Spanish settlers and twenty-one Franciscan missionaries lost their lives. On August 21 Governor Otermín, realizing that it was only a matter of time before the Pueblos would capture Santa Fe, ordered the abandonment of the capital. In the company of refugees which fled the villa were the assembled surviving residents of the outlying districts, as well as those of the villa itself. In the meanwhile communications between Santa Fe and Río Abajo had been cut by uprisings in the pueblos of the Sandía area and southward. Alonso García, the lieutenant governor in charge of Río Abajo, acting on reports which seemed to indicate that the governor and all residents of Santa Fe had perished, fled down-river with the assembled residents of the southernmost Spanish settlements. These two groups were finally united in September at Fray Cristóbal, a site several leagues

⁵Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 28.

reached the same point of interest as the first of these
on the south side of the Rio Grande. The river was
delayed, as it had been on the north side, by the river
now flowed beyond the barrier, running and adjacent to the
and making the crossing easier. The river then ran
to half at the Guadalupe bridge, and then the crossing of the
flood waters. It was then that the river, becoming
news of the disastrous flood waters, which had been reported in
New Mexico.

For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to relate
in any detail the events which took place in the
on August 10, during which were some of the most serious
and twenty-one thousand people were killed. The
Governor O'Connell, realizing the danger, had
the Spanish would capture Santa Fe, and the
capital. In the company of soldiers, which had been
assembled surviving members of the original population, as well
as those of the village itself. It is impossible to
between Santa Fe and Rio Grande and some of the
peoples of the Santa Fe and Rio Grande. The
lieutenant Governor in charge of the Rio Grande, seeing the
seemed to indicate that the government and all residents of Santa Fe
had perished. The day after with the government and all
southernmost Spanish settlements. There are reports that
united in September at San Antonio, where several hundred

below the pueblo of Senecú.⁶

On the morning of August 25, while still detained at El Paso by flood waters, Ayeta received two letters, brought by Indian carriers, which contained news of the revolt. Don Juan Severino Rodríguez de Suballe, on August 18, had written from below Thomé in the name of his father-in-law, Lieutenant Governor Alonso García, to Fray Diego de Mendoza at the friary of Socorro. Severino, traveling southward with the residents of Río Abajo, spoke of the disasters which had befallen the province. He reported that the Indians in the Sandía area had "closed all the doors to us," so that he lacked positive information concerning events in the northern districts. The governor as well as the religious of Santo Domingo and the missions farther north were probably dead. All of the Spaniards living above the pueblo of Sandía "have been despoiled"; those from Bernalillo and farther south were in flight. The letter had been forwarded to Ayeta by Father Mendoza.⁷

The second letter, from Father Mendoza, was penned on August 20, the day he had received the dispatch from Severino. In it he pleaded that Ayeta forward relief to the fleeing Spaniards, sending with it the Spaniards of the El Paso area, that they might see if any survivors remained at Santa Fe or in the surrounding missions. The women and children of Río Abajo were fleeing on foot. The writer, Mendoza, was awaiting at Socorro the arrival of

⁶ Ibid., xxix-lxxxviii.

⁷ Severino to Mendoza, Socorro, August 20, 1680, ibid., 30-31.

Fray Nicolás Hurtado, Fray Juan Zavaleta, and the father guardian of Jémez. He knew that Friars Jesús, Talabán, Lorenzana, and probably Montes (Montes de Oca) were dead.⁸

At the time these letters were received a party of armed men, coming from New Mexico, arrived at the crossing, which they were able to negotiate on horseback. Under the command of Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva an escort of twenty-seven soldiers had come to meet the caravan and accompany it northward. With them, and counted among their number, were two representatives of the cabildo of Santa Fe: Sargento Mayor Gregorio Valdez and Regidor Alonso del Río. Leiva and his companions were as yet unaware of the events which had occurred since their departure from the villa.⁹

Ayeta promptly summoned Leiva and his officers to the friary at the pueblo of Guadalupe del Paso. He informed them of the two letters which announced the uprising. Leiva requested the letters that he might study them and issued orders for a formal junta de guerra to be held the same day. At ten o'clock in the morning the entire body of soldiers was gathered in the casa de la comunidad of the pueblo. Ayeta was called to attend. The letters from Don Juan Severino and Father Mendoza being read, the soldiers unanimously agreed that, if at all possible, they should go to the aid of the besieged colony, both those in flight and the governor, if he were found alive. First, however, it was deemed necessary

⁸Mendoza to Ayeta, Socorro, August 20, 1680, ibid., 30-31.

⁹Junta de guerra, El Paso, August 25, 1680, ibid., 28-35.

to elect a legitimate head for such an expedition. Then ensued a legalistic discussion of who was now in command based on the assumption that the governor had perished. It was pointed out that Leiva was present as *maestre de campo* for the "whole kingdom." Also present were two members of the *cabildo*. If the governor were dead, legally he would be succeeded by the *cabildo*.¹⁰

There was no dispute over the suggestion that a leader should be chosen by election. Then Ayeta spoke, sounding more like one versed in civil than canon law. There was the possibility, he declared, that Governor Otermín was alive, but all reports indicated that he had been killed. Thus he argued on this premise. If the lieutenant governor were fleeing, then "there is no kingdom." The soldiers at El Paso, being outside the jurisdiction of New Mexico and in that of Nueva Vizcaya,¹¹ legally were without a leader for a relief expedition. The authority of Leiva as *maestre de campo* had ended with the demise of the governor. The same, Ayeta claimed, held true for the *cabildo*.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The Manso mission of Guadalupe was regarded as part of the Franciscan Custody of New Mexico. The governors of Nueva Vizcaya claimed that their political jurisdiction extended up to the Río Grande, although the governors of New Mexico at times actually exercised some administrative authority over the Manso district. This jurisdictional issue was clarified by viceregal action in 1681, when the El Paso district was formally declared part of the province of New Mexico. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV, *infra*, 84-85.

¹² Junta de guerra, El Paso, August 25, 1680, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 28-35.

Although he understood that thirty-two of the forty priests in New Mexico and four lay brothers were already dead, continued Ayeta, a relief expedition must be organized. Therefore a leader was necessary. But he should be elected by vote of all the soldiers, and he should relinquish all authority if the governor were found alive. Also certified copies of such proceedings should be sent to the viceroy. Before concluding, Ayeta advised that his wagons be unloaded and reladened with provisions for the succor of the refugees, toward whom they would proceed by forced marches. Two hundred head of cattle should also be sent ahead immediately.

(Ayeta here seems to have forgotten, in his desire to help, that his wagons, and probably even the drove of cattle, could still not cross the Río del Norte.) As for himself, Ayeta offered to go in person to meet the refugees, taking with him four friars, or, if the junta so desired, he would personally carry the autos reporting the revolt to the viceroy, thereby leaving all the soldiers free to aid the refugees. This decision he left to those assembled. Ayeta then asked for comments. The agreement to his recommendations was without dissent.¹³

Shortly after noon on the same day the soldiers were again assembled and voted unanimously in favor of Pedro de Leiva to lead the relief expedition. Even so, Ayeta wrote a few days later to the viceroy: "There is no lack . . . of those who opposed this election . . . for private reasons." Statements made by Ayeta to

¹³Ibid.

the effect that he considered Leiva to be the only man present capable of handling the task would indicate the possibility that the priest had influenced the choice. Following the election Ayeta swore Leiva into this new office which apparently all concerned considered to have authority equivalent to that of the governor, since subsequent references to Leiva use that title.¹⁴

Ayeta's suggestion that he go in person to aid the refugees, taking with him several wagons of the supply caravan, was opposed by Leiva and his subordinate officers. They informed the priest on August 28 that, from a military standpoint, speed was imperative. It was of utmost importance that they learn if Governor Otermín were alive, and, without doubt, the men of the escort were anxious to know the fate of their families. The decision was made that the company of soldiers would move upstream by forced marches, taking only what supplies and military stores the men could carry on their mounts and mules. Ayeta, in their view, would be of greater service for the present supervising affairs in the El Paso area. Ayeta reluctantly accepted the decision and named four friars to accompany Leiva's squadron. In his characteristic manner of doing business he requested certification of the promptness with which he had obeyed.¹⁵

In addition to the twenty-seven men who had come with Leiva, fifty-one more were enlisted from the El Paso area. For this force

¹⁴Auto, El Paso, August 25, 1680, ibid., 35-38; Ayeta to the viceroy, August 31, 1680, ibid., 50.

¹⁵Autos, El Paso, August 28, 1680, ibid., 35-38, 39-43.

the effect that he considered it was in the hands of the
capable of handling the case with justice and impartiality
the priest had influenced the case. The priest had also
Ayeta swore before him with his hands raised and his eyes
opened capitation to have justice done to him and his
not, which was a great relief to him and his wife.
Ayeta's suggestion was to go to the court and the
talking with him several times of his family, and the
by him and his wife. The priest had also
August 28th, from a little distance, and he was
It was of great importance that they should be
were alive, and, without doubt, they were all
to know the date of their trial. The priest had also
company of soldiers and some other people, and he
only that he was alive and that he was in the
mountain and his wife. The priest had also
for the present supporting him as he was in the
instantly received the decision and he was in the
before a tribunal. In the meantime, the priest had
he requested certification of the documents which he

12

In addition to the twenty-five men and his wife, Ayeta
fifty-one more were captured from the 1st to the 15th

14
Ayeta, 21 years, married, 1st of August, 1912, to
the victory, August 28th, 1912.

15
Ayeta, 21 years, married, 1st of August, 1912, to

Ayeta provided arms, munitions, and supplies which he had brought in the caravan. The priest also told Leiva that, when the refugees were encountered, he should send the women and children to El Paso, and additional supplies would be forwarded on receipt of news from him. The relief squadron then set out on August 30. On September 5 they established contact with the refugee column at Fray Cristóbal.¹⁶

From El Paso Ayeta had already sent couriers to Captain Andrés López de Gracia, alcalde mayor at Casas Grandes, requesting help. This message was promptly forwarded to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya at Parral, who instructed local officials in districts near El Paso to send reinforcements to that settlement as quickly as possible.¹⁷

On August 31 Father Ayeta dispatched his first letter to the viceroy reporting the revolt as seen from his own station.¹⁸ He humbly placed the blame for the loss of New Mexico on his own sins, but did not remain long on this subject. Quickly he turned his thoughts to the secular aspects of the revolt. This was typical of Ayeta. Although never showing a lack of religiosity and being entirely capable of sermonizing at great length, he evidenced little difficulty in applying himself to secular affairs to the exclusion of his other interests. Probably few of his contemporaries, most

¹⁶Ibid., lxxxviii-lxxxix.

¹⁷López de Gracia to Estrada, August 29, 1680, and Estrada to the viceroy, Parral, September 7, 1680, ibid., 46-47, 86-88.

¹⁸Ayeta to the viceroy, El Paso, August 31, 1680, ibid., 47-54.

Agata provided arms, ammunition, and supplies which were brought
in the caravans. The village also sold food, and the
were encountered, no doubt about the matter and offered to help
and additional supplies would be furnished in exchange of arms
him. The relief happened to be out on August 25. On September 7
they established contact with the village and the first
from El Paso Agata and his men were brought to the village.

Andrés López de Guzmán, a local leader, was brought to the village
help. This message was primarily forwarded to the village and
Viscaya at Barrios, the local leader, was brought to the village
El Paso to send reinforcements to that section and he was
side. 17

On August 21 Andrés López de Guzmán was brought to the village
the victory resulting for the village as soon as the war was over.
He humbly placed the blame for the loss of the village on his side
side, but did not remain long on this subject. Andrés López
his thoughts to the matter of the village. This was the first
of Agata. Although he was showing a lack of confidence in the
entirely capable of maintaining the village, he was not
difficultly in a position to maintain the village and the
of his other interests. Probably for the same reason, he

16 This is the name of the village.
17 López de Guzmán was brought to the village, August 25, 1937, and
to the village, August 25, 1937, and the village was
18 Agata was the village, El Paso, August 25, 1937.

of whom lacked this seemingly split character, could have exerted such an influence on the course of events.

Ayeta reported the scant information then available concerning the Pueblo uprising, and related in some detail the election of Leiva as provisional governor and the subsequent dispatch of the relief squadron. He praised Leiva as a soldier of long experience in New Mexico and requested "that in case the governor is dead [Leiva] may receive authority from your excellency and thus be able to command respect, detaining those who may come, making their escape, so that we may make a stand."¹⁹

Ayeta also expressed regret that during the seven years which he had spent as procurador for the missions a presidio had not been established in New Mexico. The statements which followed implied that there had been conversations between Ayeta and the viceroy on this subject which were not committed to record. The friar praised the viceroy, Archbishop Payo de Rivera, for having advocated such a presidio and for having given arms and horses for the protection of New Mexico. The viceroy, Ayeta wrote, was trying to anticipate a situation, in spite of the reservations of the "gentlemen of the junta." He here mentioned fears shared by the viceroy and himself of a possible revolt in New Mexico, indications of which were foreseen by "signs." These statements appear strange in view of the fact that only a year and some months earlier the viceroy had quietly accepted the recommendations of the fiscal not to act on Ayeta's request for a presidio. To buttress his

¹⁹Ibid., 49.

of whom looked like a woman, it was a woman, and she was
and an influence of the woman of the house.
Ayala reported the woman as being a woman of the house.
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tion of the woman, the woman of the house.
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head (the woman) was a woman of the house.
he also to command the woman, the woman of the house.
their escape, the woman of the house.
Ayala also reported the woman of the house.
which he had spent as a woman of the house.
not been established in the house, the woman of the house.
implied that there was a woman of the house.
vicinity on this subject, the woman of the house.
father, the woman of the house.
advocated such a position, the woman of the house.
the position of the woman, the woman of the house.
ing to anticipate a woman, the woman of the house.
"Gentleman of the house," the woman of the house.
vicinity and himself, the woman of the house.
of which were known by "Gentleman," the woman of the house.
in view of the fact that the woman of the house.
vicinity had died, the woman of the house.
not so set on Ayala's report, the woman of the house.

arguments for military reinforcements Ayeta directed attention to the strategic position of El Paso in relation to frontier defenses in northern New Spain, and the possibility that revolts might spread through Nueva Vizcaya. "Once fortified here [at El Paso], which is the key, the place will be a curb for any movement and the forces will be more easily united, for there are lands and water sufficient for a large settlement."²⁰

Finally, Ayeta informed the viceroy that he still planned to go in person to aid the men and women fleeing from New Mexico. He had already started the residents of the pueblo of Guadalupe making flour, biscuits, dried beef, and shot, which would be forwarded to the expedition upon call. The mission supplies as well as those being brought for the governor were making possible immediate relief. Ayeta stated that he had also requested mule trains from the valley of Casas Grandes for use in transporting these supplies.²¹

This dispatch and the accompanying documents which certified the events at El Paso of August 25-30 were sent to Mexico in the care of Fray Nicolás López, who also carried with him a short letter from Ayeta to the Franciscan Commissary General of New Spain.²²

During the first weeks of September Ayeta received letters from the retreating refugee groups which clarified the situation

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² BNM, leg. 1, doc. 43.

to the north of El Paso. On September 4 the refugees from the Río Abajo had reached Fray Cristóbal below Senecú where, a day later, they were joined by Leiva's detachment. The letters also brought the welcome news that Governor Otermín was alive and was bringing southward the Spanish families from the Santa Fe district. The two groups of refugees were finally united at Fray Cristóbal on September 13.²³

On September 8, after receiving the news that Otermín was alive, Ayeta promptly sent a message to the governor which reflected both his religiosity and his concern as to what measures he should take in the critical situation which existed as a result of the Pueblo uprising. Having expressed his profound relief that the governor had survived, Ayeta used the story of God taking from Job his temporal happiness in order that he might believe more fully the glorification of his Master as an analogy to the loss of New Mexico and the personal losses of its Hispanic colony. Ayeta then asked the governor if he did not plan to bring the refugees immediately to El Paso to come himself to discuss matters of importance. "I find myself confused," wrote Ayeta, "by not having information of your lordship's decision, in order to know what I ought to do."²⁴

In his letter is found the first indication of illness which appears to have plagued the priest henceforth, but at no time does he provide a definite enough statement of its nature to allow any

²³Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, lxxi-lxxviii.

²⁴Ayeta to Otermín, El Paso, September 8, 1680, ibid., 92-94.

to the north of the river. On the night of 12 June, 1968, the
Abajo and reached the school building. The school was
they were joined by a large number of people. The
the welcome was that of a home. The school was
southwest the Spanish language. The school was
groups of people were there. The school was
September 1968.

On September 19, 1968, the investigation was continued.
alive, Agudo was found with a wound to the chest. The wound
both his religious and his political beliefs. The wound
take in the official situation which existed at the time of the
Pueblo Nuevo. The investigation of the wound was continued.
Governor had arrived. The investigation of the wound was continued.
his personal belongings in order that he might be able to
the glorification of his father as a martyr in the face of the
Mexico and the national flag of the United States. Agudo was
asked the Governor if he had not been to the school. Agudo
directly to El Paso to take himself to the school. Agudo
"I find myself confused," Agudo stated. "I am having trouble
your father's decision. I am having trouble with your father's
In his letter he found the same situation of his father.
appears to have played the same role. Agudo was also asked
he provided additional evidence of his father's role in the school.

The investigation of the wound was continued.
he provided additional evidence of his father's role in the school.

Agudo on October 11, 1968, reported that the investigation

speculation. His only references to the infirmity were in letters to close friends (of whom Otermín may be considered one) at which times he failed to give more than passing comment, or at times when he felt compelled to profess illness as a cause for his failure to be as active in affairs as he felt necessary. To Otermín, in this letter, Ayeta commented: "I find myself in very poor health, to such a point that I know neither what I am saying nor what I am doing."²⁵

On the basis of news received from the refugee columns, Ayeta wrote a second report to the viceroy on September 11 and a similar dispatch to the Franciscan Commissary General.²⁶ He now had explicit knowledge that twenty-one missionary friars had suffered martyrdom during the uprising. With these letters to the viceroy and Commissary General Ayeta sent a list of these martyrs along with a brief biographical note and the length of service in New Mexico of each.²⁷

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ayeta to the viceroy, El Paso, September 11, 1680, ibid., 106-108; BNM, leg. 1, doc. 43.

²⁷ Hackett, Historical Documents, III, 335-39, gives a translation of a version of this list taken from a transcript of an AGI document in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Another copy of this same version is in AGN, Historia, tomo 25. Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 108-11, reprinted the document as it appears in Hackett, Historical Documents, III. Another manuscript copy (not the original) of this list of martyrs is also found in BNM, leg. 1, doc. 45. This copy appears to be a more accurate version of the lost original, for its biographical data, by comparison with other documentation of the seventeenth century, is more accurate. Cf. note 1 of this chapter, supra, 46. For additional data on the martyred friars see Agustín de Vetancurt, Teatro Mexicano (2d ed., México, 1871), IV.

apostrophe. The word "apostrophe" is used in the text to refer to a specific grammatical function. The text discusses the use of apostrophes in various contexts, including their role in punctuation and their use in forming possessives. The text also mentions the importance of understanding the correct placement of apostrophes to avoid confusion and errors in writing.

On the basis of the evidence presented, the author concludes that the use of apostrophes is a complex and often misunderstood aspect of grammar. The text provides a detailed analysis of the various rules governing the use of apostrophes, and offers practical advice for writers on how to use them correctly. The author emphasizes the importance of paying attention to the details of grammar, particularly when it comes to punctuation, as it can significantly impact the clarity and effectiveness of one's writing.

Mexican (25-27, Mexico, 1911, 1912)
The text continues with a discussion of the historical and cultural context of the use of apostrophes in Mexican Spanish. It explores how the use of apostrophes has evolved over time and how it varies across different regions of Mexico. The author also discusses the influence of other languages and dialects on the use of apostrophes in Mexican Spanish, and provides examples of how these influences are reflected in the text. The text concludes by reiterating the importance of understanding the correct use of apostrophes in Mexican Spanish, particularly for those who are studying the language or who are interested in its history and culture.

On September 8 Otermín, prior to joining the Río Abajo refugees at Fray Cristóbal, had taken time to write a lengthy letter to Ayeta in which he presented a remarkably clear narrative of the revolt and subsequent flight of the Spanish colony from Santa Fe. Since the only provisions remaining to the refugees were those which they could gather from the land along their route, Otermín begged Ayeta to hurry his wagons to their aid.²⁸

On September 14, the day after the two groups of refugees had united at Fray Cristóbal, Otermín called a junta of friars, military officers, and other persons of rank to determine the best course of action in the interests of both Church and State. The friars stated that they would follow the governor in any decision he might reach. The officers and leaders of the secular community held that the best possible course would be to move on to a position of greater safety for their families and to give an account of all these events to the viceroy in the hope that aid would be forthcoming. Thus supplied they could turn to the task of a reconquest of New Mexico. Otermín told the assembly that he had already sent a request to Ayeta for help. While the governor continued this conference with the leaders of the colony Ayeta's letter requesting his presence in El Paso was delivered to him. Otermín thus decided to postpone any decision for the moment and depart, with only a small company of armed men, for El Paso and a meeting with Ayeta.²⁹

²⁸ Otermín to Ayeta, September 8, 1680, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 94-105.

²⁹ Ibid., 112-23.

On the same day (September 14) that Otermín was holding the junta at Fray Cristóbal, Ayeta received the governor's letter of September 8 requesting immediate aid. The remainder of that day and all of the next were spent in ladening the wagons with provisions in response to the governor's plea. Shortly after daylight on September 16 twenty-four wagons, each carrying less than half its capacity to facilitate a speedy journey, departed from El Paso. To the regret of Father Ayeta the other six wagons in his charge could not be taken because the men "belonging to" them had fled, not desiring to go to New Mexico. They had carried off with them some of the horses belonging to the supply train. Ayeta planned to join the mission of succor bound for New Mexico as soon as he had penned another report to the viceroy.

In his letter of September 16, the third he had written ✓ to the viceroy since learning of the Pueblo Revolt,³⁰ Ayeta made some very revealing statements concerning the Spanish settlers now in flight from New Mexico. For three years certain families had been planning to leave the province but had delayed doing so, seemingly encouraged by the aid sent by the viceroy. On the way to New Mexico in 1679-1680 Ayeta had written to Otermín from Parral--probably in March or April--to inform the governor that the vice-regal government had denied the petition to establish a presidio in New Mexico. This news had prompted forty families to renew the plans to desert the colony, but Otermín by "prudent measures had

³⁰ Ayeta to the vicercy, El Paso, September 16, 1680, ibid., 124-29.

quieted them." But now the governor feared that many of the refugees, especially those from Río Abajo, would not obey his orders to halt their flight at Fray Cristóbal, but would continue on to El Paso and Nueva Vizcaya.

Ayeta also told the viceroy that Otermín, during his tenure of office, had not been able to exert the most effective influence in provincial affairs. Because of the close family ties which bound together many of the colonists, the governor had found it necessary to exercise the utmost care in dealing with the people. Disciplinary action could be taken only when there was need for reprisals against the Apaches, but even in such emergencies only a small force of Spanish soldiers could be readily assembled because so many of the colonists lived on their ranches scattered throughout the province.

From a trustworthy source Ayeta had learned that from Fray Cristóbal, where the refugee columns were to unite, "the governor desires to go back against the enemy and make a stand." Ayeta pointed out that from the colonists assembled at Fray Cristóbal fifty armed men could be assigned to protect the women and children "in a pueblo," and one hundred more would be available for a counter-attack against the Indians, "to restrain them as never before, and even to shake the earth."

Any such plan, however, would be contingent on Otermín's ability to halt the retreat of the refugees before they reached El Paso, where they would no longer be subject to his jurisdiction. Ayeta feared that any proposal by the refugees to move on to El Paso,

with the intention of helping them, he was not successful. He was
escape into Nueva Vizcaya. He was, however, arrested by the
Bartolomé de Castro, governor of Nueva Vizcaya, who was then
he took appropriate measures to prevent the escape of the
beyond El Paso until the vessel could be taken care of. He also
concerning the present state of affairs. He was then
the relief column was ordered to move forward to the
Vizcaya, the vessel was then taken care of. He was then
continue their operations to the north.

On September 25, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Bartolomé de Castro,
province the above letter and to him, that the vessel was
to prevent the flight of the vessel, and the vessel was
had read Ayala's dispatch, he was ordered to the location
of his jurisdiction to the extent that the vessel was
from New Mexico without further permission of the governor of the
province should be instructed, in order to prevent the vessel
New Mexico. Anyone violating this order would be liable for punishment
decision by the vessel.

Having dispatched the letter to the governor of the province
of September 18, Ayala personally met with the governor of the province
the vessel he had been asked with supplies for the vessel. He
the meantime, leaving the vessel under the command of the vessel
under the command of Francisco Juan de la Cruz. He was then
Ostria had been ordered to meet the vessel. In the event

51
Bartolomé de Castro, Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, September 25, 1598.
155-56.

afternoon of September 18 he arrived at the crossing of the Río del Norte at La Salineta, about four leagues above the pueblo of Guadalupe. Battling the mire created by recent rains and the river which had left its banks, the governor approached the crossing to witness a startling scene. In midstream, atop a nearly submerged and thoroughly mired wagon, sat Fray Francisco de Ayeta.³²

Attempting to get his wagons through the mud, Ayeta had personally driven the first vehicle, to which four lines of mules were attached, into the water. Reaching the middle of the river and with more than a vara of water inside, the wagon had sunk into the soft river bottom. As Ayeta cut the mules loose, a considerable number of persons entered the water to carry him to safety.³³

Ayeta's own account of this incident, written to one of his superiors some three months later, reveals the humor and, perhaps, even a small bit of vanity in the friar's personality. He wrote of the incident:

. . . I set out with twenty-four wagons to assist the governor, at all costs, being more confident than was justified that I would overcome the dangers and the craftiness of the fierce and irresistible Río del Norte, for its ferocity inspires terror I got up into the wagon and drove it into the water, invoking the name of God

The half vara of water which had entered the wagon had now increased to three times that amount, and the friar described himself as

³²Auto and judicial proceeding, La Salineta, September 18, 1680, *ibid.*, 129-32.

³³Ayeta to the Father Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, *ibid.*, 212-17; Auto and judicial proceeding, La Salineta, September 18, 1680, *ibid.*, 129-32.

precariously clinging to the top of the wagon and nearly being drowned. But when he described the arrival across the river of Otermín, Ayeta took the time to point out that "that gentleman" had just completed a journey of fifty-four leagues, as though he himself had known the tiredness which the governor assuredly had felt.³⁴

Once out of the water Ayeta ordered that, suffering loss or not, the wagons would be taken across. (In the realm of temporal activities the friar's zeal occasionally outran his practicality.) Ayeta personally worked to get wagons through the mire, but the task was impossible. Then, apparently at Otermín's suggestion, it was agreed to load the saddlebags of the soldiers with the provisions and let them swim the river on horseback. The remainder of the day and into the night was spent ferrying maize, biscuits, flour, chocolate, sugar, and other items across the river. "I do not know whether gold dust will ever be bestowed in the pockets of the bearers as carefully as were the biscuits," wrote Ayeta of the effort.³⁵

Not until dusk was the wagon freed from the river mud. As night approached the first squad of soldiers departed from the crossing carrying their loads of provisions for the refugees and also an order from Otermín to his subordinates in command of the refugee camp that the displaced Hispanic community resume its march toward El Paso. Once the soldiers had departed Ayeta took Otermín

³⁴Ayeta to the Father Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, ibid., 212-17.

³⁵Ibid.

provisionally clinging to the top of the tree, ready to jump at any moment.
But when he described the arrival of the "Gale" at the river, Ayate took the time to point out that "Gale" was a "Gale" and not a "Gale".
Completed a journey of fifty-four hours, and having no further business, he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
Once out of the water, the "Gale" was to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
Not, the "Gale" was to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
activation the "Gale" was to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
Ayate personally worked to get the "Gale" to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
was impossible. Then, Ayate, as O'Connell's suggestion, he was
agreed to load the baggage of the "Gale" and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
and let them take the river to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
day and into the night, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
chocolate, sugar, and other foodstuffs, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
whether gold dust will ever be recovered in the pockets of the
bearers as carefully as was the "Gale", and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
effort.
Not until then was the "Gale" to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
night approached the time when the "Gale" was to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
crossing carrying their loads of provisions, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
also an order from O'Connell to the "Gale" to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
refugee camp that the "Gale" was to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.
toward El Paso. Once the "Gale" was to arrive, and he had known the time when the "Gale" was to arrive.

³⁴ Ayate to the Father Convent, December 20, 1930, 21-17.
December 20, 1930, 21-17.
³⁵ Ibid.

to inspect the supplies which remained in the twenty-three wagons which had not forded the river. The friar then persuaded the governor to inspect the storerooms of the mission of Guadalupe, which revealed the fruits of Ayeta's efforts since he had first learned of the uprising, in order to ascertain the quantities of grain stored there to await the refugees.³⁶

On the following day, September 19, Ayeta again ladened a squad of soldiers with all the provisions they and their mounts could carry and these proceeded northward. Apparently on this same day, according to Ayeta, (the exact date was not given) while he and Otermín were dispatching the second group of soldiers, two hundred eleven refugees arrived at the crossing of the river. Although the Father attributed their safe arrival to the provisions which had already been sent northward, it is doubtful that this group was in any great need, judging by the speed of their journey. The remainder of the Spanish refugees, along with the Piro Indians who chose to accompany them, straggled into the camp during the period of the next two weeks.³⁷

During these weeks Ayeta and Otermín remained at La Salineta, receiving the refugees as they arrived, and giving them whatever they needed from the stores which Ayeta had amassed at the convent of Guadalupe. Otermín's inventory revealed that there were four hundred fanegas of shelled corn and about four hundred head of beef

³⁶ Auto and judicial proceeding, La Salineta, September 18, 1680, ibid., 129-32.

³⁷ Ayeta to the Father Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, ibid., 212-17.

cattle awaiting the refugees. Uncertain that these amounts would be sufficient, Ayeta ordered word sent to Casas Grandes, Taramaures, and other places to buy "all the amounts of corn and meat needed." There was, however, no lack of provisions for the immediate requirements of those arriving from New Mexico. Ayeta later wrote of his impressions during the arrival of the displaced Spaniards:

There was no heart that was not moved by compassion, nor is it easy to find words for expressing it, for such unhappiness and pitiful tragedy, with the need corresponding to the great numbers, and the poor women and children on foot and unshod, of such a hue that they looked like dead people, inspired one with horror.³⁸

On September 28 and 29 the main group of refugees assembled near the banks of the Río Grande at La Salineta. But even before this Otermín saw his earlier fears being made manifest. In the confusion and disorganization of the camp many of the refugees, both Spanish and Indian, crossed the river against the instructions of the governor. The majority of these remained in the vicinity of the pueblo of Guadalupe del Paso, although a few moved farther south into Nueva Vizcaya. On the twenty-ninth Otermín ordered a muster of all present in order to determine the numbers of those who had survived the revolt and the number of men capable of fighting. He required each to declare what of his personal goods had been brought with him.³⁹

³⁸ Ibid.; Auto and judicial proceeding, La Salineta, September 22, 1680, ibid., 132-33.

³⁹ Auto for passing muster, La Salineta, September 29, 1680, ibid., 134-36; Auto of Otermín, La Salineta, October 1, 1680, ibid., 154-55.

The muster proved to the governor the validity of his fears. Because the refugees had already scattered it was found necessary to continue the count on a second and still a third day. On October 1 Otermín sent Francisco Xavier with a request to the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, in which the pueblo of Guadalupe del Paso lay, that all New Mexico citizens entering that area be sent back unless they possessed written permission from the governor. The lieutenant of the alcalde mayor at Guadalupe said immediately that he would comply. Four days later Otermín's action was proven unnecessary when the governor of Parral, acting on Ayeta's apprehension written to the viceroy of the possible abandonment of New Mexico, sent orders to his subordinates in El Paso to prevent such flight. On October 5 the order was proclaimed aloud in the pueblo. But in spite of these actions, numerous refugees crossed the Río del Norte, many apparently with no purpose than to avail themselves of the better location of El Paso. Among these were a large group of the Piro Indians who had fled with the Spaniards. A few of the colonists, however, did not stop even at El Paso.⁴⁰

On October 2 Otermín tentatively concluded the count, leaving the final number open for whatever persons might later be found. He had found one hundred fifty-five men "capable of bearing arms." The total count of the refugees had come to 1,946, including persons of all ages. Of the Indians of the pueblos of Isleta, Sevilleta,

⁴⁰Ibid.; Muster, La Salineta, September 29, 1680, ibid., 136-53; Order of the governor of Parral, San Joseph de Parral, September 24, 1680, and Publication, El Paso, October 5, 1680, ibid., 184-86.

The number of the vessel is 100-1000.

Because the vessel is a small one, it is not possible

to continue the search for a long time.

Over the past few years, the search has been

conducted in the area of the Gulf of Mexico.

all New Mexico passengers, including those who

possessed wireless certificates, were

the subject of investigation.

Four days later, the search was

conducted in the area of the Gulf of Mexico.

vicinity of the vessel, a search was

his expedition in the area of the Gulf of Mexico.

the vessel was not found.

these actions, the search was

apparently with the vessel.

location of the vessel.

Indiana who had been with the vessel.

however, did not find the vessel.

On October 1, the search was

ing the final search.

He had found one hundred

The total count of the vessel

of all ages.

of the vessel.

1915-1916

1915-1916

1915-1916

1915-1916

Alamillo, Socorro, and Senecú the governor counted three hundred seventeen. There were four hundred seventy-one horses and mules and a quantity of arms and munitions, not to mention the personal items of the refugees. But the mounts, as well as the weapons, were obviously insufficient for any military endeavor. Thus Oterín ordered, for the following day, a junta de guerra. For this council he demanded the presence of the cabildo and all military officers, Father Ayeta, and any person who wished to present in writing his opinion.⁴¹

For two days the leaders of the Hispanic community met to discuss their present plight and plans for the future. As was often the privilege afforded him, Ayeta was asked to be first to give his opinions before the governor and congregated officers. His initial statements only served to reiterate the hope which he had voiced to the viceroy that the apostate Indians would be reduced. But, he continued, he lacked the experience to qualify himself as a judge in such matters. He would, therefore, leave the question of the feasibility of an immediate entrada to those with such experience. Ayeta and his fellow religious would follow whatever decision was reached. But there were other items of urgency on which the friar could be of assistance. If such an expedition were deemed advisable he would supply it with all provisions but clothing. Since many of the soldiers were without arms, Ayeta offered the few items which remained in his possession (apparently part of the equipage of the

⁴¹ Muster at La Salineta, October 2, 1680, ibid., 157-59; Auto de junta de guerra, La Salineta, October 2, 1680, ibid., 159-61.

Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, and the Gulf of Mexico, and the
 Caribbean Sea, and the North Atlantic Ocean, and the South Atlantic Ocean,
 and a quantity of arms and munitions, and a quantity of food and
 stores of the various kinds. The whole of the cargo was
 was obviously intended for the use of the various
 orders, for the following reasons: a cargo of arms,
 he described the position of the cargo as being in the
 Father's house, and the cargo was placed in the
 opinion.

For two days the members of the various committees met to
 discuss their present position and give for the future, and after
 the privilege afforded him, he was asked to do this in the
 opinions before the government and the various committees. His
 statements only served to increase the impression of the
 to the view that the various committees were to be formed. But
 he continued, he looked at the various committees and he said
 in such matters. He said, therefore, that the various committees
 feasibility of an immediate action to be taken with regard to
 Ayala and the various committees. He said that the various
 reached. But there were other things to be done in the future
 could be of assistance. It seems to me that the various
 he would apply to all the various committees and the various
 of the soldiers were without arms, and he said that the various
 remained in his possession (apparently) and he said that the
 various committees.

At the same time, the various committees, and the various
 195-61.

supply caravan). It consisted of cuirasses, stirrups, bridles, and hats. He would provide linen (presumably intended for vestments) for making shirts. In addition, stated the friar, he would see that the wives and families of those who went were cared for.⁴²

The aid which Ayeta unhesitatingly proposed to give seemed boundless. If the junta were to decide against an immediate attempt to pacify the Indians the priest would supply to the refugees at La Salineta a daily ration of ten head of beef cattle and eight fanegas of shelled corn. He would give this based on two conditions: first, that supervisors were appointed to receive and distribute the provisions and requisitions were made to the convent at Guadalupe for periods of fifteen days or one month; and secondly, that a decision regarding the acceptance of such assistance be made immediately, because of the necessity to transport some of the provisions from great distances. The friars would continue this aid until the viceroy either gave assistance or advised on a course of action. As to the other problems facing the refugees, the friar had no suggestions. But he did request, in "usual form," the certifications of this offer to safeguard himself and the other friars.⁴³

The discussion of the possible entrada then began, with Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo declaring the impossibility of any immediate action. Forty men were without horses and the mounts which were available were "worn out." One hundred men were

⁴²Opinions given in the junta de guerra, La Salineta, October 2, 1680, ibid., 162-63.

⁴³Ibid.

without weapons. And there were still more reasons: winter, which would soon be upon them, would not be a desirable time for an expedition, and the Mansos, in whose vicinity the Spaniards were now camped, were restless. The refugees should, he thought, report the situation to the crown and await help. The conservative tone of this speech set the tenor for the rest of the opinions. Nearly all, even though they felt a reconquest should be undertaken, feared disastrous results from their own weakness to be inevitable. Once they were sufficiently supplied by the viceroy they would retake New Mexico. Thus the discussions on October 2 were concluded.⁴⁴

On the following day the cabildo of Santa Fe presented its opinion. The tone was again conservative. Noting the loss of over three hundred eighty Spaniards, seventy-three of military age, in the rebellion, they declared an immediate reconquest to be out of the question. An abortive entrada, they warned, would have more disastrous effects than no attempt at all. The first responsibility of the soldiers was the protection of their families. They thus concurred in the opinions of the previous day, adding that the assistance offered by Ayeta should be accepted.⁴⁵

On October 5 Governor Otermín collected the autos and other documents of the junta and prepared them for dispatch to the viceroy. He thus showed his acceptance of the recommendations in the autos by his refusal to make any positive decision toward a recon-

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Opinion of the cabildo, La Salineta, October 3, 1680, ibid., 177-83.

without reason. And since the situation was not
would have been the same, would have been the same
petition, and the answer, to which the answer was the
compared, were the same. The answer was the same, the
situation to the answer was the same. The answer was the same
this question was the same, the answer was the same. The answer
all, even though the fact is a permanent one, the answer was the same
disaster, the answer was the same. The answer was the same, the
they were the same, the answer was the same. The answer was the same
New Mexico. The answer was the same. The answer was the same.

On the following day, the answer was the same. The answer was the same
opinion. The answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer
three hundred and thirty, the answer was the same. The answer was the same
the rebellion, the answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer
question. The answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer
known effects, the answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer
the rebellion was the same. The answer was the same. The answer was the same
curved in the opinion of the answer was the same. The answer was the same
offered by the answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer

On October 3, the answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer
documents of the answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer
roy. He then showed the answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer
answer by the answer was the same. The answer was the same. The answer

177-22
177-22

quest. The future of the Spanish colony he would leave to the judgment of the viceroy. In two letters which he enclosed, written by friends of both the governor and Ayeta, were warnings of threatened Indian uprisings in the regions to the south and also of the difficulty of a proposed reconquest of New Mexico. One message contained advice which Otermín later heeded, although possibly of his own choosing rather than from this influence. The correspondent recommended a plaza de armas (military encampment) at El Paso while awaiting the viceroy's action. The other recommendation was the appointment of Ayeta to carry the report and petition personally to the viceroy.⁴⁶

The following day Otermín notified Ayeta of the acceptance of his offer to feed the nearly 2,000 Spaniards camped along the Río del Norte. Because of the approach of winter and the need of the refugees for shelter, which would probably have to be dugouts, Otermín stated, there would be no immediate reconquest. He appointed Juan Lucero de Godoy and Sargento Mayor Diego López to receive and administer the beef and maize.⁴⁷ Upon receipt of this acceptance Ayeta immediately offered in addition two fanegas of maize per day for the Spanish refugees. He would, also, provide two fanegas of maize and two head of cattle per day for the Indian refugees.

⁴⁶Francisco de Agramonte y Arce to Otermín, San Juan, September 16, 1680, ibid., 188-89; Juan Baptista de Escorsa to Otermín, San Juan, September 17, 1680, ibid., 190-91; Auto of Otermín, La Salineta, October 5, 1680, ibid., 187.

⁴⁷Auto of Otermín, La Salineta, October 6, 1680, ibid., 192-93; Ayeta to the Father Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, ibid., 212-17; gives a total of twelve head of cattle and twelve fanegas of maize.

He was able to do this because, since his first offer, he had purchased and paid for out of the mission funds another six hundred fanegas. Already he was actively engaged in obtaining further quantities of provisions. The wagons were preparing to leave on October 18 to buy whatever food could be located. On this very day, October 6, the friar had bought in the jurisdictions of Casas Grandes 1,640 beef cattle and had taken steps toward the purchase of still more. All that was necessary now was for the cabildo to instruct those persons most in need to apply to him for clothing and shelter, since he had also arranged in El Paso and Parral for as much wool as could be used. The people must "bear patiently" the hardships, he admonished, until the viceroy could remedy their situation.⁴⁸

Ayeta was not a man to hesitate when he saw the need for action. For such reasons as this he profoundly affected the history of the displaced New Mexico colony during its first months at El Paso. He did not await instructions or sanction, nor did he even ask any, when he saw the need for aiding the refugees. From the time Ayeta first learned of the disasters within the province, he strove to anticipate the future and be prepared for the times when he knew he would be called upon.

On October 5, Luis Granillo, claiming to represent all the refugees, requested permission from the governor to move both camps across the river to the vicinity of the pueblo of Guadalupe. This

⁴⁸ Auto of Ayeta, La Salineta, October 6, 1680, *ibid.*, 193-94.

location had timber and pastures which the present site of the refugee camps lacked. The Spaniards, as has been noted, were deliberately detained on the New Mexico side of the river to prevent their leaving the jurisdiction under the command of Otermín, since the pueblo of Guadalupe, some four leagues distant, was considered to be in Nueva Vizcaya. At some time between October 20 and Ayeta's departure for Mexico City the governor ordered the move to the area requested by Granillo. This could not have been before October 20, since on that date Otermín wrote that he intended to keep his people at the encampment on the river until instructions from the viceroy arrived. But in Ayeta's letter to the viceroy written en route to Mexico on December 20, the priest described the "army" as being divided into three camps along the Río del Norte some two leagues apart. The farthest of these from the pueblo of Guadalupe, and about six leagues down the river, was the camp called San Lorenzo. Here were housed the governor and cabildo. Ayeta declared that the Spaniards had built themselves huts here of sticks and branches. At this settlement Ayeta said he had personally placed a portable altar. The second settlement, two leagues nearer the mission, was San Pedro de Alcántara; the third was named El Santísimo Sacramento. At each, and at the mission of Guadalupe, there were stationed several friars.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Petition of Luis Granillo, La Salineta, October 5, 1680, *ibid.*, 183-84; Ayeta to the Father Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, *ibid.*, 212-17; Otermín to the viceroy, El Paso, October 20, 1680, *ibid.*, 206-12.

On January 7, 1681, after he had received the autos which Ayeta had carried, the fiscal in Mexico advised establishment of the refugees on "this" side of the Río del Norte in a suitable place between the conversion of La Soledad, San Francisco de los Zumas, and Guadalupe del Paso, with all the Spaniards assembled in one area. (Apparently he had not seen the letter in which Ayeta described the new temporary settlements on the south bank of the river.) At this site, stated the fiscal, would be the new capital of New Mexico. Here, also, should be located the presidio.⁵⁰ The question of jurisdictional authority over this location was soon to become one of conflict and will be discussed later.⁵¹

On October 9 Ayeta was assigned another task, one which it would be difficult to imagine the priest not having desired. On that day Otermín declared his intention of intrusting to him the transmission of the autos to the viceroy. This would require a personal presentation and explanation of the documents. For this task none, certainly, had better qualifications than Ayeta. During the days which followed the leaders of the refugee camp certified for the royal officials the events which had occurred and drew up memoranda of the aid they felt necessary to restore the Hispanic colony of New Mexico. The cabildo requested, at the minimum, "two hundred paid settlers," fifty presidial soldiers paid by regular salary, large quantities of provisions and cattle, and

⁵⁰Reply of the fiscal, México, January 7, 1681, ibid., 226-33.

⁵¹Infra, 84-85.

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numerous miscellaneous items of hardware, tools, and weapons. They also advised royal ordinances "for the better government of the community" and concerning the requirements of Indian labor. But before Ayeta presented this petition he was to request that, should the time which the colonists were to remain at El Paso be lengthened, the viceroy supply them with additional provisions. They concluded by asking Ayeta to personally solicit among the court and citizens of Mexico City alms and clothing for the families now encamped along the Río del Norte.⁵²

⁵²Auto of Otermín, Paraje del Río del Norte, October 9, 1680, ibid., 194-95; Memorandum, El Paso, October 12, 1680, ibid., 200-202.

unusual circumstances... also advised... community... before... the time... ended... concluded by... officers of... escaped along...

CHAPTER IV

AYETA PARTICIPATES IN THE ATTEMPTED RECONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO, 1681-1682

It is impossible to say when Ayeta actually left El Paso. It would seem likely that his departure was soon after October 20, the date of Otermín's letter to the viceroy. Accompanying the friar on this journey were Fray Nicolás Hurtado, the definidor of the province, Ayeta's fifteen-year-old secretary, Fray Buenaventura de Vergansa (for whom Ayeta had a special affection), and a third religious whom Ayeta referred to only as Fray José.¹

Father Ayeta's journey to Mexico was interrupted at several points by business to which the priest attended. At Parral Ayeta halted long enough to purchase five hundred fanegas of maize and sixteen wagons. Here he also left his companion, Fray José (?), to barter items of clothing with the Indians of Taramara for grain. This friar was then to return to El Paso with the wagons and his purchases. Resuming his journey, Ayeta was met, on December 14, by a courier from the viceroy with a letter containing the news of Fray Nicolás Hurtado's appointment as Custodian for New Mexico. Hurtado thus retraced the route to New Mexico and Ayeta resumed his journey southward. By December 20 he had arrived at

¹Otermín to the viceroy, El Paso, October 20, 1680, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 206-212.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARTISAN IN THE MOUNTAINS

CHAPTER IV, 1861-1862

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Real Chico.²

Ayeta wrote his prelates in Mexico City on December 20, narrating the events subsequent to his last letter. Here, again, he stressed the instability of the refugee camp and the possibility of losing not only New Mexico, but also the provinces bordering it on the south, if the position were not held. Ayeta planned to delay his journey four days to pay his respects to a friend, which meant an additional four days "galloping," but he hoped, none the less, to arrive in Mexico City on January 6 or 7. He would then present a full report. In concluding, Ayeta made a statement which revealed both the lack of necessities at the refugee encampment and the friar's preoccupation with his tasks:

I assure your reverence, without exaggeration and with the natural sense of humor that God has been pleased to give me, that I fitted myself out for my arrival . . . [in Mexico City], not after the fashion of the habit of the Capuchins, but by piecemeal, at the expense of friends now gone.³

As he had intended, Ayeta arrived in Mexico City in the first week of January, 1681. On January 7 he requested permission to rest for twenty-four hours, being both tired and ill from his journey, before presenting personally before the viceroy the matters concerning New Mexico. The viceroy, he had learned, had called a junta general for January 7 to consider the autos and other reports which the friar had delivered. Undoubtedly Ayeta, at this time, felt a measure of gratitude mixed with dismay. He had been

²Ayeta to the Father Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, *ibid.*, 212-17.

³*Ibid.*

given, upon his arrival in Mexico City, the royal cedula which instructed the viceroy to take whatever measures he saw necessary for the security of New Mexico. Certainly it was too late to fulfill the original need for which the cedula had been requested, but perhaps this decree could yet be put to use. Ayeta immediately forwarded the cedula to the junta.⁴

Four days prior to this, on January 3, the fiscal had reviewed the letters of Ayeta, Leiva, and others written immediately following the revolt. Strangely, the fiscal expressed his failure to understand why New Mexico had not been granted a presidio, citing even the authorization which Ayeta had claimed provided for such a measure. It would be unreasonable, he claimed, to ask the refugees to remain in New Mexico without the protection of a presidio placed at El Paso.⁵ On January 7 the fiscal advised that Ayeta submit his own memorandum on the matter. Ayeta, he stated, should also be reimbursed for the amounts which he had expended in behalf of the refugees. And, again, he recommended the long-overdue presidio. The junta, meeting on this same day, also stated that Ayeta should present in writing "everything that he may see fit," to be examined by a junta to meet on January 10.⁶

On January 9 Fray Ayeta submitted the requested report. Citing the memorandum of the cabildo, the friar stated that there

⁴Ayeta to the viceroy, México, January 7, 1681, ibid., 233-34.

⁵Reply of the fiscal, México, January 3, 1681, ibid., 217-25.

⁶Reply of the fiscal, México, January 7, 1681, ibid., 226-33; Junta general de hacienda, Mexico, January 7, 1681, ibid., 236-37.

were numerous items which that recommendation did not include. These he enumerated: two hundred flintlock arquebuses for both settlers and soldiers, six thousand gunflints, two hundred fifty swords, and a quantity of gunpowder. Ayeta then turned to the matter of what the revolt had cost the Order of Saint Francis through his own actions. The wagons which he had taken to New Mexico in the previous year contained 14,000 pesos in goods. Of this amount 8,000 pesos in clothing and other articles had been sent by Captain Joseph de Retes, consigned to Otermín and other citizens on the credit of the governor. These goods had been distributed among the refugees. In order to clear this account Ayeta had the governor's power of attorney. The other items in the wagons, worth 6,000 pesos, were intended for the friars, who never received them. Since these articles had been purchased on credit, Ayeta therefore requested payment by the viceregal government that he might, in turn, settle the accounts. The total expenditure, according to Ayeta, had been 29,250 pesos, 19,625 of which was still due the Order from the royal treasury. This total, he added, did not include the expense of arming the expedition under Leiva which had returned to New Mexico immediately after the revolt. This Ayeta had accomplished on loans from various unnamed persons.⁷

Ayeta continued his memorial with advice that action be taken to supply the refugees with provisions after February of 1681, at which time the aid being supplied by the friars would

⁷Memorial of Ayeta to the viceroy, México, January 9, 1681, *ibid.*, 237-42.

expire, and until the supplies asked by the cabildo were sent in August. He also recommended that the wagons which he had taken to New Mexico be retained there because of the need for them in a reconquest and the great expense of organizing a new supply train. He asked the junta to act on all of these matters, giving him a certification of the decision for the protection of himself and the Order to show that their incurred obligations had been met.⁸

The reception of this petition can hardly be compared with that of Ayeta's pleas two years earlier. This time there was no hesitation on the part of either junta or viceroy. The former, on January 10, recommended that a committee of capable men chosen by the viceroy meet with Ayeta to decide in detail all the needs of the displaced colony. It was resolved that El Paso would be maintained and a reconquest of the lost provinces undertaken. The viceroy thus named Don Martín de Solís Miranda, the fiscal, and Don Gonzalo Suárez de San Martín, an oidor of the audiencia. He also appointed Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, factor of the treasury, to liquidate the accounts.⁹

Accordingly Ayeta met with those appointed and the necessary accounts were drawn up for the reduction of New Mexico, the authorized presidio, and the required stores and munitions. One hundred fifty soldier-citizens, to be recruited from among the refugees, were authorized for the entrada. Each was to receive

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Auto of the junta general de hacienda, México, January 10, 1681, ibid., 242-43.

250 pesos paid in tools and other goods. For the presidial garrison fifty soldiers were to be recruited in Sonora, Parral, and elsewhere. The payments to these were to be in shoes, clothing, etc. The decision was also made to provide sustenance of ten head of cattle and ten fanegas of maize per day for the refugees from March 1 until the following October 1. The cost of all of this totaled 95,446 pesos. From this amount was to be subtracted 40,960 pesos, the amount due the dead priests for the triennium 1680-1683. Thus the crown would expend a total of 54,486 pesos. Without delay the matter was returned to the hands of the junta of the real hacienda.¹⁰

This junta on January 17 approved the presidial establishment, leaving the choice of its immediate site to the governor. After the reconquest the garrison was to be moved to a new site chosen by the viceroy. The rest of the memorandum was approved without change. Finally, to clear the account of the 29,250 pesos which Ayeta had spent on provisions for the refugees, it was declared: "Let him be satisfied by deducting the balance . . . in his favor in the account which he has presented, from the amount . . . for the mission[s]"¹¹

Apparently Fray Ayeta had the problems of preparations for the reconquest of New Mexico well in hand, for in late January he urgently requested that the viceroy name persons to receive

¹⁰Memorandum, México, 1681, *ibid.*, 244-45.

¹¹Junta general de hacienda, México, January 17, 1681, *ibid.*, 246-51.

250 pesos said to be for the...
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Memorandum, Mexico, 1881.
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Juntas...
1881.
1881.

the credit which the royal officials would advance to Parral, to assure conveyance of the supplies to El Paso. The junta, the friar claimed, had forgotten to do so. Also, added Ayeta, the shipper should be ordered to pack the powder the usual special way for its safe passage. Father Ayeta was evidently intent on not allowing any detail to evade his scrutiny.¹²

A week after its authorization of the aid for New Mexico, ✓ the junta of the royal treasury petitioned the viceroy to appoint Ayeta as its agent to direct the transport of the aid to New Mexico:

For to intrust the administration of this succor to anyone other than the father procurador general is to endanger a matter of such consequence, particularly when the person of the said father procurador is so recommended by the experience which has been had of his operations--reasons which have impelled this junta to supply this succor--and it cannot be accomplished by any other hands than his.

But the services of Ayeta were not to be had this easily.¹³

The viceroy readily concurred in this appointment, but on January 28 Ayeta petitioned that he be released from the obligation, declaring that he could not return immediately to New Mexico. ✓ Almost exactly a year earlier, in Madrid, the Order had named him to the post of procurador general for the Province of the Holy Gospel and, moreover, for all other Franciscan provinces of New Spain. This appointment, it was stated, came as the result of the great zeal which Ayeta had shown in his New Mexico activities and

¹² Report and petition of Ayeta, México, January, 1681, ibid., 251-53.

¹³ Junta general de hacienda, México, January 24, 1681, ibid., 253-54.

because of his experience in the " . . . business of this court [Madrid] because of having been here in former times and having managed and conducted it with entire prudence and efficiency."¹⁴ No one, it was declared, was to prevent Ayeta's departure for Spain on the flota returning from its 1680 voyage. Thus, stated Ayeta, in spite of his desire to serve both majesties his passage to Castile had both been ordered and given royal approval, and the patent could not be ignored.¹⁵

But the viceregal officials in Mexico were not to be put off. On January 28 the fiscal reiterated his belief that Ayeta was the only person qualified by experience to take the aid to New Mexico or to manage the wagons. Understanding that Ayeta and his prelates were not free to oppose the friar's departure for Spain, the fiscal suggested that the viceroy personally intervene and order Ayeta to remain. He reasoned that, if the viceroy had the power to expel a priest, he also possessed the power to retain one. Thus, on February 7, the Order of Saint Francis was notified that Ayeta had been ordered by the viceroy to suspend his departure until he had made another trip to New Mexico. Ayeta was called in and the notice read to him. Without other comment he stated his acceptance of the order even at the cost of his new appointment. Apparently this implication that the appointment as procurador general for New Spain might be rescinded caused the viceroy to

¹⁴Patent of Fray Juan Luego to Ayeta, Madrid, January 25, 1680, ibid., 255-57.

¹⁵Petition of Ayeta to the viceroy, México, January 28, 1681, ibid., 254-55.

fear its occurrence. Late in February he reported the matter to the crown, asking that the king personally take action to prevent Ayeta from being deprived of this new office because of his retention for the reconquest of New Mexico. Five months later the fiscal in Madrid, in approving the viceroy's action, stated that it was "to be kept in mind" that Ayeta would resume his new appointment upon completion of his present task.¹⁶ Thus Ayeta continued his preparations for conducting the aid to New Mexico. His departure from Mexico City must have been early in March, judging by his arrival at El Paso on September 7.

During the absence of Ayeta from New Mexico several things were taking place in and regarding this province. In January of 1681 Fray Bartolomé de Escañuela, the Bishop of Durango and a Franciscan, ambiguously laid claim to New Mexico for his episcopal see on the basis that its citizens, in moving to El Paso, had entered the religious jurisdiction of Durango. On January 4, 1681 the bishop accordingly appointed Fray Juan Álvarez as parish priest, vicar, and ecclesiastical judge at El Paso. On April 10 the definitorio of the Province of the Holy Gospel protested this action, claiming that neither El Paso nor any other convent in New Mexico had ever been, nor was now, under the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya. This action, in fact, was contrary to royal cédulas making the custodia of New Mexico an independent jurisdiction. Ayeta had,

¹⁶Reply of the fiscal, México, January 28, 1681, *ibid.*, 258-61; Notification, México, February 7, 1681, *ibid.*, 261; Viceroy to the king, México, February 28, 1681, *ibid.*, II, 3-16; Reply of the fiscal, Madrid, July 7, 1681, *ibid.*, 16.

the letter stated, informed the prelates of the Order that Viceroy Paredes had personally urged the governor of Nueva Vizcaya not to extend jurisdiction over El Paso in order to prevent conflict regarding the proposed entrada.¹⁷

On July 4, 1681, apparently in an attempt to end the objections to his claim of jurisdiction, Bishop Escañuela appointed Ayeta to the post he had earlier given Álvarez. There is no record of the response of Ayeta to his appointment. No reply was necessary for, at this time, Ayeta was en route to El Paso with a vice-regal order which transferred the El Paso area to the jurisdiction of the governor of New Mexico.¹⁸

The overall situation of the refugee colony at El Paso during Ayeta's absence was decidedly unstable. The meager ration of beef and corn supplied by Ayeta and his fellow friars, hardly sufficient in the beginning, was apparently poorly distributed, with several of the large families receiving more than their share. Others, it would appear, especially those from Río Abajo who had removed many of their belongings from New Mexico, were taking advantage of their sounder economic position at the expense of the other refugees. There were also continued threats of uprisings

¹⁷ Don Fray Bartolomé de Escañuela, Bishop of Durango, Durango, January 4, 1681, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 2; Definitorio to Bishop Escañuela, México, April 10, 1681, ibid.

¹⁸ Escañuela to Definidores, Durango, July 4, 1681, ibid.; Junta general, México, January 17, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, I, 246-51; Eleanor B. Adams, ed., Bishop Tamaron's Visitation of New Mexico, 1790 (New Mexico Historical Society, Publications in History, vol. 15, Albuquerque, 1954), 2-12.

the latter stated, although the first of the latter
Parsons had previously stated the Government of Mexico
extended jurisdiction over all cases of persons who
giving the proposed extension.

On July 4, 1901, a report was made to the
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Ayeta to the post he had been given. He was
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The overall situation of the case was
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violent in the beginning, was a violent fight. The
several of the large families were also in the
Others, as would expect, reported to the
removed many of their belongings from the
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other refugees. There were also several others in the

17 Don José Narváez de Escobedo, Bishop of Durango,
January 4, 1901, 200, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100,
Mexico, April 10, 1901, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100,
18 Escobedo de Narváez, Bishop of Durango, 100, 100, 100,
Luna General, Mexico, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100,
1, 248-21; Escobedo de Narváez, Bishop of Durango, 100, 100, 100,
New Mexico, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100,
History, vol. 1, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100, 100,

by the Indians of Nueva Vizcaya. The number of refugees continued to decrease as many fled southward in the hope of finding greater security.

On April 5 Otermín had called a junta de guerra at El Paso to discuss these and other problems. Here it was reported that the supply of beef, which apparently the friars had attempted to continue past the end of February, was inadequate for such a large number of people. Word from México of the renewal of this succor had not arrived. The friars reported that they could barely collect enough provisions to maintain the colony for another month. Otermín then turned to his subordinates for advice. The answers he received reflected a willingness on the part of most to undertake an entrada but based the advisability of this action on the availability of supplies. Several, however, simply declared an entrada out of the question and advised applying to Parral for immediate aid. Otermín saw no solution in these varied answers and decided to attempt to hold his present position. He then sent Pedro de Leiva with ten men to Casas Grandas and other areas to purchase whatever cattle they could at the governor's expense.¹⁹

Apparently just before leaving Mexico with the aid, Ayeta wrote Governor Otermín of what had transpired. On April 24 the governor received this message. With Ayeta's letter were also letters of credit which would allow Otermín to purchase horses in Sonora. The dispatch also contained the order extending the succor

¹⁹Auto de junta de guerra, El Paso, April 5, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 17-18; Walz, 43-48.

by the Indians of New Mexico, and a number of persons were
to discuss at length the state of the country.
security.

On April 30, 1848, the United States Government
to discuss these and other questions. The
supply of food, clothing, and other necessities
state past the end of the year. The number of
number of people, both Indians and Americans,
had not arrived. The Indians were in a state of
enough provisions to last the winter. The
then turned to the United States Government
reflected a willingness to accept of the
but passed the subject of the United States
supplies. Governor Johnston, in his report, said
question and advised the United States Government
was no solution in these cases. The United States
hold his present position. He said that he was
was to these Indians and other persons who were
they could at the Government's expense.

Apparently, just before the war, the United States
wrote Governor Johnston of what had happened. The
Governor received this message. He said that he
letters of credit which were given to the
Senators. The dispatch was forwarded to the
United States Government.

It is to be noted that the United States
and Shelby, Rev. J. H. Smith, and others.

for the refugee camp until October 1. The future of the El Paso colony was now assured.²⁰

Ayeta, during this time, was making his way slowly toward New Mexico. As he approached the vicinity of Parral he was met by continued rumors that the refugees at El Paso were content in their new location and not desirous of reconquering New Mexico. Ayeta could not understand the cause of these stories, since the request had been for supplies and not for settlers. On August 2 Ayeta entered Parral, where he was told the entrada was impossible because he had not brought more people from México. Not wanting to believe that his efforts were in vain, the friar chose to interpret this statement to mean presidial soldiers rather than the settler-soldiers. Thus, in Parral, Ayeta petitioned Governor Estrada for help in enlisting the fifty men for the presidio, asking that anyone in the area who had earlier left New Mexico be forced to return. Ayeta remarked later that a number of such persons ended up on the entrada.²¹

As Ayeta prepared to leave Parral he was met by Francisco Xavier and Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera, who had been sent by Otermín with a package of letters " . . . to honor . . . [Ayeta's] humility and to bid him welcome." The two men also asked that the friar aid them in obtaining the supplies which had been

²⁰Vélez de Escalante, Extractos, BNM, leg. 3, docs. 1-2 (cited hereinafter as Escalante, Extractos); Opinion of Ayeta, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 305-18.

²¹Opinion of Ayeta, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 305-18.

authorized. Ayeta accordingly presented the memorandum of supplies to the notary at Parral in order to obtain certification of the prices which the crown would have to pay. He also presented the draft on the treasury office of Durango for payment for these goods purchased at Parral. With the purchase of supplies and their shipment to New Mexico provided for, Ayeta continued on northward. Nearing El Paso, he encountered Francisco Domínguez, the son of Thomé Domínguez, driving sheep to Parral, where he intended to sell them. Ayeta purchased the flock and returned it to El Paso.²²

As Father Ayeta neared New Mexico, on August 30 in El Paso and the following day in San Lorenzo de La Toma (the southernmost of the now scattered camps in the El Paso area) Otermín issued a decree proclaiming the viceregal decision that the reconquest should be undertaken. The governor announced the plan to enlist one hundred fifty settler-soldiers from those who had fled New Mexico and fifty soldiers for the presidio at El Paso. He also declared the necessity of a muster to be taken of everyone in the area.²³

On September 7 Ayeta arrived at El Paso, some twenty leagues ahead of the wagons which carried the arms, munitions, and other provisions consigned to his care. On the following day Otermín issued the order for a general muster to be conducted by himself, beginning on September 9. This muster was to reveal the actual

²² Ibid.; Walz, 60-61.

²³ Escalante, Extractos, BNM, leg. 3, doc. 1; BNM, leg. 2, doc. 1; Publication of a proclamation, El Paso, September 2, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 32; Walz, 51-52.

authorized. I am sorry to hear that the...
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21 July 1914

Enclosed...
doc. is...
Hackett and...

ONE
BOARD

state of the refugee colony. Earlier accusations that various persons had fled from New Mexico with many of their belongings, and yet had been accepting aid along with those who were destitute, were now verified. Also, it was now revealed that many persons had fled beyond the settlements authorized by the governor. Ayeta revealed his awareness of this situation and the general attitude of the refugees when he later declared that, even before Otermín had begun the muster, ". . . there were not lacking those who began to raise difficulties and obstacles." Aware that the earlier promises and good intentions of the citizens "had changed to cold indifference," Ayeta reproached them with the reminder that they would be in a "difficult position," in view of the royal aid, if the entrada were not carried out.²⁴

Between the time of Father Ayeta's arrival at El Paso on September 7 and September 20, when the last of the wagons had arrived, preparations for the entrada progressed slowly. The priest was occupied during this time with the task of taking an inventory of the contents of the wagons as they arrived. On September 9 Otermín began the muster at San Lorenzo, but it quickly became apparent that the count would take some time due to the reluctance of those persons who had scattered into outlying areas to return and be counted. On September 12 the governor authorized Juan Domínguez to begin the muster at El Paso, in the hope of

²⁴Auto for passing muster, San Lorenzo, September 8, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 32-33; Muster roll, San Lorenzo, September 9-12, 1681, ibid., 34-68; Ayeta to the Father Commissary General, Real Chico, December 20, 1680, ibid., I, 212-17.

state of the evidence... sons had fled from... yet had been accounted... were now verified... had fled beyond the... revealed his... of the evidence... had begun the... to raise... issues and good... difference,"... would be in a... the evidence...

Between the... September 1 and... arrived, preparations... protest was... inventory of the... teacher &... became apparent... resistance of... to return and be... Juan Dominguez...

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Also for... Hooker and... September 9-12, 1981... General, Hotel...

speeding up the process. Not until September 21 was Otermín able to declare the muster roll at San Lorenzo closed.²⁵

Despite the governor's efforts to speed the preparations for the entrada, complete co-operation from the refugees was not forthcoming. On September 18 it became openly apparent that not all the Spaniards were in favor of an immediate reconquest. On that day Luis Granillo, representing the cabildo and citizens, presented a resumé of the events to that time. He stressed the hardships and sufferings of the refugees, the widespread desertion, and the generally poor condition of the colony. Although he stated the willingness of the settlers to follow their governor, Granillo's petition contained an implied argument against an immediate entrada. He emphasized, among other points, that the aid from México had arrived later in the year than had been anticipated, and that winter would soon be upon them.²⁶

On September 20 Ayeta turned over to the secular authorities the last of the contents of his wagons. He requested immediate certification of the acceptance of the goods in order that he might begin preparation of the wagons which were to go on the entrada and send the others to Parral for more provisions. He had, just prior to this, been reminded by Francisco Xavier that the succor provided by the viceroy was to expire on October 1, and even while

²⁵Auto of Otermín, San Lorenzo, September 12, 1681, *ibid.*, II, 69; Continuation of the muster, San Lorenzo, September 13-21, 1681, *ibid.*, 70-74; Auto for passing muster, El Paso, September 15, 1681, *ibid.*, 74.

²⁶Petition of Luis Granillo, September 18, 1681, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 1. (The date is from Escalante, *Extractos*.)

it was still supplied the refugees lacked sufficient food. On the basis of his own observation Ayeta agreed with the justification of Xavier's plea for more provisions, regardless of the great expense to which the crown had already been put. The friar noted that the religious had attempted to raise crops during the summer, but that bad weather had caused their failure. Ayeta then stated that the viceroy was willing to extend the grant of provisions from October 1 until the following April 30, with another 2,000 cattle and 2,000 fanegas of maize.²⁷ This statement of the viceroy's intention proved to be true, but Ayeta apparently made it on the basis of personal knowledge rather than official authorization. As noted earlier, Ayeta immediately prepared to dispatch wagons to Parral for provisions. On October 3 he wrote the viceroy asking for this additional aid which he had taken upon himself to supply. The following January it was given approval by the viceroyal government.²⁸

In spite of the efforts of Ayeta and Otermín to ready the force for the entrada, the original date for its departure (set for the end of September) passed with the settlers appearing increasingly reluctant to undertake the task. As Otermín had prepared to enlist and pay the presidial garrison the members of the cabildo again voiced their feelings on the situation. This

²⁷Auto of Ayeta, El Paso, September 20, 1681, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 1. (Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 88, erroneously give this date as September 21.)

²⁸Ayeta to the viceroy, El Paso, October 3, 1681, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 1; Reply of the fiscal, México, January 5, 1682, ibid.

it was still supposed to be a...
the basis of his own...
tion of Xavier's...
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estimate of the poor state of preparedness of the Spaniards was based on statements which Ayeta had made on September 20, apparently in the hope of strengthening their stand. None the less, on September 22 Otermín had ordered that both the presidial soldiers and the soldier-settlers be paid. But the slow process of issuing to each man his salary in goods revealed a cause for further delay of the reconquest. A number of the Spaniards, claiming advanced age, illness, or hardship, refused payment as soldier-settlers. Among this group were some of the leading citizens of the community, several of whom had brought from New Mexico many of their worldly goods. Otermín accordingly, on September 29, began judicial proceedings against these persons as a protection for himself and as a basis for future legal action.²⁹

While the wagons for the entrada waited in readiness at El Paso, Otermín took depositions of those who were unwilling to go on the reconquest. Thus, not until October 18 was the final list of soldiers for both the presidio and the reconquest published. On October 20 the governor drew up a list of questions regarding those who refused to serve, to be answered by the leading men of the community. By this time Otermín's anger with the disrespect and insubordination of numerous of the citizens and with the general

²⁹ Auto of junta, n.d., BNM, leg. 2, doc. 1; Autos of Otermín, El Paso, September 21-22, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 92-93; Record and list, El Paso, September 22-October 16, 1681, ibid., 94-134; Auto and judicial proceedings, El Paso, September 29-October 18, 1681, ibid., 143-52; Proclamation of Otermín, San Lorenzo, October 18, 1681, ibid., 156-57.

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...based on ...
...in the hope of ...
...September 25 ...
...and the ...
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...proceeding ...
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...El Paso ...
...go on the ...
...first of ...
...On October 22 ...
...those who ...
...the community ...
...and ...

22
...of ...
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...October 22 ...
...October 22 ...

state of affairs was clearly evident.³⁰

On October 23 Otermín placed the presidial garrison and the community at San Lorenzo under the command of the lieutenant governor, Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez. The presidial soldiers were to be stationed at both El Paso and San Lorenzo. This done, the governor moved north to El Paso to complete the final arrangements for departure. During the entire month of October Ayeta, along with four other religious, had waited at El Paso to begin the march into New Mexico. Finally, on November 5, the company ✓ of one hundred forty-six Spaniards and one hundred twelve Christian Indians, along with Father Ayeta and other friars, left El Paso to begin the reconquest of New Mexico.³¹

The account of the attempt by Governor Otermín to reconquer the province of New Mexico in the winter of 1681 has been told in detail by Hackett and Shelby in their Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico The purpose in retelling it here is merely to stress the role which Fray Francisco de Ayeta played in its events. Therefore this brief summary will make no attempt to detail the other events of the reconquest, although some may be of greater importance.

³⁰ Auto of Otermín, San Lorenzo, October 20, 1681, ibid., 157-60.

³¹ Proclamation of Otermín, San Lorenzo, October 23, 1681, ibid., 181-82; Ayeta to the viceroy, El Paso, October 3, 1681, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 1; Reply of the fiscal, January 7, 1682, ibid.; March of the army, November 5-December 8, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 202-15.

The first phase of the march into New Mexico was relatively uneventful for Ayeta. On November 7, at El Ancón de Fray García, they halted for three days while another and final muster was taken. On the 10th, still only twenty leagues from El Paso, Otermín wrote the viceroy an exceedingly dismal report of the prospects for recovering New Mexico. He blamed the predicted failure on the citizens who refused to go on the expedition and on those who were with him only because they had no other choice.³²

On November 25 the army neared Senecú, the southernmost of the New Mexico pueblos. On the following morning Otermín and a squad of forty soldiers, accompanied by Ayeta, left the main company to reconnoiter the area of Senecú. The pueblo was found deserted; its church and convent had been burned. Under the direction of Ayeta all the crosses found in the village, along with parts of a crucifix, were burned. The remains of the altar were thrown into the river. The friar then requested Otermín to have the clappers removed from the bells which were found, two in the church towers and one lying in the cemetery. These bells were then to be stowed in the wagons. (They were not actually taken until the army returned the following January.) The party, at evening, rejoined the main company. On November 27 the entire army arrived at the

³²Otermín to the viceroy, Place of La Punta, November 10, 1681, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 1; (Walz, 64, erroneously gives this date as November 1); Auto for passing muster, El Ancón de Fray García, November 7, 1681, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 190-91; March of the army, November 5-December 8, 1681, ibid., 202-15.

ruined pueblo of San Pasqual, which Ayeta also inspected.³³

The pueblo of Socorro was reached on November 30. Like the others it was deserted, its church burned. As in all the pueblos, Ayeta made it his duty to survey the damage and desecration in the mission. Here it was noted that apparently the rebelling Pueblos had burned the church and destroyed the images, exhuming those buried by the priests, following which the Apaches had entered and sacked the pueblo but had ignored whatever religious articles they found. On Ayeta's orders the remaining religious fragments were gathered and burned. Otermín then set fire to the entire pueblo. The army then continued north, finding the same desolation and destruction.³⁴

On December 5 the Spaniards arrived at a place known as Las Barrancas, twenty-three leagues above Senecú. Here the governor ordered his soldiers and the Indian allies to cease their sacking of the pueblos and, henceforth, to bring all articles which they found to either him or Ayeta, depending on the nature of the item. Then, at dawn on December 6, Otermín and seventy soldiers moved to encircle the inhabited pueblo of Isleta. The village was surrendered with almost no struggle. The governor then assembled the Isletans, along with Piro Indians from Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, in the plaza and severely reprimanded them, ignoring their protestations of innocence. The ruined church and convent

³³March of the army, November 5- December 8, 1681, ibid., 202-15.

³⁴Ibid.

trained people in the field, which is a very important
The people of the area are very poor and have no money
others it was necessary to go to the market and buy
Agate said it was very hard to find the people and
mission. There is no money to pay for the people's
had owned a house and a car, but they had no money
bought by the people. The people had no money and
and asked the people to pay for the people's
they found. The people had no money and the people
were gathered together. The people had no money and
people. The people had no money and the people
and destroyed.

On December 5, the people of the area were
has been very hard for the people. The people
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to order the people to pay for the people's
readers with a very hard. The people
Isletana, along with the people of the area
Seville, in the field and the people of the area
their protection of the people. The people of the area

were inspected by the soldiers and the religious articles which remained were given to the secretary of government to be turned over to Ayeta, who was taken ill at this time and had remained with the wagons which had not accompanied the attack.³⁵

Believing he had the Indians of Isleta well in hand, Otermín sent two Indian runners north to the pueblos of Puaray, Sandía, and Alameda to order their peaceful surrender, that they might receive Christian instruction. Otermín then sent word of this to Ayeta, who immediately set out for Isleta on horseback in spite of his illness. As the priest approached the pueblo the Indians ran to meet him. Ayeta greeted them in a loud voice: "Praised be the most holy sacrament and the purity of our Lady, the Virgin Mary, conceived without stain of sin." The Indians answered: "Forever." Ayeta then dismounted and was embraced by the throng. At the sounding of the Angelus the Indians recited the Ave Maria loudly, thrice, before departing for their homes.³⁶

On the morning of December 7 Otermín assembled the Indians of Isleta and Ayeta brought into the plaza a portable altar set on a four-wheeled cart, before which he had said mass every day. Donning his alb and stole, and through the aid of an interpreter, he delivered a sermon before the assembled Indians. He sought to impress on them the gravity of their sins and admonished them to return to the faith. He described to them the things which pleased God and were to His service. Then the friar absolved the apostates

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

and baptized the infants. He ordered all the Indians to come with their wives and children and, joining them with the widowers and bachelors, ordered them to ask the pardon of God. On December 8, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, Ayeta again moved the portable altar into the plaza. He blessed a large pine cross which the Spaniards had constructed and heard the governor's confession. Then Ayeta and Otermín personally raised the cross in the cemetery. Following this the friar said mass before the congregated Indians and spoke to them, this time in a kindly tone, of God's favor which they had won by returning to the Church. Otermín followed this with an address of a similarly mild character.³⁷

Also on December 8 the active operations of reconquest were resumed. Juan Domínguez was chosen by the governor to command a reconnaissance of the pueblos to the north. He was ordered to sack those he found vacant and to arrest any inhabitants. On the following day Otermín took steps to obtain grain from the Isletans, but acquired a total of only fifteen fanegas, since there had been no harvest that year. In his dealings at Isleta the governor began to learn the nature of the situation within New Mexico since the revolt. Apparently both Otermín and Ayeta spent much time discussing these and other matters, since there are references to the two spending numerous hours together. At eleven o'clock on the night of December 9, when Ayeta was apparently involved in one of these discussions, a soldier arrived from Domínguez's detachment. He carried with him a small bronze crucifix, a chalice, and other

³⁷ Ibid.

religious articles which had been found at Alameda.³⁸

Juan Domínguez, arriving at the pueblo of Alameda, had found it deserted, its residents apparently in the nearby hills. But here he discovered quantities of grain and beans, as well as good pastures in the vicinity. He sent recommendations to Otermín that a camp be established between Alameda and the pueblo of Puaray. Accordingly, on December 10 Otermín prepared to move to that location, but was delayed by a snowstorm. At ten o'clock that night an Indian arrived bearing a letter from Domínguez in which the latter stated that he had found the pueblo of Sandía deserted, but here also he had found quantities of grain. This messenger found Ayeta with the governor, as he had been on the previous night. The frequency of Ayeta's talks with Otermín give rise to the question of what influence the friar had with the governor at this stage of the expedition. But neither of them give any definite information on this. Otermín, however, did have Ayeta present for all interrogations during the remainder of the entrada. But Ayeta made no recorded statements regarding the conduct of the entrada until officially asked to do so by the governor.³⁹

The events of the following days were marked by numerous incidents of active participation by Ayeta. The main army, although hampered by severe cold and almost continual rain and snow,

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Order of Juan Domínguez, La Isleta, December 8, 1681, *ibid.*, 215-18; Auto, Isleta, December 9, 1681, *ibid.*, 218-19; Auto, Isleta, December 9, 1681, *ibid.*, 221-22.

³⁹ Domínguez to Otermín, Alameda, December 9, 1681, *ibid.*, 219-21; Auto and letter, Isleta, December 10, 1681, *ibid.*, 222; Domínguez to Otermín, Sandía, December 10, 1681, *ibid.*, 225-27.

revisions arrived with the first of the month.
Juan Dominguez, the first of the month.
found it necessary, the first of the month.
but have no answer to the first of the month.
good answers to the first of the month.
that a camp be established at the first of the month.
Accordingly, on December 1st, the first of the month.
time, but was delayed by the first of the month.
an Indian arrived at the first of the month.
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agents with the government, the first of the month.
frequency of the first of the month.
of what influence the first of the month.
the expedition. But nothing of the first of the month.
on this. Over the first of the month.
relations during the first of the month.
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officially asked to be the first of the month.
The events of the first of the month.
incidents of native resistance to the first of the month.
though hampered by the first of the month.

35
1931-32: Order of Juan Dominguez, the first of the month.
1931-32: Order of Juan Dominguez, the first of the month.
Also, 1931-32: Order of Juan Dominguez, the first of the month.
39
Dominguez to Oetain, the first of the month.
219-22: Also sent to the first of the month.
Dominguez to Oetain, the first of the month.

reached the pueblo of Alameda on December 14. At the hour of the Angelus on that day Ayeta went into the kiva, said "Praised be the most holy sacrament," and with the aid of Otermín, set fire to the chambers. At dawn the following morning, while the governor burned the pueblo, Ayeta busied himself with collecting and cleaning the beans which, along with large quantities of maize, had been brought out of the village under his direction. The following day Otermín conferred with his officers and with Ayeta on the decision to cross the river to Puaray. It would appear that, by this time, Ayeta had become as much a part of the command of the entrada as were Otermín's lieutenants.⁴⁰

The morning of December 17 dawned clear for the first time in a week. But Ayeta was not up and busy at his numerous activities. Prolonged exposure to the severe weather had again brought illness, and his secretary was now acting in his behalf. But the entrada, it appeared, had nearly come to a halt. The main company had remained on the Río del Norte within view of the pueblos of the Bernalillo area, and the reconnaissance party under Domínguez de Mendoza was returning from Cochití after failing to induce the rebellious Indians down from the sierra of Cieneguilla and Jémez, where they chose to remain despite deep snow and severe cold. Thus the expedition entered into a new phase--a period of interrogation of both Indian captives and leaders of the Spanish company.⁴¹

⁴⁰Continuation of the march, December 13-18, 1681, ibid., 227-32.

⁴¹Ibid.

reached the pueblo at about 10 o'clock. At that time
arriving on that day. The people of the pueblo
most holy sacrament, and with this in mind, the
members. At that time the following members
the pueblo, together with the following members
seems to be, and with this in mind, the
out of the village. The people of the pueblo
confronted with his presence and the people of the pueblo
the river to the south. In a small boat, the people of the pueblo
became as much a part of the people of the pueblo as the people of the pueblo
the people of the pueblo. The people of the pueblo
in a week. The people of the pueblo
Protracted exposure to the people of the pueblo
and his secretary, who was to be in the pueblo
it appeared, and with this in mind, the people of the pueblo
remained on the 15th day of the month of the people of the pueblo
Bexarillo was, and with this in mind, the people of the pueblo
Kendall was returning from the pueblo of the people of the pueblo
rebellious Indians. The people of the pueblo
where they chose to remain. The people of the pueblo
the expedition. The people of the pueblo
both Indian and Mexican. The people of the pueblo

Continued on page 2

On December 20 Otermín reviewed the events of the entrada and showed the first signs of his suspicion of Juan Domínguez when the latter failed to produce autos detailing the activities of the advance party. The complex story of Domínguez's activities at Cochití, of Otermín's accusations against his lieutenant, and later accusations brought against him by royal officials in México has yet to be completely explained.⁴² But these events are of only minor concern here, since they involved Ayeta only in a secondary manner. It will suffice to say here that the combination of actions by Domínguez and Otermín, along with other factors which will be discussed below, brought about the cancellation of further attempts to reconquer New Mexico in the winter of 1681 and the subsequent return of the army to El Paso.⁴³

On December 19 and 20 Otermín and Ayeta listened to the testimony of a number of Indian captives who had either been taken by the soldiers or had attempted to join the Spaniards. These prisoners were questioned on the inception of the revolt and its execution and on how the leaders had persuaded nearly all the Indian nations to participate and to oppose the re-entry of the Spanish. From these declarations Ayeta gained valuable evidence which helped in the formulation of the statement he presented to a junta de guerra several days later. On December 20 the governor drew up an interrogatory to be answered by the leading officers

⁴²Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, gives a detailed narrative of these events.

⁴³Auto of Otermín, Río del Norte, December 20, 1681, ibid., II, 253-55.

for the purpose of gaining a composite statement regarding the rebellious Indians--their reactions, attempts at treachery, and their condition since the revolt. The several depositions taken on the following two days were in basic agreement with Domínguez on the Indian intentions to annihilate the Spanish force by whatever means of treachery they might be compelled to use. Then, because of the severity of the weather, on December 23 Otermín suspended interrogation and called a junta de guerra to decide on what action should be taken.⁴⁴

On the morning of December 23 Otermín, having called certain of his officers to council by name, sent Francisco Xavier to ask Ayeta to attend, along with any other of the friars whom Ayeta might bring. Xavier found Ayeta again ill due to the extreme cold. On being advised of the junta the friar replied that, in Xavier's words, "the matter . . . has cost his reverence extreme sorrow and anxiety . . . and he desires to state his sentiments once and for all." The priest asked that the junta be suspended for two hours to allow him time to write his reply, since he was too ill to go out into the storm. Otermín thereby dismissed the council until the afternoon.⁴⁵

Ayeta read his statement to Francisco Xavier before giving him the paper, asking him to repeat it before the junta as he had

⁴⁴Ibid., 232-53; Ibid., 253-303; Auto of Otermín, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, ibid., 303.

⁴⁵Auto of Otermín, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, ibid., 304; Auto of Francisco Xavier, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, ibid., 304-305; Auto of Otermín, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, ibid., 305.

heard it read. The friar began with a statement of his awareness ✓ of the planned treachery by the Indians who had conferred with Domínguez. He stated that he had personally worked for the success of the entrada, spending the days and part of the nights of December 20-22 in "active efforts." (He had spent this time helping with the interrogation of prisoners and soldiers.) This did not sound at all like Ayeta. The tone of his statement was that of a man who was weary and discouraged. In view of his illness, if for no other reason, it would appear that such was Ayeta's condition. This would also account for the candidness with which he admitted that he spoke.⁴⁶

Ayeta wasted no words in approaching the conclusion which he had reached regarding the future of the entrada. There was simply no further hope at present, he said, of chastising the Indians. The bases on which the entrada had been planned were now proven to be false. The Indians were not repentant: instead of being mistreated by their Apache confederates they had been assisted, and ✓ thus they saw no reason for needing the protection of the Spanish. Furthermore, it had been felt that, once a few Pueblos had surrendered, all but the leaders would follow suit. This assumption had already been proven false. Also it had been believed that only the leaders of the revolt were deeply set against the Christian religion, but the widespread destruction of missions and religious articles testified to the contrary. This Ayeta linked to the

⁴⁶ Opinion of Ayeta, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, ibid., 305-18.

"remedy" in the form of severe and repeated punishments which had been applied by the Spaniards for many years. Convenience and comfort, he noted, meant little to the Indians. The Pueblos had already spent fourteen days in the sierra in two varas of snow, protected by only a minimum of shelter, in preference to surrendering to the Spaniards. Even good treatment afforded the Indian captives had failed to induce the rebellious Pueblos to return to their homes.⁴⁷

In his statement Ayeta revealed how he had kept close watch on the attitude of the refugees, both during the evacuation and later. He had, through personal conversations, learned of the "consuming" desire of the Spaniards to return and retake New Mexico, even at high cost to themselves. But once on the entrada, the friar noted, the general attitude was reversed. The "disgruntled" persons were now in the majority. The governor deliberately overlooked and tolerated this, while he, Ayeta, did everything possible to placate them and win them over. Two weeks journey from El Paso, Ayeta reported, the attitude of the soldiers seemed to have changed for the better. Being thoroughly familiar with the overall affairs of the expedition, Ayeta had gone, on December 21, to the messes of the soldiers to learn their feelings. He had found them so rebellious and adverse as to make the governor's plans for further action impossible. The men who had horses would not lend their mounts to the governor, himself, if asked. Hatred for everyone in command seemed to be the general characteristic.

⁴⁷Ibid.

"ready" in the sense of a ready-made suit and tie, and
had been applied to the garment by the manufacturer.
and context. The word "ready" is used in a number of
had also been used to describe the garment in the past.
now, however, it is used to describe the garment in the
unfamiliar to the English speaker. The word "ready" is
Indian garment and called a "ready-made" garment.
ready to be worn.

In the case of the "ready-made" garment, the word
taken to the English speaker as a "ready-made" garment,
and later, the word "ready-made" was used to describe
"convenient" as it is a garment which can be worn
even at short notice and without the need for a tailor.
The word "ready-made" is now used to describe a garment
persons were now in the habit of wearing. The word "ready-made"
looked and felt like a "ready-made" garment. The word "ready-made"
able to be worn at short notice and without the need for a tailor.
In fact, the word "ready-made" is now used to describe a garment
have changed the meaning of the word "ready-made" to mean a garment
overall effect of the garment. The word "ready-made" is now used to
to the meaning of the word "ready-made" to mean a garment which
found these words in the English language. The word "ready-made"
plans for the future. The word "ready-made" is now used to describe a
not have been used in the English language. The word "ready-made"
for everyone's comfort and convenience. The word "ready-made" is now used to describe a garment

The friar therefore advised the governor against going back to Cochití unless the junta gave him its backing, or unless he was able to find a way by which to change the attitude of his men. Never before had the friar been so openly outspoken regarding civil affairs. Ayeta added a postscript to his message: if Otermín were to attempt an expedition of chastisement, he was to tell the men that the friars offered their horses, as well as their supply of biscuits, chocolate, and sugar.⁴⁸

The members of the junta were then called upon to present their views. Except for three they were unanimous in their declaration that another expedition against the Indians was out of the question. The majority gave as its reason the fact that nearly all of the few remaining mounts were now "worthless"; a few claimed that it was mandatory that they return to Isleta to protect that pueblo from loss, which already threatened. This last reason had been mentioned by Ayeta in his statement. Its soundness was reinforced before dawn the following morning with the arrival of an Indian from Isleta warning that earlier in the night armed Indians had menacingly surrounded the pueblo.⁴⁹

Because of the plea from Isleta, Otermín, on December 24, ordered a detachment to that pueblo, and he began a slower march in that direction with the wagons and the remainder of the company.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Opinions given in the junta de guerra, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 23, 1681, ibid., 319-28; Declaration of Juan de la Cruz, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 24, 1681, ibid., 328-30.

On December 30, opposite Isleta, the governor went personally to examine the horses in hopes of finding enough to mount sixty men for action against the Indians. He found only two hundred thirty-six of the original eight hundred fifty-two horses and mules in "moderately good" condition. He then called a junta of his officers. It was generally agreed that not more than twenty-five among the entire company were either armed to meet any emergency or adequately mounted. It was thus advised that the company move ✓ toward El Paso, taking with it the Isletans whom Ayeta had brought back into the faith. "In view of . . . [these declarations] and of the accurate and truthful consulta of the very reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, which lends weight to and con- ✓ firms our findings . . . ," Otermín ordered the entire company to begin its retreat toward El Paso, taking with it the Indians of Isleta. The reconquest of New Mexico had failed.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Auto of Otermín, Hacienda of Luis de Carbajal, December 24, 1681, ibid., 337-38; Auto of Otermín, Place opposite La Isleta, December 30, 1681, ibid., 346-48; Auto of Otermín, Place opposite La Isleta, December 30, 1681, ibid., 349; Auto, Place opposite La Isleta, January 1, 1682, ibid., 354-56.

CHAPTER V

THE FINAL YEAR OF AYETA'S SERVICE TO NEW MEXICO

From the time of the first arrival of the refugees at El Paso following the revolt of 1680 there had been general agreement that the settlements established there for the New Mexicans would be only temporary. It was understood that, once aid from Mexico had been received and the province of New Mexico had been retaken, the settlements at El Paso would no longer be necessary. But with the failure of the attempted reconquest in November and December of 1681 the entire picture was changed. It was now necessary for the El Paso camps to be made into settlements of a more permanent character. But, more important from the standpoint of the events which were to follow, it was necessary that measures be taken to stabilize the restless and unhappy colony.

The march of Governor Otermín and his company, including the ill Father Ayeta, southward along the royal road between Isleta and El Paso was anything but pleasant. While halted at Isleta the governor had again held a junta to insure that he was leaving New Mexico only because those under him demanded it. Fray Ayeta, having spoken his mind "once and for all" several days earlier, was absent from the council. But the decision of this junta concurred with the opinion which the priest had earlier voiced. Thus, plagued by incessantly severe weather, with almost

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continual snowfall, the rapidly weakening army moved south. Quickly the weakness of the animals, a primary reason for the retreat, began to show. On January 19 the company halted at the pueblo of Senecú and the bells which Fray Ayeta had found there were loaded on the wagons. The army then continued toward El Paso. The loss of animals increased daily, further slowing the progress of the company. On February 4, in the area of Doña Ana, the governor and a small detachment left the main company to search in the Sierra de los Órganos for timber with which to construct a settlement. Otermín, apparently not satisfied with the prospect of permanently locating the refugees in the El Paso district even though it was now under his jurisdiction, had hopes of resettling them somewhere to the north of that area. This question of re-locating the settlers was to become more important after the arrival of the army in El Paso.¹ But the governor's search in the region of Doña Ana showed that this would not be the site of relocation. While the army awaited the return of Otermín, Francisco Xavier received a letter from Fray Nicolás Hurtado who was at the mission of Guadalupe del Paso. The latter reported the settlement quiet except for occasional Apache raids as a result of which the settlers had lost two hundred head of cattle.²

On February 10 the beleaguered company arrived at Estero Largo, about forty leagues north of the settlement at San Lorenzo.

¹Infra, 108-110.

²March from Isleta, January 1-February 10, 1682, Hackett and Shelby, Revolt, II, 362-66.

continued to be a source of trouble and distress.
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On the following day, while halted at this place, both the governor and Ayeta wrote reports to the viceroy. Otermín's was for the purpose of drawing together the documents of the abortive reconquest for dispatch to Mexico City. This letter gives some indication of the influence of Ayeta. Otermín gave as the principal reasons for the failure of the entrada the arguments which the friar had presented to the junta de guerra the previous December 23. In spite of his use of these more abstract arguments Otermín also, here and later, placed the blame on shoulders other than his own.³

The governor intended, he told the viceroy, to resettle the El Paso residents on a somewhat permanent basis in two or three settlements, placing the presidio in the most convenient location. This would protect the El Paso area from Apache raids and be a base for the protection of Parral, Casas Grandes, and Sonora as well. But the comments which Ayeta wrote on this same subject gave the first indication of disagreement between himself and the governor. Otermín was intending, Ayeta wrote, to relocate both the Spanish and Indian refugees. The governor planned to settle both groups together in order to take advantage of the protection offered by the presidio. This was ill-advised and would be detrimental to the colony. Doubtless Ayeta had in mind here, besides the conflict of cultures which might arise, the probability of the settlers infringing on and even overrunning the limited arable lands which the friars, with their own and Indian labor,

³Otermín to the viceroy, Estero Largo, February 11, 1682, *ibid.*, 370-75; Ayeta to the viceroy, Estero Largo, February 11, 1682, AGN, Prov. Int., leg. 35, exp. 2.

had made productive. His fellow friars at the mission of Guadalupe were later to voice this same fear.⁴

The troubles of the governor were just beginning when he arrived at El Paso in mid-February of 1682. His most immediate task was that of settling the three hundred eighty-five Isleta Indians who had left New Mexico with the army. Otermín decided to unite these with the Piros who had fled in 1680. On February 18 he called a junta of both Spanish and Indian leaders to aid in choosing a permanent site for the settlements. The governor indicated his desire that they choose a location in the region of Estero Largo, many leagues to the north of El Paso. The remainder of the month of February was consumed in the survey of the river valley from Estero Largo southward to San Lorenzo and beyond. The final decision was that there was no place suitable for their purposes other than the immediate vicinity of El Paso.⁵

Again the question of settling Indians and Spaniards together arose. On February 23 Ayeta wrote his prelates of the confusion which had engulfed the entire question of the settlements. The settlers wanted to establish in the area around the pueblo and mission of Guadalupe, whose fertile lands were enticingly productive, thanks only to the labors of the friars and their charges. The governor, he again stressed, would put both the Spaniards and Indians there. Ayeta and his fellow friars felt that to do so would endanger the Manso mission of Guadalupe, but on hearing this

⁴Ibid.; infra, 110.

⁵Walz, 74-75.

objection, Otermín had accused them of gluttony and of obstructing his efforts. Thus the breach between Ayeta and the governor, who had long been one of the friar's closest friends, was widened.⁶

Out of the confusion regarding the exact location of the refugees at El Paso prior to the establishment of a permanent community came one clear statement explaining the settlements. On February 20, 1682, as part of his work of clearing all accounts for which he had been responsible and concluding his labors in New Mexico in preparation for his final departure, Ayeta listed the settlements. There were at this time, according to the friar, six Indian missions and three Spanish settlements, each served by one or more religious. This list is reprinted by Vina Walz exactly as Ayeta wrote it.⁷

There is no record of how Ayeta spent the remainder of February and all of the month of March. Neither is there any evidence which would indicate whether his stubborn opposition to Otermín's plans for resettling the refugees brought an end to the frequent talks which the two men had enjoyed. Presumably, during this time, Ayeta was occupied with concluding all matters of business related to New Mexico which had been under his charge. He almost assuredly also took the lead in the routine conduct of the mission of Guadalupe. But there is no mention of his name in the juntas

⁶ Copy of a patent from Ayeta, El Paso, February 23, 1682, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 8.

⁷ List of the friars who assisted in the Custodia, n.p., n.d., BNM, leg. 2, doc. 6; "History of the El Paso Area, 1680-1692," 75-76.

objection, O'Brien has reported that he has been
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who had long been one of the best of the
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which continued, in early March, to consider the problem of locating the settlements.

On March 24 Otermín collected the autos and other documents of the past month and one-half and, with a long letter to the viceroy, on March 29 he prepared them for remission. It is probable that they left El Paso in the hands of Ayeta on the following day. In his letter of March 29 Otermín again gave a dismal picture of the El Paso colony, stressing that the provisions which were supposed to be coming from Parral were long overdue and the settlers were starving. The only hope for the colony, he insisted, lay in further aid from the viceroy. But for himself, Otermín wanted no more of New Mexico and its citizens. Pleading incessant headaches, the governor repeated an earlier request that he be relieved of his post.⁹

On March 30, 1682 Ayeta left El Paso and New Mexico, never to return.¹⁰ Having devoted his talents and energies to the welfare of the province for the past eight years in the capacities of procurador general for both the missions and the secular community, as padre visitador of the missions, as custos of the missions for three years, as commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and as a priest and preacher, his duties in New Mexico were now at an end. But Ayeta's work in New Mexico had not been circum-

⁸Walz, 77-79.

⁹Otermín to the viceroy, El Paso, March 29, 1682, AGI, México, leg. 53.

¹⁰Ayeta to the viceroy, Parral, April 30, 1682, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 5.

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Mexico, 1917.

scribed by his titular offices. The province had become a part of Father Ayeta. And even his final departure was not to bring an end to his services.

On February 26 the cabildo, having returned from its inspection of sites, had met in secret session at San Lorenzo. Here they had composed a letter to the viceroy, the chief purpose of which was the censure of Otermín. Much of this letter was, from all appearances, only the splenetic complainings of a dissatisfied and bitter citizenry--accusations regarding financial dealings, alleged embezzlement, items of personal conduct and leadership. Although the contents of this letter reflected, as was later decided in México, the lack of support given Otermín by his followers, it also placed the governor in a bad light in view of the recent unsuccessful entrada. The letter of complaint was, in its inception, within the bounds of law, but the means by which it was transmitted was not. The dispatch was placed in the hands of Lázaro de Mizquía, Captain Joseph de Padilla, and Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo who, along with other members of the San Lorenzo community, left this southernmost of the Spanish settlements without the governor's permission and against published orders regarding desertion.¹¹

On the night of March 29, immediately before Ayeta's departure, the friar had heard rumors of this action, but discounted them as unsubstantiated. Not until probably on March 31 did Otermín learn of the desertion. On that day he penned a very

¹¹Walz, 80-84.

brief and bitter letter to the viceroy regarding the actions of the cabildo. This was sent by special messenger in the hope that it would overtake Ayeta and thus be carried on to Mexico City with the other letters and documents from New Mexico. Although it is not recorded, this apparently took place as the governor had wished. Otermín then proceeded to San Lorenzo, in spite of his continued illness, to investigate the situation there. On April 5 he dispatched another letter addressed to the viceroy in care of Ayeta. In it, besides listing the deserters, he asked to be allowed to come to the viceregal capital to plead his own case. That the governor was greatly upset by these events was obvious. During the next several months, and in the following autumn when he prepared to turn over the administration to another governor, Otermín took definite steps to counteract the damage to himself which he considered the cabildo's letter to have done.¹²

This letter of April 5, along with a personal message to Ayeta, apparently overtook the friar on April 15, while he was still en route to Parral. The personal letter was brief and highly emotional. It gave evidence that the governor had also been aware of the rumors which had circulated prior to Ayeta's departure. Otermín requested the friar to forward the accompanying pliego to Mexico City if he could not deliver it in person. He concluded with a plea to Ayeta: ". . . for the love of God and Saint Anthony as soon as you arrive in Mexico, do everything you possibly can to get me out of here" Apparently, in spite

¹²Ibid., 84-87, et passim.

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of their recent differences, the governor still placed a great deal of trust in his long-time friend.¹³

Fray Ayeta was, at this time, again plagued by illness. Upon reaching Parral he chose to remain there until he should return to better health. For this reason, on April 30, he forwarded the autos and correspondence for which he was courier to Mexico City, along with a letter of his own explaining his delay. But, even though he was no longer officially concerned with New Mexico and its problems, his letter gave evidence of the fact that his interest in the welfare of the province had not ended with his departure. Hence he was again writing to the viceroy his fears regarding Otermín's plan to settle the Indians and Spaniards together.¹⁴

About May 20 the letter of the cabildo was presented before viceregal officials in Mexico City. Early in June it was before the fiscal along with the letters and autos forwarded by Ayeta from Parral, as well as Ayeta's own letters of February 11 and April 30. The fiscal quickly dismissed the matter of the deserters and their complaints with a recommendation that the four who had arrived with the letter be jailed. His advice was followed. The fiscal then, on the matter of the permanent settlement at El Paso, advised that a villa organized as that at Santa Fe had been should be established. Whether from Fray Ayeta's

¹³Walz, 84-87, quote 87 (trans. by Walz); Otermín to Ayeta, San Lorenzo, April 5, 1682, AGI, Mexico, leg. 53.

¹⁴Ayeta to the viceroy, Parral, April 30, 1682, BNM, leg. 2, doc. 5.

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repeated warnings or from other influences, the fiscal agreed with the friar on the danger of settling the Spaniards and Indians together and advised that they be located in individual areas separated by clearly defined dividing lines.¹⁵

Father Ayeta proceeded southward from Parral, arriving in Mexico City at an unrecorded date. (Not until January of 1683 did he actively re-enter the scene of New Mexico affairs.) During the remainder of 1682 it was necessary for Ayeta to make a final settlement of accounts as procurador for New Mexico. In August of that year his name again appeared in documents concerning New Mexico. Shortly prior to that time Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzate was appointed as the new governor for New Mexico, and in August Jironza began negotiations with viceregal officials regarding the allowances which he was afforded for the administration and protection of the province. Exceedingly aware of the extensive aid which the crown had already given New Mexico on three separate occasions, the fiscal met Jironza's petition for more than the normal authorizations with opposition and sarcasm. To counter Jironza's requests the fiscal cited the items for defense which Ayeta had carried to the province in the past three years and which should still be available for the new governor's use. Jironza also demanded an allotment of 3,000 pesos for the construction of a presidio in the European style. The fiscal refused to approve more than 1,000 pesos. These requests denied, Jironza only increased

¹⁵Walz, 91-95.

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repeated warnings... the first on the... together and... arrested by... Nathan... Mexico City... he actively re... remainder of 1955... element of... year his name... Shortly prior... was appointed... Thomas began... likewise... section of the... which the... occurrence... all authorities... requests... carried to the... still be... handed an... side in the... than 2,000...

his demands. By January of 1683 the negotiations had progressed little. Jironza now requested 5,000 pesos instead of the earlier 3,000 for the presidio. On January 14, apparently hoping to find support for his stand, the gubernatorial appointee asked that Ayeta, whom he knew to be in Mexico City be requested to declare his opinion on the matter.¹⁶

The reply which Ayeta gave to the fiscal has never been explained satisfactorily. Unfortunately, from Jironza's viewpoint, the fiscal placed complete confidence in the judgment and experience of Ayeta. The statements which the friar gave regarding the conditions at El Paso and the state of the colony's defenses were not at all in keeping with those which were already en route to Mexico City from Otermín.¹⁷ The friar declared that, rather than needing additional carbines, the normal allotment would be entirely sufficient. If more were needed, those he had taken for the reconquest should be used. The only fighting in which the New Mexicans were currently engaged, he stated, was against horse thieves. As for the presidio, 3,000 pesos would be required, not for the construction of a fort in the European sense, but because Indian labor would have to be paid adequately to avoid undesirable consequences.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid., 105-109.

¹⁷ Ibid., 100-101.

¹⁸ Ayeta to the viceroy, México, January 21, 1683, AGN, Prov. Int., leg. 35, exp. 2.

Several influencing factors must be taken into consideration regarding these statements before attributing them as Vina Walz has done, to Ayeta's "severe illness" and the fact that ". . . there was nothing to show either for the monetary expense [of the three grants of aid] or for his own superhuman efforts."¹⁹ This interpretation is definitely not in line with Ayeta's personality. On the matter of the carbines, it was not until after Ayeta had left El Paso that Otermín, himself, discovered that numerous of the weapons brought for the reconquest were missing, many sold for food. It is not unreasonable that the friar, on leaving New Mexico, believed there to be, as a minimum, the one hundred carbines which he had brought in 1681. This alone was far in excess of the normal supply. As for his recommendations for the presidio, they were far more reasonable than those of Jironza, who seemed intent on insisting that "war" in New Mexico was to be conducted along European lines. The figure of 3,000 pesos arrived at by Ayeta seems a compromise between his extreme personal awareness of the large sums which New Mexico had already cost the crown and, countering this, his knowledge of Spanish-Indian relations in the province and of the actual cost of labor. And finally, Ayeta's statement that the New Mexicans were only fighting horse thieves contained considerable truth. The depredations perpetrated by the "Apaches" against the El Paso settlements prior to Ayeta's departure had amounted, regardless of cost to the Spaniards, to no more than continuous thefts of horses and cattle.

¹⁹Ibid.; Walz, 112.

The statement by Vina Walz that Ayeta ". . . painted an incredibly cheerful picture of the state of the colony in El Paso" is unacceptable in view of the friar's actual statements in reply to the fiscal. This reply, when compared with other statements made by Ayeta, reveals that he was not trying to "paint" any sort of picture, but merely to answer the questions put to him. He said nothing more. Admittedly, it might have been more favorable for the future of the El Paso colony had he known of the worsening conditions after his departure. But, in view of the circumstances noted above, Ayeta gave an honest answer.

These views of Ayeta weighed more heavily with the fiscal than did those of the new governor. The allotments granted the latter were, basically, those given each incoming governor. The amount for the presidio was set at 2,000 pesos, with the construction details and payment of labor to follow the recommendations made by Ayeta. The advice of the fiscal was subsequently accepted by the junta.²⁰

²⁰Walz, 109.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

After the final adjustment of accounts pertaining to his administration of the New Mexico supply service and the extraordinary grant of aid for the province in 1681, Father Ayeta was free to begin a new phase of his career--to serve as representative at the royal court of all the Franciscan provinces of New Spain. As we have seen (Chapter IV), he had been named to serve in this capacity in 1680, but at the request of the viceroy his journey to Spain had been postponed until the completion of a final mission in behalf of the province of New Mexico. But now, in 1683, Ayeta was ready, and probably eager, to embark with the next fleet for Spain.

During the succeeding seventeen years (until his death in 1700) Ayeta was engaged in representations in behalf of his Order before the Council of the Indies. Originally named to serve as procurador general of the Franciscan provinces of New Spain, he later received appointment as representative of all the provinces of the Order in Spanish America. His major responsibility at the court was to seek restoration to the Franciscans of missions which had been secularized by episcopal decrees, and reaffirmation of other Franciscan privileges which had been curtailed by diocesan regulations. These were issues of long standing, which had their

origins in the sixteenth century and for which there could be no easy answers or quick decisions. Litigation on these issues would necessarily raise questions regarding the continuing validity of papal concessions made to the monastic clergy in the early decades of missionary enterprise in America, the extent to which these concessions had been restricted by the Council of Trent, royal legislation relating to the real patronato, and crown policies for the transfer of doctrinas administered by the missionary friars to members of the secular clergy. And over and above the considerations of canon and civil law was the larger issue of the justice or injustice of depriving the monastic Orders of missions founded by their pioneering efforts.¹

It is not within the scope of this thesis to present a general review of Ayeta's activities in Spain during the 1680's and 1690's, nor could the author do so if he wished because the essential documentation is not available.² It may be stated, however, that standard bibliographies of colonial Spanish American history list several polemical tracts written by Ayeta and published between 1693 and 1700. In these the friar-advocate of his Order vigorously defended Franciscan rights and privileges and denounced what he regarded as unwarranted exercise of episcopal authority in

¹For a discussion of some of these issues see Mariano Cuevas, Historia de la iglesia en Mexico (5a ed., 5 vols., Mexico, 1946), III, Cap. VII.

²Professor Scholes has informed the author that large numbers of unpublished documents on this phase of Ayeta's career are preserved in AGI, but to date these materials have not been used to any extent by students of colonial history.

origins in the sixteenth century, and the various stages of its development are clearly shown in the early editions of the work. It is a work of great value to the student of the history of the Church, and its study is necessary to a full understanding of the development of the Church in the sixteenth century. The work is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church, and its study is necessary to a full understanding of the development of the Church in the sixteenth century. The work is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church, and its study is necessary to a full understanding of the development of the Church in the sixteenth century.

It is not possible to say that the work is a masterpiece of scholarship, but it is a work of great value to the student of the history of the Church. The work is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church, and its study is necessary to a full understanding of the development of the Church in the sixteenth century. The work is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church, and its study is necessary to a full understanding of the development of the Church in the sixteenth century.

For a discussion of the work of the author, see the following: Cambridge, England, 1910, pp. 1-10. The work is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church, and its study is necessary to a full understanding of the development of the Church in the sixteenth century. The work is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church, and its study is necessary to a full understanding of the development of the Church in the sixteenth century.

matters affecting the mission program.³ The author has not seen any of these tracts (the University of New Mexico Library does not possess them), which are now rare items of Americana.⁴

It would appear that modern writers of colonial Mexican history, such as Bancroft and Cuevas, have made little, if any, use of Ayeta's writings. The author has, however, found two very interesting comments on the character of the friar's tracts which are worth recording here. The first, written by the celebrated eighteenth-century Mexican bibliographer, Beristain de Souza, states: "It must be confessed that the pen of Ayeta was ferocious, and he had no respect for the bishops."⁵ Inasmuch as the author of this comment was dean of the cathedral chapter of Mexico City we might suspect that he was motivated by sympathy for episcopal authority. But we also find that a twentieth-century Yucatecan layman used equally caustic language in characterizing a tract by Ayeta in defense of Franciscan privileges in colonial Yucatan:

The content of Ayeta's book and of all of his other known published writings, being written with the passion which dominated him, encompasses terrible charges against

³For bibliographical citations of these tracts see José Mariano Beristain de Souza, Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional (3a ed., 4 vols., Mexico, 1947), I, 195; José Toribio Medina, Biblioteca hispano-americana (1493-1810) (7 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1898-1907), VI, nos. 6238-6240; and Streit, op. cit., II, 652-53.

⁴Copies of some of these items are in the Latin American Collection, University of Texas, but are not available on inter-library loan.

⁵Beristain de Souza, op. cit., I, 195.

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those who have been involved in such matters, without respect even for the bishops.⁶

These comments testify to the passion and fire contained in Ayeta's writings in defense of the pretensions of his Order for restoration of their control over missions secularized by episcopal decree. They also give evidence that in his later years Ayeta could still write in the forthright and vigorous manner characteristic of some of his petitions and opinions on New Mexican affairs. It would seem, however, that Ayeta's tracts published in Spain contained more than anti-episcopal invectives. His arguments were based on copious ecclesiastical and historical documentation pertinent to the subject under discussion. In short, although Ayeta was a vigorous advocate of Franciscan rights and privileges, he also possessed a wide acquaintance with legal literature, canon and civil, and a keen sense of the values of history as a means of buttressing the cause he was obligated to defend as procurador of his Order.⁷

It was this awareness of the value of historical writings which undoubtedly explains in considerable measure Ayeta's sponsorship of the publication in 1688 of Fray Diego López de Cogolludo's Historia de Yucatán. This work, written in the mid-seventeenth century by a Spanish Franciscan who had spent most of his life as a missionary in Yucatan, now has an honored place among the colonial

⁶Gustavo Martínez Alomía, Historiadores de Yucatán (Campeche, 1906), 72.

⁷Cf. Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Mexico (6 vols., San Francisco, 1883), III, 725. Professor Scholes has expressed the same opinion to the author, based on his examination of some of Ayeta's tracts.

These comments... in Ayete's writings... for restoration... episcopal account... Ayete could still write... characteristic of some of his positions... affairs. It would seem... Spain contained more than one... were based on various... pertinent to the... Ayete was a vigorous advocate... he also possessed a wide... and civil, and a keen sense... of buttressing the... of his Order.

It was this... which undoubtedly... enty of the publication... Historia de Yucatan... century by a Spanish... a missionary in Yucatan...

⁶ Unpublished... 1908, 73.

For Robert E.... Francisco, 1905, III, 111. ... opinion to the author, based on... traces.

chronicles of the New World.⁸ Although Cogolludo's volume surveyed both the political and ecclesiastical history of Yucatan from the Spanish conquest to the middle of the seventeenth century, it gave special emphasis to the history of the missions founded and administered by the Franciscans, many of which in later years were secularized by the bishops of Yucatan. Inasmuch as the circumstances of the secularization process were described by Cogolludo in a manner favorable to the Franciscan cause, the compelling reasons for Ayeta's sponsorship of publication of the chronicle are rather obvious. One phase of the litigation which he conducted before the Council of the Indies had to do with a plea for restoration to the Franciscan Order of these secularized missions in Yucatan.⁹ Nevertheless, students of Latin American history owe to Ayeta a great debt for making available in printed form a major contribution to colonial historical scholarship.

Fray Francisco de Ayeta must also be credited with contributions to the historiography of colonial New Mexico. In 1681, after Ayeta's return to Mexico City to seek aid for the recovery of New Mexico, a memorial service for the twenty-one martyred Fran-

⁸For comment on Cogolludo's chronicle, see Streit, *op. cit.*, II, 636, and Martínez Alomía, *op. cit.*, 66-70. Four editions of this work have been published. The most recent, published in Mexico City in 1957, is a facsimile reprint of the first edition of 1688, with a separate volume of commentary by J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, Director of the Mexican National Archives.

⁹Ayeta's case in support of this litigation was set forth in a tract entitled, Último recurso de la Provincia de San Joseph de Yucatan . . . ; Pleito con la clerecía de Yucatan sobre diferentes doctrinas que . . . se han usurpado a dicha provincia. See Martínez Alomía, *op. cit.*, 72.

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⁹Ayala's case ...
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ciscan friars was held in the cathedral of the viceregal capital. The funeral oration was made by Dr. Isidro Sariñana, chantre of the cathedral chapter. Publication of this oration, along with short biographical notices of the martyred friars, was sponsored by Ayeta.¹⁰

During the years of his residence in Spain subsequent to 1683 Ayeta composed a Memorial Grande in which he gave an account of the Pueblo Revolt, the unsuccessful attempt to recover the province in 1681-1682, and his own activities in relation to these events. The autographed copy of this unpublished manuscript is preserved in the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.¹¹ Although this tract was based on contemporary documentary records of the events which it describes, translations of which are available in Hackett and Shelby's Revolt of the Pueblo Indians, it also contains observations on these events as viewed in retrospect by Father Ayeta. In some measure it may be regarded as the friar's apologia for his own role in these troubled affairs of the years 1680-1682.

At the end of the Memorial Grande Ayeta stated that, although it was not his vocation to recommend the means and measures for the recovery of New Mexico, he felt compelled to direct atten-

¹⁰For bibliographical notices of this publication see Streit, op. cit., II, 606, and H. R. Wagner, The Spanish Southwest, 1492-1794 (Albuquerque, 1937).

¹¹The manuscript, comprising fifty-one pages, is in AGI, Guadalajara, leg. 139. Photocopies are available in the Coronado Library, University of New Mexico. France V. Scholes has a transcript made in 1928 from the AGI original.

tion to certain factors. There were four items which, on the basis of his personal experience in New Mexico, he felt merited serious consideration in the formulation of plans for a reconquest:

1. Recovery of the Kingdom of New Mexico could not be achieved solely by the people who had lost it in 1680 and who had failed in their attempt at recovery in 1681-1682. The reasons for this lay in the ulterior motives and unco-operative attitude of these persons. Additional reinforcements would be necessary for a successful reconquest.

2. For the successful conduct of military operations in New Mexico armed cavalry alone would not suffice. A strong infantry force was needed, along with some mounted soldiers, because the Indians knew "that the Spaniards do not know how to fight on foot, and that they [the Indians] can achieve victory if they seize the horse herds." Ayeta also pointed out that the Indians, in contrast to the Spaniards, are skilled warriors on foot as well as on horseback, and that if they are defeated by cavalry they take refuge in the mountains "where they scoff at the most valiant Spaniard." As proof of the efficiency of foot soldiers in Indian warfare, Ayeta cited the example of Cortés' army in which only a small number of men were mounted.

3. It was Ayeta's opinion, therefore, that one-third of the garrison force of all presidios should be infantry appropriately armed for Indian warfare.

4. Special care should be taken to insure that soldiers enlisted for garrison duty would be suitable for this type of

tion to certain factors. There was a... of this personal experience... consideration in a formal... 1. Recovery of the... achieved solely by... failed in their attempt... this lay in the... these parties... a successful... 2. For the... New Mexico... heavy force was... the Indians knew... fact, and that... notice the horse... in contrast to... as on horseback... take refuge in... Spanish... various... a small number of... 3. It was... the garrison force... ately spread for... 4. Special... enlisted for...

service, and that they be at least twenty years old, "because a contrary policy may lead to unfortunate occurrences which the petitioner, in view of his [ecclesiastical] status will not mention."

The Memorial Grande was presented to the Council of the Indies in June of 1693. In his letter of transmittal Ayeta stated that "happy news" had been received "that the rebellious Indians had peacefully surrendered"--a reference evidently to Vargas' expedition of 1692. He urged, therefore, that the crown take appropriate measures for the "conservation of said Indians, because of their innate instability and [because] they are surrounded by the common enemy, which is the Apache nation." He hoped that his report would shed light on the reasons for the loss of New Mexico in 1680 and the failure of the attempted reconquest in 1681, a report prompted by an "obligation of conscience as a chaplain and vassal of Your Majesty."

On June 19, 1693, the Council acknowledged receipt of the Memorial Grande and expressed appreciation and thanks for Ayeta's "great zeal" and for his representations concerning New Mexican affairs. The report of the Council's action, recorded in the margin of Ayeta's letter of transmittal, ended with the instruction: "Remit the memorial to the fiscal, so that, having seen it, he may recommend whatever he may wish."¹² This seems somewhat typical of the workings of the colonial bureaucracy.

Any retrospective review of the activities of Fray Francisco de Ayeta during the ten years, 1673-1683, in which he served

¹² Consejo, June 19, 1693, AGI, Guadalajara, leg. 139.

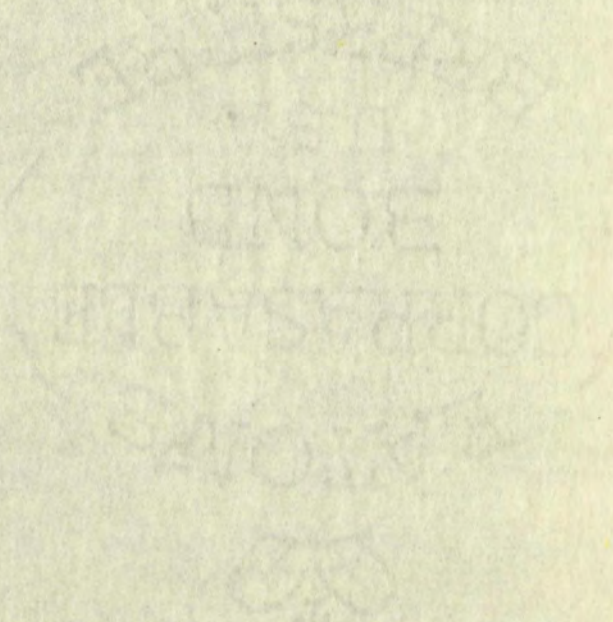
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New Mexico must lead to the conclusion that this Franciscan friar merits a place of honor in the roster of Spanish soldiers, colonists, and missionaries whose efforts built and maintained this northernmost frontier of New Spain. The specific activities of Ayeta, which have been narrated in detail in this thesis, need neither comment nor apology. They speak for themselves.

New Mexico must lead in the development of its natural resources. It is a place of honor in the history of the United States, and its people are proud of their heritage. The state's natural resources are its greatest asset, and it is the duty of the government to protect and develop them. The state's natural resources are its greatest asset, and it is the duty of the government to protect and develop them. The state's natural resources are its greatest asset, and it is the duty of the government to protect and develop them.



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- (1) AGI, Contaduría. Documentation from the legajos cited in the chapter footnotes is available in the Coronado Library photocopy collection and in transcripts belonging to France V. Scholes.
- (2) AGI, Guadalajara, legs. 138 and 139. Photocopies are in the Coronado Library.
- (3) AGI, México, leg. 53. Photocopies are in the Coronado Library; also transcripts of France V. Scholes.
- (4) AGN, Historia, tomo 25. Photocopies are in the Coronado Library.
- (5) AGN, Provincias Internas, tomos 34 and 37. Photocopies and transcripts are in the Coronado Library.
- (6) AGN, Reales Cédulas Duplicadas, tomo 31. Viceregal decrees relating to New Mexico, 1668-1679. Transcripts belonging to France V. Scholes.
- (7) BNM, legs. 1, 2, 3, and 8. Photocopies are in the Coronado Library.
- (8) Bancroft Library, University of California. Mexican MSS 218, fol. 157. Information supplied by Eleanor B. Adams.

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