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Documents Concerning the Revolt of the Indians of the Province of New Mexico in 1680

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**Documents Concerning the Revolt of the Indians  
of the Province of New Mexico in 1680**  
*(Autos Tocantes al alsamiento de los yndios  
de la provincia de la Nueva Mexico)*

**Transcribed and edited by Juan A. Sempere-Martínez  
Translated by Damian Bacich**

**San José State University**

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## Prologue

The manuscript that is here transcribed, analyzed and translated bears a fundamental importance for the history the American Southwest. It contains the report or “*Autos Tocantes al alsamiento de/ los yndios de la provincia de la/ Nueva Mexico*” (Dossier of documents related to the uprising of the Indians of the province of New Mexico) that Antonio de Otermín, Governor of New Mexico, ordered prepared in 1680 regarding the attack on and destruction of Santa Fe and its surrounding towns by Indians who had united for this purpose. The original document is conserved in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, and until now had remained unedited, with the exception of Herbert Eugene Bolton’s typed transcription (see Hackett 1911:94, note 3) and the English translation by Charmion Clair Shelby in Hackett (1942), which, up to now, has been the main source for historians to consult. Nevertheless, prior to Hackett, Twitchell (1914:13-51) had already published his own translation of some folios of the transcription made by Fr. Augustin Fischer. The translated folios, from pp. 13-51, correspond to various passages of the principal manuscript (Provincias Internas, henceforth PI), concretely and in sequential order: 313r10-323v12, 327v31-328r33, 331r32-334r-16, 336v1-342r27, 347r1-348v21, 377r1-379v26, 349v17-23, 350v17-24, 353v3-6, 358r15-18, 349v24-28, 350r24-31, 351r5-9, 352r1-3, 352v22-25, 381r1-381v7. In 1900 there appeared in the *Historia de la Nueva México por el Capitán Gaspar de Villagrà* an appendix containing some of the official documents regarding the 1680 uprising (González Obregón, ed. 1900). Since it derived from the transcription of the MS D = AGN, Historia, vol. 26, fols. 20r-94r, copied in 1792, some reading errors inherent to said MS can be deduced, itself based on AF = Archivo Franciscano, BN Mex. Box 20, fols. 1r-89r. In the preamble of the above mentioned *Historia de la Nueva México por...*, it is indicated that these transcriptions were taken from “Documentos inéditos tomados de un volumen de papeles varios que se conserva en la Biblioteca del Museo Nacional y que perteneció al Pbro. D. Agustín Fischer” (“Unpublished documents taken from a volume of miscellaneous papers preserved in the Library of the National Museum and which belonged to Father Augustine Fischer”). Twitchell’s translation is based on this publication, since it follows the same sequence and contains the same characteristics and penmanship errors. For example, in *Historia de la Nueva México por...*, p. 16 the name of Galisteo is omitted: “en el dicho pueblo de..... y que estando este testigo” (D 32v24-33r1 “en el dicho pueblo de Galisteo, y que estando este testigo”), with the same thing occurring in Twitchell’s translation: “at the pueblo of \_\_\_\_\_, that while this witness” (1914:17). Twitchell’s translation of the *Autos Tocantes* (pp. 13-51) includes the pages of *Historia de la Nueva México por...* 11-29, 34-59 in the same sequence. Moreover, Twitchell added some testimonies of the military review that began in La Salineta on September 29, 1680. As Twitchell stated one hundred years ago (1914:48), he copied those testimonies from Hackett’s translation (1913:264-265). Almost all modern historians who have dealt with the subject of the 1680 New Mexico Indian uprising have used Bolton’s complete transcription and Fischer’s partial one, and the complete translation in Hackett (1942) as well as the partial one in Twitchell (1914). The need for an annotated edition in Spanish of the *Autos Tocantes* is made evident when one

reads and compares the aforementioned translations, especially Hackett's, which, since it contains the *Autos Tocantes* in their entirety, has been the one most consulted by historians. As we shall see, the translation contains a considerable number of errors that affect the correct understanding of the *Autos Tocantes*. Furthermore, there is need for a systematic and rigorous edition that includes the variants of the existing copies and which presents the text in a way that is faithful, without the distortions that occur in the above-mentioned translation. This edition can be of use not only to those who are interested in New Mexico and Southwestern history, Native American cultures and Spanish Colonialism, but also those who wish to understand the linguistic characteristics of the American Southwest at the end of the seventeenth century. Therefore, we include extensive comments regarding the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of the document. An index of place names, nationalities or ethnic origins, family names and first names is added to this study in order to facilitate the identification of the places and people found in these *Autos Tocantes*. As far as the apparatus of variants is concerned, four copies have been collated with the original, which was written during the flight from Santa Fe to El Paso. The title of this work, *The Pueblo-Apache Revolt of 1680*, acknowledges the Apache contribution to the uprising. There is evidence of the participation of Apache warriors in the revolt. On the first report by Otermín, he pointed out the "treason to which all of the nations of this kingdom have agreed, by confederating with the infidel Apaches" (305r 24-25). Furthermore, Villagutierre referred to how the Pueblo spokesman Juan Tagno demanded from Governor Otermín the release of all the Apache prisoners in Santa Fe (see note for fol. 310r5). Outrage by Spanish slave raiding must have been the main reason for the Apache alliance with the Pueblos against the Spaniards (see the opinion of Wilcox and Reséndez in the note for fol. 305v35).

### **Historical Background**

Throughout the three centuries of Spanish presence in the Americas, no indigenous rebellion was so successful or long lasting as what is known today as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In little more than two weeks, an alliance of *indigenous* communities successfully executed a plan to expel the settlers and officials of one of the world's great overseas powers and reclaim their autonomy for over a decade. The uprising helped re-define Spanish-Indian relations in New Mexico for decades to come, and has provided ample material for generations of historians interested in the unique cultures of the American Southwest.

In more recent years the Pueblo Revolt has taken on greater symbolic weight as the legacy of European colonialism is increasingly contested and debated both among scholars and the public at large.

Scholars have spent a great deal of time trying to define the reasons and causes of the Pueblo Revolt.<sup>1</sup> Some point to obvious religious tensions. Others have indicated the deteriorating agricultural conditions brought on by a long drought. The deleterious effects

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<sup>1</sup> See Weber, *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?*.

of Spanish slave-trafficking and general oppression and exploitation of Indian labor by Spanish settlers and officials likely played a role, since such accusations surfaced immediately following the revolt itself<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, no consensus has yet been formed around a principal cause, and it would probably require remarkable new information to come to light for that to happen. As historian David Weber has cogently pointed out, “In writing about the Great Pueblo Revolt...historians have studied a common body of evidence and agreed upon a common body of facts, yet they have produced strikingly different ways of explaining the causes and effects of that event. It could hardly be otherwise<sup>3</sup>.”

Although agreement on the causes is illusive, there is general understanding that the Revolt was carried out under the guidance of a Pueblo religious leader named Popé or Pop’ay from Okhay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo). Historians know very little about him or his role in the rebellion, but Spanish documents report that in 1675 he was among a group of 47 men charged with sorcery and later released by Governor Juan Francisco de Treviño.<sup>4</sup> Later, after the Revolt itself, Indian witnesses examined under oath identified Popé as its leader. Though successful as a military leader, there is little information about what became of him in the years following the Pueblo Revolt.<sup>5</sup>

As regards the documents in this collection, the only mention of a specific personality directing the Pueblo efforts is found in the earliest communications sent by the Spanish governor, when informants spoke of a mysterious Indian known as "the lieutenant of Poheyemu<sup>6</sup>," a Pueblo mythological hero. "He was very tall, black and had very large, yellow eyes, and all feared him greatly," the witnesses claimed. As such, throughout the accounts contained here, individual protagonists of the revolt are rarely mentioned.

Yet the Pueblo Revolt might not have achieved the success it did were it not for the allies the Pueblo could count on in their bid to expel the Spanish from New Mexico.

Spanish governor Otermín’s reports often mention the rebel Pueblos’ confederation with the “infidel Apaches.” Evidence shows that Pueblo settlements were surrounded by Apache groups during the seventeenth century and Apaches and Pueblos were involved in a long and a complex relationship. As far back as the fifteenth century, Puebloan and Apachean groups had established ties that encompassed both culture and kinship. And while Pueblo groups were often the object of Apache raids, they did at times band together with the Apaches to inflict harm on Spanish outposts. As Schaafsma has noted, “There is sufficient documentary material readily available to confirm the general picture of Apaches being in collusion and conspiracy with one or a group of pueblos against the Spaniards in the seventeenth century” (200). According to William B. Carter, both Navajos

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<sup>2</sup> See Otermin’s letter to the viceroy on Oct. 2, 1680.

<sup>3</sup> Weber, *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?*. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*, 168.

<sup>5</sup> Preucel, *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt*. xiii

<sup>6</sup> See the first report, Aug. 9, 1680. For a hypothesis on the identity of this mysterious figure, see Chávez, “Pohé-yemo’s Representative and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680” in Weber, pp. 84-114.



and Apaches had been involved in “fanning the flames of discontent from the very beginning of the Spanish settlement.”<sup>7</sup>

It may therefore be more accurate to describe the 1680 uprising as the "Pueblo-Apache Revolt," given the important role the Apaches played in aiding the Pueblo. According to Carter, the turning point in Towa and Navajo antagonism toward the Spanish was the Jemez revolt of 1614. Later, the hostility of Plains Apaches was multiplied by their inclusion in the Spanish slave trade during the 1620s and 1630s. “As the century wore on, raids by Apaches increased and there were many indications that the anti-Spanish Pueblos were often conspired with neighboring Apaches. This set the stage for the 1680 Revolt and the latter collaboration between Pueblos and various Apache groups after the return of the Spaniards” (204).

However historians may choose to describe the 1680 revolt, it is clear that its main objective was to rid the territory of the Spanish colonial presence, established there since Juan de Oñate arrived in 1598 with around 200 soldiers, colonists and Indian servants. During the intervening years, Spanish authorities had attempted to modify Pueblo life ways to fit a more European/Latin American model while Pueblos chose to adopt and adapt those aspects of Spanish life that suited them. Pueblos and the Spanish thus lived a relationship alternating between cooperation and coercion, trust and suspicion, with most Spanish living in proximity to Pueblo communities and the missions established nearby, or on ranches, with the exception of the township of Santa Fe. As Andrew Knaut has argued,<sup>8</sup> by the time the Pueblo Revolt was launched, Spanish and indigenous societies were intertwined in multiple ways, from bi-directional acculturation to blood ties which, which made the eventual rupture of those relationships all the more violent when the revolt occurred.

While the revolt claimed a number of victims among the common settlers, the convocation swiftly focused on striking at the representatives of Spanish authority. The two names that appear consistently in the Spanish documents related to the Pueblo Revolt are those of Antonio de Otermin, the governor and captain general of New Mexico, and Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war.

In New Mexico, the governor was the highest civil and military authority. He oversaw the province together with a group of minor officials who included Lieutenant governor, the secretary of governance and war, who served as a notary and personal adviser as well as the members of the town council or *cabildo* of Santa Fe. In each district there were also crown magistrates (*alcaldes mayores*) who oversaw local affairs and reported to the governor. As part of the Spanish colonial administration, the governor was also responsible for support of the missionary program led by the Franciscans.<sup>9</sup>

Overmin was named governor upon the resignation of his predecessor, Juan Francisco de Treviño, in 1677. "The first governor of New Mexico, Juan de Oñate, received a lifetime

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<sup>7</sup> Carter, *Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750–1750*.185.

<sup>8</sup> “Acculturation and Miscegenation: The Changing Face of the Spanish Presence in New Mexico” in Weber, *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?*. 115-127.

<sup>9</sup> Simmons, *Spanish Government in New Mexico*. 55.

appointment as governor and captain general. When he resigned his office in 1607, however, the contract into which he had entered with the crown was nullified. Thereafter, the term of the governor was regulated by colonial policy rather than by a particular contract.”<sup>10</sup> The normal term of office for a governor in the seventeenth century seems to have been about three years. Due to the unusual nature of his tenure, Otermín served a longer than normal term of five years, leaving office in 1682.<sup>11</sup>

Otermín’s secretary of governance and war, Francisco Xavier, had served in the same capacity under Treviño. The secretary of governance and war served as a type of foreign minister, personal advisor and notary to the governor.<sup>12</sup> Indeed most of the documents in this collection were produced and signed by the hand of Xavier. Under Treviño, Xavier had instituted a particularly harsh Indian policy and cracked down on traditional practices. According to Knaut, “his unremitting persecution of one medicine man in particular—Popé from the pueblo of San Juan—committed unprecedented numbers of Pueblos to the idea of violent rebellion.”<sup>13</sup>

That the tension over traditional Pueblo religious practices played a role in the uprising is hardly surprising. Religion was a serious, all-pervasive factor in the lives of both Pueblos and Spaniards, in a way that it is not for contemporary European-Americans. As Bowden as pointed out, “each religion [Catholicism and traditional Pueblo religion] in its own way emphasized divine power as that which gave order and meaning to their adherents’ identity and mode of life.”<sup>14</sup> In the realm of religion it was the Franciscans who formed an essential part of the Spanish presence in New Mexico and were a bridge between Spanish and native peoples. They also were the focus of religious violence on the part of Pueblos and Apaches, and suffered martyrdom as a consequence.

The Franciscans were present at the very beginnings of Spanish incursions into Pueblo country. Since the earliest days of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, Franciscans labored as missionaries amongst the native peoples the conquerors encountered.

The main missionary figure who stands out in *Autos tocantes* is Fray Francisco de Ayeta.

Born circa 1640 in Pamplona, Navarra, Fray Antonio de Ayeta was a member of the Order of Friars minor, who took the habit of the Franciscans in Mexico City, on Nov. 26, 1659. Not much is known about his life, other than that he spent most of it in Northern New Spain, and was eventually named Commissioner of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Visitor General of the Franciscan Province New Mexico and later and the Procurator General of the entire Province of New Spain (The Procurator General has the position of representing the Order before the Apostolic See). Five years before the Pueblo Revolt, Ayeta had taken control of mission supplies from a lay contractor, ex-governor Juan Manso, whose approach to outfitting the province had caused grievous shortages and

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 54

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 53-54.

<sup>13</sup> Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*. 167.

<sup>14</sup> Bowden, (in Weber) p. 27.

helped stir up native resentment against both Church and State. When the crown terminated Manso's contract, Ayeta took it over and worked with the civil authorities to help shore up the Christian population, going so far as to request military reinforcements for New Mexico's frontiers, which eventually led to the installation of Otermin as Governor and Captain General in 1677 (Kessell, Kiva, Cross and Crown 223). As the documents in this collection attest, it was Ayeta's provisioning that saved the survivors of the Pueblo Revolt from starvation.

The fact that there were any settlers to save was due mainly to the fact that word of the plot reached Spanish officials just days before its launch.

On Aug. 9, 1680 the leaders of the San Marcos and La Cienega pueblos informed Otermin of a planned attack on the Spanish in New Mexico. They in turn had heard about it from two Tewa Indian youths of the Tesuque pueblo sent to convoke the uprising. The young men were arrested, and when interrogated explained through an interpreter that the attack would begin on August thirteenth. The message was to be communicated by means of a knotted deerskin thong, with each knot representing the number of days until the attack. The young men spoke of the "lieutenant of Poheyemu," an Indian who had ordered that "all were to rise up all together. And any village that did not join in was to be annihilated and all the people in it killed." They also declared that the Pueblo of San Cristobal had refused the message, but that nevertheless they had managed to spread the word among other natives.

News soon reached the organizers of the uprising that Otermin had discovered the plot. The appointed time for the launch of the attack was therefore moved up to begin immediately.

On Aug. 10, Otermin ordered that guards be placed on all churches and that all families, especially those in outlying areas, were to gather immediately in the Governor's Palace in Santa Fe. The order came too late to save everyone. Pedro Hidalgo, a Spanish settler, would later report that he had witnessed Tewa warriors kill one of the Franciscan Missionaries, Friar Juan Pio, who had gone to the village of Tesuque to say Mass for the villagers. Hidalgo claimed to have narrowly escaped with his own life.

By August 13 Otermin managed to gather several hundred Spanish residents, their servants and allied Pueblos in the Governor's Palace, and sent a dispatch to Lieutenant Governor Alonso Garcia requesting him to send men and horses to aid the people gathered at Santa Fe. In the meantime he ordered the Governor's Palace fortified and readied to withstand the impending assault. By August 15 the attack had begun, and the township of Santa Fe was occupied by insurgent forces. Otermin, in a last ditch attempt to salvage a peaceful outcome, attempted to negotiate with the rebel leaders by offering them a full pardon if they would return to their former alliance with the Spaniards. The governor's offer was roundly refused and Pueblo forces began to burn churches and dwellings, signaling the beginning of the battle. After some initial skirmishes in which Otermin's troops inflicted casualties on their enemies, the two sides settled into a situation of siege and stalemate. On August 18, the Indians cut off the water supply to the governor's palace. After two days of suffering from lack of water, on the morning of August 20, the governor mounted a counterattack

with a force of all the soldiers he could gather. The engagement inflicted heavy casualties on the besiegers and Otermin sustained a wound to his own face. Spanish forces captured 47 Pueblos, whom they interrogated and then executed as traitors.

Back inside the Governor's Palace, Otermin consulted with his staff and representatives of the gathered families about the best course of action. Seeing themselves without the necessary supplies to outlast the Pueblos, they decided to break the siege and journey south. They hoped to make it to the village of La Isleta and there link up with Lieutenant Governor Garcia, who had gathered the Christian Indians and Spaniards of the area as well as those of the surrounding ranches. Little did they know that Garcia had trusted in rumors that Otermin and most of the Spaniards of the areas around Santa Fe had been killed. The lieutenant governor had gathered as many survivors as he could and determined to head south along the Rio Abajo until he could find a safe place to rally. His idea was then to send an expedition to Santa Fe to ascertain the governor's situation as soon as feasible. Garcia's actions would earn him a court martial from Otermin, who later exonerated him after learning the story.

On August 21, Otermin and his men broke through the siege and marched out of the Governor's Palace with the survivors. Along their journey south they would pass through a number of villages and ranches where they would encounter the bodies of settlers and missionaries killed in the uprising. After several days of travel, the group arrived at the village of La Isleta on Aug. 26. They found the village deserted, and received news that Garcia had fled south with the survivors. Otermin decided to continue on, hoping to overtake Garcia and join forces. He eventually sent out an advanced party to arrest Garcia for desertion, who found him and his group at the outpost of San Cristobal. The two groups met on Sept. 13, over a month after the launch of the uprising.

With the two groups united, though quite helpless and without provisions, Otermin called a vote of the various constituents in order to make a plan for the next steps. It was decided that the outpost of Fray Cristobal was not safe and therefore they should move their encampment further south. In the meantime, however, plans were made to contact Friar Francisco de Ayeta, leader of the Franciscans in the New Mexico Province, who reportedly had supplies which could be delivered to the desperate refugees. Coincidentally, Otermin received a letter from Ayeta himself expressing the need to confer with the Governor urgently. Otermin therefore decided to personally head south in search of Ayeta. On September 18 Otermin and his troops found the friar attempting to ford the Rio del Norte, which had risen due to heavy rain and snowfall. The friar, in his urgency to bring aid to the survivors, had decided to ford the river himself with the first supply wagon, which had begun to sink in the high water and mud. A group of Indian auxiliaries threw themselves into the water to pull Ayeta from the river. The Indians manage to rescue Ayeta and his supplies, bringing them ashore and safeguarding the waterlogged wagons. The besieged settlers, on the brink of starvation and suffering from exposure to the elements, had now been rescued from almost certain extinction.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ayeta would later pen his own version of the events of 1680. See De Marco, "Voices from the Archives, Part 2."

With the provisions provided by the Franciscans offering a measure of relief, Otermin and his advisers took stock of their situation and made plans for further action. It was decided that the colonists should be moved to a safer place, close to the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, near today's El Paso, Texas, on the other side of the river. A general council and muster then was organized in order to review the number of settlers able to bear arms together with the surviving members of their families and the amount of property they were able to take away with them. The council also decided that a reconquest of the province was necessary, but unfeasible until further supplies, along with the necessary support to establish a paid garrison should arrive.

In the fall of 1681, after a year at Guadalupe del Paso, Otermin was finally able to mount a return expedition to take back the territories lost in the uprising. His attempt was unsuccessful, however. The Pueblo-Apache alliance had achieved its goal and effectively expelled the Spanish from the provinces of New Mexico.

It would not be until 1692 that Diego de Vargas would reestablish a permanent Spanish presence in New Mexico. By that time, Otermin had been relieved of his command, and returned to live in Mexico City, where spent the rest of his days. His legacy would be marked by the loss of an entire province and the desperate attempt save the lives of several hundred colonists.

The texts in this collection contain the legal documents and reports penned by the Spanish leaders of the provinces of New Mexico beginning with the first rumors of the impending uprising in August 1680, to Otermin's October 1680 request for aid to establish a garrison and prepare a reentry into the conquered territory. In addition, there are the translations and transcriptions of several folios containing Ayeta's correspondence with his superiors and royal officials in the first months of 1681 regarding further aid to the beleaguered exiles.

It should come as no surprise that these texts express the Spanish perspective on the events that they describe, and were meant for the consumption of high ranking officials at the viceregal court in Mexico City, and at times the royal court in Madrid. Nevertheless, they are an expression of their authors' reactions to events as they occurred, almost in real time. In that sense the conditions under which they were drafted offered little opportunity for introspection and in general are framed within a situation of dire necessity and urgency.

## The Transcription

The methodology of a satisfactory transcription requires one fundamental virtue: consistency. In this sense, as we have mentioned, there already existed a transcription of the *Autos Tocantes*, that of H.E. Bolton, although it has remained unpublished. Nevertheless, this transcription was not only consulted by historians, but it formed the basis of Shelby's translation, as is documented by Shelby's errors, which coincide with Bolton's erroneous readings. And even if Bolton's transcription was consistent and could be qualified as diplomatic or paleographic (for example, he did not expand the abbreviations nor did he modernize punctuation, and tried to reflect the linear order of the paragraphs in the folios), his numerous reading errors make this transcription an unreliable instrument. Bolton and his collaborators, William Edward Dunn and Dolores Hurtado (Hackett 1911:94, note 3), made mistakes of *lectura facilior*, *omissio ex homoioteleuton* and haplography, as well as other lapses that are as common as they are lamentable. For our transcription we considered two methods: first that of the *Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, A Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*, Madison, edited by David Mackenzie and Victoria Burrus (1986), which is very widespread among Hispanist philologists, although designed with the characteristics of Medieval Spanish in mind. We found an alternative in *Normas para la transcripción de documentos históricos, Archivo General de la Nación, México 1979 (Norms for the Transcription of Historical Documents, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico 1979)*, which were approved in the first Inter-American Archival Seminar, which took place in Washington, D.C. in 1961 and summarized in Cortés Alonso (1986:97-99). Since this second set of guidelines was specifically created with Colonial Hispanic American documentation in mind, it was chosen as a more appropriate method for transcribing the *Autos Tocantes*.

The following is a summary of the norms:

### Orthography

1. The letters "c, ç, s, z, ss" are transcribed as such. "S", both long and short, is transcribed as a short "s".
2. "Y" is transcribed as such, even in words in which it has the phonetic value of "i".
3. "u" and "v" are transcribed according to their phonetic value.
4. The superfluous "h" is maintained, whereas none that are omitted are substituted.
5. Uppercase "R" with the phonetic value of multiple alveolar trill is transcribed as "rr", except when in the initial position in the word.
6. Double letters are only maintained in the case of "-ss-" and "-nn-", except in the initial position.
7. The following spellings are maintained "f, g, j, h, ph, th, x".
8. The contractions "del, della, dello; desta, destos, destas"; etc., are preserved with their original spelling.
9. If there is no tilde over "ñ", it is replaced.

10. The “&” is transcribed as “y”.

11. The “u” is inserted into “ge” when “g” has the value of a voiced velar, if “u” is not included in the original. Ex: “Dominges > Doming[u]es” (indicated with brackets).

12. The diaeresis is not used to indicate its value as the semiconsonant labiovelar “ü”. Ex: “guerfana, desverguenza”.

## **Punctuation**

“When the document lacks punctuation, current punctuation will be used in its indispensable form. When the document has punctuation, indispensable punctuation will be preserved for purposes of textual interpretation” (“Cuando el documento no tenga puntuación, se pondrá la actual en su forma indispensable. Cuando el documento tenga puntuación, se conservará la indispensable para la interpretación textual”) (Cortés Alonso 1986:97). In this edition we have preserved indispensable punctuation from the original and we have added indispensable periods or commas for textual comprehension.

## **Upper and Lowercase Letters**

Current orthographic rules are followed.

## **Separation of Words and Phrases**

“In no case shall unions contrary to the morphology of words or phrases or undue separations of the letters of a word be maintained.” (“En ningún caso se mantendrán las uniones contrarias a la morfología de las palabras o frases ni las separaciones indebidas de las letras de una palabra”) (Cortés Alonso 1986:98). We have separated words with an apostrophe in order to indicate crasis or agglutination of vowels, as in *qu’el* ‘que el’, *qu’eran* ‘que eran’ and in *s’entiende* ‘se entiende’; but not in *de* + definite article or demonstrative. For example: *del, della, dellas, dello, dellos, desse, deste, desto, destos, desta, destas* (as prescribed above in the section on orthography, no. 8).

## **Accents**

“Where there are no accents, they are to be restored in those words whose meaning calls for it. Examples: *marcho, marchó; el, él.*” (“Cuando no haya acentos, se los restituirá en las palabras cuyo sentido así lo requiera. Ejemplo: *marcho, marchó; el, él*”) (Cortés Alonso 1986:98).

## **Abbreviations**

1. Abbreviations are expanded with the omitted letters italicized. Also, the abbreviations *Ihu Xpo, Xpoval* are transcribed as Jesús Cristo, Cristóbal, per Cortés Alonso (“Las abreviaturas *Ihu Xpo, Xpoval*, se transcribirán *Jesús Cristo, Cristóbal*”) (Cortés Alonso 1986:98).

## Typographical Signs

1. Square brackets are used to indicate editorial additions: [...] and curly brackets for editorial suppressions {...}. Editorial annotations are also put between square brackets. Ex: [*testado*...].
2. Margin notes precede or follow the text of the folio with the indication [*al margen* ...].
3. The numbering of the original document is reported.
4. Underlinings are indicated as they occur in the original.
5. Bracketed asterisks are used to indicate a reconstructed form that the editor has not been able to confirm either in the original or in the collated copies. The sole exceptions occur in f. 345r23, “Señoria\*” and in the note in the left hand margin of the same folio, where the asterisks are those of the scribe in the original MS. As mentioned above, editorial corrections are always indicated with brackets: [ ] for additions and { } for suppressions. In those places where we think the omission was phonetic or morphologic, we have made no emendations. For example, in the case of “repuesta”, the noun derived from the verb “responder”, we suppose that the suppression of -s- reveals the aspiration of -s in the final position of the syllable (implosive) or perhaps confusion with the adjective “repuesta” from the verb “reponer” (PI 318r1 repuesta: T1 295r14, T2 601v8, D 38r14, AF 13v1 respuesta). We also did not modify the preterit of the verb “ser” (“fimos”), since we have encountered this monophthong form in Spanish dialects (PI 332r21 fimos: T1 318r16, T2 634r15-16, D 51v8, AF 22v10 fuimos). Nevertheless, if its orthographic omission reveals carelessness or negligence, we have corrected the form. For example, where it says “digo”, we have written “Di[e]go”, since the context requires this proper name (PI 335v18 digo: T1 323v26, T2 642v5, AF 24v32 Diego). The transcription is based on the microfilm of the original housed at the Huntington Library for the first 15 folios (SANM, roll 21). Beginning with folio 16 (320), the transcription was based on a microfilm of the original in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico, after a later examination of the original in Mexico City. The original MS. in Mexico is tacked and many margins are illegible due to its binding. The last folio (436v) is now laminated and is impossible to read. Only by utilizing copies has it been possible to reconstruct the text. Of the original MS. in Mexico, the first 15 folios have been lost, although they are preserved in microfilm in the Huntington library. This copy contains what must have been the original MS. numbering, with numbers placed on the extreme upper right of each folio, with each number underlined. Its discovery and the research regarding its location are owed to the effort and praiseworthy dedication of Professor Jerry R. Craddock of the University of California, Berkeley. He took the responsibility of obtaining copies, carrying out the necessary inquiries and to provide the editor with the necessary data to create this edition. The rest of the manuscript, in its current condition in Mexico, presents as many as five distinct numberings, owing to the archivists or researchers who have handled the document at different times. Faced with this level of numerical chaos, the most logical solution seemed to be that of maintaining the original number of the folios in the Huntington microfilm. That said, there are at least two reasons to reject such a proposal – firstly, the fact that the first numerator did not number the blank folios (despite the fact that some folios that are blank on the recto have text on the verso);



secondly, the publication of passages from the *Autos Tocantes* where a numbering has been used that is posterior to the original, albeit more logical, considering that it includes the blank pages (Craddock and De Marco 1997). In the interest of consistency and so as to harmonize our numbering with the one presented in that pioneering work, we have kept the numbering chosen by the editors in the above-mentioned publication. To that end, we herein re-number the first 15 folios (1-15) as “305r-319v”, though we also add the numbers of the original for those 15 folios. Only once, in folio 321r, are the other numberings indicated. The original, which begins with “1”, is the only one until folio 15 (319r). Beginning with 321r we find four numberings: 299, 321, 1 and 17 (this last being the original). Here we remind the reader of Otermín’s observation when he compiled the *Autos Tocantes* in order to send them to the Viceroy in Mexico City (391r/87r10-11): “they contain eighty-eight fully and partially written folios with some of them blank.” Indeed, the next and final folio (87v) was part of 88r, blank at the time and later written upon with the January 4, 1681 reply of the Crown Attorney from Mexico. In addition to the original, the copies consulted are the following (with their abbreviations for succinctness):

PI = original, AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 37, fols. 305r-436v, and for the first 15 folios (SANM, roll 21).

T1 = AGI, Guadalajara 138, roll 2, fols. 265r-469r.

T2 = AGI, Guadalajara 138, roll 1, fols. 558v-828r.

AF = Archivo Franciscano, BN Mex. Archivo Franciscano, box 20/1297, fols. 1r-89r.

D = AGN, Historia, vol. 26, fols. 20r-94r.

Purely graphical variants are ignored. Corrections within brackets in the original text (PI) have been confirmed in T1, T2 or in AF. We use the slash to indicate changes in lines of the manuscript and we indicate the line number every five lines. For example, line 15 would be “/15”.

The spelling of Spanish names in 1680 was erratic and it did not include accents. In our paleographic transcription, we transcribe the original spelling, including the entries for footnotes. However, the comments in footnotes use the standard modern spelling. For example: original Otermin vs. modern Otermín, and original Santa Fee vs. modern Santa Fe.

### **Textual Transmission of *Autos tocantes***

Signatures and rubrics of the Spanish protagonists who lived through the events of the indigenous rebellion are only found in the original PI manuscript. Since it is found in volume 37, entitled *Provincias Internas*, we have named it PI. As far as copies are concerned, there are two similar versions which we have assigned the abbreviations T1 and T2, respectively, due to their title, “Testimonios.” It is a report ordered by Viceroy Tomás de la Cerda y Aragón, Count of Paredes and Marquis of La Laguna, concerning the uprising. The report is contained in file 138 of the Audiencia de Guadalajara and it is kept

in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. T1 was completed on February 7, 1681 and it makes up folios 265r-469r. The second copy, T2, was carried out on February 22 of the same year and makes up folios 558v-828v. Both documents were prepared with the aim of informing King Charles II of the facts and we think that T2 could be a copy of T1. The third copy is from the Franciscan Archive of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico*, box 20/1297, folios 1r-89r and we have assigned it the abbreviation AF. This document also seems to be contemporaneous with the other copies, that is, from 1681. Finally, we have also collated the copy of the *Autos Tocantes* found in the collection *Documentos para la historia de Nuevo México. Tom. XXVI* of December 27, 1792. The complete title was *Documentos para la historia del Nuevo México sacados de los Autos existentes en el Oficio del Superior Gobierno de esta Corte, que sobre el levantamiento del año de 1680 formó D. Antonio de Otermín, Gobernador y Capitán Gener[a]l del Reyno de nuevo México* (Documents for the History of New Mexico Drawn from the Writs Found in the Office of Superior Government of this City, Drawn up by Antonio de Otermín, Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Mexico, Regarding the Uprising of 1680). This version is based on AF and only includes a selection from the *Autos Tocantes*. The abbreviation assigned is D and the numbering of the folios is 20r-94r. Said *Documentos* appeared partially printed in the edition that González Obregón prepared about Gaspar Perez de Villagra in 1900. Furthermore, we must mention the typewritten transcription of Herbert Eugene Bolton, a copy of which is found in the Bancroft Library, under the record H. E. (Herbert Eugene) Bolton Research Materials, C-B 840, Part I, Carton 29, Folder 419, “Autos Tocantes”, as well as in the Library of Congress. As previously mentioned, this transcription was used by Shelby and Hackett for their translation, upon which, until the present, most American historians have based themselves.

It is evident that D was based on AF, when we consider the following passages: PI 310r8 **para entre todos dar çaco**: AF 5v13, D 24r5 **para dar entre todos cerco**; PI 310r32 **su abilantes**: AF 6r3 **sus avittantes**, D 24v15 **sus habitantes**; PI 310v16 **juida**: T1 277r26, T2 575v7 **huyda**, AF 6r19, D 25r16 **fuga**; PI 310v33-34 **en guerra rota**: AF 6v2, D 25v17-18 **en su bravura**; PI 311r7 **de juida**: T1 278r22, T2 577r3 **de huyda**, AF 6v9, D 26r4 **fugitivos**; PI 311r13-14 **Po He Yemu**: AF 6v15 **Pedro Lusemu**, D 26r12 **Pedro Luzemu**; PI 312r20 **forsosamente an de marchar**: AF 7v14, D 27v24 **por solamente ser forzoso marchen**; PI 312r26 **ajustandose**: AF 7v20, D 28r8, **allanandose**; PI 314v20 **dies leguas**: AF 10r6 **tres leguas**, D 32r7-8 **tres legüas**; PI 316v31-32 **natural**: AF 12r33, D 36r17 **originario**; PI 332v9 da **grima** y horror: AF 22v25-26, D 53r5 dá **lastima** y horror. We thus see that D repeats the errors and stylistic preferences in AF. On the other hand, T1 and T2 present conclusive concordances. For example: PI 306v5 de lo que supiere: T1 268v5-6, T2 562v15 de **todo** lo que supiere; PI 308v8 en la **çiera** del arroyo: T1 272r13, T2 568r7 en la **cima** del arroyo, cf. AF 4r5-6, D 21r15 en el arroyo; PI 309r33-34 cargadas y encabalgadas en sus cureñas **asestadas**: T1 274r21-23, T2 571r8-10 cargadas y encabalgadas con sus cureñas **ajustadas**, cf. AF 5r3-4, D 22v21-22 cargados y bien prevenidos en sus cureñas **asentadas**; PI 309v10 tagnos y **pecos**: T1 274v18, T2 571v14 tagnos y **theguas**, cf. AF 5r16 Tasnos y **pecas**, D 23r13 Tanos y **Pecos**; PI 310r7-8 apaches **ynfieles**: T1 275v23, T2 573r17 apaches **yndiales**; PI 310r11 **tanta**: T1 276r5, T2 573v4

**toda**; PI 310v20 antes **si** enpidiendosela: T1 277v8-9, T2 575v17 antes impidiendosela, cf. AF 6r23, D 25r23 antes **si** impidiendosela; PI 313r26 avian de pereser: T1 283r26, T2 584v6-7 *omitted*; PI 313v9-10 los españoles nos an matado no ynporta que se vaian que aora biviremos: T1 283v26, T2 585r14 *omitted*; PI 317v21 **Senecu**: T1 294v15, T2 600v16 **thesuque**; PI 383r25 **Janos**: T1 401r1, T2 740r8 **Thanos**, cf. AF 56v21 Janos. PI 428r22 **unirse**: T1 458v4, T2 814v19 **venirse**.

Nevertheless, there are also differences between T1 and T2. Among them, we note the following: PI 375r37 Juan **Luis**: T1 391r21-22 Juan **Luis**; T2 728r5 Juan **lusero**, PI 379r12 **obstigados** del castigo: T1 397r22 **ostigados** de el castigo, T2 735v6 **obligados** del castigo. However, there are cases in which T2 is closer to PI than T1: PI 328r17 **desde este puesto**: T2 **desde este puerto**, T1 311v3 **de este Pueblo** 328r17; PI 334r3 **jurisdicçiones**: T2 639r16 **jurisdicciones**, T1 321v13 **Prouinçias**; PI 336r24 **con ese socorro**: T2 645r12 **con ese socorro**, T1 325v21 **con efecto corro**. We should point out that T1 includes abundant margin notes, which is not the case with T2.

In addition to the aforesaid documents, we are also including here, for the first time, comments from the unpublished *Historia de la conquista, pérdida y restauración de el reyno y provincias de la Nueva México en la América Septentrional*, written in the late 1600s or early 1700s by Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, chronicler of the Council of the Indies in Spain, and housed at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, in Madrid, 2 vols. (MSS/2822 V. 1 and MSS/2823 V. 2). The narrative on the Pueblo Revolt and on Otermín's attempts to reconquer New Mexico is found in the first volume, folios. 279v-367v. A copy of this work can also be found at the Bancroft Library: [FILM P-E 232]. Father Otto Maas (1929:pp. viii-lvi), published just the table of contents and Herrera (1953) produced a paleographic edition transcribing only from fol. 41r to 270v of volume 1. Therefore, he stopped short of covering the passages where Villagutierre y Sotomayor covered the 1680 revolt. The second volume concludes pointing out Governor Diego de Vargas' success in his reconquest of New Mexico and mentioning how the king bestowed on him "título de Castilla" and rewarded him with a five year extension as governor of New Mexico (vol. 2 fol. 447r –later renumbered by another hand as 446--). It is obvious that Villagutierre had access to one of the copies of the *Autos Tocantes* (possibly T2), as can be inferred from his reading of the following passage: PI 310r7-8 apaches **ynfieles**: T1 275v23, T2 573r17 apaches **yndiales**. Villagutierre wrote "Apaches Imbrales", which makes no sense, but resembles T1 and T2 unusual adjective "yndiales" (Villagutierre, fol. 288r14-15). Cf. also PI 305v20 Poxuaque: T1 267r11 Poxurate, T2 561r6 puxuaque, with Villagutierre's spelling Pujuaque, whose vocalism coincides with that of T2 (Villagutierre, fol. 282r14).

## Transcription, Translation and Footnotes

### Transcription

[Santa Fe, 9 de agosto de 1680, primer informe]

[fol. de la portada] T[omo] 36 / 366 / Prov[incias] año de 1681/ num[er]o 6/ segundo quaderno de/ autos tocantes al alsamiento de/ los yndios de la provinçia de la/ Nueva<sup>1</sup> Mexico. / [rúbrica]/ Para remitir a Leon. / [Secretario] Don Pedro Velasques de la Cadena// espediente numero 6 fojas 123. [fol. 305r/1r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Autos fechos por/ alsam]ien[to] de los/ [y]ndios chris-/tiano[s]]. En la villa de Santa Fee de la Nueva Mexico cavesera deste reyno y pro-/vincias en nuebe dias del mes de agosto de mil seisçientos/ y ochenta años don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitán general / deste reyno y provincias

### Translation

1. Santa Fe, August 9, 1680, First Report.

[Cover fol.] Tome 36 / 366 / Provinces, year of 1681, number six, second dossier of documents related to the uprising of the Indians of the province of New Mexico. To be sent to Leon.<sup>2</sup> [Secretary] Don Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena.<sup>3</sup> File number. <sup>6</sup> 123 pages [fol. 305r]. [Upper left hand margin]: Writs Drawn up Regarding the Uprising of the Christian Indians. In the township of Santa Fe<sup>4</sup> of New Mexico, capital of this kingdom and provinces, on the ninth day of the month of August, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermin,<sup>5</sup> governor and captain general

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<sup>1</sup> Here the name appears in Spanish as “Nueva Mexico,” while we also find “Nuevo Mexico” elsewhere as well. Both forms were used at the time.

<sup>2</sup> León. Almost certainly León, Guanajuato, Mexico.

<sup>3</sup> The cover folio is dated 1681, in Mexico City, by Secretary Don Pedro Velásquez de la Cadena, Knight of the Order of Santiago.

<sup>4</sup> Capital of New Mexico. Founded in 1610 by governor Pedro de Peralta on the banks of the Santa Fe river, its full name was Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Asís. Consequently, the city celebrates its patronal feast day on October 4.

<sup>5</sup> We do not know the date and place of the birth and death of Antonio de Otermín, governor of New Mexico in 1680. We know that he was of Basque origin, not only because of his surname, but also because in the correspondence he received we find phrases in Basque (387r at the margin and 388v10-11). The surname Otermín had its ancestral home in Gaínza, municipality of Araiz, in Pamplona, Navarre. Its coat of arms is represented with a purple diagonal band from left to right, on a silver field. We have news of Otermín as captain and alcalde mayor of Sinaloa in 1672 (Navarro García 1967:176). It is known that Otermín survived the 1680 uprising and that in 1683 he underwent a “residency judgment” upon his replacement by Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate (see *Edición del Juicio de Residencia a don Antonio de Otermín*. M.A. thesis, San José State University, 2004 by Patricia Yengle). See also the transcription online at: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7bs8g3k8>. Otermín must have remained in Mexico City, since nine years later

de la Nueva Mexico por Su Magestad dixo que por quanto/5 acava de resivir tres avisos, uno del reverendo padre custodio fray Juan/ Vernal otro del padre predicador fray Fernando de Velasco y el otro/ del capitan Marcos de Heras alcalde maior y capitan a guerra de la/ jurisdiccion de los

of this kingdom and provinces of New Mexico by His Majesty,<sup>6</sup> stated that he has just received three messages<sup>7</sup>; one from the Reverend Father Custodian Juan Vernal,<sup>8</sup> another from the Father Preacher Fernando de Velasco<sup>9</sup> and the other from Captain Marcos de Heras,<sup>10</sup> royal magistrate and

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his name appears on a marriage certificate that we believe refers to him. We have the official copy of the certificate from the Metropolitan Sanctuary, Parish of La Asunción, from the *Libro de Matrimonio de Españoles* of the Sanctuary of the Cathedral of Mexico City, May 1, 1688 - 1694, L.12 f. 296vta. Our access to this document is thanks to the work of Ms. Patricia Yengle and the kindness of the pastor and canon Rev. Ernesto Reynoso y Valle. The transcription is as follows:

En veinte y quatro de mayo de mil seiscientos y no-/venta y dos años, abiendo dispensado en las amones- /taciones, antes y despues del matrimonio, su ex[celenci]a yll[ustrisim]a / el señor Arzobispo y con licencia especial de d[ic]ho S[eñor] /5 Yll[ustrisim]o, a mí conседida, yo el d[octo]r d[o]n Juan de la Pedrossa / desposé por palabras de presente que hicieron berda-/dero matrimonio: a don Antonio de Otermin, / con doña Ana Maria Ladron de Gueba-/ra siendo testigos el bachiller Bernabe /10 de Partida y Luis de Quintana y don Ju-/an Niño Ladron de Guebara, y otras mu-/chas personas que se allaron presentes./ D[octo]r Juan de la Pedrossa [*rubricado*].

For more details on Otermín's biography, including a reference to his marriage certificate, see Rick Hendricks' note on New Mexico History.org: <http://newmexicohistory.org/people/antonio-de-otermín-bio>. Translation:

*On May 24, 1692, having dispensed in the marriage banns, before and after the wedding, His Illustrious Excellency, the Lord Archbishop, and with special permission from said Illustrious Lord granted me, I, Doctor Juan de Pedrossa; married by means of the present words that true marriage took place between Don Antonio de Otermin and Doña Ana Maria Ladron de Guebara, the witnesses being Bachelor Bernabe de Partida, Luis de Quintana and Don Juan Niño Ladron de Guebara, and many other persons who were there present.*

*Doctor Juan de Pedrossa [rubric].*

Currently, a street in Ciudad Juárez, in the La Chaveña neighborhood, bears the name "Antonio de Otermín". It runs almost parallel with "Emiliano Zapata" and runs into the intersection with "Paso del Norte" street.

<sup>6</sup> Carlos II, "the Bewitched." He reigned from 1675 to 1700.

<sup>7</sup> Villagutierre mentions that although Otermín received news of the rebellion from a Pecos Indian named Don Juan de Yee, he did not pay attention to him, in spite of the fact that Don Juan de Yee had always demonstrated loyalty and friendship towards the governor (fol. 281r1-11).

<sup>8</sup> Born in Mexico City and custodian of Galisteo. In 1669 he wrote a report on one of the worst draughts that afflicted the area and about the conflicts between Apaches and Pueblos. (Hackett 1937:272-73). He died in Galisteo, in the August 10 massacre. In 1726, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* ("Dic. de Aut." from here on) already listed the title of "custodian" as antiquated: "In the Holy Religious Order of Saint Francis, he was the one who oversaw a Custody: and today (when the former have been reduced to Provinces) he is one of those known as Provincial Judges, inferior in rank to the Provincial and superior to the four Definitors (see "custodio"). ("En la Sagrada Religion de San Francisco era el que gobernaba una Custodia: y el dia de oy (que estas se han reducido ya à Provincias) es uno de los Jueces que llaman de Provincia, inferiór al Provinciál y superiór à los quatro Difinidóres" (s. v. "custodio").

<sup>9</sup> A native of Cádiz, Spain, he was guardian of the Convent of Porciúncula (Pecos), where he was killed.

<sup>10</sup> Aged 25 at his death, he had arrived in New Mexico in 1677 as guardian of the convicts sent that year. Originally from Santander and royal magistrate of Taos.

taos. Y en todos tres avisos le notiçian a Su Señoria/ de que los yndios cristianos de todo este reino estan convocados/10 aliados y confederados para alsarse perdiendo a Su Magestad la/ obediencia apostatando de la fe santa y que quieren matar a los ministros sacerdotes y a todos los españoles mujeres y niños aca-/vando con todo el jentio deste reyno. La qual traicion y alsamiento/ an de executar el dia trese del corriente como tienen dispuesto/15 y hordenado entre ellos. Lo qual se a savido por los yndios/ gobernadores y capitanes de los pueblos de los tagnos San Marcos y La Çienega los quales asi mismo an paresido en esta billa a dar quenta/ de lo referido diçiendo que el averlo savido a sido por dos yn-/dios naturales del pueblo de Tesuque de la naçion teguas llamados/20 Nicolas Catua el uno y el otro Pedro Omtua; los quales declaran asi/ por dichos tres avisos como por los gobernadores y capitanes de tagnos/ San Marcos y La Çienega que habian ydo despachados de los dichos teguas/ a convocar y abisar de dicho alsamiento y traision en que ya con-

war captain of the Taos<sup>11</sup> jurisdiction. And all three messages alert His Lordship that the Christian Indians<sup>12</sup> of this whole kingdom have gathered together allied, and confederated in order to rise up and throw off the obedience to Your Majesty, apostatizing the Holy Faith, and that they wish to kill the priestly ministers and all Spaniards,<sup>13</sup> women and children, wiping out the people of this region. Such treason and uprising is set to take place on the thirteenth day of this month, as planned and ordered among them. We have learned of this through the Indian governors and captains of the pueblos of the San Marcos and La Cienega Tagnos, who have come to this township in order to report the aforesaid, stating that they learned of it from two Indians of the Tesuque pueblo of the Tewa nation. One was named Nicolas Catua and the other one was named Pedro Omtua,<sup>14</sup> who declare through the aforesaid three reports and through the governors and captains of the Tagnos,<sup>15</sup> San Marcos<sup>16</sup> and La Cienega,<sup>17</sup> that they had been dispatched by said Tewas to convoke and

<sup>11</sup> The Taos are located to the extreme north of the Pueblos on the eastern side, along the Pueblo river, a tributary of the Río Grande. They are speakers of the northern variety of Tiwa, of the Kiowa-Tanoan linguistic family, and they still maintain their language and ancestral customs (Bodine 1979:255-267).

<sup>12</sup> The “Christian Indians” were the Pueblo, who had been converted to Christianity by the friars, and by rejecting it they became apostates. This was not the case of the Athabascan natives (Apaches and Navajos) who were not Christianized and were not considered “traitors” or apostates.

<sup>13</sup> In the document “Spaniards” refers to those who came from Spain or those born in the Americas of Spanish origin. “Mestizos” indicates those of mixed European and indigenous race, while “Mexicans” refers to indigenous people who emigrated from Mexico, residing together with Spaniards in New Mexico.

<sup>14</sup> Nothing more is known about these Tewas. The fact that their last names end in “-tua” seems to denote a characteristic Tewa patronymic suffix.

<sup>15</sup> Other variants of “Tagno” are “Tano” and “Tasno”. The pueblo of Tano was located in present day Galisteo (Cobos 2003, see “tano”).

<sup>16</sup> A no longer extant pueblo in the Galisteo basin, south of Santa Fe. It has been the focus of archeological studies by the University of New Mexico and the American Museum of National History (Roberts 2004:11).

<sup>17</sup> Pueblo abandoned in 1680 due to the fact that its inhabitants, together with those of San Marcos and San Cristóbal, did not support the rebellion and were forced to flee.

/venian todas las naçiones deste reyno haciendo confederaçion /25 con los apaches ynfielos para que la noche del dia trese del co-/rriente executasen su ygnobediencia alebosia traicion y atosida- /{da}des. Que visto por dicho señor governador y capitan general con la prisa que el/ caso pide despachó al maestro de campo Francisco Gomes Robledo al/ dicho pueblo de Tesuque a haçer prision en los dichos dos yndios de Te-/30 suque. Y luego sin dilacion ninguna despachó dicho señor governador y capitan [general]/ sus hordenes y avisos del caso a todos los alcaldes maio[res]/ de las juridiçiones deste reyno para que se tubiese el cuidado que [el caso] [fol. 305v/1v] requiere. Y estando en la disposicion y execusion de dichas hordenes/ paresieron presos en estas casas reales los dichos dos yndios de Tesuque/ contenidos en este auto a quien Su Señoria para proseguir juridica a la causa/y alsamiento y saver la verdad resivio juramento a cada uno de por sí/5 en forma de derecho por Dios Nuestro Señor y una señal de cruz dandoles a en-/tender la grabadad del por yntrepetaçion de Agustin Griego, español/ que habla la lengua de dichos yndios teguas. Y abiendoles dado a en-/tender que son traídos presos por aber

alert them about said uprising and treason, to which all of the nations of this kingdom have agreed, by confederating with the infidel Apaches, so that on the night of the thirteenth of this month they might execute their disobedience, deceit, treason and atrocities. The aforesaid Lord governor and captain general, with the urgency that this case [fol. 305v] demands, dispatched Field Commander Francisco Gomez Robledo<sup>18</sup> to said Tesuque pueblo<sup>19</sup> in order to take said two Indians of Tesuque as prisoners. Then, without delay, said Lord Governor and Captain dispatched his orders and messages regarding this case to all of the royal magistrates of the jurisdictions of this kingdom in order for them to take the necessary measures. And under the disposition and execution of said orders the two Tesuque Indians mentioned in this writ were brought under guard to the Governor's palace, from whom His Lordship, in order to juridically proceed<sup>20</sup> to the cause and uprising and to discover the truth, received the oath from each one individually in legal form before God Our Lord and a sign of the Cross. He informed them of the gravity of it through the interpreter Agustin Griego, a Spaniard conversant in the language of the Tewa

<sup>18</sup> He was born in 1628 in Santa Fe and is believed to have died in El Paso, during the years that the New Mexican contingent was waiting to return to Santa Fe. We know that in 1662 he was *encomendero* of Abó and that same year was arrested in Santa Fe and taken to Mexico, where he was sentenced for Judaizing and later absolved (John L. Kessell. *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*: [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/kcc/chap5a.ht](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kcc/chap5a.ht)). Inexplicably, Villagutierre refers to how Francisco Xavier had become field commander upon Francisco Gómez's death (fol. 298v27-28). However, there is evidence that Francisco Gómez Robledo survived the 1680 revolt (Chávez 1992:36-37). Obviously, Villagutierre is mistaken. The field commander at the time was Andrés Gómez Robledo, Francisco Gómez's brother, who was killed on August 13, 1680 in Santa Fe <http://www.geni.com/people/Andres-G%C3%B3mez-Robledo/600000001278186112>.

<sup>19</sup> Pueblo of currently about 400 inhabitants, nine miles north of Santa Fe. Together with English, the Tewa language is spoken there, along with Spanish, although the latter is likely due to the fact that Tesuque is surrounded by ranches with Hispanic inhabitants.

<sup>20</sup> The adjective "juridica" appears here as a noun, although one could also posit an adverbial function.

ydo a los pueblos de San Cristobal y/ a los pecos, despachados de la jente de su naçion y de parte de todas \las de-/10 mas naçiones a tratar la traición y alsamiento en que estaban para executar-/la el dia trese en la noche generalmente contra los saçerdotes y españoles/ asi el uno como el otro contextando en sus dichos dijeron que ellos fu[e]-ron despachados de dos yndios de Tesuque llamados Pedro Situ y Diego M[ode]/ los cuales les encargaron mucho la dilijençia y que fuese con todo/15 secreto dandoles dos nudos en una correa de gamusa que significavan/ los dos dias que faltavan para la execusion de su traision. Y siendoles/ preguntado que qué caussa o motivo tenian para alsarse y perder a D[ios]/ el respeto y a Su Magestad la obediencia dijeron que no savian nada por-/que ellos eran mosos; que entre los viexos abian echo muchas juntas/20 con los yndios de San Juan Santa Clara Nanve Poxuaque Emex y otras naçio-/nes. Y que lo mas que a notiçia destes dos abia llegado es que se deçi[a]/ de general vos entre todos los yndios que les abia venido de mui lejos/ de açia la parte del norte una carta de un yndio theniente de Pohe-/yemu que se alsasen todos en general. Y el pueblo que no viniese en ello/25 que lo asolaçen matando a todo el jentio. Y que este tal yndio th[e]-niente de Poheyemu era mui alto negro y con unos ojos mui gr[an]-/des y amarillos a quien temian todos mucho. Que lo mas que an [lle]-/gado a sa[ver] es lo que an declarado. Que es verdad que los yndios de [San]/ Cristoval no quisieron admitir el recaudo que llebarony que se d[io]/30 abiso dello a los demas de su

Indians.<sup>21</sup> And when he informed them that they had been arrested for having gone to the pueblos of San Cristobal and to Los Pecos, dispatched by the people of their nation and on behalf of all of the other nations, in order to negotiate the treason and uprising which they were ready to execute on the night of the thirteenth against all priests and Spaniards, both of them, answering in their declarations, said that they were dispatched by two Indians of Tesuque named Pedro Situ and Diego Mode, who charged them to be very diligent and to keep everything secret, giving them two knots in a deerskin thong that signified the two days left in order to execute their treason. And when they were asked what cause or motive they had for rising up and losing respect for God and obedience to His Majesty, they said that they knew nothing because they were youths; that among the elders there had been many meetings with the Indians of San Juan, Santa Clara, Nanve, Pojuaque, Jemez and other nations. And the most information that these two had received is that it was said that the general word among all the Indians was that there had come from very far away to the north a letter from an Indian, lieutenant of Poheyemu, that all were to rise up together. And any pueblo that did not join in was to be annihilated and all the people in it killed. This Indian, the lieutenant of Poheyemu, was very tall, black and had very large, yellow eyes, and all feared him greatly. And that all they had learned was what they had declared, that it is true that the Indians of San Cristobal did not wish to

<sup>21</sup> teguas. 'Tewas'. Linguistically, Tewa, Tiwa and Towa belong to Tanoan. Tewa is spoken in Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Tesuque and Pojoaque. The Tano descendants from Galisteo also speak Arizona Tewa (Hale and Harris 1979:171).



naçion por cuiã causa a llegado a not[icia]/ del señor governador y capitan general. Que lo que dicho tienen es la verdad y lo que saben [so] / cargo de su juramento en que se afirmaron y ratificaron siendoles leid[os]/ sus dichos y dado a entender por el ynterprete. No supieron su edad ni firmar./ Firmolo Su Señoria con el alcalde Juan Luzero el maestro de Campo Francisco Gomes Robledo/35 y el sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana que sirvieron de testigos para que/ se prosiga luego sin dilacion ninguna al remedio y reparo de las [fol. 306r/2r] cosas que convienen al serviçio de las dos magestades./ Asi lo probeio mandó y firmó ante mí el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/5 Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ Ante mí, Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra.

receive the message<sup>22</sup> that they bore and that it was passed to the others of their nation, by means of whom it came to the attention of the Lord governor and captain general; that what they have said is true and what they know, under oath, which they affirmed and ratified, their statements having been read and translated for them by the interpreter. They did not know their age or how to sign their names. His Lordship signed it together with Magistrate Juan Lucero,<sup>23</sup> Field Commander Francisco Gomez Robledo and Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana,<sup>24</sup> who served as witnesses so as to proceed without delay to remedy and resolve [fol. 306r] those things that pertain to the service of the two Majesties.<sup>25</sup> He so provided, ordered and signed before me, the the secretary of governance and war.<sup>26</sup> Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubric]. Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Witnessed by me, Francisco

<sup>22</sup> According to the report of these two messengers, the Indians of San Cristóbal refused to take part in the plot.

<sup>23</sup> He was born in Albuquerque in 1624 and married Juana Carbajal in 1646. He therefore was 56 years old in 1680. In 1693 he was still in the service of the Crown (Chávez 1992:60).

<sup>24</sup> Due to allegations of incessant abuse of the Indians by Francisco Xavier, Luis de Quintana and Diego López Zambrano, unrest in the pueblos culminated in open rebellion (Hackett 1942, vol. 2:300-301). In 1692 Vargas was forced to promise the Pueblo Indians that none of the three abusers would return (Chávez 1992:89). Nevertheless, there might have been other reasons for the rebellion, besides mistreatment and religious repression. Wilcox believes that “As the demands for a stable source of Indian labor increased, so did the frequency of slave raiding” (2002:172). Elsewhere, Wilcox also states that, “The chief source of Apache and Navajo anger toward the colonists had been the slave-raiding activities of the governors and encomenderos (2009:145). Another southwest scholar, Andrés Reséndez, underscores the fact that as the slave trade to the mines of Parral increased, we should consider the possibility of the Pueblo Revolt as a slave rebellion, rather than a religious insurrection. His data demonstrate an exponential surge in the numbers of Apache slaves in Parral just before the uprising (“The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: A Religious Insurrection or a Slave Rebellion?” Conference at Stanford University, November 12, 2013).

<sup>25</sup> God and the King.

<sup>26</sup> Judging from declarations and testimonies, Xavier tyrannized and persecuted the Pueblo Indians and provoked the rebellion led by Popé (Hackett 1942, vol. 2:245). He was born in Seville and had come to New Mexico in 1658 with Governor López de Mendizábal. He was secretary under governors Treviño and Otermín, and led the campaign against the idolatrous practices of Popé and other shamans between 1675-1677. He was married to Graciana Griego, daughter of Juan Griego and in 1680 had four daughters and two sons. In 1681 he said he was fifty-two years old (Chávez 1992:113).

Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**[Santa Fe, 10 de agosto de 1680, informe sobre Pedro Hidalgo]**

[al margen izquierdo: auto]./ En la dicha villa de Santa Fee en dies días del mes de agosto de mil/10 y seisçientos y ochenta años. Como a las çiete oras de la ma-/ñana paresio en esta villa Pedro Hidalgo vesino della el qual/ vino de juida del pueblo de Tesuque por aberse escapado de los/ yndios naturales y los del pueblo de Cuia Mungue de naçion teguas/ quienes diçe el dicho Pedro Hidalgo que yendo en compañia del/15 padre predicador fray Juan Pio a deçirles misa a dichos yndios les enbistieron a los dichos padre fray Juan Pio y a Pedro Hidalgo y ma-/taron a dicho padre y se escapo el dicho Pedro Hidalgo. Y para que se/ aberigue la verdad mando se llame al contenido para que deba-/xo de juramento jure y declare lo que bido<sup>1</sup> supo y le pasó. Asi/20 lo probei mandé y firmé ante el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado] Ante mí, Francisco Xavier [rubricado] Secretario de governacion y guerra.

**Santa Fe, August 10, 1680. Report on Pedro Hidalgo**

[fol. 306v] [Left margin: writ].  
In said township of Santa Fe, on the tenth day of the month of August of 1680. At approximately seven o'clock in the morning, there appeared Pedro Hidalgo, a settler, who was fleeing from the pueblo of Tesuque after having escaped from the native Indians and those of the pueblo of Cuia Mungue,<sup>2</sup> of the Tewa nation, who, according to said Pedro Hidalgo, while he was accompanying Fr. Preacher Friar Juan Pio<sup>3</sup> to say Mass for said Indians, fell upon said Fr. Friar Juan Pio and Pedro Hidalgo and killed said priest and said Pedro Hidalgo escaped. And in order for the truth to be ascertained, I order that the person herein named be called so that he may swear and state under oath what he saw, understood and what happened to him. I so provided, ordered and signed before the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>1</sup> bido. 'Vio', 'he saw'. This form is still used in rural Spanish on both sides of the Atlantic.

<sup>2</sup> At the current time it is spelled Cuyamungue, although Twitchell states that it should be Cuyamungué, given that in Tewa the last syllable is stressed (1914:7). The pueblo was abandoned after the reconquest, but was populated again in 1731. Situated 13 miles from Santa Fe, in Tewa the name means "sliding rocks".

<sup>3</sup> Friar Juan Bautista Pío was from Vitoria, capital of the northern Spanish province of Álava.

**[Santa Fe, 10 de agosto de 1680,  
declaración de P. Hidalgo]**

[fol. 306v/2v] [al margen izquierdo:  
Declaracion / de Pedro Hidal-/go/ soldado].  
En la dicha villa de Santa Fee en dicho dia  
mes y año dichos para la pro-/secusion  
destos autos Su Señoria hiso pareser ante sí  
a Pedro Hidalgo/ soldado vezino desta villa  
a quien resivio juramento en devida forma  
de/ derecho por Dios Nuestro Señor y una  
señal de cruz. Devajo de cuio cargo pro-  
/5metio de deçir verdad de lo que supiere y  
le fuere preguntado. Y aviendole/ dicho  
que diga y declare lo que le pasó vido y  
supo a él y al padre predicador/ fray Juan  
Pio con los yndios teguas de Tesuque dixo  
que lo que passó es/ que abiendo salido  
desta villa esta madrugada este testigo en  
compañia del/ padre predicador fray Juan  
Pio al pueblo de Tesuque llegaron a él ya  
de dia. Y hallar[on]/10 el dicho pueblo  
despoblado de jente y de los ganadillos que  
tenian los yn-/dios. Y que pasando adelante  
este testigo y el dicho padre en busca de la/  
jente del pueblo porque les yva a deçir  
missa alcansaron la jente como un/ cuarto  
de legua de dicho pueblo a donde allaron a  
muchos yndios enbija-/dos a usansa de  
guerra con sus arcos flechas lansas y  
adargas. Y que/15 llegó a ellos dicho padre  
diciendoles: “Qué es esto hijos, estays  
locos, no os/ ynquieteis que yo os ayudare  
y morire mil muertes por vosotros”./ Y  
pasando adelante dicho padre y este testigo  
en su compañia a detener/ y llamar el golpe  
de la jente que se yba acia la çierra, para  
que viniesen al/ pueblo a decirles misa, se  
apartó dicho padre por una cañada  
diciendole/20 a este testigo que fuese por

**Santa Fe, August 10, 1680. Statement of  
P. Hidalgo**

[Left margin: Statement of Pedro Hidalgo,  
soldier].  
In said township of Santa Fe, on said day,  
month and year, in order to proceed with  
these writs, His Lordship caused to appear  
before him Pedro Hidalgo, soldier and  
resident of this township, from whom he  
received the oath in due legal form by God  
Our Lord and a sign of the cross, under  
whose charge he promised to tell the truth  
of what he might know and what would be  
asked of him. And when ordered to tell and  
state what happened to him, what he saw  
and learned and regarding both himself and  
Fr. Preacher Friar Juan Pio with the Tewa  
Indians of Tesuque, he said that what  
happened to him was that, after leaving this  
township early this morning, this witness,  
in the company of Fr. Preacher Friar Juan  
Pio, arrived at the Tesuque pueblo when it  
was already daytime. And they found said  
pueblo to be empty of people and the cattle  
that the Indians kept. And, continuing on in  
search of the people of the pueblo, since  
they were going to say Mass for them, this  
witness and said priest reached the people  
at about a quarter league<sup>1</sup> from said pueblo,  
where they found many Indians wearing  
war paint, with their bows, arrows, lances  
and shields. And said priest went up to  
them, saying, “What is this, my children,  
are you mad? Do not trouble yourselves, I  
will help you and will die a thousand  
deaths for you.” And moving forward, said  
priest and this witness in his company, to  
detain and call the crowd of people that  
were going towards the mountains, so that

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<sup>1</sup> *Legua* in Spanish. Measurement equivalent to 5,572 meters and 7 centimeters. As late as the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Spanish rural areas it was still used as a measurement of distance.

los altos para atajar dicha jente. Vido a poco/ rato salir a un yndio llamado El Obi con el chimal que llevaba/ dicho padre. Y que tambien bido al ynterprete del pueblo llamado Nicolas/ enbijado con tierra blanca salpicado de sangre. Y estos y otros embistie-/ron con este testigo, agarrandole de las riendas del cavallo en que/25 yva y le sercaron y quitaron la espada y el sonbrero. Conque ra[n]-/có el arcavus y como pudo por escaparse ar[r]ancó a correr por l[a]/ cuesta abajo de una loma. Conque ar[r]astró a los que le tenian c[o]-/xido y se desiso dellos y bajó a lo llano donde le fueron tiran-/do muchas flechas, que no le alcanzó ninguna a hacer mal y/30 se safó. Y viendo que no salio mas dicho padre predicador fray Juan Pio, le j[us]-/gó por muerto. Conque se vino a esta villa a toda dilijençia a [dar]/ aviso. Y que supo este testigo que la tarde antes abian mue[rto] / dichos yndios a Cristoval de Herrera. Que lo que dicho tiene/ [fol. 307r/3r] es la verdad y lo que pasó y vido so cargo de su juramento en que se a-/firmó y ratificó. Siendole leido este su dicho declaró ser de hedad/ de treinta años poco mas o menos. Y lo firmó con el señor governador/ y capitán general ante mí el secretario de governacion y guerra./5 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado] Pedro Ydalgo [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

they would come to the pueblo in order to say Mass for them, said priest moved to a ravine, telling this witness to go up the ridge in order to cut off said people. Shortly thereafter he saw an Indian named “El Obi”<sup>2</sup> leave with the *chimal* shield<sup>3</sup> that said priest used to carry. And he also saw the interpreter of the pueblo, named Nicolas,<sup>4</sup> covered with white dust splattered with blood. And these and others assaulted this witness, seizing the reins of the horse he was riding and surrounded him and took his sword and hat. He then drew his harquebus, and did his best to escape down the side of a hill. He thus dragged those who had seized him and left them behind and headed down to the flatland where they were shooting many arrows at him, and none reached him or caused him any harm, and he escaped. And seeing that said Father preacher Juan Pio did not come out, he judged him to be dead, and therefore came to this township with great haste to give the warning. And this witness learned that, the afternoon before, said Indians had killed Cristobal de Herrera. What he has said and seen is the [fol. 307r] truth and what happened under his oath, in which he affirmed and ratified. After having his statement read to him he declared that he was about thirty years old., and he signed it with the Lord governor and captain general before me, the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Pedro Hidalgo [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the definite article before the name is not unusual with indigenous nicknames like “El Ollita,” “El Turco,” etc.

<sup>3</sup> From the Nahuatl *chimal-li* meaning “shield”.

<sup>4</sup> We have proof that, in addition to Spaniards, Indians also acted as interpreters.

**[Santa Fe, 10 de agosto de 1680, auto de A. Otermín]**

[al margen izquierdo: Auto]/ Luego yncontinente en dicho dia mes y año dichos Su Señoria el señor governador y/10 capitán general dijo que por quanto tiene despachadas sus hordenes a los al-/caldes mayores para que den abiso en sus partidos y se asista a la defens[a]/ de los santos templos, porque no sean profanados del henemigo y que se/ ponga la fuersa de soldados que se pueda con la vrebidad posible por/ estar mui distantes unos de otros por las poblaçones de sus estanças y para/15 que en esta villa se viva con el mismo cuidado y vijilancia, mandó a el secretario de governacion y guerra aga {r}recojer a estas casas reales toda la jente y familias/ desta villa su juridiçion y contornos, para que los unos con los otros po-/damos defendernos y ofender al henemigo si llegare el caso. Y luego/ se saquen todos los arcabusez trabucos espadas y dagas chima-/20 les y muniçiones que [e]stan en el armeria y almasen dadas por/ Su Magestad para que se armen y amuniçionen a los mansevos que no/ las tienen y acudan con ellas al real servicio de Su Magestad; poniendo/ guardas velas y [ce]ntinelas, por lo que se podra ofreser del real/ servicio. Y de la mesma suerte se ponga una escuadra de guardia/25 en la yglesia para la vela y custodia del Santisimo Sacramento y las/ [fol. 307v/3v] ymajenes vasos sagrados y cosas del culto divino. Y todo lo execute/ el secretario Francisco Xavier alcalde hordinario desta villa. Asi lo probey

**Santa Fe, August 10, 1680, Writ of A. Otermin**

Immediately thereafter on said day, month and year, said Lordship and Lord governor and captain general said that, in so far as his orders have been dispatched to the royal magistrates to give the announcement in their localities, and that there may be a defense of the holy temples, so that they may not be profaned by the enemy, and that a force of as many soldiers as possible may be stationed as quickly as can be -- since they are very distant from one another due to the location of their ranches -- and so that in this township there may be the same care and vigilance, he ordered that the the secretary of governance and war cause all people and families of this Governor's Palace in this jurisdiction and outlying areas to be gathered together, so that together we can defend ourselves and attack the enemy if the time should come. And that they take out all the harquebuses, blunderbusses,<sup>1</sup> swords, shields, daggers and munitions that are in the armory and storehouses provided by His Majesty, in order to arm and supply munitions to the young men who do not have them, and for them to join the royal service of His Majesty, placing as many guards and sentinels that are available of the royal service. And in the same way a squadron of guards must be stationed in the church in order to keep watch and safeguard the Blessed Sacrament and the [fol. 307v] images, sacred vessels and objects of divine worship. And I, secretary Francisco Xavier, town magistrate of this township,

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<sup>1</sup> Firearms. The harquebus has a long barrel, while that of the blunderbuss is shorter, of higher caliber, and has a bell-shaped mouth. To this, Villagutierre added: "adargas" 'shields', "escaupiles" (from Nahuatl) 'padded armor' (fol. 284v22).

mandé/ y firmé ante el dicho secretario./  
Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/5 Por  
mandado de Su Señoria./ Francisco Xavier  
[rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y  
guerra./ [al margen izquierdo: Testimonio]/

**[Santa Fe, 10 de agosto de 1680,  
certificación de F. Xavier]**

Yo Francisco Xavier secretario de la  
governacion y guerra destas provinciaz  
alcalde hordinario/ de primer voto desta  
villa doy fee y verdadero testimonio que en  
términ[o]/10 de quatro oras poco mas o  
menos se executó el mandato de arriva/ del  
señor governador y capitan general. Y está  
todo ajustado y dispuesto como/ Su Señoria  
manda. Y para que conste lo doy por  
testimonio y lo firmé con dos/ testigos que  
lo fueron el capitan Francisco Xavier y el  
alferez Juan de Carvajal/ y Cangas./15  
Testigo Francisco Xavier [rubricado]  
Testigo Juan de Cangas [rubricado]/ En  
testimonio de verdad hago mi firma y  
rúbrica acostumvrada./ Francisco Xavier  
[rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y  
guerra./

executed all of the aforesaid. I thus  
verified, ordered and signed before said  
Secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin  
[rubric]. By order of His Lordship.  
Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of  
governance and war. [Left margin:  
Testimony]

**Santa Fe, August 10, 1680, Certification  
of F. Xavier**

I, Francisco Xavier,<sup>1</sup> The secretary of  
governance and war of these provinces,  
Senior Town Magistrate of this township,  
attest and give true testimony that within  
about four hours the above order of the  
Lord governor and captain general was  
executed. And everything is arranged and  
set out as His Lordship orders. And for the  
record I witnessed it and signed it with two  
witnesses: Captain Francisco Xavier and  
Ensign Juan de Carvajal y Cangas. Witness  
Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Witness Juan de  
Cangas [rubric]. In true testimony I offer  
my signature and customary rubric.  
Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of  
governance and war.

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<sup>1</sup> Judging from the signature and rubric, the the secretary of governance and war and the Captain Francisco Xavier who acts as a witness are one and the same. Nonetheless, Chávez (1992:113) points out that Francisco Xavier II (who is assumed to be the son of Francisco Javier) also was signing writs in 1680. Captain at the time, born in New Mexico, he was widowed at age 25. Nevertheless, we reiterate that the rubrics are practically identical.

**[Santa Fe, 10 de agosto de 1680,  
diligencia y declaración]**

[al margen izquierdo: Diligencia y de-  
/claración]./ En la dicha villa en dicho dia  
mes y año. Como a las cinco oras de [la  
tarde llega]-/20 ron a esta villa el alferes  
Nicolas Lusero y Antonio Gomes soldados  
los qua-/les vinieron juiendo por los  
montes por aberles salido el hene-/[fol.  
308r4r] migo alsado de naçion teguas  
queriendolos matar en el camino disparan-  
/doles muchas flechas y tirandole un  
carabinazo al dicho alferes;/ los quales  
fueron despachados por el alcalde mayor de  
los taos dando/ cuenta de la conjuraçion y  
alsamiento de los yndios de aquella  
naçion/5 y pecuries. Y aviendo llegado a la  
juridiccion de la Cañada el alcalde/ mayor  
sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana me dio  
abiso con los suso dichos de que/ en el  
pueblo de Santa Clara abian muerto  
viernes, digo savado, al amanecer, a Fe-  
/liphe Lopez y a Marcos Ramos, soldados  
que estavan de escolta con o-/tros seis  
hombrez y por cavo el capitan Francisco de  
Anaya. Que a todos con/10 traiccion y  
debajo de seguro los cojieron  
enbistiendoles. Y el dicho cavo/ y otros

**Santa Fe, August 10, 1680, Proceedings  
and Declaration**

[Left margin: Proceedings and  
Declaration]. In said township and said  
day, month and year. At about 5 o'clock in  
the afternoon there arrived in this township  
the ensign Nicolas Lucero<sup>1</sup> and Antonio  
Gomez,<sup>2</sup> soldiers who came fleeing  
through the mountains after having been  
attacked by the insurgent Tewa enemy  
[308r] who wished to kill them on the road,  
shooting many arrows, and firing a carbine  
shot at said ensign. They had been  
dispatched by the royal magistrate of the  
Taos, giving a report of the conspiracy and  
uprising of the Indians of that nation and  
Picuris.<sup>3</sup> And upon arriving at the  
jurisdiction of Cañada,<sup>4</sup> the royal  
magistrate, Sergeant Major Luis de  
Quintana announced to me, together with  
the afore named, that in the pueblo of Santa  
Clara on Friday -- I mean Saturday -- at  
daybreak they had killed Felipe Lopez and  
Marcos Ramos, soldiers who were in an  
escort with other six men whose  
commander was Captain Francisco de  
Anaya.<sup>5</sup> And that with treachery and  
despite having promised their safety, they

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<sup>1</sup> According to documentation from Chávez (1992:61), he was 37 years old in 1680, was married, tall, red-haired and blue-eyed. He was the brother-in-law of Pedro Varela.

<sup>2</sup> 28 years old, single at the time and most certainly the son of Francisco Gómez Robledo (Chávez 1992:36).

<sup>3</sup> Written in the 1680 documents as “pecuries” (though Oñate recorded the name as “picuries” en 1598) it seems to come from the Jemez word “pè-kwiles” of the same meaning (Brown 1979:276). Nevertheless, the Picuris refer to themselves as “p?inwel?ene” or ‘mountain people’. Their language is Northern Tiwa, and in 1979 Brown informed us that the elders, in addition to speaking it together with English, were also fluent in Spanish. The pueblo is located on the western slopes of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, south present day Taos County.

<sup>4</sup> It was a Spanish settlement near the Tiwa pueblo of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, in the vicinity of San Juan and Santa Clara (Pearce 1965:80).

<sup>5</sup> He was the son of Francisco de Anaya Almazán captain and royal magistrate of Tanos. In 1680 he was 47 years old and made a declaration that he had lost his wife, Francisca Domínguez, and his children in the revolt. After re-marrying, he returned to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:4-5).

sinco se escaparon con la cavallada que tenian por estar velan-/dola en el campo y quedaron muertos los dichos Marcos Ramos y Felipe/ Lopes. Y el dicho alcalde mayor Luis de Quintana abisa tambien de aber/ recogido toda la jente de su jurisdición a su casa y que en el pueblo de/15 Santa Clara se an juntado mucho numero de los cristianos alsados/ asi de los pueblos de los teguas como de los hemes. Y que en escuadras/ salen dichos yndios a cavallo y van juntando los ganados y ha-/ciendas de los campos y casas de los españoles ovrando con toda des-/vergüenza semejantes maldades atrosidades y latrosinios. Que para/20 que conste lo mandé poner por diligencia y mando que el maestro de campo/ Francisco Gomes con una escuadra de soldados españoles vaia hasta la/ Cañada y vea y requiera lo susedido assi en dicha jurisdición como/ en todos los pueblos de Tesuque Cuia Mungue Posuaque y los demas,/ para saver los daños y muertes atroses que an hecho dichos alevosos al-/25 sados y probeer al remedio que convenga. Asi lo probey mandé y fir-/mé con los dichos Nicolas Lusero y Antonio Gomes ante el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]  
 Nicolas Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/  
 Antonio Gomez Robledo [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/30 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/  
 Secretario de governacion y guerra./

assaulted them. And said commander and five others escaped with the herd of horses that they had, over which they had been keeping watch in the fields, and said Marcos Ramos<sup>6</sup> and Felipe Lopez<sup>7</sup> were killed. And said royal magistrate Luis de Quintana informs us that he has gathered all of the people of his jurisdiction in his home and that in the pueblo of Santa Clara a large number of insurgent Christians has assembled, Pueblos and Tewas, as well as Jemez. And that in squadrons said Indians are sallying on horseback and are collecting all of the cattle and ranches of the fields and houses of the Spaniards, carrying out with complete shamelessness such evils, atrocities and robberies. For the record I ordered these proceedings to be recorded and I order that the Field Commander Francisco Gomez, with a squadron of Spanish soldiers, go to Cañada and see and find out what happened in said jurisdiction as well as in all of the pueblos of Tesuque, Cuia Mungue, Pojoaque and the others, in order to ascertain the damage and brutal deaths that said treacherous insurgents have carried out and to provide a suitable remedy. I thus verified, ordered and signed, together with Nicolas Lucero and Antonio Gomez before the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Nicolas Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Antonio Gomez Robledo [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

<sup>6</sup> Convict who also came to New Mexico in 1677 (Chávez 1992:91).

<sup>7</sup> Chávez (1992:59) identifies him as Felipe López García, 20 years old, born in Mexico City and having arrived in New Mexico in 1677 as a convict.



**[Santa Fe, 12 de agosto de 1680.  
Declaración de Francisco Gómez]**

[al margen: Auto y/declara-/sion del/  
maestro de cam-/po Francisco/ Gomez]./  
[fol. 308v/4v] En la dicha villa de Santa  
Fee en dose dias del mes de agosto de mil y  
seiscientos y ochenta/ años paresio en esta  
villa el maestro de campo Françisco Gomez  
Robledo a quien el señor governador/ y  
capitan general despachó a reconocer los  
pueblos y juridiçion de los teguas y  
Cañada/ para enterarse de lo susedido en  
dicha jurisdicïon. Y abiendolo visto/5 y  
rexistrado con la jente de soldados  
españoles que llevó a su cargo/ dixo que  
toda la jente de los pueblos de los teguas  
desde Tesuque hasta/ San Juan estan  
alsados y fortalecidos. Mucha cantidad  
dellos en el/ pueblo de Santa Clara y los  
demas en la çier[r]a del arroyo de Tesuque/  
y repartidos por los caminos reales  
ataxando el que pase persona/10 ninguna.  
Y que an muerto a los padres fray Luis de  
Morales y fray Tho-/mas de Torres. Y se an  
llevado los yndios de Santa Clara a la  
mujer y hijos/ del capitan Francisco de  
Anaia. Y halló aber muerto en el pueblo de  
Posuaque/ al capitan Francisco Ximenes a  
don Joseph de Goitia a la mujer y familia  
de Francisco/ Ximenes. Y que no paresen

**Santa Fe, August 12, 1680. Declaration  
of Francisco Gomez**

[Margin: Writ and declaration of Field  
Commander Francisco Gomez] [308v/4v]  
In said township of Santa Fe on the twelfth  
day of the month of August of 1680, there  
appeared in this township the Field  
Commander Francisco Gomez Robledo, to  
whom the Lord governor and captain  
general dispatched to reconnoiter the  
pueblos and jurisdiction of the Tewas and  
Cañada so as to ascertain what had  
happened in said jurisdiction. And after  
seeing and registering it, together with the  
Spanish soldiers under his command he  
brought with him, he said that all of the  
people of the pueblos of the Tewas, from  
Tesuque to San Juan, have risen up and are  
armed. A large number of them are in the  
pueblo of Santa Clara and the rest in the  
hills around the arroyo of Tesuque, and  
spread out along the royal highways,<sup>1</sup> not  
allowing anyone to pass. And they have  
killed Fathers Friar Luis de Morales<sup>2</sup> and  
Friar Tomas de Torres. And the Indians of  
Santa Clara have carried off the wife and  
children of Captain Francisco de Anaya.  
And he discovered that in the pueblo of  
Posuaque they have killed Captain  
Francisco Jimenez,<sup>3</sup> don Joseph de Goitia<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *El Camino Real* in Spanish. The *caminos reales* were, and still are, public thoroughfares and were maintained by royal mandate. As main communication arteries, they cannot be blocked and, in ancient times, were paved with cobblestones on their main sections. As the Dic. de Aut. points out (s.v.), those who traveled them enjoyed special rights and immunities.

<sup>2</sup> He was killed at the convent of San Ildefonso. Born in Spain, he was from Ubeda, in the province of Jaen and had become a missionary in 1674 (Hackett 1937:337).

<sup>3</sup> According to Chávez (1992:50), he belonged to the Griego clan. His home was in La Cañada.

<sup>4</sup> His surname denotes Basque origin (in Hackett he appears as “Don Joseph de Goitán” [1937:317], though at a later point Hackett records him as “Goitia” [p. 323]). He was one of the convict soldiers ordered to New Mexico in 1677. He was 43 years old in 1680, very tall, with scars on his face, had been condemned to serve two years in New Mexico as a salaried soldier. Like most convicts, he was initially provided 60 pesos (Hackett 1937:317).

doña Pretonila de Salas y ocho o dies hi-  
/15jos que tiene; los tres varones ya  
mansevos y los demas chicos con yjas/  
donsellas. Y que asi mismo está en el  
pueblo de Nanve muerto Sevas-/tian de  
Torres su mujer y otras personas. Y que en  
el pueblo de Santa Clara/ mataron los  
yndios a Felipe Lopez y a Marcos Ramos.  
Y an robado/ los santos templos y las  
haçendas de ganados de los canpos. Y sa-  
/20queado las casas de los españoles. Y  
generalmente se an alsado. Y tan-/vien  
mataron a otros dos mosos llamados  
Cristoval de Herrera/ y Bartolome Griego.  
Conque en solo estos pueblos ai mas de  
treinta per-/sonas muertas y cautivas. Y de  
los yndios que andan rexistran-/do los  
caminos y veredas mataron uno este  
declarante y sus con-/25pañeros al qual  
aunque le amonestaron y requirieron por  
muchas/ veses que se diese de pas que no le  
querian açer mal, pertinias y re-/belde dijo  
que queria morir y yrse a el ynfierno. Que  
lo que a declara-/do es la verdad y lo que a  
bisto. Y en caso nesasario lo jura a Dios y a  
la Cruz./ Y lo firmó con Su Señoria. Ante  
mí, el secretario de governaçion y  
guerra./30 Don Antonio de Otermin  
[rubricado] Francisco Gomez Robledo  
[rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier  
[rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y  
guerra./

and the wife and family of Francisco  
Jimenez. And that Doña Petronila de  
Salas<sup>5</sup> and her eight or ten children cannot  
be found; the three boys who are already  
adolescents and the other boys and young  
girls. And also in the pueblo of Nambe,  
Sebastian de Torres<sup>6</sup> is dead, along with his  
wife and other persons. And in the pueblo  
of Santa Clara the Indians killed Felipe  
Lopez and Marcos Ramos. And they have  
robbed the holy temples<sup>7</sup> and the ranches of  
cattle of the fields and plundered the  
houses of the Spaniards. And they have  
risen up together. And they also killed two  
other teenage boys named Cristobal de  
Herrera<sup>8</sup> and Bartolome Griego,<sup>9</sup> such that  
in these two pueblos alone there are more  
than thirty persons dead or taken captive.  
And this declarant<sup>10</sup> and his companions  
killed one of the Indians patrolling the  
roads and trails, who, although they  
admonished him and requested many times  
that he turn himself in peacefully and that  
they wished to do him no harm, he  
obstinately and rebelliously said that he  
wanted to die and go to hell. What he  
declares is the truth and what he has seen.  
And if necessary he will swear to God and  
the Cross., and he signed it with His  
Lordship. Before me, the the secretary of  
governance and war. Don Antonio de  
Otermin [rubric]. Francisco Gomez  
Robledo [rubric]. Before me, Francisco

<sup>5</sup> Petronila (without the rustic metathesis), was the wife of Pedro Romero and the stepdaughter of Antonio de Salas, *encomendero* of Pojoaque, who was accused of having relations with her (Chávez 1992:100).

<sup>6</sup> Brother of Friar Tomas de Torres, who was also murdered in the uprising. (Chávez 1992:107).

<sup>7</sup> Y an robado ... de ganados. Understand: 'Han robado el ganado de las haciendas'. 'They have stolen the cattle from the haciendas'.

<sup>8</sup> The Herrera family dates to the beginnings of the colonization of New Mexico. As early as 1613 there is mention of Juan de Herrera, son of one Cristóbal who came escorting wagons from Mexico (Chávez 1992:45).

<sup>9</sup> In all likelihood a relative of the above-mentioned Agustín Griego (305v6).

<sup>10</sup> Namely, Francisco Gómez.

Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**[Santa Fe, 13 de agosto de 1680, auto de Otermin]**

[fol. 309r/5r] En la dicha villa de Santa Fee en trese dias del mes de agosto de mil y seisçientos y o-/chenta años. El señor governador y capitan general don Antonio de Otermin dijo que por quanto/ se be el peligro manifiesto en que se halla asi Su Señoria con la jente desta villa como/ lo que puede suseder en la ygleçia y convento por la poca fuersa de sol-/5 dados que ai. Y que el henemigo tira a acavar con todo y aber arrojados/ ayer en mitad del dia a toda la jente de las estançias y haçiendas de/ los Serrillos, que pelearon sitiados todos juntos en la casa del sarjento/ maior Vernabe Marques quien ynbió a pedir socorro para poder salir/ con las demas familias y venirse a esta villa a congregarse con nosotros; el/10 qual socorro de españoles le despaché anoche. Asi por lo dicho como por-/que a corrido vos de los propios enemigos que se an alsado todos/ los yndios tagnos pecos çienega y san marcos; los quales se dise aber/ muerto al reverendo padre custodio fray Juan Vernal y a los padrez predicadores fray/ Fernando de Velasco fray Manuel Tinoco y fray Domingo de Vera con el/15 theniente de

**Santa Fe, August 13, 1680, Writ of Otermin**

[309r/5r] In said township of Santa Fe on the thirteenth day of August of 1680. The Lord governor and captain general don Antonio de Otermin said that the manifest danger in which His Lordship finds himself together with the people of this township is evident, as well as what can happen in the church and convent due to the small force of soldiers that there is. And that the enemy aims to make an end to everything, and yesterday at midday fell upon all the people of the ranches of Los Cerrillos,<sup>1</sup> who all fought together while under siege in the house of the sergeant major Bernabe Marques,<sup>2</sup> who sent for aid in order to escape with the rest of the families and to come to this township to join with us. I therefore dispatched a troop of Spaniards to go to their aid last night. Thus, due to the aforesaid and due to the word of the enemies themselves that all of the Tagnos, Pecos, Cienega and San Marcos Indians have risen up; and they claim to have killed Reverend Father Custodian Friar Juan Bernal and the fathers preacher Friar Fernando de Velasco, Friar Manuel Tinoco<sup>3</sup> and Friar Domingo de Vera<sup>4</sup> with

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<sup>1</sup> A mining site two leagues from the pueblo of San Marcos. During the colonial era the Spanish exploited the turquoise mines with Indian forced labor (Pearce 1965:30).

<sup>2</sup> Chávez records him with the modern spelling of “Márquez.” He was a native of New Mexico and was 38 years old at the time. In 1683 he traveled to Mexico with his brother-in-law to request permission to leave New Mexico (Chávez 1992:70). Erroneously named “Bernabé Vázquez” in González de la Vara’s article (1992:12).

<sup>3</sup> This friar lost his life in San Marcos. He had begun religious life in 1674. (Hackett 1937:337).

<sup>4</sup> He died together with Juan Bernal in Galisteo. He was a native of Mexico City and had also entered religious life in 1674 (Hackett 1937:336).

alcalde mayor Juan de Leiva el capitan Josep Nieto Nicolas de Leiva/ y a todas las mujerez y niños de sus familias. Y correr general bos que/ en el pueblo de Santo Domingo an muerto a tres relijiosos estando en su conpañia/ el alcalde mayor Andres de Peralta y otros quatro soldados. Y que abrá/ susedido lo mesmo en las demas jurisdiciones por ser convocasion general/ 20 y aberse apoderado los dichos yndios de las cavalladas y ganados/ del reyno y de las ygleçias y cosas sagradas. Y prebiniendo que todas/ las naçiones se an de juntar para acabar con esta villa determinó Su Señoria/ de prebenir al reverendo padre predicador fray Françisco Gomes de la Cadena/ que consuma el Santissimo Sacramento y saque las ymajenes vasos sagrados/25 y cosas del culto divino. Y ser[r]ando la ygleçia y convento lo pase todo/ a palaçio con su persona y la del padre fray Françisco Farfan. Y que se llame al/ sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana y a toda la jente que le asiste vezinos de La Ca-ñada y con los pocos cavallos que tubieren y ganados se resista la fu-ria del henemigo en esta villa dando abiso al theniente general Alonso Gar-/30 çia para que ynbie el socorro que

Deputy Royal Magistrate Juan de Leiva<sup>5</sup> and Captain Joseph Nieto,<sup>6</sup> Nicolas de Leiva<sup>7</sup> and all the women and children of their families. And there is a widespread rumor that in the pueblo of Santo Domingo<sup>8</sup> they have killed three religious, in whose company was Royal Magistrate Andres de Peralta<sup>9</sup> and four other soldiers. And the same thing seems to have happened in the other jurisdictions, since it is a general convocation, and said Indians having seized the horses and cattle of the kingdom and the churches and sacred items. And foreseeing that all the nations will join together in order to do away with this township, His Lordship decided to counsel Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco Gomez de la Cadena<sup>10</sup> to consume the Blessed Sacrament and to remove all of the images, sacred vessels and items of divine worship. And after locking the church and convent that he bring everything with himself and Father Friar Francisco Farfan<sup>11</sup> to the palace. And that the Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana be called along with all the people of Cañada in order to assist him and with what few horses and cattle they may have, that they resist the enemy's fury in this

<sup>5</sup> Despite his different surname, he was the younger brother of José Nieto (*vide infra*). (Chávez 1992:80).

<sup>6</sup> This Santa Fe native would have been 64 years old in 1680 and resided in Salinas. He was massacred along with his wife and children, Lucía, María and Juana, respectively (Chávez 1992:80-81).

<sup>7</sup> Brother of the preceding and also killed together with his mother, Catalina García and his sister Dorotea. (Chávez 1992:53).

<sup>8</sup> This Keres pueblo is situated on the eastern bank of the Rio Bravo, 35 miles to the southeast of Santa Fe (Lange 1979:379).

<sup>9</sup> The earliest records pertaining to him date to 1661, when he held the rank of ensign and in 1668, when he was present at the dedication of the mission of Guadalupe del Paso (Chávez 1992-86).

<sup>10</sup> He was Father Guardian of San Miguel de Tajique and of Chalili, although he was later transferred to Isleta. In 1672 there is a record of his assisting the needy families of those pueblos with corn, beans, cattle, sheep and yards of cloth. He also came to the aid of the military detachment of Spaniards in Tajique (Biblioteca Nacional de México, legajo 1, n° 34, 16/8/1672). (See [www.nps.gov/sapu/hsr/hsrn.htm#85](http://www.nps.gov/sapu/hsr/hsrn.htm#85)).

<sup>11</sup> He survived the uprising and was commissioned by the viceroy to assist the reconquest of New Mexico in 1694. ([www.rootsweb.com/~nma/fhfrthwv.htm](http://www.rootsweb.com/~nma/fhfrthwv.htm))

pudiere de caballos y soldados. Y luego/ se trincheren y troneen estas casas reales poniendo velas y coronando/las asoteas de jente arcabuseros. Y las dos piasas esmeriles se pongan/ en las puertas de las casas reales cargadas y encabalgadas en sus cureñas,/ asestadas a las vocas de las calles para que se puedan aseztar/35 a la parte donde acometiere el henemigo. Todo lo qual se dispuso/ y ejecutó luego sin dilaçion ninguna aguardando el acometimiento/ del henemigo a la execusion de sus traiciones. Y para que de todo/ [fol. 309v/5v] conste lo mandó poner por dilijençia y lo firmó ante mí, el secretario [de]/ governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/5 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

township, informing Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia<sup>12</sup> that he is to send whatever aid he can of horses and soldiers. And that this Governor's Palace is to be fortified with trenches and loopholes, placing watchmen and lining the roofs with harquebusiers. And the two artillery pieces are to be placed at the doors of the Governor's Palace, loaded and mounted on their gun carriages, aimed at the openings of the streets so that they can fire on the part from which the enemy will attack. All of which was arranged and executed without delay, in expectation of the enemy's attack and the execution of his treachery. And so that all [308v] of this may be entered into the record he ordered it placed in the proceedings, and he signed it before me, the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>12</sup> Born in Zacatecas, he was 53 years old in 1680 and resided in his ranch at San Antonio in Río Abajo, twenty leagues from Santa Fe. He was field commander and Magistrate (alcalde) of Sandía (Chávez 1992:33-34) and occupied the post of lieutenant general or lieutenant governor of Río Abajo. Otermín was confident he could resist the attack with the help of Alonso García's contingent. Nevertheless, García fled south for the reasons he would later express. His flight cost García a court martial by Otermín, which ultimately exonerated him. He was married to Teresa Varela and one of his sons, Lázaro, died in the revolt.

**[Santa Fe, 13-20 de agosto de 1680, auto de Otermín y la plana mayor]**

[al margen izquierdo: Auto/ y dilijen-  
/çia]./ En la dicha villa de Santa Fee en  
dicho dia mes y año dichos. Su Señoria el  
señor governador y capitan/ general  
hallandose con notable cuidado de las  
vosez que corrian de aber muer-/to al  
reverendo padre custodio y los demas  
relijiosos saçerдotes y españoles conte-  
/10 nidos en el auto antesedente. Y  
deçirse asi mesmo que los yndios tagnos  
y pecos/ por quien se tubo el abiso de la  
traición y alsamiento se abian alsado y  
ejecutado/ dichas muertes en el pueblo de  
Galisteo y matado a fray Juan de la  
Pedrosa en el pueblo/ de los pecos. Y  
aber despachado a dos yndios criados de  
españoles a llebar una/ horden al alcalde  
mayor de Galisteo y no haber venido en  
tres dias como asi mismo/15 aber  
despachado a Lucas de Ganboa, soldado,  
con otra horden al the-/niente general de  
las juridiçiones del rio Avajo Alonso  
Garçia. Determinó de/ aser confiansa de  
dos yndios cristianos; el uno dellos  
vezino desta villa y casado/ en ella y el

**Santa Fe, August 13-20, 1680, Writ of Otermin and Staff**

[Left margin: Writ and proceedings]. In  
said township of Santa Fe on said day,  
month and year. His Lordship the Lord  
governor and captain general, found  
himself with much concern for the rumors  
that were circulating of the killings of the  
Reverend Father Custodian<sup>1</sup> and the other  
religious priests and Spaniards contained in  
the preceding writ. And he learned as well  
that the Tagnos and Pecos Indians, of  
whom he was informed, had committed  
treason and risen up had risen and executed  
said deaths in the pueblo of Galisteo<sup>2</sup> and  
killed Friar Juan de la Pedrosa<sup>3</sup> in the  
pueblo of the Pecos. And after dispatching  
two Indians, servants of Spaniards, to bring  
an order to the royal magistrate of Galisteo,  
and their having not returned after three  
days, and after therefore dispatching Lucas  
de Gamboa,<sup>4</sup> a soldier, with another order  
to the Lieutenant General of the  
jurisdictions of Rio Avajo<sup>5</sup>, Alonso Garcia,  
he decided to trust two Christian Indians,  
one of them who lived in this township and  
who was married in it, and the other a

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<sup>1</sup> Friar Juan Bernal.

<sup>2</sup> A pueblo lying 22 miles from Santa Fe, in the area of the Tanos. It was possibly named after the town of the same name in Extremadura, Spain. Between 1617 and 1629 a Franciscan mission was established there, Santa Cruz de Galisteo. Friar Juan Bernal and Friar Domingo de Vera were attacked and killed there during the rebellion (Hackett 1937:336). In 1706 governor Cuervo y Valdez established new settlements (Pearce 1965:61).

<sup>3</sup> Fray Juan de la Pedrosa. He was originally from Mexico City and was a lay brother (Hackett 1937:337).

<sup>4</sup> Lucas de Ganboa. He would die on the journey, since Alonso Garcia did not receive the message. He left behind a widow and six children (Chávez 1992:31-32).

<sup>5</sup> jurisdictions of Rio Abajo. The southern central region of the Rio Bravo, between La Bajada (19 miles from Santa Fe) and El Paso del Norte (Pearce 1965:33). Starting in 1660 the province of New Mexico was divided administratively into Rio Arriba, under the governor of New Mexico in Santa Fe, and Rio Abajo, administered by the deputy magistrate, but with the governor's supervision (Simmons 1968:81)

otro natural del pueblo de San Felipe para que como yndios de la dicha/ naçion y que los suios no les harian mal, ynquiriesen y supiesen lo que/ 20 abia pasado en las dos jurisdiciones de tagnos y queres. Y que de todo lo/ que alcansasen trujesen raçon con verdad y como cristianos, prometien-/doles muchas dadivas y açiendoles todos agasaxos en birtud de lo que/ prometieron de haçerlo y fueron despachados en la confiansa dicha./ Y estando aguardandolos asi para saber lo que pasava como por aber/25 llebado dichas cartas y hordenes por si estuvieran bivios los alcaldes/ maiores u otras personas susedio que otro dia de mañana se juieron del/ campo del henemigo los dos yndios que fueron despachados con carta/ para el padre custodio y el alcalde mayor, los quales dieron notiçia que todos [lo]s/ yndios de los pueblos de Los Pecos San Cristoval San Lasaro San Marcoz [Galis]-/30 teo y La Çienega que constaban de mas de quinientos yndios queda-/van una legua desta villa, que benian a asolarla y acavar con el governador/ [fol. 310r/6r] y todos los españoles para quedarse con todo el reyno por suio y apro-/vecharse de las españolas y de las haçienidas diçiendo que ya abia/ muerto Dios y Santa Maria que eran los que adoraban los españoles/ y que su Dios de ellos a quien obedecian

native of the pueblo of San Felipe<sup>6</sup>, so that as Indians of said nation, and since their people would not harm them, they were to inquire and learn what had happened in the two jurisdictions of Tagnos and Keres.<sup>7</sup> And they were to bring information, truthfully and as Christians, about everything they ascertained; they were promised many gifts and made many presents in virtue of their promise to do it, and they were dispatched with the aforementioned trust. And, while awaiting them so as to know what was happening, as well for having taken with them said letters and orders in case the royal magistrates and other persons were alive, it happened that on another morning the two Indians who were dispatched with the letter for the Father Custodian and the royal magistrate fled the enemy's camp and brought news that all of the Indians of the pueblos of Los Pecos, San Cristobal, San Lazaro,<sup>8</sup> San Marcos, Galisteo and La Cienega, made up of more than five hundred Indians, were a league distant from this township. They were coming to raze it to the ground and to make an end of the governor [310r] and all of the Spaniards, in order to take control of the whole kingdom and steal the Spanish women and of the ranches, saying that God and Blessed Mary, which are the ones the Spanish worshiped, had already died, and that their God, whom they obeyed, never died. And said Indian Juan Tagno,<sup>9</sup> whom

<sup>6</sup> San Felipe. Keres pueblo to the south of Santa Fe near the pueblo of Santo Domingo. Upon the establishment of a mission in the pueblo, it was given the name of the apostle St. Philip. (Pearce 1965:143).

<sup>7</sup> Keres. Divided into western Keres (Laguna and Acoma) and Easter Keres (Cochití, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo and Cía). (Lange 1979:379)

<sup>8</sup> San Lasaro. A Tano mission in the Galisteo basin (Pearce 1965:146).

<sup>9</sup> Juan Tagno. Analogously to what takes place with persons of other nationalities, (ex: the surname Griego), here he is called Tagno because of his (Tano) origin. Erroneously named "Juan Fagno" in González de la Vara (1992:16). Villagutierre expands with details the conversation between Otermín and Juan Tagno indicating that Juan Tagno demanded the release of all the Pueblo Indians in the pueblo, including that of the

nunca moria. Y que el/5 dicho yndio Juan Tagno que Su Señoria abia despachado venia capitane-/ando la jente alsado tambien con todos ellos como se vido. Y que/ venian aguardando a todos los yndios teguas taos pecuries y apaches/ ynfieles para entre todos dar çaco a la villa y acabar dentro della al señor governador/ y capitan general a los relijiosos y a todos los vesinos. Y otro dia por la maña-/10na se descubrio el exerçito del henemigo en el llano de las milpas de/ San Miguel y casas de los mexicanos saqueandolas con tanta desverguen-/sa que se aloxaron en ellas para poner sitio a la villa con la demas/ jente que aguardaban. Y saliendo una tropa de soldados a reco-/noserlos vieron al dicho Juan Tagno a cavallo con una banda de tafe-/15tan encarnado que se conoçio era almaisal del convento de Galisteo y con/ arcabus espada y daga cuera y todas armas de español; al qual/ fue llamado y por agasajos entró en la plaça de la villa a hablar con el señor/ governador y capitan general. Y diçiendole que cómo haçia aquello

his Lordship had dispatched, was leading the people who had rebelled, along with all of them as they could see. And they were coming in expectation of all of them, Tewas, Taos, Picuris and infidel Apache Indians<sup>10</sup> so as to together pillage the township and in it to destroy the Lord governor and captain general and the religious and the inhabitants. And the next morning, the enemy army was discovered in the cornfield of San Miguel<sup>11</sup> and the houses of the Mexicans,<sup>12</sup> plundering them with such shamelessness that they took up lodging in them in order to lay siege to the township with the others they were expecting. And a group of soldiers who had gone out to reconnoiter them saw the said Juan Tagno on horseback with a sash made of red taffeta which was known to be a humeral veil of the convent of Galisteo and with a harquebus, a sword, a dagger and leather jacket, all of the weapons of a Spaniard. He was called and with a warm welcome entered the township square to speak with the Lord governor and captain general. And when asked how he could do that when His Lordship had placed his trust

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Mexican Indians and also of all the Apache prisoners, men and women, per request of the Apache nation, now allied with the Pueblo tribes (fol. 289v29-31 and 290r1-5).

<sup>10</sup> They were Athabascan nomads, not easily converted to Christianity, given that their way of life did not lend itself to the establishment of missions, as happened with the Pueblos, who lived a sedentary lifestyle. It is believed that they came to the Southwest approximately 1,000 years ago, and despite making common cause with the Pueblo Indians against the Spanish, they never integrated into Pueblo culture (Anasazi-Pueblo). More often than not, they made war on the Pueblos and frequently looted their harvests. Apaches and Navajos refer to themselves as “dine’é” (persons) (Brugge:1979: 489), which coincides with the name that groups as far removed as the Athabascans of Canada give themselves.

<sup>11</sup> San Miguel. The shrine of San Miguel is considered the oldest church in North America. Located in the Analco district, the sanctuary was partially destroyed in the 1680 revolt and in 1710 was rebuilt and enlarged. It was originally built in 1610 by Tlaxcalan Indians under the direction of Franciscan friars (<http://nosfarchives.org/sanmiguel.html>).

<sup>12</sup> Understood as Indians from Mexico. They came to New Mexico as servants of the Spaniards and were to a greater or lesser extent hispanized and Christianized. They constituted an intermediate social class between the settlers and the Pueblo Indians and lived in close proximity to the homes of the Spaniards. As far as the local Southwest Indians were concerned, they were numbered among the enemy invaders. Concretely speaking, they were Tlaxcalan Indians, according to González de la Vara (1992:16).



quando Su Señoria/ se abia fiado del dijo que ia no tenia remedio que era berdad todo/20 quanto le deçia de la muerte del padre custodio y todos los demas españoles/ y relijiosos y que los yndios que venian con él y los que estavan/ esperando venian a acavar la villa. Y que traian dos crusez la una/ colorada y la otra blanca para que Su Señoria escojiese; que la colorada/ significava guerra y la blanca que desanparaçen el reyno. Y Su Señoria/25 les amoneztó que escusaria la guerra porque no la abia buscado/ y que se aquietasen que les perdonaria los delitos cometidos como/ no faltasen a çer cristianos ni a perder la obediencia a Su Magestad. Con-/que con esta respuesta haçiendo menospreçio y mofa resivieron en/ su campo al dicho yndio con clarin y alaridos repicandole las can-/30panas de la hermita de San Miguel haçiendo destroso en las casas/ de aquel barrio y pegando fuego a la hermita de San Miguel. Conque/ viendo su abilantes atrebimiento y desberguensa y todo en se-/ñales de guerra dando tiempo a que llegasen las otras naçiones/ [fol. 310v/6v] para acabar con la villa, despachó Su Señoria una tropa de soldados/ a desaloxarlos de alli. Y biendolos salir de la villa les acometio el/ henemigo y travó guerra con ellos con tanta abilantes y furia que obligó/ a salir en persona al dicho señor governador y capitan general con la mas jente que le asistia; du-/5rando la refriega casi todo el dia donde se mataron a muchos hene-/migos y ellos hirieron a muchos de los nuestros por benir con los arca-/vuses y las armas que abian quitado a relijiosos y españoles y mui/ vien prevenidos de polvora y balas. Conque fortificados de

in him, he said that there was now nothing left to do and that everything he was saying about the death of the Father Custodian and all the other Spaniards and religious was true and that the Indians who came with him and those who were waiting were coming to destroy the township. And he brought two crosses: one red and the other white, so that His Lordship might choose; the red one meant war and the white meant that they would relinquish the kingdom. And His Lordship admonished them that he would excuse the war, since he had not sought it, and that they should calm themselves and that he would pardon all of the crimes they had committed if they remained Christians and maintained obedience to His Majesty. With this reply, showing scorn and mockery, they received said Indian into their camp with bugles and war cries, ringing the bells of the hermitage of San Miguel for him, making ruin in the houses of that neighborhood and setting fire to the San Miguel hermitage. Thus, seeing their insolence, boldness and shamelessness and that everything was pointing to war and giving time for the other nations [310v/6v] to arrive in order to destroy the township, His Lordship dispatched a troop of soldiers to dislodge them from there. And seeing them sally forth from the township, the enemy attacked them and made war upon them with such insolence and fury that said Lord governor and captain general was forced to come forth with the rest of the people that were assisting him. The fray lasted almost the whole day, in which many enemies were killed and they killed many of ours, since they were coming with harquebuses and the weapons<sup>13</sup> taken from the religious and Spaniards, and very well-supplied with

<sup>13</sup> The Indians knew how to use Spanish firearms, as this passage demonstrates.

las ca-/sas las tronearon y pelearon todo el dia. Y estando ya casi vensidos/10 con mucho numero de yndios muertos, quitadoles cantidad de bestias/ y pegadoles fuego en las casas para acavarlos les vino el socorro de los yndios teguas taos y pecuries que se arroxó por otro lado de la billa. Con-/que fue fuersa acudir Su Señoria al reparo dejando a los tagnos y pecos que/ estaban vençidos porque los que llegavan de refresco no se apodera-/15 çen de la villa y ser ya casi a puestas del sol. Conque se puçieron en/ juida dichos tagnos y pecos quedando çitiados los españoles y la villa/ de los yndios teguas taos y pecuries que desvergonsados y atrevidos gana-/ron una eminencia detras de las casas reales donde puçieron su canpo dis-/parando muchos arcabusasos a la jente que asistia en las casas reales/20 y salia dellas a reduçirlos de pas. Antes sí, enpidiendosela cobra-/ban maior abilantes. Y de esta suerte estubieron echos señores del/ campo de las sementeras y casas de la villa que saquearon hasta que/ puçieron fuego a la ygleçia abrasandola toda y pegaron fuego a las/ casas juntandose todos los dias mas y mas jente en discurso de nueve/25 dias que duró el sitio. Hasta llegar a morirse las bestias y ganados/ que estaban dentro de las casas reales por abernos quitado el agua yn/ totun. Que no la tubimos en dos dias y una noche. Conque biendo era/ fuersa pereser enserrados y que los yndios aunque por repetidas/ veses se les abia reconbenido con la pas era para mayor abilantes suia/30 y que en fe della nos quitaron el agua y se abian alojado d[en]-tro de la villa cantando la bigtoria de que nos tenian vençidos y [que]/ otro dia moririamos todos, acordó Su Señoria con las personas de [mas]/ experiençia

powder and shot. Thus fortified within the houses, they made loopholes and fought the whole day. And they were almost defeated, with a great number of Indians killed, a large number of animals taken from them, and having had their houses set on fire, in order to finish them off, the Tewas, Taos and Picuris came to their aid, rushing in on the other side of the township. It was thus necessary for His Lordship to come to the rescue, leaving the defeated Tagnos and Pecos, so that the reinforcements that were arriving would not take over the township, now that it was almost sunset. Said Tagnos and Pecos then took flight, with the Spaniards and the township under siege by the Tewas, Taos and Picuris Indians, who shamelessly and boldly took a hill behind the Governor's Palace, where they established their camp, firing a great number of harquebus shots at the people present in the Governor's Palace who came forth from them in order to pacify them. And yet, in hindering them, they took on more insolence. And in this way they became the lords of the seed fields and houses of the township, which they pillaged to the point of setting fire to the church, burning it down completely. And they set fire to the houses, with more and more people gathering together every day, in the course of the nine days that the siege lasted. To the point that the farm animals and cattle that were inside the Governor's Palace died, since they had taken all our water, which we were without for two days and one night. Thus, seeing that it was likely we would perish surrounded, and that the Indians, despite being repeatedly offered peace took on greater insolence, they took our water for that reason and had lodged themselves within the township, chanting victory and saying that they had us defeated and that

trabar batalla campal con el henemigo otro dia en gu[er]-/ra rota que era el mejor y mas seguro medio morir peleando/ [fol. 311r/7r] que de ambre y çed enserrados dentro de las casas reales. Y despues-/to y ajustado, otro dia al salir del sol les avansó Su Señoria con las/ pocas fuersas con que se hallava. Y ynvocando el nombre de/ la Virgen Santa Maria los desconpuso y atropelló desalojandos/ 5 de las calles y cassas donde quedaron destrosados y con pérdida/ de mas de tresientos yndios algunos arcabusez cantidad de bestias/ y todo su pillaje y vagaxe. Porque fueron de judia mas de mil y quinien-/tos yndios del exersito de todas las naçiones del reyno y fueron/ prigioneros en las casas quarenta y çiete yndios, que murieron arca-/10vuseados, abiendo declarado la traicion. Y que fue dispuesto de mu-/cho tiempo antes por los yndios teguas del pueblo de Tesuque. Y que/ aora para executarla tubieron mandato de un yndio que bive muy/ lejos deste reyno açia la parte del norte, que quedó por theniente de Po-/heyemu quando salio Montesuma por estas partes. Y que este mandó/15 que fueran todos los yndios en la trayçion y alsamiento y qu'el/ que no biniese en ello lo matasen luego. Por cuio miedo todos conbi-/nieron y cooperaron en el dicho alsamiento que an executado, matan-/do a los saçerdotes y a los españoles para quedarse solo con las mujeres/ y niñas. Que todo lo demas de varones abian de morir hasta niños de pecho/20 como lo an echo en otras partes donde se an hallado. Conque todos/ estos

the next day we would all die, His Lordship decided with the more experienced persons to engage the enemy in pitched battle the next day in open war, that it was the best and surest way, to die fighting [311r/7r] than of hunger and thirst, enclosed within the Governor's Palace. And ready and determined, the next day at sunrise, His Lordship advanced upon them with the few forces available to him. And invoking the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he disrupted them and overran them, dislodging them from the streets and houses, where they were left wiped out, and with the loss of more than three hundred Indians, some harquebuses, a large number of animals and all their plunder and possessions. More than one thousand five hundred Indians of the army of all the nations of the kingdom fled, and forty-seven were taken prisoner in the houses, who died by firing squad, having declared their treason, and that it had been readied much earlier by the Tewas Indians of the pueblo of Tesuque. And that now, in order to carry it out, they were under orders of an Indian who lives far from this kingdom toward the north, who had been the lieutenant of Poheyemu when Montezuma<sup>14</sup> came over to this area. And he ordered that all the Indians join the treason and uprising and that whosoever did not come would be killed afterward. For fear of which all joined in and cooperated in said uprising that they have carried out, killing priests and Spaniards in order to keep only the women and girls. And that all other males were to die, even those of nursing age, as they have done in

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<sup>14</sup> The name of Montezuma could have been spread among the Pueblo Indians by the first Spanish settlers and their Mexican servants. For the different hypotheses of how this name came to be known among the Pueblos, see Parmentier (1979:617-622). Here we can assume that once Montezuma left, he was substituted by this personage who was "very tall, black and had very large, yellow eyes" (305v26-27).

susesos an durado tiempo de nueve dias naturales quedando/ destrosado el henemigo en lo referido, abiendo costado de nuestra parte/ quatro muertes de soldados y aber muerto al Maestro de Campo Andrez/ Gomes y salir el dicho señor governador con dos heridas en un carrillo y dadole/25 un balaso en el pecho sobre de una cuera de gamusas y aber salido he-/ridos muchos soldados y mosos de los españoles asi de balasos/ como de flechas; cosas que todas an paresido milagrosas y ampara-/das de la serenissima Virjen Maria a quien se ynbozó en los abanses/ y refriegas. Y para que conste lo mandó Su Señoria poner por auto y lo firmó con/30 los cabos de guerra alcaldes hordinarios de la billa y otras personas./ Fecho y acavado a beinte dias del mes de agosto de ochenta años./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubricado]/ Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ [fol. 311v/7v] Diego Lopes Sanbrano [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ Nicolas Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Bartolome Romero de Pedrasa [rubricado]/5 Bachiller Francisco de Belasco [rubricado]/ Francisco de

other places where they have been. Thus, all of these events lasted a period of nine days, with the enemy destroyed, having cost our side the deaths of four soldiers, and having killed Field Commander Andres Gomez,<sup>15</sup> and said Lord Governor suffered two wounds in a cheek and took a bullet to the chest over a chamois leather jacket, and many soldiers and young Spanish men wounded from both bullets and arrows. All these things seemed to be miracles and protections of the most serene Virgin Mary who was invoked in the advances and skirmishes. And for the record, His Lordship ordered it placed in the Writs and signed it with the war leaders, town magistrates of the township and other persons. Made and completed on the twentieth day of the month of August of 1680. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubric]. Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric] [fol. 311v]. Diego Lopez Sanbrano [rubric]. Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Nicolas Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Bartolome Romero de Pedrasa<sup>16</sup> [rubric]. Bachelor Francisco de Belasco<sup>17</sup> [rubric]. Francisco de Anaya [rubric]. Antonio de Ayala<sup>18</sup> [rubric]. Blas Griego<sup>19</sup> [rubric]. Francisco Xavier

<sup>15</sup> According to Chávez, the documents mention the death of Andrés Gómez Parra, when in reality it was Andrés Gómez Robledo (Chávez 1992:35).

<sup>16</sup> He was 39 years old and born in New Mexico. He was married to Luisa Varela, and they had a son named Matías (Chávez 1992:97:98).

<sup>17</sup> He was another of the criminals who came to New Mexico in 1677 as a convict soldier. He was sent at only 18 years old, had a secondary school education and was born in Mexico City. By 1680 he was married and had one daughter (Chávez 1992: 309). Given that he had an education, it is no wonder that he was assigned the job of scribe of the Santa Fe Municipal Council. He was sentenced in 1677 for two years by an ecclesiastical tribunal. In 1680 he was therefore already free to leave New Mexico.

<sup>18</sup> This other convict, who also came from Mexico City in 1677, must have also had an education, considering the fact that he acted as notary in some legal documents (Chávez 1992:9).

<sup>19</sup> Passed review in 1681 in Guadalupe del Paso, where he remained with his family. He was still there in 1703, along with his sister, “La Clériga” in El Paso (Chávez 1992:42).

Anaia [rubricado]/ Antonio de Ayala  
[rubricado]/ Blas Griego [rubricado]/  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/10 Lazaro  
de Mizquia [rubricado]/ Ante mí,  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario  
de governacion y guerra./

[rubric]. Lazaro de Mizquia<sup>20</sup> [rubric].  
Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric]. The  
secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>20</sup> He was the officer in charge of bringing convicts to New Mexico in 1677 together with two other volunteer soldiers: Marcos de Heras and Luis de Ayala. Mizquia was from Motrico, in Guipuzcoa, and was 28 years old in 1680. He married María Lucero de Godoy, son of Pedro Lucero and Francisca Gómez Robledo. He remained in Guadalupe del Paso after the Reconquest of New Mexico, where he was Procurator in 1695 (Chávez 1992:74-75).

**[Santa Fe, 21 de agosto de 1680. Auto para la salida hacia La Isleta]**

[al margen izquierdo: Auto./ Salieron/ el dia 21]./ En la dicha villa de Santa Fee cavesera deste reyno y provinciaz en veinte y un dias del mes/15 de agosto de mil y seisçientos y ochenta años. Don Antonio de Otermin/ governador y capitán general deste reyno por Su Magestad dixo que por quanto ayer que se cont[a]-/ron veinte del corriente, como a las onse oras del dia se acabó de guerrear/con los yndios cristianos alsados traidores rebelados que faltaron a la/ obediencia de Su Magestad apostatando de la fe santa y se an retirado de juida/20 con mas de tresientos yndios que quedaron muertos en el contorno de den-/tro y fuera desta villa abiendoles quitado onse armas de fuego mas can-/tidad de ochenta vestias y otros despojos de su sustento y otras cosas y a-/ber declarado muchos que fueron apresados que todas las naçiones del/ reyno que tenian puesto sitio a la villa estaban confederados con los henemi-/25gos yn fieles apaches para que, llegando al çitio a confederarse con/ ellos, acavasen con Su Señoria los relijiosos y todos los españoles y perso-/nas que se hallavan sitiados, que era la mayor parte del reyno, por tener/ muchas juridiçiones asoladas y destruidas y saberse que desde los/ taos asta el pueblo de La Ysleta, que ay cantidad de çinquenta y una leguas,/ 30 abia peresido toda la jente relijiosos y españoles sin aber mas perso-/nas vivas que las que se hallavan sitiadas

**Santa Fe, August 21, 1680. Writ for the March Toward Isleta**

[At the left margin: Writ. They left on the 21st.] In said township of Santa Fe, capital of this kingdom and provinces on the twenty-first day of the month of August of 1680. Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this kingdom on behalf of His Majesty, said that yesterday, the twentieth, at about the eleventh hour of the day, the battle with the treasonous Christian Indian insurgent rebels who had abandoned the service to His Majesty, apostatizing the holy faith ended, and they have retreated in flight. More than three hundred were Indians killed on the outskirts, within and outside this township, eleven firearms and more than eighty animals and other remnants of their provisions as well as other things were taken from them. And many that were captured declared that all of the nations of the kingdom that were laying siege to the township were in confederation with the enemy infidel Apaches so that, arriving at the siege in order to confederate with them, they might destroy His Lordship, the religious and all the Spaniards and persons that were under siege, which was the majority of the kingdom. Since many jurisdictions were devastated and ruined, and it was known that from the Taos to the pueblo of La Isleta,<sup>1</sup> a distance of fifty-one leagues, all of the people, religious and Spaniards had perished, with no one left alive other than those who were under siege

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<sup>1</sup> Tiwa Pueblo south of Albuquerque. In 1680 its inhabitants received the fleeing Spaniards and accompanied them south towards El Paso. (Pearce 1965:74-75). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century it was named San Antonio de la Isleta, but upon the return of the Spaniards it was renamed San Agustín de la Isleta in 1710. The old name of San Antonio de la Isleta was used to name the new town founded near El Paso by the Spanish and Indians refugees in 1680. Nowadays, to differentiate it from the original Isleta pueblo, it is called Ysleta Sur (Brandt 1979:343).

dentro de las casas reales de la/ villa y tener alguna notiçia de que los vesinos del rio Abajo se abian/ fortalecido y congregado en el dicho pueblo de La Ysleta. Por cuias causas/ y vernos ynposibilitados de vastimentos, mui faltos de cavallos, can[sa]/35dos y con la amenasas del henemigo, sin poder asegurar el agua ni/ la defenssa por estarse muriendo la poca cavallada y ganados de estar/[fol. 312r/8r] enserrado de dia y de noche dentro de dichas casas reales. Y para aberlo de/ sacar a dar agua y que comiese un rato era forsozo dejar las casas/ reales yndefensas por ser corto el numero de soldados. Y que los/ mas salian armados a cavallo en guardia y defensa de dichas ves-/5tias y ganados y otros muchos ynconvenientes que se seguian. Y estar/ abrasada la santa ygleçia y todas las casas de los españoles y de los yndios/ mexicanos y otros. Conque me pidieron a una bos açi los reberendos/ padres predicadores fray Françisco Gomes de la Cadena ministro guardian y fray/ Andres Duran difinidor abigtual y fray Françisco Farfan todos saçerdo-/10{do}tes ministros, como los alcaldes hordinarios, cavos de guerra ofiçia-/les y soldados que, mirando al mayor serviçio de las dos majestades y a que/ se asegure la jente armas cavallos y ganados que an quedado donde no/ es posible mantenerlos, tomase Su Señoria resoluçion y saliese marchando de/ esta villa en todo estilo militar hasta llegar al pueblo de La Ysleta adonde/15 se

within the Governor's Palace of the township. And there was news that the inhabitants of Rio Abajo had fortified themselves and congregated in said pueblo of La Isleta. As a result – and seeing ourselves without any possibility of resupply, very short of horses, weary, and under threat of the enemy, without being able to secure water nor our defense, since the few horses and cattle [there were] were dying of being [fol. 312r] enclosed day and night within said Governor's Palace, and since in order to take them out to give them water and let them feed for a while – it was necessary to leave the Governor's Palace defenseless due to the small number of soldiers. And most of them were going forth armed on horseback on guard and in defense of said animals and cattle, and many other consequent difficulties. And the holy church was burnt down, as well as all the houses of the Spaniards and of the Mexican Indians and others. Whereupon with one voice, the reverend father preachers Friar Francisco Gomez de la Cadena, minister guardian and Friar Andres Duran,<sup>2</sup> Habitual Definitor,<sup>3</sup> and Friar Francisco Farfan, all priest ministers, as well as the town magistrates, corporals, officers and soldiers asked me that, in view of the greatest service to the two majesties and so that the people, weapons, horses and cattle that remained where it is not possible to maintain them might be secured, that His Lordship resolve and go forth marching from this township in

<sup>2</sup> He had relatives in New Mexico, and in 1675 it was rumored that both he and his family had been the victims of the witchcraft of some shamans, among whom was Popé, the leader of the 1680 uprising. (Knaut 1995:164).

<sup>3</sup> The de Aut. explains his position as: “El sugeto que en algunas Ordenes de Religiosos tiene el cargo de especial autoridad, que consiste en ser de los Ministros que forman uno como Conséjo, para el gobierno de la Religion, en que se resuelven y determinan los casos mas graves è importantes de ella. Dividese en Definidor general, que es el que assiste à las Juntas del General y toda la Religion, y en Definidor Provincial, que solo assiste en una Provincia” (s. v. “definidor”).

dise estan los vesinos del rio Avajo recoxidos con el theniente general/ de aquellas jurisdicçiones. Y todos en un cuerpo, unidas las fuersas,/ resuelba y determine lo que mas convenga al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor/ y de Su Magestad con atencion a que oy se hallan mas de mil personas den-/tro de las casas reales. Y que de todas ellas no ai çiento varones que puedan/20 pelear y todas las demas son mujeres y niños. Y que forosamente an de marchar a pie por los campos a vista del henemigo. Y asi que se execu-/te luego la salida a mejorarse de puesto y antes que el henemigo se/ recobre del descalavro que a tenido y acometa con fuersa en/ el campo y destruia tanta familia. Conque se determinó marchar oy/ 25 dicho dia hasta una legua desta villa a campaña descubierta y llana. Y Su/ Señoria lo mandó poner por dilijençia ajustandose al pareser de dichos reverendos/ padres y de todas las demas personas. Y lo firmó con sus paternidadez/ y los alcaldes y cavos de guerra por ante mí el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Y Su Señoria mandó al presente secretario socorra de todas las cosas de su hacienda a la jente que/30 se alla en estas casas reales para que mas vien puedan marchar abrigados y sus-/tentados, cargue las municçiones y peltrechos amunisionando a los sol-/dados./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Fray Francisco Gomez de la Cadena [rubricado]/35 Fray Andres Duran

full military style<sup>4</sup> until arriving at the pueblo of La Isleta, where, it is said, are the inhabitants of Rio Abajo gathered together with the Lieutenant General of those jurisdictions. And all in one body, with forces united, may he resolve and determine what is most suitable to the service of Our Lord God and His Majesty, keeping in mind that as of today there are more than one thousand persons within the Governor's Palace.<sup>5</sup> And out of all of them there are not one hundred males who can fight and all the rest are women and children. And they will be obliged to march on foot through the fields in the sight of the enemy. And may this sortie take place in order to better our location and before the enemy can recover from the defeat that he has suffered and attack with force on the field and destroy so many families. Whereupon it was decided to march today, said day, the distance of one league from this township in open and plain campaign.<sup>6</sup> And His Lordship ordered it to be set in the proceedings, conforming to the opinion of said reverend fathers and of all the other people., and he signed it with Their Paternities and the magistrates and war leaders before me, the the secretary of governance and war. And His Lordship ordered the present secretary to give aid from all the things of his belongings to the people within these Governor's Palace so that they may be able to march protected and nourished, load the munitions and

<sup>4</sup> Otermín officially decided to leave Santa Fe on August 21 and he left that day, Wednesday morning. In the next report of August 23 he is already at Arroyo de San Marcos (at about 70 yards south of San Marcos pueblo). Weber mistakenly states that the Spaniards left Santa Fe on September 21 (1992:135). Another discrepancy is found in González de la Vara's work, where we read that "el grupo de supervivientes salió de Santa Fe la madrugada del día 22 de agosto" (1992:18).

<sup>5</sup> Villagutierre is more specific, putting the total number at one thousand two hundred, not including the Mexican Indians (fol. 294v8-9).

<sup>6</sup> It is understood that the army leaves exposed and without any protection. Villagutierre narrates how at dawn, after a mass, the Spaniards left Santa Fe with their governor riding ahead of everybody and leading the squadron (fol. 295r19-21).



[rubricado]/ Fray Francisco Farfan  
[rubricado]/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/  
Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ [al  
margen derecho inferior: Pasan/ las  
firmas]./ [fol. 312v/8v] Francisco Gomez  
Robledo [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana  
[rubricado]/ Ambrosio Sais [rubricado]/  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/5 Bachiller  
Francisco de Belasco [rubricado]/ Juan de  
Cangas [rubricado]/ Nicolas Luzero de  
Godoy [rubricado]/ Bartolome Romero de  
Pedrasa [rubricado]/ Passó ante mí./10  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/Secretario de  
governacion y guerra./

equipment, providing ammunition to the  
soldiers. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric],  
Friar Francisco Gomez de la Cadena  
[rubric], Friar Andres Duran[rubric], Friar  
Francisco Farfan [rubric], Francisco Xavier  
[rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric]  
[Lower right margin: the signatures  
continue.][fol. 312v/8v] Francisco Gomez  
Robledo [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric],  
Ambrosio Sais<sup>7</sup> [rubric], Francisco Xavier  
[rubric], Bachelor Francisco de Velasco  
[rubric], Juan de Cangas<sup>8</sup> [rubric], Nicolas  
Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Bartolome  
Romero de Pedrasa [rubric]. This took place  
before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the  
secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>7</sup> The variant of this surname, Sáez, has endured into modern times along with the version with the diphthongized “i”. This sergeant major, residing in La Cañada, was originally from El Valle de San Bartolomé in Nueva Vizcaya. He was married to Ana Rodríguez de Anaya and survived the revolt. In 1682 he ran away from the refugee colony at El Paso (Chávez 1992:100), but returned with the Reconquest in 1692. There currently exists a small town named Sais, twenty miles to the southeast of Belén, in Valencia County, in all likelihood named after this family (Pearce 1965:140).

<sup>8</sup> Judging from the signature, this is the same person as Juan de Carvajal y Cangas and Juan Rodriguez de Cangas (see the appendix of names).

**[Santa Fe, 21 de agosto de 1680.  
Testimonio de F. Xavier para la marcha]**

[al marge izquierdo: Testimonio/ Avisa para/ salir]/ Yo el maestro de campo Francisco Xavier alcalde hordinario de esta villa de/ Santa Fee secretario de la governacion y guerra destas provinciaz por nonvramiento del señor/ don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitán general deste reyno por Su Magestad, doy fee/15 y verdadero testimonio en quanto puedo y a lugar de derecho que de/ mandato de dicho señor governador e repartido mucha cantidad de ropa a los/ soldados españoles a todas sus familias y criados y a los naturales/ mexicanos y todo jenero de jente de mas de mil y tantas al-/mas que se hallan en estas casas reales en el sitio que se a tenido de/20 nueve dias con los henemigos alsados. Y para camisas vestuario/ abrigo calzado y sustento e repartido mas cantidad de ocho/ mil pesos al pareser hasta darles vestias para poder salir mar-/chando desta villa. Y todos se an abiado a costa de Su Señoria para/ proseguir hasta el pueblo de La Ysleta a donde se tiene notiçia/25 que está congregada la jente española de las juridiciones del/ rio Abaxo, para que con ellos se aga pie y unidas las fuersas/ se determine lo que mas convenga al servicio de las dos majes-/tades. Y se les dio a todos lo que ellos pidieron y hubieron/ menester sin tasa, que como digo importaria la dadiva mas/ [fol. 313r/9r] de ocho mil pesos poco mas o menos. Y para que de ello conste y/ es dado de graçia di el presente de pedimiento de Su Señoria en estas casas/ reales antes de marchar el campo en el dicho dia mes y año dichos/ firmando {do}lo con dos testigos que lo fueron el alcalde hordi-/5nario Juan Luzero

**Santa Fe, August 21, 1680. Certified Document of F. Xavier for the March**

[Left margin: He announces the departure] I, the Field Commander Francisco Xavier, Town Magistrate of this township of Santa Fe, the secretary of governance and war of these provinces by order of Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this kingdom for His Majesty, certify and testify to the best of my ability and within my right, that upon the orders of said Lord Governor, I have distributed a large amount of clothing to the Spanish soldiers, to all of their families and servants, to the Mexican natives, and to all types of people, well over a thousand souls that are within these Governor's Palace under siege that has lasted nine days with the enemy insurgents. And regarding shirts, clothing, outerwear, footwear and provisions, I reckon to have distributed more than eight thousand pesos, even giving them animals in order to be able to leave this township. And all have been outfitted at the expense of His Lordship so as to proceed to the pueblo of La Isleta, where there are reports that the Spanish people of the jurisdictions of Rio Abajo have congregated, so that we may establish a foothold with them and, in joining forces, determine the best way to serve the two majesties. And everyone received what they requested and needed, without limit. As I state, the contribution amounted to more [fol. 313r] than eight thousand pesos, more or less. And for the record, and freely given, I presented this document as a request of His Lordship in this Governor's Palace before setting out on said day month and year, signing it with two witnesses, the town magistrate Juan Lucero de Godoy and Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana. Juan

de Godoy y el sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana./ Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado] Luis de Quintana [rubricado]./ En testimonio de verdad ago mi firma y rúbrica acostumbrada./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[Arroyo de San Marcos, 23 de agosto de 1680. Declaración de un indio]**

[al margen izquierdo: Declaración/de un indio alsa-/do]./10 En el paraxe del arroyo de San Marcos en veinte y tres dias del mes de/ agosto de mil y seisçientos y ochenta años estando parado este exerçito/ enarvolado el real estandarte y Su Señoria en el cuerpo de guardia del exerçito/ trujeron presso el sarjento mayor Vernave Marques y otros soldados a un/ yndio de naçion teguas cristiano que dixo llamarse Antonio y es de los yndios/15 alsados; que abiendo estado en el çitio de las casas reales en asistencia y conpa-/ñia de las demas personas y en serviçio del sarjento mayor Vernabe Mar-/ques se juio de las dichas casas reales, a quien cojieron en la estancia de/ los Serrillos escondido en una milpa con sus armas de arco y fle-/cha. Y aviendo paresido ante el señor governador y capitan y ser ladino dicho/20 yndio en la lengua castellana le resivio juramento en devida/ forma de derecho por Dios Nuestro Señor y una señal de cruz so cargo del/ qual prometio de deçir verdad. Y aviendole preguntado que de donde bie-/ne y qué causa le movio a salirse de las casas reales y confederarse con los/ yndios alsados,

Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Luis de Quintana [rubric]. In witness to the truth, I leave my signature and customary rubric. Francisco Xavier [rubric] The secretary of governance and war.

**Arroyo de San Marcos, August 23, 1680. Declaration of an Indian**

[Left margin: Declaration of an insurgent Indian.]  
At the place in the arroyo of San Marcos,<sup>1</sup> on the twenty-third day of the month of August, 1680, with this army having halted, having raised the royal standard, and His Lordship at the guard post, Sergeant Major Bernabe Marques and other soldiers brought as a prisoner a Christian Indian of the Tewa Nation who said that his name was Antonio and who is one of the insurgents. This one, after having been in the siege of the Governor's Palace along with the others and in the service of Sergeant Major Bernabe Marques, fled from said Governor's Palace, and was taken in the ranch of Los Serrillos, hidden in a cornfield with his bow and arrows. And having appeared before the Lord Governor and Captain, and since said Indian was conversant in Castilian,<sup>2</sup> he was made to swear an oath, in the requisite legal, form by Our Lord God and a sign of the cross, under which he promised to tell the truth. And when asked where he came from and what caused him to leave the Governor's Palace and join with the Indian

<sup>1</sup> Arroyo de San Marcos. San Marcos was a Tano mission in the Galisteo basin (Pearce 1965:146).

<sup>2</sup> ladino ... en la lengua castellana. 'Castellanohablante', 'Spanish speaking'. It still has that meaning in Judeo-Spanish. Although, nowadays, in Central America the term "ladino" means *mestizo*, someone of mixed ethnicity.

dixo que a él lo coxio en una milpa donde pretendio es-/25 conderse Ambrosio de Carvajal. Y que el aberse salido de las casas reales/ fue porque jugava que los españoles avian de pereser y con el señor governador/ y capitan general. Y si acaso no fueran vensidos que lo abian de llebar a otras/ tierras y él no queria salir desta. Y que aquella noche no halló/ persona de los alsados y otro dia se fue açia la villa por aber/30 savido que el señor Governador y toda la jente que le asistian venian mar-/[fol. 313v/9v]chando. Y llegado a la villa halló dentro y fuera de las casas reales mucha/ cantidad de yndios de los alsados que estaban saqueando las casas reales/ sacando mucha cantidad de haçienda de la que dexó el señor governador suia./ Y que en el saco conosio a yndios de todas naciones y cantidad de taos y pe-/5 curies. Y que oyó a un yndio de Tesuque llamado Poquete que le contó que/ abiendo visto la mucha cantidad de yndios que estaba muerta en la pla-/sa de la villa en las casas calles y contornos que abian dicho los dichos alsados:/ “Parejos estamos en los españoles y personas que emos muerto con lo que/ los españoles nos an matado. No ynporta, que se vaian, que aora bivire-/10 mos como quisieremos y poblaremos en esta villa y adonde nos pare-/çiere”. Y que tanvien le conto el dicho yndio que tratava toda la jente al-/sada de juntarse en una

insurgents, he said that he was caught by Ambrosio de Carvajal<sup>3</sup> in a cornfield, where this Indian was attempting to hide out. And he left the Governor’s Palace because he judged that the Spanish were meant to perish together with the Lord Governor and the Captain General. And if they were not conquered, they would take him to other lands and he did not want to leave this one. And that night he did not find any of the insurgents, and the next day he went toward the township since he had learnt that the Lord Governor and all of the people with him were on the [fol. 313v] march. And when he arrived at the township he found within and without the Governor’s Palace a large number of the Indian insurgents pillaging the Governor’s Palace, taking a large amount of the Lord Governor’s goods that had been left behind. And during the pillaging he met Indians from all the nations and a large number of Taos and Picuris. And he heard a Tesuque Indian named Poquete<sup>4</sup> tell him that, after seeing the large number of Indians dead in the township square, in the houses, streets and surrounding areas, that the insurgents had said “We are equal in the number of Spaniards and other people that we have killed compared to those of us that the Spaniards have killed. No matter, let them leave,<sup>5</sup> and now we will live as we would like and we will settle in this

<sup>3</sup> Chávez suggest that his knowing the San Marcos Pueblo area so well would possibly make him the son of Gerónimo de Carvajal, who had been Royal Magistrate of the Tanos in the Galisteo Basin (Chávez 1992:16).

<sup>4</sup> We know nothing about this indigenous person. His name might be a diminutive version of the adjective “poco” (little). This practice of giving nicknames with diminutives to natives was widespread among Spaniards (cf. *El Ollita*, a rebel from San Ildefonso in 1680 or *Chief Manuelito*, nineteenth century Navajo leader).

<sup>5</sup> *No importa, que se vaian*. We believe that this was the speaker’s intention: the pause, represented by a comma and the exhortative sentence: “que se vayan”, ‘let them go.’ Without the comma, we would have a subordinate noun clause, which would change the meaning. Hackett’s translation “for they are going” is wrong (1942:20). The right translation must be: “let them go!” Roberts (2004:129), repeated Hackett’s mistake by following that translation.

angostura que hase de lomas y el rio del Nor-/te junto a la casa de Cristoval de Anaia y arrojarse a los españoles/ y jente que yba marchando para ver si los podian acavar. Y que este/15 declarante vido en la plasa de la villa y en las casas reales entrar a ca-/vallo a Nicolas de la Chruz el que llaman Jonva, que estava en el saco/ con los demas. Y que dicho saco no se acavó aquel dia. Y se vino este/ declarante a la casa y milpas de su amo donde lo coxieron. Que no/ supo ni vido otra cossa mas de lo que dicho tiene que es la verdad/20 por el juramento fecho en que se afirmó y ratificó siendole leido este su/ dicho y declaracion. No supo su edad ni firmar. Sera al pareser de mas/ de sesenta años poco mas o menos. Firmolo Su Señoria con el alcalde/ Juan Luzero de Godoy el sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana y por ante mí, el/ secretario de governacion y guerra./25 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado] Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

township wherever we wish.” And said Indian also told him that all the people who had risen up were trying to gather together at a narrow pass between the hills and the Rio del Norte<sup>6</sup> adjacent to the house of Cristobal de Anaya<sup>7</sup> and fall upon the Spaniards and the people that were on the march in order to see if they could destroy them. And that this deponent saw Nicolas de la Cruz,<sup>8</sup> whom they call Jonva, and who was involved in the pillaging with the others, on horseback, in the township square and in the Governor’s Palace. And said pillaging did not end that day. And this deponent fled to the house and cornfields of his master where they captured him. And he neither learned of nor saw anything other than what he has said, which is the truth under oath made, in which it was stated and ratified, after this, his statement and declaration were read to him. He did not know his age nor could he sign [his name]. He seems to be a little bit more than sixty years old. His Lordship signed it along with the magistrate Juan Lucero de Godoy, the Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana and before me, the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>6</sup> Originating in Colorado, this river crosses New Mexico, reaches Texas and flows into the Gulf of Mexico. It currently separates the city of El Paso, Texas from Ciudad Juárez in Mexico (which used to be the villa de El Paso). It received its name from Juan de Oñate in 1598, having previously been called Río de las Palmas by Álvarez de Pineda in 1519 at the location where it reaches the sea (Pearce 1965:134). In 1849 it appears as the Río Bravo del Norte and today it is listed on maps as Río Grande on the U.S. side and Río Bravo del Norte on the Mexican side.

<sup>7</sup> He was baptized and confirmed by Friar Alonso de Benavides, author of *Memorial sobre Nuevo México*, in 1630. Anaya was arrested in 1661 for supposed heretical comments and spent four years in prison. Born in New Mexico in the mid-1620s, he was massacred, along with his whole family at his ranch (Chávez 1992:4).

<sup>8</sup> Judging from the Spanish first and last names, together with his native name Jonva, he was most likely a Hispanicized Indian or perhaps of mixed race.

**[Santa Fe, 24 de agosto de 1680. Auto de marcha]**

[al margen izquierdo: Auto de mar-/cha y paraxe]./30 Despues de lo susodicho, aviendo salido deste paraje marchando el dia/ veinte y quatro, a poco mas de una legua de camino se descubrio una tro-/pa de henemigos en dos mangas ensima de unas mesas y peñascos ha-/siendo humos de abiso. Y llegando al pueblo de Santo Domingo se allaron detras/ [fol. 314r/10r] de la ygleçia çinco cuerpos de españoles muertos y señales dentro del/ convento de auer peleado y muerto a los padrez predicadores fray Juan/ de Talavan fray Francisco Antonio de Lorensana y fray Joseph de Montes de O-/ca cuios cuerpos arrastraron dichos alsados y los enterraron en la y-/5gleçia donde se vido una sepoltura grande de todos tres cuerpos y que/ la ygleçia estava serrada y el convento y sacristia; que todo se abrio y se/ allaron las ymajenes y altares como estavan de antes. Y entrado en la/ sachristia se hallaron todos los hornamentos seis calis de plata un baso/ de labatorio una custodia siete vinajeras un ynsensario y nabeta una/10 lampara y otras cosas de plata; que todo lo sacó y passó a su poder/ el reverendo padre predicador fray Francisco Gomes de la Cadena con otras cosas de/ sachristia. Este dia se paró a la vista del dicho pueblo sin que se viese a ninguna per-/sona de los alsados y otro dia por la mañana al querer marchar el real/ se aparesieron algunos yndios de la otra vanda del rio del Norte teniendo/15 unas vestias a

**Santa Fe, August 24, 1680. Writ of the March**

[Left margin: Writ of the march and places.] Following the above, marching out from this place on the twenty-fourth, at a little more than a league from this place, a troop of enemies in two formations was spotted atop some mesas and outcroppings making smoke signals. And upon arriving at the pueblo of Santo Domingo, behind [fol. 314r] the church were found five bodies of dead Spaniards and signs within the convent of fighting and the killing of the father preachers Friar Juan de Talaban,<sup>1</sup> Friar Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana<sup>2</sup> and Friar Joseph de Montes de Oca,<sup>3</sup> whose bodies said insurgents dragged and buried in the church, where we saw a large grave with the three bodies. And the church was closed, as were the convent and the sacristy. Everything was opened and the images and altars were found to be as they were before. And upon entering the sacristy, all of the ornaments, six silver chalices, a hand basin, a monstrance, seven cruets, a censer, an incense boat, a lamp and other silver objects were found. The Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco Gomez de la Cadena took everything out and placed it under his control along with other sacristy items. This day we stopped within view of said pueblo without seeing any of the insurgents, and the next morning, when the army decided to march, some Indians on the other side of the Rio del Norte appeared, with some loose livestock in view, which they were grazing

<sup>1</sup> A native of Seville who had begun his missionary career in 1671 (Hackett 1937:337).

<sup>2</sup> A native of Spanish Galicia, he had returned with permission in 1674 and integrated himself into the mission in New Mexico (Hackett 1937:337).

<sup>3</sup> Born in Querétaro, he came from Michoacán in 1674 (Hackett 1937:338).

la bista sueltas y que estaban pastando para obligarnos/ a yr a ellos. Y pasando un soldado llamado Juan Ramos reconosio ser/ grueso de dichos henemigos que estaban de enboscada, los quales le dispara-/ron dos arcabusos al dicho Juan Ramos. Y biendo qu' eran descubier-/tos y que no abian logrado su maldito yntento se lebantaron todos/20 de donde estaban oculto y se vino a la orilla de dicho rio del Norte,/ que benia cresido y no se badeaba, mucha cantidad de yndios de a/ cavallo y maior numero de a pie açiando muchas demostraciones de guerra/ dando muchos alaridos. Y abiendose puesto en marcha el exercito/ pasaron muchos de los henemigos de a caballo y de a pie a nado bini-/25endose en seguimiento del real en cuio camino encontraron a un yndio/ cristiano de naçion tagno que benia con su mujer y otra yndia a alcan-/sarnos y seguarnos por no querer ser traidor alsado, al qual le salie-/ron los dichos yndios y le quitaron la mujer y la otra yndia. Y él/ se escapó juiendo por aberles salido al encuentro algunos soldadoz/30 de los nuestros que venian en la retaguardia. Fuimos marchando has-/ta el pueblo de San Felipe a su bista, que ai dos leguas poco mas, donde paró/ el real y se alló el pueblo solo como los demas y no se bido yndio has-/ta que se yba poniendo el sol, que salieron algunos de a cavallo ensima/ de las mesas. Y otro dia al amanecer se descubrieron mas, los/35 quales se estubieron mirandonos y asi que marchó el real se arro-/xaron a nado algunos de a cavallo a reconocer el paraje y ber las lum-/bres. Y de alli se volvieron viniendo algunos de espia a la bista del / exercito. De aqui se marchó con todo cuidado y vijilançia hasta la/ [fol. 314v/10v] angostura de la cassa de

in order to force us to go to them. And a soldier named Juan Ramos,<sup>4</sup> upon crossing the river, recognized that it was the main body of said enemies who were lying in ambush, and they fired two harquebus shots at said Juan Ramos. And upon seeing that they were discovered, and that they had not achieved their accursed intent, a large number of Indians on horseback and a greater number on foot all rose up from where they were hidden and came to the banks of said Rio del Norte – which was rising and could not be forded – making many demonstrations of war and giving many shrieks. And once the army began to march, many of the enemies, both mounted and on foot, began to swim across in order to follow the army, in whose path they met with a Christian Indian of the Tagno nation, who was coming with his wife and another Indian woman in order to catch up with us and follow us since he did not want to be an insurgent traitor, and said Indians overtook him and took his wife and the other Indian woman from him. And by fleeing he escaped, since some of our soldiers from the rear guard had gone to close with them. We kept marching until we caught sight of the pueblo of San Felipe, a little more than two leagues distant, where the army halted, and the pueblo was found empty like the others, and no Indian was seen until the sun began to set, when some on horseback came out on top of the mesas. And the next day at sunrise more were seen watching us; and once the army set out, some of those on horseback swam across to reconnoiter the place and to look at the fires. And from there they returned, with some of them coming within sight of the army as spies. From here we marched with utter care and

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<sup>4</sup> He was 19 years old; married and a native of New Mexico (Chávez 1992:91).

Cristoval de Anaia adonde declaró el dicho/ yndio Antonio que fue apresado en los Serrillos que se abian de arro-/xar los henemigos, que ai dos leguas. Y dando horden Su Señoria que todo/ lo eminente se coronase de soldados de a cavallo y se dispuçiese/5 la jente para resevir al henemigo, fue pasando el real, prosiguiendo/ su marcha. Y se descubrió en las mesas mucha mas cantidad de hene-/migos con golpe de cavallada y ganados, los quales se estubieron/ quietos y sin hacer agçion ninguna mirando desde lo mas encumbrado/ la marcha y real. A cosa de un quarto de legua se reconoçio una/10 estancia de Pedro de Cuellar, la qual se halló saqueada y destrosada. A po-/co mas trecho se llegó a otra cassa del capitan Agustin de Carbajal/ donde se halló la casa abierta robada toda y los ganados y en la sala/ y un aposento de la cassa muerto al dicho capitan Agustin de Carvajal/ a su esposa doña Damiana Doming[u]es de Mendossa a una hija don-/15sella, otra mujer, y que sus hijos y demas familia no paresio./ De alli a mui poco trecho se llegó a la cassa del capitan Cristoval de Anaia/ adonde se halló la cassa robada y los ganados y todos sus vienes/ y a él su mujer seis hijos y otras personas hasta numero de doze; todas/ muertas desnudas y en la puerta de la calle. Aqui paró el ejersito/20 abiendo marchado mas de dies leguas y

vigilance until the [fol. 314v] narrow pass at the house of Cristobal de Anaya, where said Indian Antonio, who was captured in Los Cerrillos, declared that the enemies were to have attacked, two leagues hence. And when His Lordship had given the order that all of the high ground was to be ringed with mounted soldiers, and that the people be deployed in order to receive the enemy, the army continued on its march. And on the mesas a much greater number of enemies was discovered, with many horses and head of cattle, who remained still and made no move, watching from the highest points the march and army. At about a quarter of a league a ranch of Pedro de Cuellar<sup>5</sup> was recognized; it was found pillaged and destroyed. A little further on we arrived at another house, that of Captain Agustin de Carbajal<sup>6</sup>; the house was found open, with everything stolen, along with the cattle, and in the parlor and a bedroom of the house Captain Agustin de Carvajal, his wife Doña Damiana Dominguez de Mendoza,<sup>7</sup> an adolescent daughter of his, and another woman, dead, and his sons and the rest of the family not to be found. A short distance further we arrived at the house of Captain Cristobal de Anaya; the house was found to have been robbed, along with the cattle and all his belongings and him, his wife, six children and other persons, twelve in total, all killed, stripped

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<sup>5</sup> “Corsado” was his second last name, and he was 33 years old at the time. He had arrived in New Mexico as a convict in 1677, condemned to four years service without pay (Hackett 1937:321). A native of Guatemala, he had a family, which he lost in the uprising. His ranch was looted and destroyed, and he later deserted the refugee camp at El Paso (Chávez 1992:24).

<sup>6</sup> A resident of Galisteo who had contracted a third marriage to Damiana Dominguez de Mendoza. Both died in the rebellion and their corpses were discovered by the Spanish who fled Santa Fe two weeks after their murder (Chávez 1992:15).

<sup>7</sup> She also appears as Damiana de Mendoza. She was the daughter of Tome Dominguez de Mendoza and widow of Alvaro de Paredes. She later remarried, this time to Agustin de Carvajal, with whom she was killed in their house at Angostura by the Santo Domingo Indians.



mandó Su Señoría que se examina-/se el yndio tagno que se bino a incorporar a la salida de Santo Do-/mingo para que declare todo lo que supiere de las traiciones y/ diçignios del henemigo. Y que lo que despues acaesiere se ponga asi/ mesmo por dilijençia y se prosiga con todo cuidado hasta el pueblo de/25 La Isleta adonde se tiene notiçia ay españoles para que se determi-/ne lo que mas convenga del serviçio de anbas majestades. Y lo firmó/ por ante mí, el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/30 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[Junto a la estancia de Cristobal de Anaya, 25 de agosto de 1680. Declaración]**

[al margen izquierdo: Declarasion/ de Pedro Garçia/ yndio de na-/cion tagno./ Natural de/ [Las] Salinas.]/ En el pa[ra]xe de junto a la estancia del sarjento mayor Cristoval de Anaya/ en beinte y çinco dias del mes de agosto de mil y seisçientos y ochenta años/ para la prosecucion desta caussa el señor governador y capitan general hiso pareser/ [fol. 315r/11r] ante sí a un yndio de naçion tagno cristiano que se vino de entre/ los rebeldes alsados apostatas de la santa fee a quien Su Señoría resivio/ juramento en devida forma de derecho por Dios Nuestro Señor y una señal de chruz./ Devaxo de cuio cargo

of their clothes, in the main doorway. Here the army halted, having marched more than ten leagues, and His Lordship ordered that the Tagno Indian who had come to join the departure from Santo Domingo be examined in order that he declare everything he might know about the betrayals and designs of the enemy, and that everything that might later happen be recorded as a proceeding, and to proceed with utter caution as far as the pueblo of La Isleta, where it is said that there are Spaniards, in order to determine how best to serve the Two Majesties., and he signed it, before me, the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**At the Ranch of Cristobal de Anaya, August 25, 1680. Declaration**

[At the left margin: Declaration of Pedro Garcia, Indian of the Tagno nation. Native of Las Salinas. <sup>1</sup>] At the place next to the ranch of Sergeant Major Cristobal de Anaya, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of August, 1680, in order to prosecute this cause, the Lord governor and captain general compelled to appear [fol. 315r] before him a Christian Indian of the Tagno nation who had left the rebel insurgents, apostates of the Holy Faith, from whom His Lordship received an oath according to the required legal form, by Our Lord God and a sign of the cross, under which he promised to speak the truth

<sup>1</sup> The jurisdiction of Las Salinas included Taji que (capital), Chilili, Quarai, the Tompiro pueblos of Abo, Las Humanas and Tabira, as well as the adjacent Spanish ranches ([www.nps.gov/sapu/hsr/hsr11.htm](http://www.nps.gov/sapu/hsr/hsr11.htm))

prometi6 de decir verdad en lo que supiere y le fuere/5 preguntado. Y abiendolo sido por el contenimiento de la caussa y que/ diga y declare de donde viene, en qu6 se a hallado y lo que a visto to-/cante a la traycion y alsamiento general de los yndios cristianos destas/ provinçiaz y los digçinios dellos y lo mas que supiere dixo que este decla-/rante estava en serviçio del capitan Joseph Nieto porque naçio y se a cri-/10 ado en su cassa. Y que {y que} abr4 algunos dias que oyo decir que dos/ yndios teguas naturales del pueblo de Tesuque abian llegado al pueblo de/ San Cristoval despachados de los dichos teguas diciendoles que se al-/saçen, que ya estavan en esso todos los demas pueblos y que esta vos/ se dibulg6 entre todos los capitanes de los tagnos. Y aquella noche/15 abisaron los de San Cristoval a los de San Lasaro y Galisteo asiendo no-/torio el casso al padre custodio. Y que el dicho padre custodio aviss6 a su amo deste/ testigo y a los demas espaõoles, los quales se juntaron en el dicho/ pueblo de Galisteo. Y que estando este testigo otro dia escardando un/ pedaso de milpa en la estancia de su amo, que est4 como cosa de/20 una legua del pueblo de Galisteo, vido venir haçia donde estava este/ testigo a un yndio llamado Bartolome, cantor mayor del pueblo de Galis-/teo, el qual lleg6 llorando y le dijo: “¿Qu6 asez aqui?, que los yndios quie-/ren matar al custodio, a los padrez y a los espaõoles y an dicho que el yndio/ que matare a un espaõol cojer4 una yndia por mujer y el que ma-/25 tare quatro tendra quatro mujeres y el que matare dies o mas tendra/ al respeto otras tantas mujeres. Y an dicho que an de

about what he might know and might be asked. And he was asked, for the continuation of the case, that he say and declare whence he comes and what he has been doing and what he has seen regarding the treason and general uprising of the Christian Indians of these provinces and their designs and whatever else he may know. He said that this deponent was in the service of Captain Joseph Nieto, because he was born and raised in his house, and that some days ago he heard it said that two Tewa Indians, natives of the pueblo of Tesuque had arrived at the pueblo of San Cristobal, telling them to rise up and that all the other pueblos had done so and that this word had spread among all the captains of the Tagnos. And that night the ones from San Cristobal gave notice to those of San Lazaro and Galisteo, spreading the notoriety of the case of the Father Custodian. And said Father Custodian gave the news to the master of this witness and to the rest of the Spaniards, who met together in said pueblo of Galisteo. And the next day, while this witness was weeding a piece of cornfield in his master’s ranch, which is about a league away from the pueblo of Galisteo, he saw coming toward where this witness was an Indian named Bartolome, the chief cantor<sup>2</sup> of the pueblo of Galisteo, who arrived in tears and said to him: “What are you doing here? The Indians wish to kill the custodian, the fathers and the Spanish, and they have said that any Indian who kills a Spaniard will take an Indian for his wife, and any Indian that kills four will have four wives, and that any Indian who kills ten or more will have

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<sup>2</sup> As far back as 1630 Friar Alonso de Benavides comented regarding the indigenous cantors in the pueblos: “and they enter the church to pray, just like long-standing Christians, and the boys and the girls, who in the mornings and the afternoons always come to the catechism, take care to never miss, and the cantors, who move from chapel to chapel each week, sing the hours in church each day” (1630:42 ed. de 1916).

matar a to-/dos los criados de los españoles y a los que supieren hablar en cas-/tilla y tambien an mandado que a todos les quiten los rosarios/ y los quemem. ¡Anda bete!, que quisa tendras ventura de llegar a- /30 donde estan los españoles y te escaparás con tu mujer y una guerfa-/na que tienes”. Y preguntado que por qué causa hiçieron semejante/ traición y alsamiento dixo que el dicho cantor le dijo que apura-/dos del travaxo que tenian con españoles y relijiosos porque no/ [al margen izquierdo, línea 34: Ojo]/ les dexavan senbrar ni aser otras cosas de su menester. Y que/35 los apuraban se abian alsado. Y que despues supo de otro con-/pañero suio que abian muerto en el dicho pueblo de Galisteo al padre cus-/todio al padre fray Domingo de Bera y en el campo a la bista del/ [fol. 315v/11v] pueblo a los padrez fray Fernando de Velasco y a fray Manuel/ Tinoco, ministros guardianes de Pecos y San Marcos. Y bido/ que los dichos yndios se apoderaron de los ganados y cosas del/ convento y que asi mesmo mataron dichos yndios al capitan Joseph/5 Nieto a Juan de Leiva y Nicolas de Leiva y les robaron sus ha-/çiendas y mataron a sus mujeres y hijos, reservando a tre[s] de las/ dichas mujeres. Y que despues desto dichos yndios de todos los/ pueblos, de los tagnos, pecos y san marcos fueron a pelear a la/ villa. Y porque les mataron seis yndios tagnos de Galisteo y lle-/10 garon muchos eridos, quebrados los vrasos y las piernas y o-/tras heridas, se enojaron los yndios del pueblo y mataron/ a las dichas tres mujeres, amas deste testigo, llamadas Luçia, Maria/ y Juana. Y que asi mesmo supo mataron a otra mosa donsella/ llamada Dorotea hija

as many wives. And they have said that they mean to kill all of the servants of the Spaniards and any that know how to speak “in Castile” and also that they have ordered that rosaries be taken from everyone and burned. Hurry and go! You may have the good fortune to reach the Spaniards and you will escape with your wife and an orphan girl that you have.” And when asked why they committed such treason and rose up, he said that said cantor told him that they were impoverished because of their work with Spaniards and religious since they would not let them sow or do other things they needed for themselves, and that because of that pressure they had risen up. And later he learned from another of his companions that in said pueblo of Galisteo they had killed the Father Custodian Friar Domingo de Bera<sup>3</sup> and in the field in sight of the [fol. 315v] pueblo, fathers Friar Fernando de Velasco and Friar Manuel Tinoco,<sup>4</sup> minister guardians of Pecos and San Marcos. And he saw that said Indians took control of the cattle and the things from the convent, and that said Indians killed Captain Joseph Nieto, Juan de Leiva and Nicolas de Leiva and they robbed their ranches, and killed their wives and children, keeping three of said women. And after this, said Indians of all the pueblos, of the Tagnos, Pecos and San Marcos went to the township to fight. And because they killed six Tagnos Indians from Galisteo and many wounded arrived, with broken arms and legs and other wounds, the Indians of the pueblo grew angry and killed said three women, maidservants of this witness, named Lucia, Maria and Juana.<sup>5</sup> And he learned that they

<sup>3</sup> He was from Mexico City and had arrived in New Mexico in 1674 (Hackett 1937:336).

<sup>4</sup> He also arrived in 1674, and died at San Marcos.

<sup>5</sup> Lucia Lopez de Gracia was the wife of Jose Nieto and Maria and Juana were their daughters.

del maestro de campo Pedro de Leiva. Y que el/15 dicho cantor le conto tambien que de los teguas abian traydo/ una horden dellos y de los yndios taos y pecuries y yutas/ diçiendo que el yndio o pueblo que no se alsase lo abian de/ acavar. Y que por esta causa y ser cristiano se vino al camino/ de Santo Domingo a alcansar al señor governador y capitan general y a la jente que/20 venia marchando con Su Señoria. Y a la bista del real le salieron/ los yndios de Santo Domingo a cavallo y le quitaron a su mu-/jer y a la otra yndia. Y él se escapó por los españoles que be-/nian en la retaguardia, que salieron a faboreserlo. Que lo/ que tiene dicho es la verdad y lo que supo y bido por el juramento fecho/25 en que se afirmó y ratificó siendole leido este su dicho. Decla-/ró no saber su edad ni firmar. Sera al pareser de treinta años/ poco mas o menos. Firmolo Su Señoria con el alcalde hordi-/nario Juan Luzero de Godoy y el sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana/ ante mí, el presente secretario./30 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado] Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

had killed another adolescent girl named Dorotea,<sup>6</sup> the daughter of the Field Commander Pedro de Leiva.<sup>7</sup> And said cantor also told him that they had brought an order from the Tewas and from the Taos and Picuris and Ute Indians,<sup>8</sup> saying that they were meaning to destroy any Indian or pueblo that did not rise up. And for this reason, and because he was a Christian, he took the road toward Santo Domingo in order to reach the Lord governor and captain general and the people who were marching with His Lordship. And in sight of the army, the Indians of Santo Domingo came upon him on horseback and took his wife and the other Indian woman from him. And he escaped thanks to the Spaniards who were in the rear guard, who came out to aid him. He affirms that what he says is the truth and what he learned and saw, under the oath taken, in which it was affirmed and ratified, after his statement was read to him. He declared that he did not know his age, nor could he sign his name. He seems to be thirty years old, more or less. His Lordship signed it together with the town magistrate Juan Lucero de Godoy and the Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana, before me, the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>6</sup> Daughter of Pedro de Leiva, killed by the Tanos of Galisteo, along with her brothers Juan and Nicolas.

<sup>7</sup> Already in his sixties at the time, he was Field Commander and was escorting supply wagons from Mexico City (Chávez 1992:53).

<sup>8</sup>The name in Spanish for the Ute people is *yutas*, and hence the name of the state: Utah.

**[Salida hacia Sandia y llegada a La Isleta, 26 de agosto de 1680]**

[fol. 316r/12r] De este paraxe salimos marchando el dia veinte y seis para el puebl[1]o de/ Sandia. Llegamos a él y lo hallamos despoblado de xente, serrada y tronea-/da la puerta de la ygleçia, abierta la porteria y las que entran al convento./ Entramos dentro y se halló solo el convento destrosado sin puertas en las/ 5 seldas y saqueado todo y la ygleçia quitadas las ymajenes y solo en/ el altar mayor una echura de talla de cuerpo entero del Señor San Françisco, quebra-/dos los vrasos a jachasos, y la ygleçia llena de paja de trigo para quemarla,/ enpesada a quemar por el coro y la silleria y todo echo pedasos y des-/trosado. La sacristia se halló sin cajoneria ni cosa de vasos sagrados ni/10 hornamentos y sin las echuras que tenia porque todo estava roba-/do y profanado de los traidores alsados. Vuscose en las casas del pueblo/ y se hallaron algunas ymajenes y otras piasas de plata que se entregaron/ al dicho reverendo padre fray Françisco Gomes de la Cadena. Passó marchando el real media legua adelante del dicho pueblo abiendo caminado poco mas/15 de tres aquel dia. Y antes de parar se descubri]o por los altos y lomas/ mucha cantidad de yndios de a cavallo y de a pie que con desver-/guensa y atrevimiento haçian acometimiento al real dando alaridos/ y disparando valas con un arcabus, teniendo en la ladera de la çierra mu-/cha cantidad de ganados y vestias. Viendo su

**Departure for Sandia and Arrival at Isleta, August 26, 1680**

[fol. 316r] We marched out from this place on the on the twenty-sixth of the month toward the pueblo of Sandia.<sup>1</sup> We reached it and we found it empty of people, with the church door closed and with loopholes made, with the entrance opened along with those that enter the convent. We went in and we found the convent empty and in ruins, without doors on the cells and everything pillaged, and with the images taken from the church, and on the high altar only a statue of Lord Saint Francis,<sup>2</sup> with the arms broken off and hacked to pieces. The church [was] full of wheat straw in order to burn it, already beginning to burn from the choir and the choir stalls and everything [was] in pieces and broken apart. The sacristy was found without drawers and none of the sacred vessels or ornaments and without its statues, because everything was stolen and profaned by the insurgent traitors. The houses of the pueblo were searched and some images and other silver items were found, which were handed over to said Reverend Father Friar Francisco Gomez de la Cadena. The army marched on a half league from said pueblo, having traveled a little more than three leagues that day. And before halting, a large number of Indians on horseback and on foot was discovered on the heights and hills, who shamelessly and boldly harassed the army, giving shrieks and discharging shots with a harquebus; they had a large

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<sup>1</sup> Located 15 miles north of Albuquerque, this is a Tiwa-speaking town. Through the years the mission established there received various names: San Francisco de Sandia in 1630, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Sandia and San Antonio de Sandia (Brandt 1979:343-350).

<sup>2</sup> Saint Francis of Assisi was the founder of the Franciscan order, to which the majority of the Catholic missionaries in New Mexico belonged.

atrevimiento Su Señoría mandó/20 parar el exercito y que saliesen çinquenta soldados a guerrear con los dichos/ yndios. Hizose asi y todos se juieron haçia la çierra donde se subieron/ con ganados y cavallada. Y biendo su juida y que la ygleçia estava en-/pesada a quemar mandó pegar fuego al pueblo, como se hiso. Y se reconosio/ que el guardian del convento y otro relijioso saçerdote que asistia/25 alli se abian escapado saliendo para el pueblo de La Isleta. De aqui se mar-/chó para la estancia de doña Luisa de Trujillo, que ai mas de tres leguas, y que-/riendo pasar el rio del Norte a nado los soldados para reco-/jer mucha cantidad de vacas que estaban de la otra banda en la/ haçienda del theniente general Alonso Garçia, llegó primero el henemigo/30 a cavallo y lo recojio todo y se lo llevó. Deste paraje se marchó otras/ quatro leguas a la haçienda de los Gomes sin ver mas enemigo y en todo/ este camino que ay desde el pueblo de Sandia hasta esta estancia se ha-/llaron todas desiertas robadas asi de ganados como de las cosas de/ casa siendo muchas las haçiendas que ai de una y otra vanda del rio./35 Conque todas estavan saqueadas y destruidas del henemigo. Yendo/ marchando se coxio un yndio en el camino que se apreso y exsaminó/ a cavallo. Este declaró que el theniente general de aquellas juridiçiones/ y los relijiosos que abian escapado asi del partido de Sandia como de los/ [fol. 316v/12v] Emes Çia y Ysleta se abian congregado el dia del alsamiento en el/

number of cattle and livestock on the mountain slopes. Seeing their daring, His Lordship ordered the army to halt and fifty men to go forth and make war on said Indians. This was done, and they all fled up into the mountains with cattle and horses. And seeing their flight and that the church had begun to burn, he ordered that the pueblo be set fire,<sup>3</sup> which was done. And reconnaissance learned that the convent guardian and another priest religious who assisted him there had escaped toward the pueblo of La Isleta. From here the army marched to the ranch of Doña Luisa de Trujillo,<sup>4</sup> more than three leagues away, and when the soldiers attempted to ford the Rio de Norte in order to gather the large number of cows that was on the other side on the ranch of Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia, the enemy got there first on horseback and took them all away. From this place the army marched another four leagues to the Gomez ranch<sup>5</sup> without sighting the enemy again, and along the whole road that leads from the pueblo of Sandia to this ranch, all were found deserted and robbed, both of cattle as well as of household items, since there are many ranches on both sides of the river. Thus all were pillaged and destroyed by the enemy. And during the march, an Indian was taken into custody along the road and questioned on horseback. He declared that the lieutenant general of those jurisdictions and the religious that had escaped from the district of Sandia, as well as those of [fol.

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<sup>3</sup> Otermín ordered the pueblo be burned down so that the enemy could not take advantage of the provisions that would have been there.

<sup>4</sup> According to Chávez this would be Lucia de Montoya, wife of Francisco de Trujillo, whose ranch encompassed what is today Albuquerque --originally "Alburquerque"-- (Chávez 1992:108).

<sup>5</sup> The ranch of the family of Francisco Gómez Robledo.

pueblo de La Isleta. Y que de alli salieron todos con todos los vesinos/ sin que quedase ninguno para el Passo del rio del Norte saliendo al/ Parral. Mandó Su Señoria asegurar dicho yndio y otro dia prosiguió su marcha/5 para el dicho pueblo de La Isleta. Y pasando a él lo halló despoblado de toda/ la jente naturales y sin persona ninguna asi relijiosa como vesinos. Conque/ viendose Su Señoria sin dichos españoles y su real peresiendo de bastimentos/ y cavallada y que no le podia socorrer persona ninguna y aber veinte/ dias y mas que marchava la jente que seguia al dicho theniente/ 10 del rio Avaxo acuerdo de salir marchando hasta poder dar abiso/ a los de adelante como lo hizo desde la haçienda de Françisco de Balen-/çia. Y alcansaron a toda la jente ya fuera de todo lo poblado del/ reyno seis leguas adelante en el paraje que llaman de Fray Cristo-/bal donde les mandó por su horden ysiesen alto y le vino el aviso con/ 15 el dicho theniente. Y Su Señoria para la mexor determinaçion de lo que se de-/ve haçer mandó se examine al yndio que se cojio marchando el real para que/ declare lo que save del henemigo y por qué causa se analsado y todos/ sus disinios y se prosiga a lo que convenga. Asi lo proveio mandó y firmó/ ante mí el secretario de governacion y guerra./20 Don Antonio de Otermin

316v] Jemez, Zia<sup>6</sup> and Isleta had congregated on the day of the uprising in the pueblo of La Isleta. And from there they all departed with the inhabitants, without leaving anyone behind, heading toward El Paso del Rio del Norte, in the direction of Parral.<sup>7</sup> His Lordship ordered that said Indian be put under guard, and the next day continued the march toward said pueblo of Isleta. And upon entering, he found it deserted of all its inhabitants, both religious and civilians. And since His Lordship found himself without said Spaniards and his army perishing from lack of provisions and horses, and given that no one was able to come to their aid, and since it had been more than twenty days that the people who followed said Lieutenant were marching from Rio Abajo, he decided to march out in order to be able to give notice to those who were ahead, as he did from the ranch of Francisco de Valencia.<sup>8</sup> And they reached all the people who were already beyond the populated area of the kingdom, six leagues ahead in the place called Fray Cristobal,<sup>9</sup> where he ordered them to halt and word came to him with said lieutenant. And His Lordship, in order to better determine what must be done, ordered the Indian whom they had captured on the march to be questioned so that he declare what he knows about the enemy

<sup>6</sup> This Keres-speaking pueblo lies about 30 miles north of Albuquerque and was named Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Cía. Between 1692 and 1700 it was renamed Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception) (Hoebel 1979:417).

<sup>7</sup> The full name was Real de Minas de San José del Parral, now in the state of Chihuahua, and at the time in the province of Nueva Vizcaya. It was founded in 1631 and silver mines it exploited rivaled those of Zacatecas in importance. A Mexican ranchera song proclaims “Parral is a mining town worth its weight in gold.”

<sup>8</sup> He resided in the jurisdiction of La Isleta and he claimed to be a Santa Fe native. His wife was María López Millán, nicknamed “la Maricota.” His ranch was located in the place of the present town of Valencia (Chávez 1992:109).

<sup>9</sup> Place named after Friar Cristobal de Salazar, cousin of Oñate. Friar Cristobal died in 1599 on his way to Mexico in search of reinforcements. (Simmons 1991:148).

[rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier  
[rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y  
guerra./

**[El Alamillo, 6 de septiembre de 1680.  
Declaración de un indio]**

[al margen izquierdo: Declarasion/ de un  
yndio/ cristiano de/ los alsados/ que se  
cojio/ en el camino]./ En el paraje del  
Alamillo juridición del Socorro en seis dias  
del mes de septienbre/25 mil y seisçientos  
y ochenta años. Para la prosecucion desta  
causa y que sea ex-/saminado un yndio que  
se apresó en el camino marchando el real y  
se sepa de/ los digçinios causas y motivos  
que los henemigos alsados pretenden, Su/  
Señoria, el señor governador y capitan  
general hiso pareser ante si a dicho yndio a  
quien/ resivio juramento en devida forma  
de derecho por Dios Nuestro Señor y una  
señal de cruz/30 devajo de cuio cargo  
prometio de deçir verdad de lo que supiere  
y le fuere/ preguntado. Y abiendole  
preguntado que cómo se llama y de dónde  
es na-/tural y qué estado tiene y su hedad  
dijo que se llama don Pedro Nanboa, / [fol.  
317r/13r] que es natural del pueblo del  
Alameda de estado viudo y su hedad sera

and the reason they have risen up, and all  
of the enemy's designs and that the best  
course of action may be taken. He so  
provided, ordered and signed before me,  
the the secretary of governance and war.  
Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before  
me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary  
of governance and war.

**El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.  
Declaration of an Indian**

[Left margin: Declaration of a Christian  
Indian, one of the insurgents that was taken  
on the road.] At the place of El Alamillo,<sup>1</sup>  
jurisdiction of Socorro,<sup>2</sup> on the sixth day of  
the month of September, 1680. For the  
prosecution of this case, and so that an  
Indian who was captured on the road as the  
royal army marched be examined, and that  
the designs, causes and motives held by the  
enemy insurgents may be known, His  
Lordship, the Lord governor and captain  
general ordered that said Indian be brought  
before him. He received the oath in due  
legal form, by Our Lord God and a sign of  
the cross, under whose charge he promised  
to tell the truth of what he might know and  
what he might be asked. And after he was  
asked his name and place of birth, his  
marital status and his age, he said that his  
name is Don Pedro Nanboa,<sup>3</sup> [fol. 317r]  
and that he is a native of the pueblo of  
Alameda,<sup>4</sup> a widower, and that he is more

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<sup>1</sup> Piro pueblo near Socorro.

<sup>2</sup> On June 4, 1598, the Oñate expedition obtained corn from the Piro pueblo of Teypana, hence the name Socorro ("relief"). In 1628, in the same area, Friar García de Zúñiga founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de Socorro de Pilabó (Our Lady of Relief of Pilabó). Its inhabitants, the Piros, remained faithful allies of Otermín and the Spanish and accompanied them in their southbound retreat toward Guadalupe del Paso, where the new pueblo of Socorro del Sur was established (Pearce 1965:157).

<sup>3</sup> Mistakenly mentioned in González de la Vara as "Pedro Gamboa" (Chávez 1992:23).

<sup>4</sup> This Tiwa pueblo is situated seven miles north of Albuquerque. Late in 1681 Otermín set fire to the abandoned pueblos of Alameda, Puaray and Sandía (Silverberg 1994:140).



mas/ de ochenta años. Preguntado que por qué causa se an alsado los yndios/ de este reino perdiendo la obediencia a Su Magestad y faltando a la obliga-çion de cristianos dixo que a mucho tiempo, que porque castigavan/ 5 a los echiseros y ydolatras, trataron las naçiones de los teguas taos pecu- rios y pecos y emes de que se alsasen y mataçen a los españoles y reli-/jiosos. Y que asta la ocasion presente estubieron disponiendo la execusion/ dello. Preguntado qué save vido y oyo en las juntas y tlatoles/ que an tenido los yndios y qué se a tratado entre ellos y por qué cau-/10sa an quemado la ygleçia y hultraxado las ymajenes los yndios/ del pueblo de Sandia dixo que él no se a allado en ninguna junta ni a echo/ mal a naide, que lo que a oydo deçir es que no quieren relijiosos ni es-/pañoles los yndios. Y que por ser tan biejo se estava en la milpa. Que de/ los yndios alsados que benian de la çierra supo que abian muerto a los/15 españoles de la juridiçion y robado todas las haçiendas dellos saque-/andoles las casas. Y preguntado si save de los españoles y relijiosos que es-/tan juntos en el pueblo de La Isleta dijo que es verdad, que dias pasados se/ juntaron en el dicho pueblo de La Isleta los relijiosos de Sandia Emex Çia y con/ los del dicho pueblo de La Isleta y los españoles, sin que aya quedado ninguno,/20 se fueron saliendo del reino. Y se llebaron sus haçiendas. Y que no/ pelearon con ellos porque toda la jente abian ydo con las demas/ naçiones a pelear a la villa y acavar con el governador y capitan general y toda/ la jente que le asistia. Y declaró que es tanto el sentimiento que todos/ los yndios tienen en su corason desde que se descubrio este

than eighty years old. When asked the reason why the Indians of this kingdom have risen up, losing obedience to His Majesty and disregarding their Christian obligation, he said that for a long time – because they were punishing the sorcerers and idolaters – the nations of the Taos, Picuris and Pecos and Jemez intended to rise up and kill the Spaniards and the religious. And until the present occasion they were preparing to execute [the plan]. When asked what he knows, saw and heard in the meetings and *tlatoles*<sup>5</sup> that the Indians have held, and what has taken place among them, and the reason why the Indians of the pueblo of Sandia have burned down the church and abused the images, he said that he has never attended any meeting, nor has he done any harm to anyone, and that what he has heard said is that the Indians do not want either religious or Spaniards, and that because he was so old he was in the cornfield. Regarding the insurgent Indians that came from the mountains, he learned that they had killed the Spaniards of the jurisdiction and robbed all their ranches and pillaged their houses. And when asked if he knows about the Spaniards and religious that are together in the pueblo of La Isleta, he said that it is true, that some days ago the religious of Sandia, Jemez and Zia gathered in said pueblo of La Isleta with those of said pueblo of La Isleta and the Spaniards, and without anyone staying behind, left the kingdom. And they took with them their belongings. And they did not fight with them because all of the people had gone with the other nations to fight at the township and do away with the governor and captain general and all of the people with him. And he declared that such is the

<sup>5</sup> ‘Talks, speeches.’ Nahuatlism derived from “tlahtol-li”, ‘language, word or speech’.

reyno de/25 que les quiten los religiosos y los españoles los ydolos y sus echise-/rias y ydolatrias que de los viejos se va eredando de unos a otroz/ las cosas de sus antiguallas. Y este sentimiento lo a oydo ablar/ desde que tiene uso de raçon. Que lo que tiene dicho es la verdad y lo que/ save, por el juramento fecho en que se afirmó y ratificó, siendole leído/30 y dado a entender por lengua e interpretación del capitán Sevastian/ Montaña, que lo firmó con Su Señoría por no saver dicho yndio y por an-/te mí, el presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Sevastian Montaña [rubricado]/35 Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

sentiment that all the Indians have in their hearts ever since this kingdom was discovered, because the religious and the Spaniards rid them of their idols and witchcraft and idolatry. These things are inherited and passed down and they belong to their ancient customs. And he had heard this sentiment uttered ever since he could use his reason.<sup>6</sup> And that what he says is the truth and what he knows, by the oath taken, in which it was affirmed and ratified, after his statement was read to him and explained in his language through the interpretation of Captain Sebastian Montaña,<sup>7</sup> who signed it, along with His Lordship, since said Indian did not know how, and before me, the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric], Sebastian Montaña [rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>6</sup> In other words, from the time Oñate arrived in 1598. This informant is said to be over eighty years old (317r1-2). Therefore, if he had been hearing complaints from indigenous people since he could remember, that would place it in the early seventeenth century.

<sup>7</sup> This 31 year-old interpreter and captain resided in Cañada and survived the rebellion (Chávez 1992:76).

**[El Alamillo, 6 de septiembre de 1680.  
Declaración de Pedro García]**

[fol. 317v/13v] Despues de lo susodicho paresio ante Su Señoria un yndio llamado Pedro Garçia/ testigo jurado en estos autos y devajo de juramento dijo que se acuerda dis-/tintamente que le contaron los capitanes de los tagnos antes del alsamien[to]/ qué querian y abian tratado desde mas tiempo de dose años a esta part[e]./5 Que se querian alsar dichos yndios porque sentian mucho que los relijio-/sos y españoles les quitasen sus ydolos vailes y supertiçionez. Y Su Señoria lo/ mandó poner por dilijençia y lo firmó con el alcalde Juan Luzero y el sarjento/ mayor Luis de Quintana ante mí, el secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado] Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/10 Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[El Alamillo, 6 de septiembre de 1680.  
Orden de arresto contra Alonso  
García]**

[al margen izquierdo: Mandamiento/ de prision/ contra la per-/sona del the-/niente general/ Alonso Gar-/çia]./  
Luego yncontinente en el dicho dia mes y año dichos Su Señoria el señor governador y capitan/15 general aviendo paresido a su presençia el maestro de campo Alonso Garçia/ theniente general de las jurisdicçiones del rio Avaxo quien sin horden/ ni aviso de Su Señoria, marchando con cantidad de soldados españoles, se pu-/so en camino saliendo de la jurisdicçion de lo poblado deste reyno seis leguas/ hasta el paraje que

**El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.  
Declaration of Pedro García**

[fol. 317v] Following the aforesaid, an Indian named Pedro Garcia, a sworn witness in these writs, appeared before His Lordship, and under oath said that he distinctly remembers that the captains of the Tagnos told him before the uprising that they wished to and had attempted to for more than twelve years until now. Said Indians wished to rise up because they were very unhappy that the religious and Spaniards took away their idols, dances and superstitions. And His Lordship ordered it placed in the record and signed it with Alcalde Juan Lucero and Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana before me, the secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**El Alamillo, September 6, 1680. Arrest  
Order Against Alonso Garcia**

[Left margin: Order of prison against the person of Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia.] Shortly thereafter, on said day, month and year, there appeared in the presence of His Lordship, the Lord governor and captain general, the field commander Alonso Garcia, Lieutenant General of the jurisdictions of Rio Abajo, who, without orders or notice from His Lordship, marching with a large number of Spanish soldiers, set out, departing from the jurisdiction of the populated regions of this kingdom, six leagues to the place known as that of Fray Cristobal. There, due to my message, which I dispatched with four men

llaman de Fray Cristoval adonde por abiso mio/20 que despaché con quatro hombres para que lo alcansasen a él y a los demas/ y que rebolviesen al pueblo de Senecu que es el postrero de la jurisdiccion y que me/ socorries[e] con algunas carretas y vestias para el ayuda de mil personas que/ van marchando en este exerçito para que juntado y incorporando la jen-/te de mi cargo con la que salio en seguimiento del dicho theniente general se tratase/ 25 y confiriese lo que conviniese al real serviçio en la defensa deste reyno por/ no aber allado antes al susodicho juzgando siempre estarian todos/ detenidos en el pueblo de La Ysleta. Y porque se sepa y ajuste la matheria/ y qué causas o con qué hordenes salió marchando el dicho theniente/ general y se le aga culpa y cargo por este auto mando que sea presa su persona /30 y no salga deste real ejerçito asta la determinacion de la caussa para que/ con su descargo se proseda a lo que se hallare por derecho. Y este auto/ se lo notifique en su persona el secretario de gobierno y guerra/[fol. 318r14r] poniendo su repuesta al pie del para que siempre conste./ Asi lo probey mandé y firmé ante el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/5 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

sent to overtake him and the others so that they might return to the pueblo of Senecu<sup>1</sup> (the furthest in the jurisdiction) and that they might assist me with some oxcarts and animals for the aid of the thousand people who are on the march in this army; that in joining the people under my charge to those that left to follow said Lieutenant General, we might see to and confer about what would be most suitable to the royal service in the defense of this kingdom, thanks to not having found the aforementioned, after judging that they would all have remained in the pueblo of La Isleta. And that the matter may be known and settled, and with what reasons or orders said Lieutenant General marched forth, and that he might be indicted and charged, by this writ I order that his person be arrested, and that he not leave this royal encampment until the cause be determined, so that with its discharge [we] may proceed to what may be found by law. And the the secretary of governance and war is to notify him of this writ, [fol. 318r] placing his reply at the bottom, so that it might be entered into the permanent record. I thus provided, approved and signed before the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

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<sup>1</sup> A Piro pueblo whose mission was founded in 1629 by Friar Antonio de Arteaga and Friar Garcia de San Francisco 10 miles south of Socorro (Pearce 1965:153). As with Socorro, its refugees founded two new pueblos south of El Paso – Senecu del Sur and Ysleta del Sur.

**[El Alamillo, 6 de septiembre de 1680.  
Notificación a Alonso García]**

[al margen izquierdo: Notificación/ y prision]./ En dicho día mes y año dichos yo el secretario de gobernación y guerra de mandato del señor gobernador/ y capitán general presentes y por testigos el sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana y/ el capitán Francisco Xavier notifiqué el auto aquí contenido al maestro de/ 10 campo Alonso García en su persona; que abiendo oído y entendido/ dixo que así que llegó a su noticia el alzamiento general, luego aquel/ día yntantaneamente le ynbió a pedir socorro de hombres, como/ a teniente general, el capitán Luis Granillo, alcalde mayor del partido de los/ emes, a quien tenía el enemigo dentro de su pueblo en conpa-/15ñia de otro soldado llamado Joachin de Vonilla y dos saçer-/dotes. Y que los yndios abian ya publicado el alzamiento y co-/xido las armas dando a entender que abian muerto ya al/ señor gobernador y capitán general y que acabasen con dicho alcalde mayor, el otro/ soldado y los dos relixiosos. Como mataron al uno dichos yndios./20 Y en persona acudio al dicho socorro con ocho hombres así para de-/fender a los susodichos como al religioso del pueblo de Çia y o-/tros vesinos de aquella jurisdicción. Y que con efecto llegó con el/ socorro en ocasión que venia de juida peleando el dicho alcalde/ mayor y el otro soldado en el campo como una

**El Alamillo, September 6, 1680.  
Notification of Alonso Garcia**

[Left margin: Notification and prison.] On said day, month and year, I, the secretary of governance and war, by order of the Lord Governor and Captain general present and through witnesses, Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana and Captain Francisco Xavier, personally notified Field Commander Alonso Garcia of the writ herein contained. [Garcia], having heard and understood it, said that just as the news of the general uprising reached him, on that same day Captain Luis Granillo,<sup>1</sup> royal magistrate of the area of the Jemez, whom the enemy held in his pueblo, together with another soldier named Joaquin de Bonilla<sup>2</sup> and two priests, immediately requested that he, as Field Commander, send men to aid them. The Indians had already proclaimed the uprising and taken up arms, spreading the word that they had already killed the Lord governor and captain general, and that they should do away with said royal magistrate, the other soldier and the two religious, as said Indians killed one of them. And he personally went to rescue him with eight men as well as to defend the aforementioned, along with the religious of the pueblo of Zia and other inhabitants of that jurisdiction. And he indeed arrived in time to come to the aid of the royal magistrate who, with another soldier, had fought his way to about a league from the pueblo. The guardian religious was ahead of them fleeing on horseback, while the

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<sup>1</sup> Luis (Pérez) Granillo, 39 years old, was sergeant major and royal magistrate of Jemez y Keres. He, his wife (Magdalena Varela de Losada) and nephews escaped Santa Fe together with Otermin. Granillo returned in 1692 with the Vargas expedition to reconquer New Mexico (Chávez 1992:88).

<sup>2</sup> Joaquín (de Roxas) y Bonilla, this 28-year-old had come to New Mexico three years earlier as a convict soldier, sentenced to four years paid service. Born in Mexico City, near the cathedral (Hackett 1937:319).

legua del pueblo./25 Y delante huyendo a cavallo el relijiozo guardian quedando/ el otro muerto. Y a no llegar dicho theniente general peresieran asi los/ contenidos como el relijioso de Çia y los vesinos de aquella ju-/risdiçion. Y que abiendo serrado la noche y teniendo notiçia/ que en el pueblo de Santo Domingo abian muerto los yndios a tres/ 30 relijiosos y quatro españoles sin sejar aquella noche por/ [fol. 318v/14v] enterarse de la verdad de lo susedido corrio toda su jurisdiccion/ y bido que abian muerto los alsados al capitan Agustin de/ Carvajal y a su mujer y familia y de la mesma suerte en/ la casa del sarjento mayor Cristoval de Anaia lo halló muerto/5 a él a dos hijos soldados a su mujer tres hijos y hasta dose/ personas. Y que en el camino que sale de Santo Domingo hasta/ San Felipe se hallaron otros seis hombres muertos. Y que/ generalmente corria bos de que era muerto el señor governador y capitan general y la/ jente de la villa y toda la de las juridiciones desde Sandia h[as]-/10ta los taos que es la maior cantidad y territorio del reino./ Conque como pudo recojio sus cavallos dejando perder sus/ ganados y haçienda y armado con seis hijos suioz estuvo/ en bela aguardando al enemigo que le andaba escaramu-/seando al rededor de su cassa en esquadras de a cavallo./ 15 Conque lo tenian sitiado a lo [l]argo sin tener socorro de naide/ ni forma de poder pedirlo. Hasta que de noche al cavo de/ dos dias tubo notiçia que se ausentaban los relijiosos y ve-/sinos de su jurisdiccion por deçirse estaba acavado el señor governador/ la jente de la villa y las demas jurisdiciones. Y que como vasa-/20llo leal de Su Magestad nunca quiso desanparar su cassa. Antes sí, soli-

other had been left behind dead. And if said Lieutenant General had not arrived, the aforementioned would have perished, as would the inhabitants of that jurisdiction. And after nightfall, with news that in the pueblo of Santo Domingo the Indians had killed three religious and four Spaniards, and without pausing that night, [fol. 318v] so as to find out the truth of what had taken place, he rode throughout the whole jurisdiction, and saw that the insurgents had killed Captain Agustin de Carvajal and his wife and family. And in the same way in the house of Sergeant Major Cristobal de Anaya, he found him dead along with his two soldier sons, his wife, three children, and as many as twelve persons. And on the road that goes from Santo Domingo to San Felipe another six men were found dead. And everywhere word was spread that the Lord governor and captain general was dead, along with the people of the township and those of all of the jurisdictions from Sandia to the Taos, which is the majority of the territory of the kingdom. So, he gathered his horses as well as he could, leaving behind his livestock and belongings and, armed together with six of his sons, he stood guard awaiting the enemy who was skirmishing around his house in mounted squads, so that they had him besieged the whole time without aid from anyone, or a way to request it. Until at night, after two days, he received word that the religious and the inhabitants of his jurisdiction were leaving, because it was said that the Lord Governor and the people of the township and the other jurisdictions had been wiped out. And as a loyal vassal of His Majesty he never meant to desert his house. Moreover, he attempted to establish a fortification and discover the truth regarding His Lordship so as to see if he could come to his aid, since the roads were infested with the enemy. The

/sitó fortalecerse y saber lo çierto aserca de Su Señoria para ber si/ podia socorrerle porque los caminos estaban ynfestados/ del henemigo. Que la mayor prueba de su verdad es que tres hor-/denes que Su Señoria le despachó ninguna llegó a sus manos por/ 25 causa de los alsados. Y no obstante de ver a relijiosos/ y vesinos determinados de salirse del reino dejando sus/ sementeras y casas hiso autos y juntas juridicas para/ detenerlos hasta saber de Su Señoria con sertidumbre; lo qual/ no pudo conseguir, como costa de los autos que exive/30 ante Su Señoria en trese foxas escritas y una blanca que pide/ y suplica a Su Señoria las vea y ponga con su auto para que con[s]te/ de su justiçia. Y que a la bos que tubo de que Su Señoria venia mar-/chando salio luego a encontrarle con abio de vestias./ [fol. 319r/15r] Y ser un hombre que a servido a Su Magestad con cien cavallos seis/ yjos y toda su haçienda en los maiores conflitos deste reino a-/yudando a las canpañas y escoltas hallandose en los mas/ considerables castigos en que a abentajado su persona como/5 es público y notorio. Por cuias razones y lo mas que le convenga/ y puede alegar y que está pronto en el serviçio de Su Magestad pide/ y suplica a Su Señoria sea servido de darle por libre y suelto de la culpa/ y prision en que se le ará vien con justiçia con vista de sus ynstrumen-/tos. Y esto dio por su respuesta y lo firmó ante mí y los testigos./10 Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ testigo/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ 15 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

greatest proof that this is true is that the three orders that His Lordship dispatched to him never reached his hands due to the insurgents. And despite seeing the religious and residents determined to leave the kingdom, forsaking their crop fields and houses, he made writs and legal assemblies in order to refrain them until he learned of His Lordship with certainty. He was not able to achieve this, as is shown by the writs that he exhibits before His Lordship on thirteen written pages and one blank page, which he asks and pleads that His Lordship read and place in his writ so that his justice be clear. And upon hearing that His Lordship was on the march he left to meet him with his livestock in tow. [fol. 319r] And he is a man who has served His Majesty with one hundred horses, six sons and all of his belongings in the greatest conflicts of this kingdom, serving in campaigns and escorts, and taking part in the most serious punitive expeditions, in which he has distinguished himself, as is publicly and widely known. For those reasons and other others that are favorable and that he can present, and that he is prompt in the service of His Majesty, he asks and pleads that His Lordship be pleased to set him free and absolved of guilt and prison, in which good and justice will be done to him, in view of his legal instruments. And he gave this as an answer, and he signed it before me and the witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric] witness, Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**[El Alamillo, 6 de septiembre de 1680. Auto de Otermín]**

[al margen izquierdo. Auto]/ Y vista por Su Señoría la respuesta del dicho theniente general y los/ ynstrumentos presentados mandó se pongan con los autos/ para que se vean. Y con vista dellos se probeera justiciã. Asi/20 lo proveio mandó y firmó ante mí, el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[Más allá de El Alamillo, 6 de septiembre de 1680. Encuentro con Pedro de Leiva]**

[al margen izquierdo. Auto]/25 Luego yncontinente en dicho dia mes y año dichos yendo marchando Su Señoría/ con el ejerçito al paraje una legua mas alla del pueblo del Alamillo se des-/cubrio a trecho una polvadera en la qual se reconosio venir cantidad de/ hasta treinta personas de a cavallo y reconociendo quiénes podian/ ser se vido que era el maestro de campo Pedro de Leiva cavo y caudillo de treinta/30 hombres que Su Señoría abia despachado a escoltar y convoiar la haçienda/ [fol. 319v/15v] de las limosnas que Su Magestad da a los relijiosos ministros destas provinçias/ que se conduse en carros, los quales vienen a cargo del reverendo padre predicador fray/ Françisco de Ayeta comisario del Santo Oficio padre

**El Alamillo, September 6, 1680. Writ of Otermin**

[Left margin: Writ.] And seeing the reply of said Lieutenant General and the instruments presented seen by His Lordship, he ordered they be placed with the writs so that they may be seen. And when they are seen justice will be imparted. He thus provided, ordered and signed before me, the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**Past El Alamillo, September 6, 1680. Meeting with Pedro de Leiva**

[Left margin: Writ.] Shortly thereafter, on said day, month and year, as His Lordship was on the march with the army to the place a league beyond the pueblo of El Alamillo, at a distance a dust cloud was discerned, which was found to be a group of as many as thirty mounted persons. And upon reconnoitering to see who they could be, it was seen to be Field Commander Pedro de Leiva, leader and commander of thirty men whom His Lordship had dispatched to escort and bear in convoy the property given [fol. 319v] as alms by His Majesty to the religious ministers of these provinces, which is driven in carriages, under the charge of the Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta,<sup>1</sup> Commissioner of the Holy Office, Priest of this Holy Custody, Visitor General of it,

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<sup>1</sup> Born in Pamplona in 1640, Ayeta entered the Franciscan order at the age of 19 and soon after was posted to New Mexico. After rescuing the refugees and advocating for them in Mexico City, Ayeta returned to Spain in 1683, where he died in the decade of the nineties (Donald E. Chipman. En TSHA --Texas State Historical Association-- [www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles](http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles)). Ayeta was also Comissioner of the Inquisition in New Spain and three books on the Franciscans in the New World are attributed to him (Catholic Encyclopedia, [www.newadvent.org/cathen](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen)).



desta Santa Custodia visitador general della/ y procurador general de la religion y vesinos deste reino. Y el dicho maestro de cam- /5po Pedro de Leiva aviendose encontrado con el exerçito traiendo con- /sigo mas de quarenta soldados y quatro relijiosos del horden/ del señor San Françisco reconociendo a Su Señoria todos hicieron la salva/ con mucho regosijo disparando los arcabusez en alegria de aber/ visto a Su Señoria y al exerçito. Porque por deçirse y ser vos general que/10 Su Señoria y todos eran muertos en fe de abiso por dos cartas; la una/ del theniente general Alonso Garsia y la otra del padre predicador fray Die- /go de Mendoza escrita al dicho reverendo padre y la del theniente general/ escrita al dicho maestro de campo Pedro de Leiva. Y en anbas dan aviso/ y raçon notiçiando ser muerto el señor governador y capitan general el Cavildo de la/ 15 villa y sus moradores con toda la jente de otras jurisdicçiones. Con- /que para saver lo çierto y si Su Señoria estubiera çitiado o en aprieto fuese/ socorrido y ayudado. Para que la persona de Su Señoria y los demas pu- /diesen salir de qualquier sitio y ser socorrido como leales vasa- /llos de Su Magestad determinaron de paçar a este reino desde el Passo del/ 20 rio del Norte con digçinio de pasar hasta la villa en busca de Su Señoria/ o morir en el empeño. Para que teniendo notiçias siertas de qualquier/ acaesimiento se diese notiçia al Rey Nuestro Señor en su Birrey y real acuer- /do asi por parte del muy reverendo padre fray Françisco de Ayeta como por el

and Procurator General of the religious and residents of this kingdom. And said Field Commander Pedro de Leiva, having encountered the army, bringing with him more than forty soldiers and four religious of the order of Lord Saint Francis, in recognition of His Lordship, all fired the salute with great rejoicing, shooting their harquebuses out of gladness at having seen His Lordship and the army. Because it had been said, and was generally understood that His Lordship and everyone was dead, based on two letters, the first of Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia and the other of Father Preacher Friar Diego de Mendoza, written to said Reverend Father, and that of the Lieutenant General written to said Field Commander Pedro de Leiva. And in both they give notice and report the Lord governor and captain general were killed, along with the township council, its inhabitants along with all the people of other jurisdictions. Therefore, in order to achieve certainty and to find out whether His Lordship was besieged or in trouble and be rescued and aided, and in order that the person of His Lordship and the others might be able to escape from siege and be given aid, as loyal vassals of His Majesty, they determined to travel to this kingdom from El Paso del Rio del Norte with the aim of reaching the township in search of His Lordship, or die in the attempt. This was done so that, after having obtained definite news of whatever may have happened, news might be given to Our Lord the King<sup>2</sup> through his viceroy<sup>3</sup> and

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<sup>2</sup> Carlos II, born in 1661, inherited the throne in 1665 and came into possession of the throne in 1675. He died on 1 November 1700 (Voltes 1980:58). Nicknamed The Bewitched, he was a weak king, without descendants, who depended on others during his reign. As a child, his mother, Mariana of Austria, ran Spain, advised by a Board of Governors. Later, favorites such as Juan Nithard, Fernando Valenzuela, the Duke of Medinaceli and the Count of Oropesa held power until the death of the King. At the express wish of Charles II, the Duke of Anjou (Philip V) succeeded to the throne.

dicho maestro/ de campo y las demas personas destas provinciaz cuia agcion/ 25 estimó y agradeçió Su Señoria dando muchos agradecimientos a los/ sussodichos. Y para que conste lo mandó poner por auto y lo firmó con el/ dicho maestro de campo y algunas de las personas que binieron en su con-/pañia de socorro y por ante mí, el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/30 Pedro de Leyba [rubricado]/Gregorio de Valdes [rubricado]/ Alonso del Rio/ Lorenzo de Madrid [rubricado]/ Alonso Ramires [rubricado]/ 35 Gonsalo de Paredes [rubricado]/ Antonio Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 320r/16r] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una página en blanco y una rúbrica]/ [fol. 320v/16v] [una página en blanco]

Royal tribunal, as well as through the Very Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta and said Field Commander and the other persons of these provinces, whose action His Lordship praised and for which he was grateful, giving many thanks to the aforementioned. And so that it be entered into the record, he ordered it placed as a writ and signed it with said Field Commander and some of those that came in his company, and before me, the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric], Pedro de Leiva [rubric], Gregorio de Valdes<sup>4</sup> [rubric], Alonso del Rio,<sup>5</sup> Lorenzo de Madrid<sup>6</sup> [rubric], Alonso Ramires<sup>7</sup> [rubric], Gonsalo de Paredes<sup>8</sup> [rubric], Antonio Lucero de Godoy<sup>9</sup> [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. [fol. 320r] In the middle of the page: Blank [a blank page and a rubric]. [fol. 320v] [a blank page].

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<sup>3</sup> Friar Payo Enriquez de Rivera Manrique, archbishop, was the twenty-seventh viceroy of New Spain. Born in 1622 in Seville, he directed the bishopric of Guatemala for ten years and in 1667 was appointed bishop of Michoacan and later archbishop of Mexico in 1668. He prompted many public works in Mexico and under his leadership the town of El Paso del Norte was founded. In 1680 he asked to be relieved of the charge of archbishop and viceroy and retired to the convent of San Agustin in Alcala de Henares until his death in 1684. He was succeeded by Antonio de la Cerda y Aragón, Count of Paredes and Marquis de la Laguna, who took office on November 30, 1680. It was therefore Antonio de la Cerda who had to face the chaos of New Mexico because of the Indian rebellion, which occurred in August (<http://mx.geocities.com/yaimemx/gobernantes.html>).

<sup>4</sup> According to Chávez, he was someone connected to the family of former governor of Nueva Vizcaya, as he was not a New Mexico settler. He had a wife, two sons and a daughter (Chávez 1992:302).

<sup>5</sup> He was part of Leyva's escort at Guadalupe del Paso when the attack on Santa Fe took place. Married, no children, aged 39 in 1680 and lived in Cañada. He was still living in 1709 as a resident of Guadalupe del Paso (Chávez 1992:92).

<sup>6</sup> Elder brother to Roque de Madrid and the son of Francisco Madrid, he was married and had a son and six adopted children. He returned to New Mexico in 1693, where he had been an encomendero. He made his will in 1711 (Chávez 1992:66 y 216).

<sup>7</sup> Also in Leyva's escort at Guadalupe del Paso, he was married with six children (Chávez 1992:90).

<sup>8</sup> Also in the above escort, he was married and father of five children. In 1681, claiming to be ill, he refused to accept the soldier's salary (Chávez 1992:85).

<sup>9</sup> The Indians gunned down his wife, children and servants. In 1685 he appears as remarried to Antonia Varela de Losada (or de Perea), with whom he returned to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:61).

**[La Isleta, 14 de agosto de 1680. Auto de Alonso García]**

[fol. 321r/17r/299r/1r] [al margen superior izquierdo: [Presenta]ronse estos/ [autos en] 6 de agosto/ [digo] de septiembre de/ [mil y seis]çientos y ochen-/ [ta años] ante Su Señoría el/ [señor governador] y capitán general./ En el pueblo de La Ysleta en catorze días del mes de agosto/to del año de mil seisçientos y ochenta./ El maestro de campo Alonso García theniente/ de governador y capitán general de la jurisdicción/5nez del río del Norte Abajo por nombra-/miento del señor don Antonio de Otermin governador y/ capitán general destas provincias de la Nueva Mexico./ Y yo el dicho theniente general de dichas jurisdicción-/nez digo que el día domingo que se contaron once/ 10 del dicho mes llegó [manchado: bos] comun de los vecinos de la jurisdicción de Sandia los quales con sus familias biniendo de retirada de la convocación general/ que entre todos los yndios christianos tenían he-/cha para asolar dichas provincias matando a to-/15 dos los sacerdotes y vecinos dellas. Como con efecto/ lo han conseguido pues en el pueblo de Santo Domingo el día del glorioso San Lorenzo mataron/ los christianos de dicho pueblo a los reverendos/ padres fray Joan de Talaban y a fray Francisco Antonio de/ 20 Lorenzana difinidor actual desta Santa Custodia/ y ministro guardian [de] dicho convento; y assi mesmo/ otro, el reverendo padre predicador fray Joseph Montez de Oca y al/ sarjento mayor Andres de Peralta

**La Isleta, August 14, 1680. Writ of Alonso Garcia**

[fol. 321r/17r/299r/1r] [Upper left margin:] These writs were presented on August – correction – September 6, 1680, before His Lordship, the Lord governor and captain general. In the pueblo of La Isleta on the fourteenth day of August, 1680, Field Commander Alonso Garcia, lieutenant governor and captain general of the jurisdictions of Rio del Norte Abajo by appointment of Lord Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of these provinces of New Mexico. I, said Lieutenant General of said jurisdictions, say that on Sunday, the eleventh of said month, general word reached us regarding the residents of the jurisdiction of Sandia. [They] were retreating with their families from the general convocation that all the Christian Indians had made to annihilate said provinces by killing all the priests and residents of them – as in effect they have achieved – since in the pueblo of Santo Domingo on the day of the glorious Saint Lawrence, they killed the Christians of said pueblo, the Reverend Fathers Friar Juan de Talaban and Friar Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, at present definitor of this holy custody and minister guardian of said convent, as well as another, the reverend father preacher Friar Joseph Montes de Oca, and also Sergeant Major Andrés de Peralta, chief justice and war captain of the said pueblo; and also Ensign Estevan Barcia<sup>2</sup> and Nicolas Lopez.<sup>3</sup> Their leader was a Spanish-speaking

<sup>2</sup> Erroneously accented as Barcía in the article in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Vol. 015, nº 2, pág 123 [www.tsha.utexas.edu/publications/journals/shq/online](http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/publications/journals/shq/online)).

<sup>3</sup> Married to Ana Lujan, his children are mentioned after the conquest (Chávez 1992:58).

justiçia mayor/ y capitan a guerra de dicho pueblo; y assi mezmó a el/25 alferéz Esteban Barçia y a Nicolaz Lopez capita-/neandolez un yndio ladino ynterpete llamado/ Alonzo Catiti; y luego a Joseph de Guadarrama y a/ su muger. Y el dia siguiente mataron al capitan/ Augustin de Carbajal y a doña Damiana de Men-/30 doza, su espoza, y toda su familia; y assi mezmó/ al sargento mayor Christoval de Anaya y a doña/ Leonor de Mendoza, su mujer, con toda su familia;/ siguiendo laz mezmaz aleboçias y trayçion/ [fol. 321v] en el pueblo de los xemez. Pues milagrosamente se le[s]/ es[capó] el reberendo padre predicador fray Francisco Muñoz que en co[mpa-/ñia] del sargento mayor Luis Granillo, alcalde mayor [de]/ dicho pueblo, con trez soldadoz que estaban en su comp[a]-/5 ñia. [Y] los binieron siguiendo y peleando todo el co[mun]/ del pueblo dicho hasta el pueblo de Zia. Y a no salir io/ al [en]cuentro de dicha enboscada el dicho theniente ge[neral]/ con quatro soldadoz que llevaba en su compañia/ pudiera ser matasen a dicho padre predicador fray Francisco Mu[ñoz]/10 y sargento mayor Luiz Granillo y dichoz trez soldad[oz]/ adonde hallaron al reberendo padre difinidor fray Nicola[s Hur]-/tado ministro guardian de

Indian interpreter named Alonso Catiti.<sup>4</sup> And then they killed Joseph de Guadarrama and his wife.<sup>5</sup> And the following day they killed Captain Augustin de Carbajal and Doña Damiana de Mendoza, his wife, and all his family; and likewise Sergeant Major Cristobal de Anaya and Doña Lenor de Mendoza,<sup>6</sup> his wife, together with his whole family. The same treacheries and treason [fol. 321v] continued in the pueblo of Jemez. Yet miraculously the reverend father preacher, Friar Francisco Muñoz,<sup>7</sup> escaped from them, together with Sergeant Major Luis Granillo, royal magistrate of the said pueblo, and three soldiers who were in his company. The whole community of the said pueblo followed them, fighting, as far as the pueblo of Zia. And had I, the said lieutenant general, not gone out to meet said ambushade with four soldiers whom I brought with me, they could have killed said father preacher, Friar Francisco Muñoz, and Sergeant Major Luis Granillo, and said three soldiers, where they found the reverend father definator, Friar Nicolas Hurtado, minister guardian of the said pueblo of Zia. And considering the multitude of the Christian enemy and not having the forces which the case warranted for resisting said enemies, I was

<sup>4</sup> Keres from Santo Domingo, he was mestizo, the half brother of Pedro Marquez. Governor of the Keres and subordinate to the leader Popé, he ruled over the southern pueblos (Jane C. Sánchez 1999 “Spanish-Indian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Causes and Results of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680”: [home.sprintmail.com/~sanchezj/westernrs.htm](http://home.sprintmail.com/~sanchezj/westernrs.htm)). See also Sanchez (1983:134).

<sup>5</sup> A forced soldier, he arrived with other convicts in 1677, when he was just 20 years old. He was a native of the valley of Toluca in Mexico (Hackett 1937:320).

<sup>6</sup> Daughter of Captain Tomé and Elena Ramírez Domínguez de Mendoza, she was the wife of Cristóbal de Anaya. Killed by indigenous insurgents in Angostura, like Damiana her sister, her husband and the rest of her family (Chávez 1992:4).

<sup>7</sup> This friar was denounced in 1663 by Diego Pérez Romero for living in concubinage with a daughter of Diego de Trujillo dubbed “la Donosa” and her cousin, Juana López de Aragón. He had joined the Franciscan order in 1646 at the age of 18 (José Antonio Esquibel, “Beyond Origins of New Mexico Families”: <http://pages.prodigy.net/bluemountain1/bonmf9.htm>).

dicho pueblo de Zia. Y con[si]-/derando la muchedumbre de loz enemigoz christ[ianos]/ y el no tener laz fuersaz que el casso pedia para la resi[sten]-/15cia de dichoz enemigoz me fue forsoso hazerle requiri[miento]/ al dicho padre fray Nicolaz Hurtado para que luego salies[e]/ de dicho pueblo. Como con efecto salimoz. Y haziend[o]/ mofa loz dichoz christianoz repicaron laz campan[az]/ dando grandez alaridos. Y aviendome retir[a]-/20do con loz doz dichoz reberendoz padres fue el alsam[iento]/ a mas y la boz comun que era muerto el dicho [señor go]-/vernador y capitan general don Antonio de Otermin a[vien]-/doze fortalesido en laz cassaz reales de su morada co[n los]/ religiosoz que asistian en el convento de dicha villa qu[e eran]/ 25 el reberendo padre fray Francisco Gomez de la Cadena y el [reberendo padre predicador]/ fray Joan Pio con otro religioso que se presume ser e[ muy]/ reberendo padre custodio fray Juan Bernal. Y por no aver tenid[o]/ razon de laz maz atroçidadez del reyno, pues o[y que]/ se quentan catorse del dicho mez, hallandome [en este]/ 30 pueblo de La Ysleta solo con loz reberendoz pad[res]/ predicadorez fray Joan de Zabaleta fray Diego de Parraga f[ray An]-/tonio de Sierra vezitador desta Santa Custodi[a y dicho]/ padre fray Francisco Muñoz y dicho padre Hurtado y el padre [difinidor]/ fray Thomaz de Tobalina ministro guardian del [convento]/ 35 de San Francisco de Sandia y el padre predicador fray Joseph d[e Boni]-/llo y por tener por la boz comun ya por muertoz a [loz]/ demaz relijiosoz y

forced to require said Father Friar Nicolas Hurtado<sup>8</sup> to immediately leave said pueblo. We did indeed leave. And mocking us, said Christians rang the bells, with great shrieks. After I withdrew with the said two reverend fathers, the uprising grew, and it was generally said that the Lord governor and captain general, Don Antonio de Otermin, was dead, having fortified himself in the Governor's Palace where he resided, with the religious who operated in the convent of said township, who were the Reverend Father Friar Francisco Gomez de la Cadena and the Reverend Father Friar Joan Pio, along with another religious who is presumed to be the very reverend father custodian, Friar Juan Bernal. And since I have received no reports of the other atrocities in the kingdom, today, the fourteenth of said month, finding myself in this pueblo of La Isleta with only the reverend father preachers, Friar Joan de Zabaleta, Friar Diego de Parraga,<sup>9</sup> Friar Antonio de Sierra, visitor of this holy custody, and said Father Friar Francisco Muñoz, and said Father Hurtado, and the father definator Friar Tomas de Tobalina, minister guardian of the convent of San Francisco in Sandia, and the father preacher Friar Joseph de Bonillo; and because of the already widespread report of the deaths of the rest of the religious and of the common people of the kingdom, in order to determine what may be best for the service of both Majesties and for the preservation of the few families [fol. 322r] who are now in this

<sup>8</sup> We have later news of him in El Real de San Lorenzo, near El Paso del Norte in 1682 (José Antonio Esquibel, 1998, in <http://pages.prodigy.net/bluemountain1/catholic.htm>).

<sup>9</sup> He was a missionary in Quarai until 1677 when he closed the doors of the church of La Concepción and abandoned the mission, taking with him in a wagon the churchbell, his personal belongings, and those of the church ([www.nps.gov/sapu/hsr/hsr8a.htm](http://www.nps.gov/sapu/hsr/hsr8a.htm)).

comun del reyno para det[er]-/minar lo que maz conbenga al serbicio de am[baz]/ magestadez y conserbaçion de laz pocaz famil[iaz]/ [fol. 322r] que oy se hallan en este dicho pueblo mando como/ theniente de governador y capitan general [y] que oy en lo/ presente no ay otro juez que se junten loz pre-/sentez para que dando suz pareserez como bazalloz/5 de Su Magestad digan segun Dioz lo que se deve ha-/zer en el casso presente. Y [e]stando juntoz,/ el maestre de campo Juan Dominguez de Mendoza dijo que/ su pareser era que se fuese marchando en buena/ dispoçion militar hasta topar los carroz que bienen/ 10 con laz limoznaz a esta Santa Custodia. Atento a que/ oy en lo presente nos hallamoz faltos de munioçion-/nez. Y llegados y pertrechados de laz que bienen en/ dichos carroz se buelba a entrar en acuerdo para si se/ pudiere bolber a entrar para saber la sertidumbre/15 del casso. Y sabido se le dé aviso al Rey Nuestro Señor/ en su Virrey y Real Audiencia. Y esto dio por pareser/ y lo firmó de su nombre./ Juan Doming[u]es/ de Mendoza [rubricado]/20 El sargento mayor don Pedro Duran y Chavez dijo que/ su pareser es conformarse con el pareser del maestre/de campo Juan Dominguez de Mendoza por no poderse/ hazer otra coza y lo firmó./ Don Pedro

said pueblo, I order, as lieutenant governor and captain-general – there being no other judge<sup>10</sup> here – that those present assemble so that, by giving their opinions as vassals of His Majesty, they say in the name of God what ought to be done in the present case. And assembled together, Field Commander Juan Dominguez de Mendoza said his opinion was to march out in good military order until meeting the carriages that are coming with the alms to this holy custody,<sup>11</sup> bearing in mind the fact that today, at present, we find ourselves short of munitions. And that, having arrived and supplied ourselves with those that are coming in the said carriages, we should again reach an agreement in order to return and ascertain the truth of the matter. And once [we] discover it, reports should be given to Our Lord the King, through his viceroy and royal tribunal. And this he gave as his opinion and signed it with his name. Juan Dominguez de Mendoza<sup>12</sup> [rubric]. Sergeant Major Don Pedro Duran y Chavez<sup>13</sup> said that his opinion conforms to the opinion of Field Commander Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, because nothing else can be done, and he signed it. Don Pedro Duran y Chavez [rubric]. Sergeant Major Antonio de Salas said that he wholly agrees with said opinions for the

<sup>10</sup> no ay otro juez. Since it was believed that Governor Otermín had been killed, Alonso García declared himself supreme leader.

<sup>11</sup> The full name was “Santa Custodia de la Conversión de San Pablo” (Holy Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul) and it covered the areas that are nowadays New Mexico and northern Arizona. [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/sapu/hsr/hsr2e.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/sapu/hsr/hsr2e.htm)

<sup>12</sup> In 1681 Otermín placed him in command in Guadalupe del Paso and he later led campaigns against the Pueblos, just as in Texas. He died in a Madrid hospital after a trip to Spain in his ship capsized (Chávez 1992:25-26).

<sup>13</sup> A native of Santa Fe, he was 70 in 1680 and had a ranch four leagues north of Isleta. His wife was Elena Dominguez de Mendoza, daughter of Captain Tomás Domínguez. He was from a wealthy family, and taking into consideration the thirty servants that accompanied him on the escape from Santa Fe, he did everything possible to not return to New Mexico. His family ultimately obtained permission to leave Guadalupe del Paso and migrate south to the interior of Mexico (Chávez 1992:21).

Duran/25 y Chabez [rubricado]/ El sargento mayor Antonio de Zalaz dijo que en/ todo se arrima a dicho pareserez por laz razonez/ dichaz y lo firmó./ Antonio de Salas [rubricado]/30 El sargento mayor Luiz Granillo dijo que siendo/ justicia mayor dela jurisdición de loz xemes sien- do avisado de un yndio llamado Muza natural/ [fol. 322v] de dicho pueblo cómo se querian alzar todoz loz natura[lez]/ del reyno, aviendose de executar el dia diez de agost[o]/ [de este año] en la noche, como con efecto se bido, pues llegó [un]/ yndio dicho dia a medio dia y dio boz al pueblo que qué h[azian]./5 Cómo no cojian laz armaz y mataban a loz pad[res]/ y a loz españolez que alli estavan como lo abian hec[ho]/ loz taoz y picuriez y loz teguaz en essa jurisdición d[esde]/ la villa a Taoz y tambien loz de Cochití Santo Domin[go y]/ San Felipe. Que se sabe por muy sierto ser el a[lsamiento]/ 10 general y no tener fuersaz para conquistarlos, p[or cuya]/ razon se arrima a loz pareserez de atraz y lo fir[mó]./ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ El sargento mayor Cristobal Anriques dijo que se conf[or]-/ma con los demas pareseres de arriba y esto dio por s[u pa]-/15reser y lo firmó./ Cristoval Enriques [rubricado]/ El capitán Juan Luis: “Que mi pareser es que por el alsamiento d[estos]/ naturales por onde<sup>1</sup> bimos que estan matando

reasons stated, and he signed it. Antonio de Salas<sup>14</sup> [rubric]. Sergeant Major Luis Granillo said that, being chief bailiff of the jurisdiction of the Jemez, he was advised by an Indian named Muza, a native [fol. 322v] of said pueblo, of how all the natives of the kingdom wished to rise up, to take place on August 10 of this year at night, as in fact happened, an Indian arrived at noon of the said day and cried out in the pueblo asking what they were doing, why they were not taking up arms and killing the fathers and the Spaniards who were there, as the Taos and Picuris and Tewas had done in that jurisdiction, from the township to Taos,<sup>15</sup> and also those of Cochiti,<sup>16</sup> Santo Domingo and San Felipe. [He said] it is known for certain that it is a general uprising, and there are no forces to surpress it, for which reason he agrees with the preceding opinions, and he signed it. Luis Granillo [rubric]. Sergeant Major Cristobal Enriquez<sup>17</sup> said that he agrees with the rest of the above opinions and gave this as his opinion, and he signed it. Cristobal Enriquez [rubric]. Captain Juan Luis:<sup>18</sup> “My opinion is that due to the uprising of these natives, in which we saw that they are killing a great many religious and soldiers, supplied with many firearms and leather jackets, one hundred and twenty

<sup>1</sup> onde. ‘Donde’. Archaism from Latin unde. The Dic. de Aut. considered it “voz antiquada” (s. v. “onde”) . It is still used.

<sup>14</sup> Antonio de Zalaz. Salas had the encomienda of the pueblo of Pojoaque and was married to Maria de Abendaño. Nothing is known of him from 1681 on, so it is assumed that either died or emigrated to Mexico (Chávez 1992:100-101).

<sup>15</sup> Taos. The farthest of pueblos north of Santa Fe, Taos is 70 miles north of the capital of New Mexico. Its inhabitants are Tiwa speakers. Referring to the mission established there, Taos was called San Miguel and, more commonly, San Geronimo de (los) Taos (Bodine 1979:255-267).

<sup>16</sup> Cochiti. Pronounced with the last syllable stressed, Cochití, this town is located 30 miles southwest of Santa Fe. A Keres-speaking pueblo, its mission name was Mision San Buenaventura de Cochiti de los Queres (southwest.library.arizona.edu/spmc/body.1\_div11.html).

muchisimos r[elijio]-/sos y soldado, peltrechados de muchas armas de fuego y cu[er]as, /20 sientos y beinte soldados, por las pocas fuersas que tiene el dich[o theni]-/ente de gouernador y las pocas munisiones. Y que me conformo con lo[s demas]/ pareseres”. Y por no saber firmar lo firmó un testigo./ Antonio de Salas [rubricado]/ El capitan d[on] Fernando de Chabes: “Digo que me conformo con los d[emas]/25 pareseres de arriba”. Don Fernando de Chav[e]s [rubricado]/ El capitan Felipe Romero: “Que abiendo bisto los pareseres a[rriba di]-/chos me conformo y agrego”. Y lo firmó de su nombre./ Phelipe Romero [rubricado]/ El capitan Ynasio Baca que se conforma en los demas pareseres/30 de arriba referidos. Y por pareser lo firmó./ Ygnac[i]o Baca [rubricado]/ Y todos los demas capitanes y soldados conbi-/enen{en} en los demas pareseres por conbenir asi antes que se/ [fol. 323r] junten las nasiones ynfielles

soldiers, because of the few forces and the few munitions which the said lieutenant governor has, I agree with the other opinions.” Since he does not know how to sign, a witness signed it. Antonio de Salas [rubric]. Captain Don Fernando de Chavez:<sup>19</sup> “I state that I conform to the other opinions given above.” Don Fernando de Chavez [rubric]. Captain Felipe Romero<sup>20</sup>: “Having seen the above opinions, I conform and add myself to them.”, and he signed it with his name. Felipe Romero [rubric]. Captain Ignacio Vaca<sup>21</sup> says that he agrees with the rest of the above-stated opinions., and he signed it as his opinion. Ignacio Vaca [rubric]. And all the rest of the captains and soldiers agree with these other opinions, because they agree that it is correct to do so before the infidel Apache nations, who are those that make war on us, unite. And they all gave this as their opinion and signed it with their names. Francisco

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<sup>17</sup> Also listed as Cristoval Enriques, forty years old at the time, he was married and had seven children. In 1681 he claimed he felt unable to participate in the reconquest of New Mexico because of his failing health. He never returned to New Mexico (Chávez 1992:28-29).

<sup>18</sup> Antonio Salas signed here instead, since Juan Luis senior ("the Elder") did not know how to sign his name. However, we do find his signature in 330r3. After comparing the letter with the signature of the text on folios 329v and 330r, we believe that it is likely that the notary signed instead of Juan Luis, without mentioning it. Further down in 330v9 we find the signature of Juan Luis junior ("the younger"), which is clearly different. In 1681 Juan Luis "the Elder" claimed to have been between sixty and sixty-six years old. In 1689 he is mentioned among the refugees in Guadalupe del Paso and later (years 1694-1695) was named as Juan Luis Lujan, so Chávez believes that Luján was his surname (Chávez 1992:62).

<sup>19</sup> He was a captain and his full name was Fernando Duran y Chaves. He should be distinguished from his namesake cousin who was a sergeant. Captain Chaves, third son of Don Fernando Duran y Chaves, was 30 years old in 1681 and was married to Lucia Hurtado de Salas, with whom he had four children at the time. He returned to the reconquest of New Mexico in 1693 with the contingent of Vargas (Chávez 1992:20-21).

<sup>20</sup> This captain escaped the revolt with his wife (Jacinta de Guadalajara y Quiros), six sons and four daughters. They lived near Alamillo at the hacienda of San Antonio de Sevilleta. In 1681 he declared that he was 42 years old (Chávez 1992:97).

<sup>21</sup> He was 23 in 1680 and already the father of four children. He married Juana de Anaya Almazan, and must have had economic resources, judging by the twenty servants who accompanied him. In 1684 he appears as a sergeant major at the Guadalupe del Paso garrison, but in 1689 already dead. His widow returned to New Mexico in 1693, but lost her life at the hands of the Indians of San Ildefonso in 1696, as did their sons and Andrés and Alonso (who died in Nambé) and their daughters Leonor and Rosa (Chávez 1992:10-11).



apachas de nasyon que son los que/ nos dan  
g[u]erra. Y esto dieron por sus pareseres  
todos y lo fir-/maron de sus nombres./  
Francisco Romero de Pedraza  
[rubricado]/5 Antonio Doming[u]es de  
Mendoza [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje  
[rubricado]/ Francisco de Aguilar  
[rubricado]/ Esteban Lopez de Grazia  
[rubricado]/ Tomas de Aliso [rubricado]/10  
Luis de Ayala [rubricado]/ Juan de  
Santiago [rubricado]/ Pedro Marquez  
[rubricado]/ Pedro Barela Xaramillo

Romero de Pedraza<sup>22</sup> [rubric]; Antonio  
Dominguez de Mendoza<sup>23</sup> [rubric],  
Antonio Jorje<sup>24</sup> [rubric], Francisco de  
Aguilar<sup>25</sup> [rubric]; Esteban Lopez de  
Grazia<sup>26</sup> [rubric], Tomas de Aliso<sup>27</sup>  
[rubric], Luis de Ayala<sup>28</sup> [rubric], Juan de  
Santiago<sup>29</sup> [rubric], Pedro Marquez<sup>30</sup>  
[rubric], Pedro Barela Xaramillo<sup>31</sup>  
[rubric], Pablo de Ortega<sup>32</sup> [rubric], Felipe  
de Alvisu<sup>33</sup> [rubric], Antonio de Alvisu  
[rubric]. I, the said Field Commander  
Alonso Garcia, lieutenant of the governor

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<sup>22</sup> He was a native of New Mexico and was 45 years old in 1680. He was married to Francisca Ramirez de Salazar and returned to New Mexico with his family in 1693 (Chávez 1992:98).

<sup>23</sup> Son of Francisco Dominguez de Mendoza and Juana de Rueda, he was a captain and 31 years old in in 1680. He returned to New Mexico in the Otermín campaign of 1681. He was married to Juana Garcia Noriega, daughter of Alonso Garcia, Lieutenant General of Rio Abajo, and his family returned with the reconquest of Vargas, but by that time Antonio Domínguez had already died, probably in Guadalupe del Paso (Chávez 1992:26).

<sup>24</sup> Native of El Alamo, five leagues from Santa Fe, he was the son of Antonio Jorge de Vera and Gertrudis Baca. He survived the revolt and returned as captain with the reconquest expedition of Vargas. In 1694 he married Catalina de Espinola in Santa Fe, but eight months later, in 1695, there appears a record of his death at age 41. He was buried in Santa Cruz (Chávez 1992:51).

<sup>25</sup> Born in Puebla, Mexico; married and childless, he had come to New Mexico in 1677 at age 38 sentenced to serve two years as a soldier (Hackett 1937:321). He never returned to New Mexico after the revolt (Chávez 1992:1-2).

<sup>26</sup> He was a captain; married and had two daughters. Contrary to orders, he apparently left Guadalupe del Paso with his family in 1680 (Chávez 1992:56).

<sup>27</sup> Born in San Miguel el Grande, Mexico, came to New Mexico in 1677 at the age of 24 years as a forced soldier (Hackett 1937:320).

<sup>28</sup> Born in San Lorenzo, Mexico, Luis was one of the three volunteer soldiers of the 1677 contingent (Hackett 1937:317).

<sup>29</sup> Sentenced to serve six years, he was mestizo and was born in San Juan de la Penitencia, in Mexico City. He was 20 years old in 1677 (Hackett 1937:320).

<sup>30</sup> He was Captain Pedro Marquez. In this document there appears the name and signature of another Pedro Márquez, cousin of the Captain (354v14). Captain Marquez was 29 in 1680 and escaped with his wife, two children and six servants. He was the son of Diego Marquez and Bernardina Vazquez. It is said that Alonso Catiti, leader of the rebellion in the pueblo of Santo Domingo, was the brother of Captain Pedro Marquez (Chávez 1992:70).

<sup>31</sup> Captain, 60 years old in 1680. He was married to Lucia Madrid and escaped with his family. At the time of the marriage of his son Juan Varela Jaramillo to Isabel de Cedillo in 1692, there is already mention that Peter Varela was deceased (Chávez 1992:110).

<sup>32</sup> Also captain, he escaped with his wife and six children (Chávez 1992:82).

<sup>33</sup> Surname from Arbizu, a township in Navarra, Spain. In the lambdacism of the "l", we note the instability of the liquid consonants in the implosive position. Was a sergeant; married and had six children. He was 51 years old in 1680 (Chávez 1992:2).

[rubricado]/ Pablo de Ortega  
[rubricado]/15 Felipe de Albizu  
[rubricado]/ Antonio de Albizu  
[rubricado]/ Abiendo bisto yo el dicho  
maestre de campo Alonso Garsia tiniente/  
de governador y capitan general los  
pareseres de los maestros de campo sar-  
/gentos mayores y capitanes y demas  
soldados aqui firmados/20 y atendiendo al  
seguro de las pocas familias que an  
quedado y/ las pocas munisiones, pues no  
ai mas de las que les an quedado en/ las  
bolsas y muchos que no las tienen, y que  
los enemigos alsados es-/tan apoderados de  
las reales munisiones y mas de siento y sin-  
/cuenta arcabuses de siento y beinte que an  
muerto con todas sus/25 armas y caballos  
de mas considerable cantia yeguas y ga-  
/nados para sustentar las nasiones apachas  
mas tiempo de qu-/atro meses que podran  
sitiarnos en este dicho pueblo de La  
Isle[ta]/ donde no tenemos munisiones ni  
para un dia. Y asi acordé para to-/mar la  
resolucion de lo que se debe aser. Que en  
materia tan grabe que el/30 auto de arriba  
por los pareseres referidos se dé traslado a/  
los reberendos padres difinidores que an  
quedado que son el padre predicador/ frai  
Nicolas Urtado y el padre predicador frai  
Francisco Muñoz/ [fol. 323v] y el padre  
predicador Frai Tomas de Tobalina y ansi  
mesmo [el]/ padre guardian frai Juan de  
Sabaleta y el padre predicador Fra[i]  
Diego]/ de Parraga y el padre predicador  
frai Antonio de Sierra y [el padre]/  
predicador frai Jose Bonillo para que como  
personas dogtas [de sien]-/5 sia y santo  
selo den sus pareseres de lo que se deben  
aser. [Y pa]-/ra que en todo tienpo coste  
mandé al sargento mayor don [Pedro Du]-  
/ran y Chabes y al capitan Pedro Marquez  
como testigos que señ[alé de]/mi asistensia  
se lo intimen y lo firmaron conmigo [y lo]/  
firmen de su nombre./10 Alonso Garcí[a]

and captain general, have seen the  
opinions of the field commanders,  
sergeants major, captains and other  
soldiers here signed, and have considered  
the safety of the few families who have  
remained, and the few munitions – for  
there is nothing more than what is left in  
their pouches – and many that do not have  
them. And the enemy insurgents are in  
control of the royal munitions and of more  
than a hundred and fifty harquebuses from  
a hundred and twenty [men] whom they  
have killed, with all their weapons and  
horses of a more considerable number,  
mares and cattle enough to sustain the  
Apache nations for more than four  
months, who could besiege us in this said  
pueblo of La Isleta, where we have not  
even enough munitions for one day. I  
therefore resolved to make a decision  
about what must be done in such a grave  
matter. A copy of the above writ  
containing said opinions must be brought  
to the surviving reverend father definitors,  
who are the father preachers, Friar Nicolas  
Hurtado, Friar Francisco Muñoz [fol.  
323v] and Friar Tomas de Tobalina; and  
also the father guardian, Friar Juan de  
Zavaleta, and the father preachers, Friar  
Diego de Parraga, Friar Antonio de Sierra,  
and Friar Jose Bonillo, so that as persons  
endowed with knowledge and holy zeal,  
they may give their opinions as to what  
must be done. And in order that this may  
be recorded permanently, I sent Sergeant  
Major Don Pedro Duran y Chavez and  
Captain Pedro Marquez, whom I indicated  
as my assisting witnesses, and they signed  
it with me, to indicate [to the fathers] that  
they shall sign it with their names. Alonso  
Garcia [rubric], Pedro Duran y Chavez  
[rubric], Pedro Marquez [rubric]. The said  
reverend fathers, after seeing the opinions  
expressed in the foregoing writ of the field

[rubricado]/ Don Pedro Dura[n] y Chab[es]  
[rubricado]/ Pedro Marque[z] [rubricado]/  
Haviendo visto los dichos reverendos  
padres en el auto de a[riba]/ nonbrados los  
pareseres de los maestros de canpos el  
[dicho]/15 auto de el teniente general  
Alonso Garçia por quien les [fue no]-  
/tificado dixeron unanimes y conformes  
por la[s cir]-/custancias referidas que se  
conformavan con dich[os pa]-/reseres. Y lo  
firmaron de sus nonbres en dicho dia me[s  
y]/ año./20 Fray Nicolas Hurtado  
[rubricado]/Fray Thomas de Tobalina  
[rubricado]/ Fray Francisco Muñoz  
[rubricado]/ Fray Joan de Zavaleta  
[rubricado]/ Fray Diego de Parraga  
[rubricado]/25 Fray Antonio de Sierra  
[rubricado]/ Fray Joseph de Bonillo  
[rubricado]/ [fol. 324r] [a mitad de la  
página: Blanca] [una página en blanco]/  
[fol. 324v] [una página en blanco]

**[El Socorro, 24 de agosto de 1680. Auto  
de Alonso García]**

[fol. 325r] En el pueblo del Socorro en  
veinte y quatro/ diaz del mez de agosto de  
mil y seisçientos/ y ochenta años./ El  
maestre de campo Alonzo Garçia  
theniente General/5 de laz jurisdicionez del  
rio Abajo deste reyno de la/ Nueva  
Mexico por el señor governador y capitan  
general don An-/tonio de Otermin que lo  
es por Su Magestad. Por quanto oy dia/ de  
la fecha e llegado a dicho pueblo del  
Socorro en conpañia/ de la mas vezindad  
del rio del Norte y siempre con el/10  
cuydado y bijilançia que se deve por estar  
todoz loz chris-/tianoz pobladoz que son en  
la conbocaçion general contra/ todoz loz  
religiosos y vezinoz españolez deste reyno  
matan-/do y robando  
llevandolo todo a sangre y fuego como es  
cons-/tante aber muerto en el pueblo de

commanders, of the said lieutenant general  
Alonso Garcia, by whom they were  
notified, stated unanimously and in  
agreement, due to the circumstances  
mentioned, that they agreed with the said  
opinions. And they signed it with their  
names on the said day, month and year.  
Friar Nicolas Hurtado [rubric], Friar  
Tomas de Tobalina [rubric], Friar  
Francisco Muñoz [rubric], Friar Joan de  
Zavaleta [rubric], Friar Diego de Parraga  
[rubric], Friar Antonio de Sierra [rubric],  
Friar Joseph de Bonillo [rubric]. [fol.  
324r] [the middle of the page: blank] [one  
blank page] [fol. 324v] [a blank page].

**Socorro, August 24, 1680. Writ of  
Alonso García**

[fol. 325r] In the pueblo of Socorro on the  
twenty-fourth day of the month of August,  
1680. Field Commander Alonso Garcia,  
Lieutenant General of the jurisdictions of  
Rio Abajo of this kingdom of New Mexico  
for the Lord governor and captain general,  
Don Antonio de Otermin, who is so by His  
Majesty. Today, the above date, I have  
arrived at said pueblo of Socorro in the  
company of most of the residents of the  
Rio del Norte, and always with due care  
and vigilance, since all the Christian towns  
that are in the general convocation against  
all the religious and Spanish inhabitants of  
this kingdom, are killing and robbing  
everything by blood and fire, as it is known  
that in the pueblo of Santo Domingo they  
have killed three religious and some  
Spaniards that were there, and in many

Santo Domingo trez reli-/15 jiosoz y algonoz españolez que alli se hallaron y en otras/ muchas partes. Por lo consiguiente por lo qual me fue/ forssoso buscar mejor medio para salvar y librar tanta/ vezindad como esta jurisdiccion tiene de mugerez y niñoz/ con riesgoz manifiestoz como fue con la vezindad que hallé/20 yrme retirando hasta hallar parte segura y conbeniente/ donde fortaleserme lo maz possible. Y abiendo llegado a el/ pueblo de Sevilleta donde hallé a loz naturalez de dicho/ pueblo quietoz y passificoz al pareser pues dejaron su/ pueblo y me fueron siguiendo hasta el del Socorro./25 Que unoz y otros son de naçion piroz. Y en dicho pueblo del So-/corro hallé tambien quietoz y con determinacion de sa-/lirse a la tierra afuera temiendoz correr riesgo/ de los malhechorez por no aberse hallado juntoz con/ loz demaz al tiempo y quando susedio el dia señala-/30 do de la conbocacion general que segun parese fue/ a diez del corriente, como se bido, matando a españolez/ y religiozoz. Y paresiendome estar maz asegurado/ [fol. 325v] en este dicho pueblo del Socorro determino dejar la[s fa]-/miliaz de mugerez y niñoz con guarnicion de alguno[z espa]-/ñolez para resguardo de lo uno y de lo otro y luego por [la pos]-/ta despachar a la quadrilla de loz carroz en [que]/5 el Rey Nuestro Señor ynbia laz limosnaz a loz religiosos[oz que]/ administran en este reyno juntamente con laz m[uni]-/çionez realez para que con ellas me socorran dando [aviso]/ con la brevedad possible a la persona a cuyo [cargo]/ bienen socorran este reyno en el aprieto en que e[stá con]/10 municionez suficienitez y con veinte y çinco

other places. Consequently, I was forced to seek the best means for saving and freeing as many inhabitants as this jurisdiction contains, women and children, with manifest risks, as it was with the residents that I found, withdrawing until I should find some secure and suitable place in which to fortify myself as well as possible. And when I arrived at the pueblo of Sevilleta,<sup>1</sup> where I found the natives of said pueblo apparently calm and peaceful, they left their pueblo and followed me to Socorro. Both belong to the Piroz<sup>2</sup> nation. In the said pueblo of Socorro I also found them at peace, and determined to go to the territory outside the pueblo, fearing that they were at risk from the evildoers, because they had not been found together with the rest at the time when the day marked out for the general convocation arrived, which, it seems, was the tenth of the current month, as was seen, killing Spaniards and religious. Since it appears to me to be safer [fol. 325v] in this said pueblo of Socorro, I resolve to leave the families of women and children with a garrison of some Spaniards for the protection of the one and the other. I would then send word with all speed to the wagon party in which Our Lord the King is sending the alms to the religious who minister in this kingdom, together with the royal munitions, so that they might aid me with them, notifying as quickly as possible the person under whose command they are coming, so that they may aid this kingdom in its present peril with sufficient munitions and with the twenty-five men of this kingdom who are in said wagons, who went by order of the Lord governor and

<sup>1</sup> A Piro pueblo about twenty miles north of Socorro, named so by Oñate in June 1598. Abandoned following the rebellion (Pearce 1965:154).

<sup>2</sup> Both the inhabitants of Socorro and Sevilleta refused to support the rebellion and followed the Spanish.

ho[mbrez]/deste reyno que estan en dichoz carroz, los qua[lez fue]/ron por horden del señor governador y capitan general par[aguar]/-niçion y guarda de dichoz carroz que juzgando [esta]/-ran ya bien serca de aqui. Luego que sea prov[eido]/15 de municiónz determino rebolber de aqui para [saber]/ con sertidumbre en el estado que se halla [mi go]/-vernador y capitan general con la demaz vezindad de [Villa]/ Cañada y Serrilloz. Y no aviendo otroz ynconben[ientez]/ que me atajen tengo determinado salir [luego]/20 que lleguen laz municiónz reales en conpañia [de los]/ españolz que me siguieren que jusgo que seran [todos]/ los que presentez estan como vazallos lealez de Su [Magestad]/ que Dios guarde en cuyo nombre protesto y hag[o notorio]/ este mi auto para que si alguno o algunoz s[intie]/-25 ren a la contra den su razon al pie deste a[uto]/ para que con mejor acuerdo sigamos lo que m[az con]/-benga al serbiçio de ambaz magestadez. Y para [que cons]/-te en todo tiempo por lo que a mi toca hago laz [dili]/-gençiaz possiblez por saber en el estado que se hal[la mi]/30 governador y capitan general y ayudarle con todoz loz dichoz [vezinos]/ hasta rendir la bida. Porque el dia veinte del [corriente]/ estando yo con todoz loz vezinos del rio en el puesto de [Pue]/-blo del Alto llegaron loz sargentoz mayorez Sebastian [de]/ Herrera y don Fernando de Chavez, los quales binieron

captain general as a guard and protection for the said wagons, which I judge should be quite near here. Once supplied with munitions, my decision is to return from this place to ascertain the state in which my governor and captain General is in, along with the other residents of the township Cañada, and Zerrillos. And there being no other difficulties that impede me, I have determined to leave as soon as the royal munitions arrive accompanied by the Spaniards who will follow me, which I judge will be all those who are here at present, as loyal vassals of His Majesty, whom God keep, and in whose name I declare and proclaim this, my writ. Therefore, if any person or persons are of the contrary opinion, they may so state at the end of this writ, so that with greater agreement we may proceed to do what is most most fitting to the service of both Majesties. And so this fact may be recorded for all times, for my own part I shall do everything necessary to find out the condition of my governor and captain general at present, and to help him with all the said residents, to the point of giving my life. For on the twentieth of the current month, while I was with all the citizens of El Rio in the place of Pueblo del Alto,<sup>3</sup> Sergeants Major Sebastian de Herrera<sup>4</sup> and Don Fernando de Chavez arrived, having been forced to [fol. 326r] retreat from the pueblo of the Taos, having left fighting and

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<sup>3</sup> Located on the east bank of the Rio Grande, six miles south of Bethlehem, in Valencia County ([www.accessgenealogy.com/native/newmexico](http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/newmexico)).

<sup>4</sup> His full name was Sebastian Herrera Corrales and in 1661 was the royal standard bearer, at the age of 26. He had deserted his post in the garrison of Cerro Gordo, escaping to Santa Fe, where he married. In August 1680, in the days of the rebellion, he was in the territory of the Utes with Sergeant Fernando Duran y Chaves. On their return and after ascertaining that members of their families had been killed, they fled to the south, catching up to the Hispanic contingent that left Santa Fe. With his wife, Juana de Aragon, having perished at the hands of the enemy, he contracted a second marriage in 1682 with Maria de Escallada, widow of Andres Peralta. The parents of Sebastian de Herrera both came from Conil de la Frontera, Cadiz, Spain. (Chávez 1992:47).

[de]-/ [fol. 326r]rotadoz desde el pueblo de Thaoz aviendoze salido [de]-/fendiendo y peleando de dicha naçion taoz dejando sus/ mugerez e hijoz muertoz en dicho pueblo a manoz de dichoz/ taoz christianoz y apachez ynfielz siendo obra de/ 5 Dios aber librado loz doz de entre tanto enemigo. Y a loz/ siete diaz del dia señalado de la convocacion/ se arrimaron loz dichoz sargentoz mayorez a bista de la villa donde bieron y distinguieron estava mucha jen -/te española defendiendoz y peleando desde unoz/10 fuertez que tiene laz cazaz reales y assi mesmo bieron/ y oieron disparar una piessa y que salia de la dicha/ villa gran multitu de enemigoz que actualmente/ estavan peleando. Por donde conosco que si a loz siete/ diaz, como tengo dicho, no abian loz enemigoz vençido/15 en la villa se ynfiere estaran actualmente defendien-/doze por cuya caussa mando que puestoz y asegura-/doz lo mejor que se pueda en este pueblo del Socorro to-/das laz familiaz de mugerez y niñoz con la guar-/niçion possible de españolez para mejor asegurar el que/20 bamos loz restantez de españolez hasta dentro de/ la villa de Santa Fee o hasta donde supieremoz en el/ estado que se halla mi governador y capitán general. Porque/ assi conbiene al serbiçio de Dios y del Rey. Assi lo/ proveí mandé y firmé en presencia de doz testi-/25goz en dicho dia mez y año./ Alonso Garcia [rubricado]/ theniente general/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]/ 30 En el pueblo del Socorro en dicho dia mez y año en cumpli-/miento del auto de arriba juntoz todoz loz soldadoz espa-/ñolez que al presente se hallan en compañia del maestre de cam-/po Alonso Garcia theniente general destaz provinçiaz de la Nueva/ [fol. 326v]Mexico le hizo notorio este su auto a loz sobre dichoz solda-/doz y

defending themselves from said nation, leaving their wives and children dead in the said pueblo at the hands of the Christian Taos and infidel Apaches. It was an act of God that these two escaped from among so much of the enemy. And seven days after the day set for the convocation, the said sergeants major approached within sight of the township, where they saw and distinguished that there were many Spanish people defending themselves and fighting from some forts that belong to the Governor's Palace. And they also saw and heard a shot from an artillery piece, and that a large number of the enemy who were fighting at the time were coming out of the township. From this I know that, if after seven days, as I have said, the enemy had not overcome the township, it is to be inferred that the Spaniards will at present still be defending themselves. And I therefore order that, with all the families of women and children placed in this pueblo of Socorro and protected as well as can be with as much of a garrison of Spaniards as possible, that we, the remaining Spaniards, go into the township of Santa Fe, or at least to where we may learn the state in which my governor and captain general is at present. For such is most fitting to the service of God and the King. I so provided, ordered and signed in the presence of two witnesses on the said day, month and year. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Lieutenant General, Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. In the pueblo of Socorro on the said day, month and year, in compliance with the above writ, all the Spanish soldiers who at present are accompanying Field Commander Alonso Garcia, lieutenant general of these provinces of New [fol. 326v] Mexico, assembled, he made known this, his writ, to the said soldiers, and there being present

estando presente el maestro de campo Thome Dominguez/ de Mendoza persona que a tenido en este reyno continua-/mente loz mayorez puestoz de paz y guerra, el [qual di]-/5jo que es público y notorio el alsamiento general de todos/ loz yndioz christianoz conbocadoz [arriba del renglón: con] loz yndios/ apachez de nacion, ynfieles, enemigoz comunes de la/ naçion española con cuya calor y ayuda an muer-/to muchisimos españoles niños y mujerez y muchos/10 religiosos y algunos que se an escapado que al presente/ estan aqui a sido a uña de caballo; como son los reve-/rendoz padrez difinidores fray Nicolaz Hurtado fray To-/maz de Tobalina fray Francisco Muñoz el padre predicador fray Joseph/ de Bonillo, loz quales con loz demas españoles tubieron por/ 15 bien de benirse a juntar a toda priessa al pueblo/ de La Ysleta de naçion tiguaz y estando juntoz pro-/curaron atrincherarse y aserse fuertez para ver/ si en algo se podia amansar el enemigo. Antes/ sí se bido lo contrario pues loz yndioz de dicho pueblo/20 muchos delloz se yban pazando al enemigo por ser/ de su mesma naçion loz del pueblo del Alameda y San-/dia alsados y conjurados con loz demas y haziendo/ diligencias muy notorias loz de dicho pueblo de La Ysle-/ta de executar lo mesmo que los demas para cuyo fin te-/25nian contraminado todoz sus quarteles y cassas/ de vivienda ynblando enbajadores y resiviendo loz del/ enemigo con otras muchaz demostraciones peligro-/saz en

Field Commander Thome Dominguez de Mendoza,<sup>5</sup> a person who has continuously held in this kingdom the highest posts in peace and in war, who said that the general uprising of all the Christian Indians, called together with the Indians of the Apache nation, infidels, common enemies of the Spanish nation, is a matter of common and widespread knowledge. With [their] aid and encouragement [the Christian Indians] have killed a great many Spaniards, children and women and many religious, and some who have escaped and who are here at present have barely made it out on horseback, such as the reverend fathers definator, Friar Nicolas Hurtado, Friar Tomas de Tobalina, and Friar Francisco Muñoz, and the father preacher, Friar Joseph de Bonillo, who, with the rest of the Spaniards, came hastily to join together at the pueblo of La Isleta, of the Tewa nation.<sup>6</sup> And being assembled, they sought to entrench and fortify themselves, in order to see whether they might be able to in some way bring the enemy to submission. Yet the contrary was seen, since many of the Indians in the said pueblo were going over to the enemy, because those of the pueblos of Alameda and Sandia who were in revolt and who had joined the rest were of their same nation. And those of the said pueblo of La Isleta were taking very evident steps to do the same thing, to which end they had all fortified themselves in their houses and quarters and were sending ambassadors to and receiving them

<sup>5</sup> This was “the younger,” since his father had died in 1656, at the age of 96. He was married to Catalina Lopez Mederos and had a ranch near the pueblo of Isleta. In 1666 he was appointed Acting Governor when Governor Villanueva returned to New Spain for treatment of his sight. In the revolt of 1680 claimed to have lost up to 38 relatives at the hands of the enemy. In 1682 Tomé Dominguez and his family were allowed to migrate south and never returned to New Mexico (Chávez 1992:25).

<sup>6</sup> Upon the arrival of Coronado in the Rio Grande Valley in 1540 the Tewas occupied an area approximately between what is now Bernalillo and Isleta. This territory was called the Tiguex Province (Pearce 1965:166).

que se temia el pereser alli todoz. Por cuya caussa/ se entró en consulta de lo que maz conbenia y se deter-/30minó que era salir como se pudiera a laz partez/ maz seguraz siguiendo la bia de encontrar los carroz/ que a estaz provinçiaz bienen de Su Magestad en que bienen/ laz limosnaz a loz religiosoz ministros destaz provinçiaz y laz/ municiónz que Su Magestad es serbido de ynbiar de polbor[a y ba]-/35las de que oy se halla este pequeño real sin ellas y con mu-/[fol. 327r]chissimaz mugerez y niños que defender que no se puede de-/ samparar al presente con ocho religiosoz entre sanos y en-/fermoz y estar la villa deste puesto sesenta leguaz antes/ maz que menoz. Y que forssosamente abian de pereser/5 loz hombrez que alla fueran por la muchedumbre de/ enemigoz y loz que quedavan ynfaliblemente pereseri-/an tambien sin remedio umano y maz aviendo lle-/gado loz sargentoz mayores Sebastian de Herrera y don/ Fernando de Chavez que se escaparon milagrosamente del/ 10 balle de loz thaoz. Y dan por razon que todos loz espa-/ñolez niños y mugerez de dicho balle loz asolaron loz/ enemigoz y a loz religiosoz que poco maz o menoz son por to-/doz setenta y maz personaz. Y siguiendo su bia allegaron/ a la Cañada, poblazón de españolez, y la hallaron despo-/15 blada sin hallar persona con quien hablar ni ynfor-/marse de cossa. Y que a dicha Cañada llegaron de noche/ y que siguiendo su camino para poderse escapar llega-/ron a la vista de la villa y la hallaron sercada de/ grandissima copia de enemigoz que estaban combatien -/20do la dicha villa. Y que bieron arder muchaz cazas y la y-

from the enemy, and making many other dangerous demonstrations, wherein it was feared that everyone would perish. Consequently, after consultation on the best course of action, it was determined that however they could, they should get to safer parts, following the route on which they might meet the wagons which were coming to these provinces from His Majesty with the alms for the religious ministers of these provinces, and the munitions which His Majesty was pleased to send, consisting of powder and shot, which this small royal army is now wholly without, with many [fol. 327r] women and children to defend who cannot now be abandoned. And there are eight religious, both sick and healthy, and the township is somewhat more than sixty leagues from this post. And the men who might go there would undoubtedly perish because of the great numbers of the enemy, and those who remained here would infallibly also perish, without human aid. Furthermore, Sergeants Major Sebastian de Herrera and Don Fernando de Chavez have arrived, escaping miraculously from the valley of the Taos. And they report that all the Spaniards, women and children, of said valley were wiped out by the enemy, as well as the religious, numbering in all something more than seventy persons.<sup>7</sup> Continuing their journey, they arrived at Cañada, a Spanish settlement, and found it deserted, with not a single person to whom to speak or from whom to inform themselves about anything. They reached said Cañada at night, and continuing on their way in order to be able to escape, they came within sight of the township and found it surrounded by

<sup>7</sup> The Spaniards were suspicious of the loyalty of the Piros. Therefore, at this point the Field Commander Tomé Domínguez de Mendoza proposed evacuating of the town of Socorro. Both the culture and language of Piros and Tompiros disappeared (Roberts, 2004:107).



/gleçia de San Miguel y la bivienda y morada del señor/ governador y capitan general por doz partez, que es en el todo,/ quedando solo doz pequeños torreonsilloz y ensima delloz/ alguna jente que no distinguieron si eran españoles/25 o de loz mezmox enemigoz. Y que oieron disparar una/ piessa de artilleria y que el tronido fue flojo y que/ jusgan que puede ser de loz nuestroz españoléz. Y que de a-/lli a un rato bieron retirar loz enemigoz hazia laz mil-/paz quemando otraz cassaz que no saben si de una/30 bez se retirarian o bolberian con maz fuersa./ Por cuyas razonez soy de pareser que noz bamox retiran-/do en la mejor disciplina militar hasta encontrar/ [fol. 327v] los carros arriba dichoz donde bienen treinta hombrez esp[a]-/ñolez que loz fueron a escoltear y juntoz con loz dichoz y c[o]ji-/endo municionez yremox a ber el suseso bueno o malo [que]/ a tenido nuestro governador y capitan general para de todo dar que[nta]/5 al Rey Nuestro Señor. Y que de hazer lo contrario noz perde[mox]/ porque estamox indefensoz y sin munición y en par[te]/ que está el enemigo apache a la bista de nosotroz y [mi]-/rando la muchedumbre de niñoz y mugerez que ay en e[ste]/ pequeño real y ultra desto la nacion pira que es donde [oy]/ 10 estamox por caussa de un embajador que lez bino de par[te]/ del enemigo se comensaban a ynquietar y lo tubie[ron]/ escondido trez diaz a dicho embajador hasta que fue de[scu]-/bierto de un español. Todaz ebidençiaz de nuestra perdiçion [y a]-/ssi como dicho tengo conbiene yrnos retirando a junt[ar]-/15 nos unoz con otroz, como dicho es, antez que el enemig[o]/ nos ataje todoz loz puertoz. Este es mi pareser en que [me]/ afirmo por hallar en mi consciencia ser serbiçio [de]/ Dios y del Rey Nuestro Señor y resguardo y reparo de tant[a]/ muger y niños sin

an extremely large host of enemies, who were attacking said township. They saw many houses burning, as was the church of San Miguel and the dwelling of the Lord governor and captain general, which was on fire on two sides, which is the entire building, with only two small towers left on it. And atop them were some people whom they were unable to distinguish as Spaniards or the enemy themselves. They heard an artillery piece fired, making a faint roar, and they judged that it might be coming from our Spaniards. After a time they saw the enemy retreat from there toward the cornfields, burning other houses, and they could not tell whether they were going for good or would return with larger forces. Consequently, I am of the opinion that we should withdraw under the best military discipline until we meet the above-mentioned [fol. 327v] wagons, with which are coming thirty Spaniards who went to escort them and, on obtaining munitions, we will go, together with the said Spaniards, to see the good or ill fate that our governor and captain general has met, in order to render an account of everything to the Our Lord the King. For in doing otherwise we shall be lost, because we are defenseless and without munitions in a region in which the Apache enemies are in sight of us, and considering the many children and women in this small camp. Furthermore, the Piro nation, which is where we now are, is becoming restless, as a result of an emissary that came to them on behalf of the enemy, whom they kept hidden for three days until he was discovered by a Spaniard. All these point toward our destruction, and thus, as I have said, it is best for us to withdraw to join the others, as stated, before the enemy closes off all the passes to us. This is my opinion, which I state because I conscientiously

tener con qué sustentarloz [ni]/ 20 de adonde poderlo cojer y que oy bamos sustentando[nos]/ con la carne de algunas bacaz y obejaz que pudimo[z es]-/capar y si permanesemoz en este puesto el enemigo [las]/ llebará sin poderlo remediar y que de hambre pere[sere]-/mos todos. Y que este es su pareser, como dicho es, y lo fir[mó]/ 25 juntamente con dicho theniente general y loz testigoz [acom]-/pañadoz en dicho dia mes y año. Entre renglonez | con | va[\*le]./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Thome Domynguez de Mendosa [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/30 Antonio Jorje [rubricado]/ En dicho puesto en dicho dia mes y año el maestre de campo Ju[an Do]-/minguez de Mendoza dijo que se conformaba con el p[are]-/ser del maestre de campo Thome Dominguez de Mendo[sa]/ por conbenir assi al serbiçio de ambas magestad[es]./35 Y lo firmó de su nombre con el dicho theniente genera[l]/ [fol. 328r] y los testigoz aconpañadoz./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Juan Doming[ue]s de Mendoza [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ 5 Antonio Jorje [rubricado]/ En dicho puesto en dicho dia mes y año el sargento mayor don Pedro/ Duran y Chavez dijo que por ser como es constante verdad/ que este corto real se conpone de quatro hombrez pobrez/ summamente y desabiadoz sin pertrechoz de armaz ni mu-/10niçionez caballoz ni bastimentoz y cargadoz con todas/ sus familiaz de hijoz y mugerez y estar metidoz entre/ loz enemigoz christianoz conjurados con el enemigo/ comun de nacion apache e yndefenssoz por toda ra-/zon politica y militar de poder competir ni resistir/15 en manera ninguna el numero de enemigoz que/ estan conduçidoz en el término de sesenta leguaz/ que ay desde este puesto hasta la villa de Santa Fee/ por estas causaz y otraz muchaz que dare cada

believe it to be to the service of God and of Our Lord the King, and most fitting to the protection and relief of so many women and children. We having nothing with which to maintain them nor any place from which to get it, and we are now living off of the meat of some cows and sheep that we were able to bring out, and if we remain in this place the enemy will carry them off without our being able to prevent it, and we shall all die of starvation together. This is his opinion, as he said, and he signed it, together with the said lieutenant general [fol. 328r] and the accompanying witnesses, on the said day, month and year. *Vale.* Alonso Garcia [rubric], Thome Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. In said post on the said day, month and year, Field Commander Juan Dominguez de Mendoza said that he agrees with the opinion of Field Commander Thome Dominguez de Mendoza, because it is most fitting to the service of both Majesties., and he signed it with his name, together with the said lieutenant general and the accompanying witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Juan Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. In the said post on the said day, month and year, Sergeant Major Don Pedro Duran y Chavez said that being an evident fact, as it is, that this small army is composed of a handful of extremely poor and ill-equipped men, without a supply of arms, munitions, horses or provisions, and being burdened with all their families, consisting of children and women, placed amongst Christian enemies conspiring with the common enemy, the Apache nation, and incapable for every political and military reason of dealing with or resisting in any manner the number of enemies who are operating within the sixty leagues

bes/ que se me pidan me conformo con el  
pareser del/ 20 maestro de campo Thome  
Dominguez de Mendoza. Y para/ que  
siempre conste ser berdad lo por mi  
propuesto en/ este mi pareser pido y  
suplico al señor theniente de gover-/nador  
y capitán general que mande a loz maestros  
de campo/ sargentoz mayores y capitanez  
reformadoz que se hallan/25 en este real si  
son lijitimaz las proposissionez que/ en  
este su pareser a dicho lo digan o  
contradigan/ para que maz bien se assierte  
en el real serbiçio/ de Su Magestad. Y esto  
dio por su pareser y lo firmó con dich[o]/  
theniente general y loz testigoz  
aconpañados./30 Alonso Garcia  
[rubricado]/ Don Pedro Duran y Chabez  
[rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/  
Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ [fol. 328v]  
Siguese el sargento mayor Sebastian de  
Herrera el qual dijo q[ue to]-/doz loz  
ynconvenientez que loz maestros de  
campo y sargento mayor [an]/ puesto al pie  
del auto de arriba son siertoz y  
berdad[eros]/ que aunque el theniente  
general pone en su auto el fortaleser[se  
en]/5 este pueblo del Socorro mientras se  
dava aviso de loz c[arroz]/ del Rey  
Nuestro Señor en que bienen laz  
munición realez es f[actible]/ que en essa  
dilaçion haga el enemigo ynbacion en este  
[corto]/ real respecto de hallarnoz todoz al  
presente sin mun[icio]-/nez ningunaz ni  
bastimentos suficientes para poder  
[hazer]/10 pie ni aun para ocho dias. Por lo  
qual de mi parte soy [de pa]-/reser que  
bamos saliendo con el cuydado que  
has[ta'qui]/ hasta toparnoz con loz dichoz  
carroz y siempre a la di[sposi]-/çion del  
dicho theniente general. Y este es mi  
pareser y en ello m[e afir]-/mo y lo firmé  
con dicho theniente general y loz testigoz  
d[e assis]-/15tençia./ Alonso Garcia  
[rubricado]/ Sebastian de Herrera

which lie between this post and the  
township of Santa Fe, for these reasons and  
many others which I will give whenever I  
may be asked, I agree with the opinion of  
Field Commander Thome Dominguez de  
Mendoza. And so that the truth of that  
which I state in this, my opinion, may be  
recorded for posterity, I ask and request the  
Lord Lieutenant governor and captain  
general to order the field commanders,  
sergeants major and half-grade captains  
who are in this camp to state whether the  
propositions which he has advanced in this,  
his opinion, are admissible, or else to speak  
against them, so that His Majesty's royal  
service may be best attended to. He gave  
this as his opinion and signed it with the  
said lieutenant general and the  
accompanying witnesses. Alonso Garcia  
[rubric], Don Pedro Duran y Chavez  
[rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio  
Jorje [rubric]. [fol. 328v] Sergeant Major  
Sebastian de Herrera followed, saying that  
all the problems that the Field Commander  
and the Sergeant Major have stated at the  
end of the foregoing writ are undeniable  
and true; that although the Lieutenant  
General proposes in his writ to fortify  
himself in this pueblo of Socorro while  
reports were given regarding the wagons of  
Our Lord the King in which the royal  
munitions are coming, it is likely that in  
this delay the enemy will invade this small  
camp, since we all find ourselves at present  
without any munitions or sufficient  
provisions so as to be able to last for even  
eight days. Therefore, for my part, I am of  
the opinion that we depart from here with  
care and go until we come across said  
wagons, and always at the disposal of said  
Lieutenant General. And this is my opinion  
and I stand firm in it, and I signed it with  
said Lieutenant General and the attending  
witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric],

[rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio [Jorje]/20 El sargento mayor don Fernando de Chavez dijo que atento a la y[mpo]-/ssibilidad y pocaz fuerzaz deste corto real me conform[o con]/ el pareser del maestre de campo Thome Dominguez de M[endoza]./ Y que este es mi pareser segun Dioz y lo firmé con dicho theniente general/ y loz testigoz de su assistençia./25 Alonso Garcia [rubricado]/ Don Fernando Duran y Chabes [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Anton[io Jorje] [rubricado]./ El sargento mayor Christoval Enriquez digo que, como dicho es, [me]/30 conformo con el pareser del maestre de campo Thome D[omin]-/guez por ser sierto y berdadero todo lo que en él di[se se]-/gun Dioz y lo firmé con el dicho theniente gener[al]/ y loz testigoz de su assistençia en dicho puesto del [Socorro]/ [fol. 329r] en dicho dia mez y año./ Alonso Garcia [rubricado]/ Cristobal Enriques [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ 5 Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ El sargento mayor Antonio de Salaz dijo que en quanto al pareser/ que dio el maestre de campo Thome Dominguez de Mendoza con-/biene en todo y por todo por la falta que ay de munición y el/peligro manifesto en que está este pequeño real por estar loz ene-/10migoz apoderadoz de dichaz munición que estaban en laz ca-/ssaz realez de la villa y de maz de dozientaz bocaz de fuego con/ que pueden sercar y sitiar este pequeño real con el copio-/so numero de enemigoz apachez. Y que assi sera muy bien/ acordadoz el salir luego luego al enquentro de dichoz ca-/15rroz y demaz conpañeroz donde se podra conseguir qual-/quier efecto en serbiçio de Dioz y del Rey y que este es su para-/reser y lo firmó con dicho theniente general y loz testigoz de/ su assistençia./ Alonso Garcia [rubricado]/20 Antonio de

Sebastian de Herrera [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje. Sergeant Major Don Fernando de Chavez said that, seeing the impossibility and scant forces of this small camp, I agree with the opinion of Field Commander Thome Dominguez de Mendoza. And this is my opinion before God and I signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Don Fernando Duran y Chabes [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. I, Sergeant Major Cristobal Enriquez, say that, as stated, I agree with the opinion of the Field Commander Thome Dominguez, since everything he says is certain and true before God, and I signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses in the post of Socorro [fol. 329r] on said day, month and year. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Cristobal Enriques [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Sergeant Major Antonio de Salas said that concerning the opinion that Field Commander Thome Dominquez de Mendoza gave, it is the right thing to do in all terms, given the lack of munitions and the manifest danger in which this small camp is, for since the enemies are in control of said munitions that were in the Governor's Palace of the township and of the more than two hundred firearms with which they can surround and besiege this small camp with the great number of Apache enemies. And thus it will be very well agreed to leave right away to meet said wagons and the other companions, where it will be possible to achieve some effect in the service of God and of the King, and that this is his opinion., and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Antonio de Salas [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric].

Salas [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Fhelipe Romero dijo que por quanto se be sin fuer-/sa este pequeño real y estar todo sercado de enemigos/25 y que con un jumo se abisan muchaz leguaz y que nos/ pueden atajar todoz loz puertoz por cuya causa no se pue-/de detener este real sino que bamoz saliendo hasta/ topar con loz carroz y conpañeroz que loz bienen escolte-/ando y despues determinar lo que maz conbiniere al/[fol. 329v] serbiçio de ambaz magestadez. Y que esto da por pareser segun [su con]-/siençia y lo firmó con dicho theniente general y loz testigoz de [su a]-/sistençia./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/5 Phelipe Romero [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antoño Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Pedro Marquez dijo que por pareserle en su con[siençia]/ y segun Dioz ser sierto el pareser del maestre de campo [Thome]/10 Dominguez de Mendoza se arrima a él y lo firmó [con el]/ theniente general y loz teztigoz que le asisten./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Pedro Marquez [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/15 Antoño Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Ygnaçio Baca dijo que su pareser es que en todo [se arri]-/ma a loz demaz pareserez por pareserle ser razonez e[ficasez]/ y sierto y lo firmó con dicho theniente general y loz test[igos de su]/ asistençia./ 20 Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Ygnacio Baca [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Juan Luis el biejo dijo que en todo y por todo se a[rrima]/25 al pareser del maestre de campo Th[o]me Dominguez

The Captain Felipe Romero said that since this small camp is without strength and completely surrounded by enemies and that they communicate for many leagues with smoke signals,<sup>8</sup> and that they can cut off all the passes to us, it is therefore not possible to delay this detachment, but instead we must leave and travel until we meet up with the wagons and comrades that are escorting them and thereafter determine what is most fitting to the [fol. 329v] service of both majesties. And this he gives as his opinion according to his conscience, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Felipe Romero [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Pedro Marquez said that since he judges according to his conscience and before God that the opinion of Field Commander Thome Dominguez de Mendoza is true, he agrees with him, and he signed it with the Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Pedro Marquez [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Ygnacio Baca said that his opinion is that he agrees with the other opinions in everything, since they seem to him to be real and sure reasons, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Ygnacio Baca [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Juan Luis the elder said that he agrees with the opinion of Field Commander Thome Dominguez completely, since it is most fitting to the

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<sup>8</sup> Communication via smoke signals from mountains and hills was common to many Native Americans. Once the fire was made it was covered with a blanket and plumes of smoke were sent out intermittently. Naturally, there had to be a secret code, since the signs were visible to everyone. And although this varied, it is generally known that one puff meant “caution,” two “all is well” and that three or more intermittent plumes could mean “SOS.”

por [con]-/benir assi al serbiçio de ambas magestadez por quanto se b[e el]/ riesgo manifesto en que se hallan tanta muger y n[ñoz]/ y estar sercadoz de muchos enemigoz por todoz lad[oz]/ y ser peligroso este puesto y lo firmó con dicho then[iente ge]-/30neral y loz testigoz de su asistencia en dicho puesto/ [fol. 330r] del Socorro en dicho dia mez y año./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Juan Luis [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/5 Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Joseph Tellez Xiron dijo que es de pareser que se baya/ retirando este pequeño real hasta donde conbenga porque/ ba falta de munición y caballadaz y por quanto a trese añoz que/ an andado loz dichoz christianoz alsadoz y conjuradoz/10 por executar la trayçion que al presente está executada./Y que loz yndioz christianoz que ban oy en dicho real son de-/loz en el trato y convocacion y que assi harto haremos loz/ pocoz españolz en escapar con tantoz niños y mugerez, que/ no estan aqui sus maridoz, los unoz en laz provinçiaz de/ 15 zuñi y treinta que se ynbiaron por horden del señor gover-/nador y capitan general a meter la quadrilla de loz carroz/ que traen laz limosnaz a loz religiosoz destas provinçi-/az y otroz muchoz que an matado en dicho alsamiento./ Y que oy hallo ynpossible ni desde el pueblo de La Ysleta/ 20 donde fue a faboreser a loz religiosoz y una

service of both majesties, given the manifest risk to so many women and children is evident, as is the fact of being surrounded by many enemies on all sides, and that this place is dangerous, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses in said post of [fol. 330r] Socorro on said day month and year. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Juan Luis [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Joseph Tellez Xiron<sup>9</sup> said that he is of the opinion that this small camp should leave in retreat to wherever is best, because it is lacking munitions and horses, and since for thirteen years said Christians have been in revolt and conspiring to execute the treason that at present has taken place. Furthermore, the Christian Indians that are in the camp belong to those who are involved in the convocation, and thus it will be difficult for us Spaniards to escape with so many children and women, whose husbands are not here, some in the provinces of Zuñi<sup>10</sup> and thirty who were sent by order of the Lord governor and captain general to meet up with the wagon team that is bringing the alms to the religious of these provinces, and many others that they have killed in said uprising. And today I find it impossible even from the pueblo of La Isleta, where he went to safeguard the religious and a monstrance that was there

<sup>9</sup> Native of Los Altos de San Jacinto in Cuyoacán, Mexico, he was encomendero of San Felipe and Cochiti in 1661. He was married to Catalina Romero and was 48 years old in 1680. In 1695 he was already residing in the Ysleta del Paso area, so we can deduce that he did not return to New Mexico with the reconquest. He had a son of the same name was mustered in 1681, at age 26 (Chávez 1992:106).

<sup>10</sup> These Indians, whose language does not seem to be related to the other languages of the area, are located near the western boundary of New Mexico, bordering Arizona, along the Zuni River. The first Spanish contact occurred with the entry of Friar Marcos de Niza in 1539, when his guide Estebanico was shot by archers from the Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh. The first mission in the area was called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi and from the colonial era the following pueblos are known: Halona, Hawikuh, Kechipauan, Kiakima, Kwakina y Matsaki. All these towns, except Halona, were abandoned in the seventeenth century (Eggen y Pandey (1979:480-481).

custodia que/ alli estava con Jesuchristo sacramentado de poder el/ dicho theniente general Alonzo Garçia dar auxilio ni socorro/ al señor gouernador y capitán general porque todoz loz puebloz destas/ provinçiaz estavan atajando loz caminoz y dado el/25 nombre de que murieramos todoz loz religiozoz y espa-/ñiolez como lo executaron en loz puebloz y estançiaz de/ arriba, no perdonando ni aun a laz criaturaz de pecho/ y quemando todoz loz temploz y destruyendolo todo. Y que/ este es mi [superpuesto: su] pareser y me retifico en ello y lo firmo con dicho the-/30niente general y loz testigoz que le asisten./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Jose Telles Jiron [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]./ [fol. 330v] El capitán Pedro de Sedillo dijo que se arrima en todo a loz pa[rese]-/rez de loz demaz y que siempre ofrese su persona para el serbiçio/de Dioz y del Rey y que esto es su pareser y lo firmó con el t[heniente]/ general y loz teztigoz./5 Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Pedro de Cedillo [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antoñio Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitán Juan Luis el mozo dijo que su persona está pronta y apar[ejada]/10 para el serbiçio de Dioz y del Rey cada y quando que se ofres[ca]/ y que se arrima en lo demaz a los pareseres de loz [maestres]/ de campo sargentoz mayorez y capitanez y que este es su pareser y lo f[irmó]/ con dicho theniente general y loz testigoz de su asistencia./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/

with Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, for Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia to give aid or help to the Lord governor and captain general, because all of the pueblos of these provinces were cutting off the highways, and given the order that we should all die, religious and Spaniards, as did in the pueblos and ranches above, not even sparing nursing babies and burning all the churches and destroying everything. And that this is my [his] opinion and I stand firm in it and I sign it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Jose Telles Jiron [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric]. [fol. 330v] Captain Pedro de Zedillo<sup>11</sup> said that he agrees in everything with the opinions of the others and that he always offers his person for the service of God and of the King, and that this is his opinion, and he signed it with the Lieutenant General and the witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Pedro de Cedillo [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Juan Luis the younger<sup>12</sup> said that his person is ready and equipped for the service of God and of the King each and every time it may be required, and that he agrees with the other opinions of the Field Commanders, Sergeants major and Captains, and that this is his opinion, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Juan Luis [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain

<sup>11</sup> His full name was Pedro de Zedillo Rico de Rojas and was a native of Querétaro, Mexico. In 1680 he held the position of captain and resided in the Rio Abajo district. He was married to Isabel López de Gracia (Chávez 1992:103).

<sup>12</sup> Born in New Mexico, he passed in review in 1681 at age 41 years with his wife and son (Chávez 1992:62).

15 Juan Luis [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antoño Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Diego Dominguez de Mendoza dijo que es de pares[er de]/ que se bayan saliendo este corto real por laz pocaz fu[erzaz]/20 que tenemos de munición y caballos y que de rebo[lber]/ a la villa somos perdidos loz que fueren y loz que qu[eda]-/ren con tantaz mugerey y niños como ban en este corto [real]/ y que esto es lo que halla en su consciencia y es su pareser y [lo fir]-/mó con el dicho theniente general y loz testigos de su asistencia/25 Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Diego Domingues de Mendosa [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Antonio de Alviçu dixo que es de pareser que b[aya]/30 saliendo este real asta que se tope la quadrilla porque l[as]/ [fol. 331r] fueras son pocas y los enemigos las tienen aventajadas/ y este es mi pareser y lo fí[r]m[ó] con el dicho teniente general/ y los testigos de su asistencia./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/5 Antonio de Albiçu [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan Pedro Barela Xaramillo dixo que se arimaba a/ los pareseres de dichos maestros de campo y sargentos ma-/10yores y capitanes y lo firmó con dicho teniente general/ y los testigos de su asistencia./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Pedro Barela Xaramillo [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ 15 Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./ El capitan don Fernando Duran y Chaves dixo que su pareser es/ que en dexando este pequeño real asegurado conbiene/ bolvel a la villa de Santa Fe a saver lo sierto si son vivos o/ muertos y esto dio por pareser y lo

Diego Dominguez de Mendoza<sup>13</sup> said that it is his opinion that this small camp should leave due to the scant forces that we have in munitions and horses, and that in returning to the township we are lost, both those that would go and those that might stay with so many women and children as are in this small camp, and that this is what he finds in his conscience, and it is his opinion, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Diego Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Antonio de Alvisu said that he is of the opinion that this camp should leave and travel until it meets up with the wagon train, because forces are few and the enemies have the advantage, and this is my opinion, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Antonio de Alvisu [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Pedro Barela Xaramillo said that he agreed with the opinions of said Field commanders and Sergeants Major and Captains, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Pedro Barela Xaramillo [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Don Fernando Duran y Chaves said that his opinion is that if this small camp is left secured, it is better to return to the township of Santa Fe to find out with certainty if they are dead or alive, and he gave this as his opinion, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Don Fernando Duran y Chaves

<sup>13</sup> He was the third son of Tome Dominguez Mendoza “the younger.” He was 37 years old in 1680 and was married. He was wounded in battle in 1681 and survived poisoned arrows in the leg and arm. Possibly the Diego Dominguez killed by Juan Chavez in 1682 (Chávez 1992:26).



firmó con dicho teniente/20 general y los testigos de su asistencia./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Don Fernando Duran i Chabes [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./25 Cristobal de Tapia dixo que se arrimaba a los pareseres de/ arriba dichos y lo firmó con dicho teniente general y los testi-/gos de su asitençia./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Cristobal de Tapia [rubricado]/30 Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]./

[rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Cristobal de Tapia said that he agreed with the above stated opinions, and he signed it with said Lieutenant General and the attending witnesses. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Cristobal de Tapia<sup>14</sup> [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric].

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<sup>14</sup> A landowner in the area south of the pueblo of Isleta, this sergeant actively participated in the first entry of Governor Vargas in 1692 (Chávez 1992:106).

**[El Socorro, 26 de agosto de 1680.  
Testimonio de Luis Granillo]**

En este paraje en frente del pueblo del Socorro el theniente general/ [fol. 331v] Alonzo García en cumplimiento de la diligencia y resolución que se pretende para el mayor serbiçio de ambaz magestadez estando/ presente el sargento mayor Luis Granillo, aconpañado en estoz/ autoz, alcalde mayor y capitan a guerra de la jurisdiccion de yndios/5 xemez y querez procurador general destaz provinçiaz regidor/ de la villa de Santa Fee. Persona de toda consequençia,/ el qual assistiendo en el pueblo de yndioz xemez tu-/bo notiçia y avisso sierto de un yndio llamado Lorenzo/ Muza que avia entrado un enbajador de loz enemigos/10 de naçion xemez, el qual entró en dicho pueblo cantando/ la victoria y diçiendo: “Ya matamoz al governador de loz/ españoletz y a otroz muchissimoz españoletz y todo está/ ya asolado que hasta loz fraylez niñoz y mugerez emoz/ muerto desde loz taoz hasta el pueblo de Santo Domin-/15go”. Y lo que falta que es rio abajo ya lo ban asolando/ loz enemigoz de loz españoletz y no a de quedar ninguno/ bivo porque es muchissima la cantidad de enemigoz/ assi apachez ynfielez como todoz loz cristianoz en general./ “Y assi coje laz armaz y mata estoz españoletz y fraylez/20 que ay aqui”. Y assi con efecto lo hizieron loz dichoz yndioz/ xemez, pues biendo el religiozo y io dicho alcalde mayor/ y trez soldadoz que tenia en mi compañia, montamos a ca-/ballo para retirarnos, enbistieron loz yndioz xemes con/ nossotroz con tal ossadia que noz binieron siguiendo mas/25 de doz leguaz assi elloz peleando con elloz como nosotros resis]-/tiendo. En cuya ocaçion fue Dioz Nuestro Señor serbido

**Socorro, August 26, 1680. Testimony of Luis Granillo**

In this place facing the pueblo of Socorro, Lieutenant General [fol. 331v] Alonso Garcia, in fulfillment of the diligence and resolution that is assumed for the greater service of both Majesties, with Sergeant Major Luis Granillo present, accompanied in these writs, royal magistrate and war captain of the jurisdiction of the Jemez and Querez Indians, procurator general of these provinces, alderman of the township of Santa Fe, a person of total consequence, who, attending to the pueblo of Jemez Indians, received news and an accurate report from an Indian named Lorenzo Muza, that an emissary of the enemies, one of the Jemez nation, entered into said pueblo chanting victory and saying, “We already killed the Spaniards’ governor and many other Spaniards and everything is already destroyed, we have killed even the friars, children and women, from the Taos to the pueblo of Santo Domingo.” And the enemies of the Spaniards are already destroying what is left, which is downriver, and no one is to remain alive because there is a great number of enemies, both infidel Apaches, as well as the general mass of Christians. “So get your weapons and kill these Spaniards and friars here.” And indeed this is what said Jemez Indians did, since seeing the religious and me, said royal magistrate, and three soldiers that I had in my company, on horseback preparing to withdraw, the Jemez Indians attacked us with such daring that they followed us for more than two leagues, fighting against us the whole time as we resisted. On that occasion Our Lord God was pleased to cause us to encounter said Lieutenant General, who, thanks to my

que noz encon-/trasse el dicho teniente general que por aviso mio se partio/ luego a darnoz socorro y por ser quando noz encontro a la/ maz de media noche. Y bisto loz yndioz dicho socorro sesa-/30ron de nuestro siguimiento y pelea y de alli allegamoz al pueblo/ de Sia donde hallamoz al padre difinidor fray Nicolaz Hurtado,/ ministro de aquel pueblo, que con trez españolez estava/ fortalessido en lo mejor del convento y con laz beztiaz/ [fol. 332r]ensserradaz dentro. Y con nuestra ayuda fue Dioz serbido que esca-/pazen con la vida y se binieron en nuestra compañia y a caussa/ tambien que loz yndioz de dicho pueblo avian salido a aso-/lar laz cassaz de loz españolez y serca de dicho pueblo assi que/5 noz sintieron que benian ya a ejecutar en dichoz religiosos/ y españolez su trayçion comensaron a dar grandez alaridos/ a cuyaz vozez y alaridoz comensaron en el pueblo a repicar/ laz campanas y con gran peligro y muchissimo trabajo/ salimoz y allegamoz al pueblo de Santa Ana, yndioz de/ 10 la mesma naçion de loz de Zia. Y no hallando yndioz ningunos/ sino algunaz yndiaz y preguntandolez adonde estavan/ loz baronez respondieron con mucho descoco y atrevimiento/ que avian ydo a matar a todoz loz españolez. Y siguiendo/ nuestra derrota llegamoz enfrente del pueblo de Sandia don -/15de avia muchissima copia de yndioz alsadoz loz qua-/lez assi que noz sintieron montaron a caballo y comen-/saron a escaramusear en mucha cantidad de bestias/ assi de loz españolez y religiosoz que tenian ya muertoz/ como otraz que avian hurtado del dicho theniente general. Y/20 alli a toda priessa el dicho

report, had left straight away in order to come to our aid. And it was after midnight when he found us. And once the Indians saw this rescue, they ceased following and fighting against us and thus we arrived at the pueblo of Zia, where we found the Father Definitor Friar Nicolas Hurtado, minister of that pueblo, who, with three Spaniards, was fortified in the best part of the convent with the animals enclosed within. And with our help, God was pleased to allow them to escape with their lives and they joined our company. And also given that the Indians of said pueblo had left to destroy the houses of the Spaniards and [were] near said pueblo, as soon as they heard us, they were coming to execute their treason upon said religious and Spaniards immediately, and began to give great shrieks. And at whose shouts and shrieks those in the pueblo began to ring the bells, and with great danger and a great deal of effort we left and came to the pueblo of Santa Ana,<sup>1</sup> whose Indians are of the same nation as those of Zia. And not finding any Indian men, but only some Indian women, we asked them where the men were. And they responded with great brazenness and daring that they had gone to kill all Spaniards. And as we followed the path of our retreat we arrived at the entrance to the pueblo of Sandia where there was a great host of Indians in revolt, who, as soon as they heard us, mounted their horses and began to skirmish in such a great number of horses, both from the Spaniards and religious that they had killed, as well as those that they had stolen from said Lieutenant General. And there in great haste, said Lieutenant General and I

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<sup>1</sup> A Keres town on the Jemez River whose Indian name is Támáyá (Strong 1979:406). Destroyed by Governor Pedro Reneros Posada in 1687, it was rebuilt in 1693 with the arrival of Governor Diego de Vargas (Silverberg 1994:146 y 180).

theniente general y io en su conpañia y/  
 loz demaz con loz doz religiozoz fimos  
 recojiendo todoz loz pocoz/ españolez que  
 se avian escapado y mugerez y niñoz  
 dejando en/ laz cassaz todo lo que avia en  
 ellaz sin tener lugar de sacar/ nada y con  
 mucho trabajo y arraztrandonoz y laz  
 mugerez/25 españolaz y niñoz a pie  
 llegamoz al pueblo de La Ysleta/ y lo  
 hallamoz tan ynquietoz como loz demaz.  
 Por cuya cau-/sa entramoz en consulta de  
 la qual salio determina-/do que nos  
 retirasemoz siguiendo la via del rio Abajo/  
 hasta mudar de la provinçia de los yndioz  
 rebela-/30doz en cuyo tiempo seria Dioz  
 serbido de que encontrara-/[fol. 332v]mox  
 loz carroz de Su Magestad en cuyo conboy  
 y escolta bi[enen]/ treinta hombrez vezinoz  
 y soldadoz destaz provinçiaz [que]/ loz  
 ynbió el señor governador y capitan  
 general a dicho conboy y [escolta]./ Y  
 juntoz con elloz tendremoz maz resistencia  
 y se c[onsul]-/5tará en tal ocaçion lo que  
 maz conbenga al serb[içio]/ de ambaz  
 magestadez y seguridad de dozientas  
 [espa]-/ñolaz poco maz chicaz y grandez  
 que al presente s[e hallan]/ en este pequeño  
 real, que todaz laz maz bienen de[snudaz]/  
 a pie y descalsaz que da grima y horror el  
 berlaz. [Conque]/10 soy de pareser que  
 prosigamoz en la forma que beni[mox]/  
 antes que el enemigo nos abanse y nos  
 ynposibilit[e de]/ poder librar laz vidaz  
 pues oy noz hallamoz con tan [gran]/  
 dessabio que es laztima que a no aber  
 escapado algu[naz]/ obejaz y bacaz es  
 sierto peressieramoz y aviendo  
 hall[ado]/15 esto en mi consiençia lo di por  
 pareser conforman[dome]/ con loz demaz  
 pareserez antessedentez deste, que to[doz]/  
 loz e bisto y entendido como aconpañado  
 que e sid[o del]/ theniente general. Y para  
 que en todo tiempo conste lo firm[é de]/ mi  
 nombre en conpañia de dicho theniente

in his company and the others, along with  
 the two religious gathered together the few  
 Spaniards who had escaped, together with  
 women and children, leaving in the houses  
 everything that was inside them, with no  
 way to remove anything. And with much  
 effort, and bringing ourselves and the  
 Spanish women and children on foot, we  
 reached the pueblo of La Isleta, and we  
 found its inhabitants as restless as the  
 others. For that reason we conferred and  
 determined that we would withdraw along  
 the Rio Abajo in order to leave the area  
 controlled by the rebel Indians, during  
 which time it was God's will that we  
 encountered [fol. 332v] the wagons of His  
 Majesty, in whose convoy and escort there  
 are thirty men, inhabitants and soldiers of  
 these provinces, whom the Lord governor  
 and captain general sent to said convoy and  
 escort. And together with them, we would  
 be able to better resist, and on that occasion  
 would consult regarding what was most  
 fitting to the service of both majesties and  
 the safety of two hundred Spanish females,  
 all in all, who are in this small army, most  
 of whom lack clothing, are on foot and  
 shoeless, and the sight of them is appalling.  
 So it is my opinion that we should continue  
 on in the same way we came, before the  
 enemy can advance upon us and makes it  
 impossible to save lives, since today we  
 find ourselves with such a great scarcity  
 that it is a shame that, had it not been for  
 some sheep or cows that escaped, we  
 certainly would have perished. And with  
 this on my conscience, I gave it as my  
 opinion, agreeing with the other preceding  
 opinions, all of which I have seen and  
 understood, as I have accompanied the  
 lieutenant general. And so that it may be  
 entered into the permanent record, I signed  
 it with my name in the company of said  
 lieutenant general, today, August 26, 1680.

general oy dia [veinte]/20 y seis del mez de  
agosto de mil y seiscientos y ochenta  
a[ños]./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Luis  
Granillo [rubricado]/ Don Juan Severino  
Rodriguez de Zuballeta [rubricado]/  
Antonio Jorj[e] [rubricado]/

Alonso Garcia [rubric], Luis Granillo  
[rubric], Don Juan Severino Rodriguez de  
Zuballeta<sup>2</sup> [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric].  
[p.31]

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<sup>2</sup> Chávez lists him as Rodriguez Zevallos, but this reading is impossible, since in the two signatures there is clearly distinguished a “u” after the “z”. The surname Zubaleta exists and surely it is what we find in this signature. Juan Severino a native of Seville, came to New Mexico in 1677 as a soldier sentenced to serve indefinitely. Judging by the fine lines of his handwriting in the two signatures initialed in the documents and the fact that his father was captain, he must have been educated. In 1677 he was 22 years of age (Hackett 1937:319). In 1680 held the rank of Deputy Magistrate of the District of Sandia. He was married to Ana Maria Varela, the granddaughter of Alonso García (Chávez 1992:95).

**[En frente de El Socorro, 26 de agosto de 1680. Auto de Alonso García]**

25 Yo el maestro de campo Alonzo García theniente de [gover]-/nador y capitan general destas provinçiaz atendiend[como]/ devo atender al mayor serbiçio de ambaz m[agestadez]/ y a la conserbaçion de loz bassallos de zu magestad que [mi]-/lagrossamente se an escapado de la boraçidad y a[lsa]-/30miento general que an hecho loz yndioz christianoz [con]-/federadoz con loz enemigoz ynfielz de la naçion/ apachez y desseoso de poner algun remedio en b[er]/ si rompiendo dificultadez y rompiendo por en[tre]/ [fol. 333r] enemigoz podia conseguir el ponerme en la villa de San-/ta Fee assistençia de loz señorez gobernadorez y capitanez/ generalez y hallandome como me hallo sin armas/ sin municiónz y sin biverez y otroz peltrechoz nese-/5sarioz assi para ofenza como para defenza y hallandome/ en un caos de confuçiones tube por bien por segunda bes/ de juntar loz pocoz españolez que al presente se hallan en/ mi compañia todoz loz maz hombrez de esperiençia/ practicoz en laz cozaz de milicia y estando presentes/10 les hize notorio mi auto que ba por cabessa en estoz autos;/ a lo qual fueron confiriendo y consultando y [superpuesto: e]l ma-/yor y mejor assierto en el serbiçio de ambaz magestades./ Y que con sobrado valor se mostraban el querer seguir-/me a lo por mí propuesto y conferido y consultado/ 15 laz muchissimaz y grandez dificultadez que a bis-/ta de ojaz tenemos se resolvieron que lo que maz con-/benia al serbiçio de Dios y del Rey era yrse retiran-/do en la mejor diziiplina militar que sea possible/ como consta de dichoz pareserez a que me refiero/20 y por mi bisto no ser possible

**Opposite Socorro, August 26, 1680. Writ of Alonso García**

I, the Field Commander Alonso Garcia, Lieutenant governor and captain general of these provinces, attending as I should to the highest degree of service to both majesties and to the safeguarding of the vassals of his majesty that have miraculously escaped from the voracity of the general uprising that the Christian Indians, in confederation with the enemy infidels of the Apache nation have carried out, and wishing to in some way find a solution by seeing if, breaking through the difficult circumstances and breaking through [fol. 333r] the enemies, I would be able to enter the township of Santa Fe, the residence of the lords governor and captains general, and finding myself as I do, without weapons, without munitions, and without supplies and other armaments necessary for both offense and defense, and since I found myself in chaos of confusion, I decided it would be good for a second time to gather the few Spaniards that at present are in my company, all of the men who have practical experience in military matters. And with all of them present I made known to them my writ that is at the head of these documents, upon which they conferred and consulted in order to ascertain what would be of greatest and best service to both majesties. And with an overabundance of valor, they demonstrated that they wished to follow me in my proposal, and having deliberated and consulted regarding the numerous and great difficulties that we have before our eyes, they resolved that what was most fitting to the service of God and King was to withdraw in the best military discipline possible, as is shown by the

otra cossa en el real/ nombre de Su Magestad y en lo que de derecho a lugar/ me conformo con ellos. Porque al presente y como qui-/en tiene la cossa presente no puedo ni se puede determinar otra cossa hasta poner en salvamento tan-/25ta copia de mugerez españolaz y niños y ocho religio-/soz, que todoz unoz y otroz se hallan oy yndifensos/ y laz mugerez y niños a pie y sin aber fortalessa/ ninguna donde poder resestir a el enemigo. Y reser-/bando como reserbo laz diligenciãz o diligenciã que/30 possible me sea encontrando loz carroz de Su Magestad/ [fol. 333v] donde espero hallar algun desahogo con laz municiones/ y treinta hombrez vezinoz deste reyno que ynbió el seño[r]/ governador y capitan general a conboyar dichoz carroz de que tanb[ien]/ me tienen cuydadozo por correr entre loz yndioz que [el]/5 alsamiento y conboçacion general coje hasta El Passo, [pa]-/raje adonde al presente se gusga estar loz dichoz carr[oz]./ Y assi lo tube y tengo por bien por no poderse ni ser possi[ble]/ hazer otra cossa y assi lo firmé y rubriqué juntam[ente]/ con loz testigoz de mi assistenciã que lo son loz ynfra[escrip]-/10toz en este paraje de enfrente del Socorro en veinte y [seiz]/ diaz del mez de agosto del año de mil seissçientoz y och[enta]./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]/

**[Auto de respuesta de Antonio de Otermín]**

[al margen izquierdo: auto]/15 Y vistos por Su Señoría los autos presentados y las diligenciãz juridicas echas p[or]/ el dicho theniente y lo mas alegado a su justiçia y que todos conbinieron en no de[te]-/nerse por las causas que espresan de los grandes

opinions to which I refer. And seeing that nothing else is possible, in the royal name of His Majesty and in accordance with the law, I agree with them. Because at the moment, and as one who is keenly aware of the situation, I cannot, nor is it possible to decide otherwise until we safeguard such a large number of Spanish women and children and eight religious, all of whom are today defenseless, and the women and children are on foot, with no fortress from which to resist the enemy. And placing in reserve the measure or measures that may be possible to me were I to find the wagons of His Majesty, [fol. 333v] where I hope to find some relief with the munitions and thirty men who are inhabitants of this kingdom whom the Lord governor and captain general sent to convoy said wagons. I am also concerned about the rumor circulating among the Indians that the uprising and general convocation may reach all the way to El Paso, a place where presently it is believed that these wagons are. And I thus held and hold that to be correct, since I am not able nor is it possible to do otherwise. And I so signed and added my rubric together with my attending witnesses, who are the signatories below, in this place opposite Socorro, the twenty-sixth of August, 1680. Alonso Garcia [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric], Antonio Jorje [rubric].

**Writ of Antonio de Otermin's Response**

And His Lordship, having seen the writs presented and the juridical measures taken by said Lieutenant and the other materials submitted to his justice, and that all agreed that they should not stop due to the causes derived from the great fear in which they found themselves, along with the general

temores en que se hallavan [con]/ la general vos de que io y la jente de la villa eramos muertos y que no se pudo a[ll]o cansar sierta notiçia de la vos general divulgada y hallarse sin muniçiones/20 ni vastimentos y las mas raçones que alegan que todos haçen al d[es]-/carga de la culpa que podia resultar contra el dicho theniente general Alo[nso]/ Garçia por aber sido convocasion y alsamiento general entre los yndios alsad[os],/ el qual nunca se tubo luz del hasta el término de su execusion co[mo]/ consta de los graves daños y atrosidadez que executaron sin poderse re[me]-/25diar y no aber sido maliçiosa ni de temor la salida del dicho teniente si[no]/ obligado de la nesidad; por donde atendiendo a su lealtad y serviçi[os]/ yncorporando los autos que se an ynsertado con estos declaro que l[o]/ doy por livre y quieto de toda calugnia ni delito y que quede libre de l[a]/ prission en que está para que con mayor desvelo acuda a las cosas de su [car]-/30go de justiçia y guerra y este auto se le notifique en su persona por el presente secretari[o]/ con testigos. Assi lo proveio mandó y firmó ante mí dicho secretario de governaçion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ [testado: Francisco Xavier]/ Ante mí./35 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

#### **[Notificación a Alonso García por parte de Francisco Xavier]**

[fol. 334r] Yo el secretario de governacion y guerra Francisco Xavier de mandato del señor governador y capitan general don Antonio/ de Otermin lei notifiqué y di traslado del auto antesedente al maestro de campo/ Alonso Garçia theniente de

opinion that I and the people of the township were dead, and that it was not possible to acquire certainty from the general rumors that circulated, and being without munitions and provisions, and all the other reasons that point to the exoneration of the guilt that might be assigned to said Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia, due to the convocation and general uprising among the insurgent Indians, about which there was no information prior to the point of its execution, as is evident from the grave harm and atrocities that were committed without possibility of preventing them, and the departure of said Lieutenant was neither malicious nor out of fright, but of forced necessity; whereby, with attention to his loyalty and services, incorporating the writs that have been inserted along with these, I declare that he is to be at liberty and free from any calumny or crime. And that he is to be set free from the prison wherein he is held, so that with greater care he may attend to the things pertaining to his responsibilities for justice and war. And he shall be notified in person of this writ by the present secretary with witnesses. He so provided, ordered and signed before me, said The secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric], [crossed out: Francisco Xavier]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

#### **Notification of Alonso Garcia by Francisco Xavier**

[fol. 334r] I, the the secretary of governance and war, Francisco Xavier, by order of the Lord governor and captain general, Don Antonio de Otermin, read, made known and forwarded the preceding writ to Field Commander Alonso Garcia



governador y capitán general de las jurisdicciones del río Avajo en su/ persona presentes y por testigos el alcalde hordinario Juan Luzero de Godoy/5 y el sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana. Y abiendolo oydo y entendido el dicho/ theniente general dijo que lo obedese en todo y por todo y estima y agradesse a Su Señoría/ el bien y justicia que le hace por no haber yncur[r]ido en exseso que resulte culpa/ contra su obrar porque siempre a sido y es leal y obediente vasallo de Su Magestad/ obedeciendo y executando las hordenes y mandatos de sus superiores/10 y esto dio por su repuesta y lo firmó ante mí y los testigos de que doy fee./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de Governacion y Guerra./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/

Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/15 testigo/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/[fol. 334v] [en blanco]

**[En frente de El Socorro, 7 de septiembre de 1680. Auto de Otermín enviando a Pedro de Leiva]**

[fol. 335r] En este real exercito en el paraje de enfrente del pueblo del Socorro en çiete dias del/ mes de septiembre de mil y seisçientos y ochenta años Su Señoria el señor governador y capitán general/ abiendo visto la ynpossibilidad que trae en la marcha que viene haçiendo con/ tanta copia de jente mujeres y niños que bienen a pie y con yntolerables traba-/5jos que padesen de anbre y cansansio. Atendiendo al mejor gobierno y alivio de/ los susodichos y que puedan ser condusidos adonde convenga para la mayor/ seguridad y alivio de todos y que se salga del riesgo de tantos dias de campaña/ a la vista de tanto henemigo alsado. Sin envargo de la

himself, Lieutenant of the governor and captain general in the jurisdictions of Rio Abajo, there being present as witnesses the town magistrate, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and the Sergeant Major, Luis de Quintana. And having heard and understood it, said Lieutenant General stated that he obeys absolutely, and that he esteems and thanks His Lordship for the goodness and justice he does to him, for not having committed any excess which may cast blame upon his actions, as he has always been and is now a loyal and obedient vassal of His Majesty, obeying and executing the orders and commands of his superiors. He gave this as his reply, and he signed it before me and the witnesses, to which I certify. Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war, Alonso Garcia [rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy[rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric]. [fol. 334v] [blank].

**Opposite Socorro, September 7, 1680. Writ of Otermin, Dispatching Pedro de Leiva**

[fol. 335r] In this royal encampment, at the place opposite Socorro, on the seventh day of the month of September 1680. His Lordship, the Lord governor and captain general, saw the impossibility of continuing the march he is making with such a large number of people, including women and children, who are going on foot and are suffering intolerable hardships from hunger and weariness. Thus, with a view to improved supervision and the relief of the above, and so that they may be led to a place affording greater safety and comfort to all of them, and may be removed from the danger of so many days of campaigning in sight of so many enemy

falta que ase la jente/ del cargo del maestro de campo Pedro de Leiva que vino al socorro de mi persona/10 mando por este auto que el contenido salga luego y sin dilacion ninguna de este/ real y con la jente alistada que por mi horden le sigue vuelba al Passo del/ rio del Norte. Y por aber cantidad de setenta y seis leguas de aqui allá de tier[r]a disier-/ta y poblada toda de henemigos sin que se pueda hallar en toda ella vastimen-/to ni cosa de sustento para tanto numero de xente, vengan escoltando los carros que/15 son del cargo del reverendo padre predicador fray Francisco de Ayeta comisario del Santo Ofiçio/ padre desta Santa Custodia visitador general della y procurador general de los dos fueros eclesiastico/ y secular con las demas cosas que an de venir de socorro para el convoi de lo sobre-/dicho y sea luego su salida como se manda y lo executo en este dia y para que cons-/te lo mando poner por dilijençia. Y lo firmó ante mí de que doy fee./20 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[En frente de El Socorro, 7 de septiembre de 1680. Auto de Otermin sobre las noticias de fray Diego de Párraga]**

[al margen izquierdo: [au]to]/ En el dicho paraxe en dicho dia mes y año dichos estando Su Señoria en esta plasa de/25 armas acudiendo al mexor y mas asertado gobierno de las matherias que to-/can al real serviçio de Su Magestad y bien de sus vasallos para la determinaçion que preten-/de tomar en congregando en este exerçito la jente de guerra que se halla en el pa-/raje

insurgents; notwithstanding the need for the men under the command of Field Commander Pedro de Leiva who came to the rescue of my person, I direct by this writ that the person mentioned leave this camp without any delay with the enlisted men who follow him by my order, and return to El Paso del Rio del Norte. And since it is a distance of seventy-six leagues from here to there over a desert country full of enemies, in which there are to be found no provisions or anything for the sustenance of so many people, they are to come as escort for the wagons that are under the care of the reverend Father Preacher, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, father of this holy custody, Visitor General thereof, and procurator general of the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and secular, with the other things that are sent for our aid and for the convoy of the aforementioned. He shall leave directly, today, as ordered. So that it may be recorded, he ordered it set down as judicial proceeding. He signed it before me, to which I certify. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war [rubric].

**Opposite Socorro, September 7, 1680. Writ of Otermin Regarding the News of Friar Diego de Parraga**

[Left margin: writ.] In the said place on the said day, month and year, His Lordship was in this encampment, seeking the best and most effective management of the affairs pertaining to His Majesty's royal service and the welfare of his vassals, and to the decision that he intends to take in incorporating into this army the soldiers who are in the place of Fray Cristobal, who

de Fray Cristobal, que salio marchando con el theniente general Alonso Gar-çia y a fuersa de dilijençias a llegado Su Señoria a este paraje que ai dies y seis leguas/30 al que llaman de Fray Cristobal donde está dicha jente y para ello a puesto/ todas las disposiciones conveniente padeçiendo graves nesidades pues a/ llegado a comer mais asado en maçorca porque se consiga el ajustar/ lo que se deve al real serviçio mirando a la mayor y mejor disposision/ de restaurar a Su Magestad este reino y pedaso de su Corona. Y estando/ [fol. 335v] en estas disposiciones con los cavos de guerra y soldados praticos y [de]/ experiençia llegó a manos de Su Señoria un papel escrito firmado con un[a]/ firma que dise fray Diego de Parraga en que notiçia lo que por él con[sta]/ de ynsigniar grave nesidad el otro campo y que pretende salir [de]/5 aquel territorio marchando aparte más lejos de lo poblado sin/ que ayga tenido notiçia de lo sobredicho del maestro de campo Th[ome]/ Doming[u]es de Mendossa, persona que dejó en su lugar el then[ien]-te general Alonso Garçia y por si el casso llegare y lo mas que sused[a]/ mando se ponga la carta orijinal con estos autos y de la repu[es]-/10ta dada por mí ynserte el presente secretario un tanto autorizado a la letr[a]/ al pie deste auto en publica forma y manera que aga fee. Así lo/ probeió mandó y firmó Su Señoria ante mí, el presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/15 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[En frente de El Socorro, 8 de septiembre de 1680. Carta de Otermín a**

marched out with Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia. His Lordship, having arrived at this place forced by circumstances, sixteen leagues from the one known as Fray Cristobal's, where said people are, has made all necessary arrangements for it, undergoing great hardships, for he has been reduced to eating maize roasted on the ear,<sup>1</sup> to the end that it may be possible to arrange what is needed for the royal service, with a view to the best dispositions for restoring to His Majesty this kingdom and portion of his crown. While [fol. 335v] he was engaged in these matters, with the military officers and the veteran soldiers, there came into His Lordship's hands a written paper signed with a signature that reads Friar Diego de Parraga. He notes from its contents that the other camp is suffering grave want, and that it intends to leave that territory, marching still farther away from the settled portion of the kingdom on its own, without any notice of the aforesaid from Field Commander Thome Dominguez de Mendoza, the person whom Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia left in his place. And should such case arise, and in addition to all the rest that may happen, I order that the original letter be placed with these writs and that the present secretary insert an exact authorized copy of the reply given by me at the end of this writ and certify it in public form and manner. His Lordship so provided and signed before me, the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war [rubric].

**Opposite Socorro, September 8, 1680. Letter of Otermin to Friar Diego de**

<sup>1</sup> Obviously Otermín considered having to eat grilled corn an exception, which would indicate that this food was not part of the the usual diet of the Spanish in New Mexico.

### fray Diego de Párraga]

[al margen izquierdo: Carta]/ Tanto de la carta repuesta de Su Señoría que su tenor es el que se sigue. Reverendo padre predicador/ fray Di[e]go de Parraga. Oy día de la natividad de Nuestra Señora reçivo la carta que/ Vuestra Paternidad me escribe de ese paraxe de Fray Cristobal (que me parese es la unica que/20 e tenido de Vuestra Paternidad en todo el tiempo de su gobierno) en que me ynsignua que ese real tie[ne]/ mil y quinientas almas y que por aberseles acavado el vastimento que s[a]-/caron y de estar mas tiempo se puede esperar una gran ruina por lo qua[l]/ o los probea yo o mande que prosigan el biaje hasta cerca del Passo donde d[e]/ alli puedan tener socorro. Y respondiendo a ella digo lo primero que el m[aestre]/25 de campo Thome Doming[u]es de Mendossa a cuió cargo y disposicion qued[ó]/ el gobierno de ese real por la ausençia que hizo el theniente general Alonso/ Garçia en venir a encontrarme y a berme a este real no me a escrito ni ynbiad[o]/a deçir nada en esta matheria ni en otra. Lo otro, dado casso que sea a[ssi],/ (como lo tengo por çierto) reçia cossa es que en un paraxe desierto com[o]/30 este y de tantas leguas de la villa se le pida vastimento equibalente para el su[sten]-/to de mas de mil y quinientas personas a un hombre que viene con mil [bocas]/ despues de aberse visto en los riesgos tan manifiestos de un sitio de los ene[mi]-/gos de tantos renquentros y choques con ellos y que por húltimo ubo de sa[lir]/ abriendo camino con las armas en la mano trayendo toda la jente de su/35 cargo a pie y descalsos sin vastimento alguno, no solo por no aber más, dad[o]/ casso que lo hubiera, por no aber en qué traer, fiado

### Parraga

[Left margin: Letter.]

Copy of the letter with His Lordship's reply with the following content: Reverend Father Preacher Friar Diego de Parraga: Today, the day of the Nativity of Our Lady,<sup>2</sup> I receive the letter which Your Reverence writes me from that place of Fray Cristobal (which, it seems to me, is the only one I have had from Your Reverence in the entire time of your government) in which you insinuate to me that that camp consists of fifteen hundred souls, and that because they have used up the provisions which they brought out, and that by staying there longer a great disaster could befall, I should either supply them, or I should order that they continue their march to the vicinity of El Paso, where they can receive aid. In reply to it, I state, first, that Field Commander Thomé Dominguez de Mendoza, in whose charge and under whose orders was placed the governance of that camp in the absence of Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia, who came to meet me at this camp, has neither written me nor sent any word to me about this matter or any other. And then, granting that the above may be true (as I am certain it is), it is preposterous in a deserted place such as this, so many leagues from the township, to request enough provisions to maintain more than fifteen hundred persons from a man who is coming with a thousand mouths to feed after having experienced such manifest dangers as a siege by the enemy, and a great many encounters and clashes with them, and who, finally, had to set forth by opening the way through force of arms, bringing all the people under his command on foot, shoeless, and without

<sup>2</sup> On September 8 the Nativity of the Virgin Mary is celebrated.

desde luego en la Prov[i]-/dençia Divina, como no nos a faltado su Divina Magestad, poniendonos/ [fol. 336r] mesa franca en las canpañas de elotes calavasas y otras semillas y quisa/ pasando todo esto mas por açercarme a dar socorro a donde a Vuestra Paternidad y a otros/ jugava hallarlos en semejante aprieto del que me bi, viendo que/ de otra ninguna parte podian tener socorro, que por mera nesidad y aprieto/5 en que me hallava. Pues con aber echo retiral al henemigo con tanto da-/ño suio bien pudiera quedarme en cassa siquiera aquel tiempo que pu-/diera hacer un poco de matalotaxe para mi biaje hasta La Ysleta que como/ digo arriva era la parte donde jusgué siempre por ynfalible estaria toda la gente/ hasta saver de çierto si era muerto el governador con toda la jente de la villa. Y que por húl-/10timo desde el pueblo de La Isleta para acá vengo (como dicen) con las tripas ar[r]astrando/ por alcanzar la jente deste real para que unidos y en un cuerpo trate de ber y/ discurrir la mejor forma que se pueda tomar en la conservaçion de nuestras vidas/ y en lo que fuere del mayor serviçio de Dios y del Rei. Y aora que estoï tan serca de con-/seguir el yntento que me a traïdo de juntarnos me sale Vuestra Paternidad con que dé horden/15 para que se vaian marchando la vuelta del Passo. Padre mio si Vuestra Paternidad se quiere yr solo/ aga lo que le pareçiere pero ese real no conviene al cerviçio de Dios ni de Su Magestad. Y si oy/ estan a pique de padeçer ruina por los vastimentos que se les va acabando/ digo que esa ruina acá desde luego la padecemos porque no tenemos vastimento/ ninguno mas que el de una poca de carne de obejas y vacas y aun de eso se/20 alla ese real mas probeïdo y mejor. Oy en este dia rebuelbe al Passo el maestro/ de campo Pedro de Leiva con

any provisions whatsoever, not only because there were no more, but even had there been, there were no means for carrying them. We trusted from the beginning in Divine Providence, and His Divine Majesty has not failed us, setting us an [fol. 336r] abundant table in the fields of corn cobs, pumpkins, and other seeds. But I passed by all this, more in order to better reach the place where I judged Your Reverence and the others would be, in straits similar to those in which I found myself, and to aid them, seeing that they could receive help from no other source, rather than out of my own mere need and haste. For, having forced the enemy to retreat with such great harm to them, I might well have remained where I was, at least for the time required to be able to collect a few stores for my journey to La Isleta, which, as I state above, was the place where I was always sure that all these people would be, until finding out for certain whether the governor and all the people of the township were dead. Finally, I have come here from the pueblo of La Isleta (straining every nerve, as they say) to reach the people of this camp, so that, united into one force, I may proceed to examine and discuss the best measure that can be taken to preserve our lives, and that will be most to the service of God and the King. And now that I am so near to accomplishing the purpose that has led me to unite the two forces, Your Reverence has the idea that I should give orders that they go marching back to El Paso. Good Father, if Your Reverence wishes to go alone, do what you wish, but it is not most fitting to the service of God or His Majesty for that army to do so. And if they are today on the verge of suffering devastation because their provisions are running out, I say that we are now suffering this

toda la jente que trujo y los relijiosos que trujo con/ apretadas ynstançias al reverendo padre visitador fray Francisco de Ayeta socorra nuestra/ estrema nesidad luego, que no dudo lo hara assi Su Paternidad Reverenda. Y en viendonos/ con ese socorro procuraremos hacer lo que mas convenga al serviçio de anbas ma- /25jestades y ynterin yre poco a poco {a poco} caminando a juntarme con es[se] real para/ que asi juntos estemos mas seguros de qualquiera ynbaçion de los yndios a-/paches pues estamos en medio de su tierra. Guarde Dios a Vuestra Paternidad muchos años. Es deste/ paraxe de enfrente del Socorro y septiembre 8 de 1680. Besa la mano de Vuestra Paternidad su servidor/ don Antonio de Otermin./30 Concuerta con la carta orijinal que el señor governador y capitan general remitio al padre/ predicador fray Diego de Parraga. Va çierto y verdadero este traslado de que doy fee/ y se allaron a su concordança el alcalde hordinario Juan Luzero de Godoy y el sar-/jento mayor Luis de Quintana que lo firmaron conmigo. Fecho en este paraje/ de enfrente del pueblo del Socorro en nuebe dias del mes de septiembre de mil y35 seisçientos y ochenta años./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra. / Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado],/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]./

**[Fray Cristóbal, 13 de septiembre de 1680. Proclamación]**

[fol. 336v] [al margen izquierdo: Auto]/ En este paraje y plasa de armas que llaman de Fray Cristobal en trese dias del m[es]/ de septiembre de mil seis sientos y ochenta años que dista de la villa de Santa Fee

devastation here, for we have no provisions at all, except a little mutton and beef, and that camp still is better and more plentifully supplied with those things. Field Commander Pedro de Leiva is returning to El Paso today with all the men and the religious whom he brought, with urgent requests to the Reverend Father Visitor, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, to relieve our extreme necessity immediately, and I do not doubt that His Reverence will do so. And once having received this aid, we will set to doing what is most fitting to the service of both Majesties. Meanwhile, I shall proceed slowly on my march to join that camp so that together we shall be safer from any attack of the Apache Indians, given that we are in the midst of their country. God keep Your Reverence many years. From this place opposite Socorro, September 8, 1680. Your servant, Don Antonio de Otermin, kisses Your Reverence's hand. This agrees with the original letter that the Lord governor and captain general sent Father Friar Diego de Parraga. This copy is accurate and true, to which I certify. The town magistrate, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and the Sergeant Major, Luis de Quintana, were witnesses to its copying, and they signed it with me. Done in this place opposite the pueblo of Socorro, on September 9, 1680. Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war [rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric].

**Fray Cristobal, September 13, 1680. Proclamation**

[fol. 336v] [Left margin: writ] In this place and encampment known as Fray Cristobal, on the 13th day of the month of September, 1680, more than sixty leagues distant from the township of Santa Fe, capital of these

[cave]-/sera destas provincias mas de sesenta leguas, don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitán general [des]-/tas provincias de la Nueva Mexico por Su Magestad dixo que por quanto por el alsamie[nto]/5 general convocacion y traicion que los yndios cristianos poblados de este reino an [echo]/ apostatando de la fee y faltando a la ovediencia de Su Magestad conjurados [de]-/vaxo de traicion mataron a muchos relixiosos saserdotes, sus ministros [pro]-/fanando los santos templos vasos sagrados cosas del culto divino matan[do]/ atosmente a muchos españoles muxeres y niños roviendo las asiendas de [los]/10 campos y saqueandoles las casas de sus moradas llegando a tanto su avilant[es y]/ varvaro arroxo que aviendo dado a un tiempo en las mas jurisdicciones p[ro]-/curando acavar con todo el reino unidos en maior numero de henemigo[s]/ con sobrada osadia se arroxaron a la villa de Santa Fee cavesera destas p[rovincias]/ a matar al governador y a las personas que asistian en dicha villa asi relixiosos c[omo]/ 15 seculares poniendo sitio con el maior jentio que pudieron de todas las nacio[nes]/ que conbocadas sitiaron la dicha villa y sus casas asta la plasa publica adonde [es]-/tava el jentio de dicha villa y sus contornos con los vesinos de las jurisd[icio]-/nes de Cañada y Serrillos. Y aviendo puesto serco los dichos yndios en muc[ha]/ cantidad de gandules; ubo muchos a cavallo con arcabuses lansas esp[adas]/20 y cueras que avian coxido en el despoxo de la jente que avian muer[to]/ dandonos a entender que ia no avia persona viva asi relixiosos como [es]-/pañoles muxeres y niños en todas las jurisdicciones del rio Avaxo provincia d[e]/ Moqui Suñi

provinces, Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of these provinces of New Mexico for His Majesty, stated that as a result of the general uprising, convocation and treason which the Christian Indian inhabitants of this kingdom have made, apostatizing from the faith and forsaking obedience to His Majesty, in a treasonable conspiracy, they killed many religious priests, their ministers, profaning the holy temples, sacred vessels, and objects of divine worship. And [they] atrociously killed many Spanish men, women and children, robbing the ranches in the country and sacking the houses in which they lived, reaching such barbaric insolence and audacity that it led them – having attacked most of the jurisdictions at the same time - - to attempt to destroy the whole kingdom. Great numbers of the enemy in unison, with overwhelming boldness, fell upon the township of Santa Fe, capital of these provinces, in order to kill the governor and the persons who were in the township and its houses, both religious and secular, mounting a siege with as many people as they could, from all the nations summoned, besieged said township and its houses as far as the public square where the people of the township and its environs were, together with the residents of the jurisdictions of Cañada and Cerrillos. The said Indians hemmed us in with a great many good-for-nothings. There were many on horseback with harquebuses, lances, swords, and leather jackets which they had obtained as spoils from the people they had killed, convincing us that there was now no one left alive, either religious, Spanish men, women, or children, in all the jurisdictions of Rio Abajo, the province of

Peñol de Acoma Thaos y Galisteo y que solo les faltava matar a [l]/ gobernador a los relixiosos y demas personas que asistian en su compañia en d[ichas]/25 casas reales a cuiuo efecto venian para acavar de concluir con todo. Y aunq[ue]/ a los mandones y cavesas se les requirio que se sosegasen y bolviesen a el estad[o]/ de antes profesando la ley de Dios y que diesen la ovediencia a Su Magestad que [todo]/ tenia remedio y se ajustaria con quietud; con maior desvergüensa y atrevi[miento]/ ynstando en su maldito yntento no quisieron venir en nada. Antes sí, [pro]-/30 siguiendo a el exercicio de las armas se arrojaron a pelear apoderandose [de]/ la yglecia de la villa y las casas poniendo fuego asi a el santo templo como a d[ichas]/ casas abrasandolo todo y peleando por termino de nueve dias que dur[ó]/ el sitio. Llegaron a poner fuego a las puertas de una hermita de Nuestra Señora que [está]/ en un torreon en las dichas casas reales donde viendo que no

Moqui,<sup>1</sup> Zuni, Peñol de Acoma,<sup>2</sup> Taos and Galisteo, and that the only thing left for them was to kill the governor, the religious and the other persons who were in his company in the said Governor's Palace, for which purpose they were coming to finish everything off. Although the chiefs and bosses were enjoined to desist and go back to their former state, professing the law of God and to give obedience to His Majesty, and were told that everything could be remedied and would be sorted out peacefully, they, with even more shamelessness and boldness, persisted in their evil intent, and refused to agree to anything. Instead, proceeding to the use of arms, they began to fight, capturing the church and the houses of the township, setting fire to both the holy temple and to the said houses, burning everything, and fighting for the period of nine days that the siege lasted. They even managed to set fire to the doors of a hermitage of Our Lady

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<sup>1</sup> The Moqui or Hopi are speakers of the Aztec-tanoan group. Both designations (moqui [mókwi ] and Hopi) are indigenous, but since the early twentieth century Hopi was the preferred usage because Moqui, pronounced without diphthongization by speakers outside of the language community, sounded offensive ( [mo : ki] means 'He's dead') ( Brew 1979:551). The Hopi occupy several pueblos on mesas in northeastern Arizona, numbered 1st, 2nd and 3rd Mesa. In the seventeenth century the towns were Oraibi, Shongopovi (also spelled Shongopavi ) Mishongnovi, Walpi, Awatovi and Sichomovi or Sichimovi (National Geographic map "The Southwest" November 1982). The first mission, San Bernardino, was established in Awátobi by Friar Francisco de Porras in 1629. Later missions San Bartolomé and San Francisco were founded in Shongopovi and in Oraibi, respectively. However, the Hopi never accepted evangelization, except the pueblors of Awátobi who agreed to the visit by Friar Juan Garaycoechea in 1700. But that same year, the Hopi of neighboring towns reacted violently and destroyed Awátobi, slaughtering men and abducting women and children, which were divided among the other pueblos (The Catholic Encyclopedia: [www.newadvent.org/cathen/07468a.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07468a.htm)).

<sup>2</sup> A rock formation 109 meters in height where there is a pueblo of western Keresan speakers. There is also the church of San Esteban del Rey (named after St. Stephen, King of Hungary, whose feast is celebrated on September 2). The colonial name was therefore San Esteban de Acoma (Garcia -Mason 1979:466). During Oñate's conquest in 1598 there was an ambush in which Juan de Zaldivar, nephew Juan de Oñate, was attacked and killed along with ten other Spaniards and two non-Spanish auxiliaries. Four Spaniards saved their lives by jumping from the top of the rock and falling into the sand, which softened the blow. The revenge of the Spanish came at the hands of the expedition led by Vicente de Zaldivar, brother of Juan. Hundreds of Indians were killed in the attack and the rest of the survivors were captured and taken to trial. Males over 25 were sentenced by Oñate to twenty years of servitude and the amputation of one foot (Silverberg 1970:52-57, Knaut 1995: 36-46).



nos podian c[om]-/35vair se aloxaron en el rio y casas quitando yn totum el agua que faltó p[or]/ tiempo de dos dias y una noche. Conque obligados de la nesesidad de v[er]-/nos pereser a manos de tanto enemigo rompiendo a morir o vivir sal[i]/ em persona con los mas españoles y los criados de vesinos a darles guerra/ en dos ocaciones con toda resolucion desaloxandolos y matando a much[a]/ [fol. 337r] cantidad de dichos enemigos que al pareser pasaron de tresientos con los que/se fortalecieron en algunas casas que murieron quemados. En cuios dos choques de campaña se les quitó onse armas de fuego, mas de ochenta vestias al-gunas lansas y cueras y los peltrechos que tenian en su real. Conque de qua-5renta y siete yndios que fueron rendidos se supo en sus declaraciones que to-dos los relixiosos [testado: y españoles] que adminystravan en los pueblos de los/ emex sia sandia y ysleta con todos los españoles y sus familias de las jurisdiciones del rio Avaxo por aver tenido noticia del dicho alsamiento y de/ las atosidades que avian executado dichos alsados, se avian juntado en/ 10 un cuerpo para defenderse del enemigo. Y jusingando estarian en el mesmo con-flicto que los que se allaron en la dicha villa y por la ymposibilidad de tanto/enemigo que se allavan en los caminos y pueblos de la una a la otra parte y estar/ tan faltos de vestias y vastimento y en manifiesto peligro los unos y los otros/ y que en la villa no nos podiamos mantener determiné com pareser de todo[s]/ 15 salir marchando con mucha cantidad de muxeres españolas y niños y jente de servicio a pie y con muchos hombres eridos a ver si podía conseguir yncorporarme con el troso de jente que se desia estava en la casa del maestre de campo/ Juan Domingues de Mendosa o en La

which is in a fortified tower of the said Governor's Palace, where, seeing that they could not overcome us, they occupied the river and the houses, cutting off our water entirely for a period of two days and a night. Whereupon, forced by seeing that we must necessarily perish at the hands of so many enemies, it being a matter of life or death, I came out in person with most of the Spanish men and the servants of the inhabitants to give them battle on two occasions, with all resolution, dislodging them and killing a large [fol. 337r] number of the said enemies. [We killed] apparently more than three hundred, including those who had secured themselves in some houses and were burned to death. In the two clashes we took eleven firearms from them, more than eighty animals, some lances and leather jackets, and the armaments that they had in their camp. From the declarations of the forty-seven Indians who surrendered it was then learned that, because of the news of the said rebellion and of the atrocities which the said rebels had committed, all the religious and Spaniards who exercised administration in the pueblos of Jemez, Zia, Sandia, and Isleta, together with all the Spaniards and their families of the jurisdictions of Rio Abajo, had joined together to defend themselves from the enemy. And judging that they would be in the same conflict as those who were in the said township, and because of the impossibility of escaping so many enemies along the roads and in the pueblos in both areas, and being so short of animals and supplies, and of both parties being in manifest danger, and since we could not sustain ourselves in the township, I determined – in accordance with the opinion of all – to march out with a large number of Spanish women and children

Ysleta. Y aviendo caminado con muchos ríes-/gos y travaxo asta llegar a dichos sitios allé que por la mesma causa de aver/20 corrido generales voses del enemigo en que publicó aver muerto al governador y capitan/ general y a todos los relixiosos y personas que le asistian en las dichas casas reales avi-/an salido marchando a orden del maestre de campo Alonso Garsia teniente general./ Y aunque el disignio y marcha que se yso desde la villa fue por las rasones expre-/sadas y que llegando a juntarnos en un cuerpo se confiriase y determinase lo/25 mas conveniente para dar aviso a Su Magestad en su Virrey y real acuerdo procuran-/do el maior seguro y defensa para no dexar despoblado el reino no se pudo/ executar por estar divididos unos de otros. Y aviendo despachado a el alcance de/ los españoles que marchavan con el teniente general Alonso Garsia los alcanzaron en/ este paraxe donde ysieron alto [testado: por verse destroncados] y venir marchando a/30 pie como nosotros. Y aviendo proseguido asta alcanzarlos que fue el dia trese/ del corriente y allarnos como nos allamos juntos para que mas bien se vea y deter-/mine lo que mas convenga al servicio de Dios y de Su Magestad como a sus basallos/ leales venemeritos de toda experiencia y que tan a consta de su sangre y hasi-/endas ellos y sus antepasados conquistadores y pobladores an sustentado a/35 Dios su yglecia y a Su Magestad este reino asistiendo los mui reverendos padres difinidores/ y guardian de la villa y demas relixiosos reconoscan vean y pratiquen sobre la/ materia contenida en este auto lo que se deve aser en el servicio de Dios/ y del Rei atendiendo a la fuersa con que se

and servants, on foot, with many wounded men, to see if I could succeed in joining the group of people who were said to be in the house of Field Commander Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, or in La Isleta. And after marching with great danger and effort until reaching said places, I found that, for the same reason of the general reports from the enemy in which they announced that the governor and captain general and all the religious and persons who were with him in said Governor's Palace were dead, they had marched out at the orders of Field Commander Alonso Garcia, lieutenant general. And although the plan and march from the said township were made for the stated reasons, and so that, in joining ourselves together in one force, we might confer and determine what was best, so as to report to His Majesty through his viceroy and royal tribunal – providing for the greatest safety and defense so as not to leave the kingdom depopulated – [the plan] could not be carried out, because the two groups were separated from each other. And having dispatched messengers to overtake the Spaniards who were marching with Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia, they reached them in this place, where they had halted, realizing they were cut off from the rest and marching on foot like us. And we marched until we overtook them, which was on the thirteenth of the current month. And being together, as we are, in order better to see and determine what is most fitting to the service of God and of His Majesty as well as to his loyal and praiseworthy vassals of great experience, and who, along with their ancestors the conquistadors and settlers,<sup>3</sup> at such great

<sup>3</sup> The New Mexicans of 1680 were well aware of their roots and background. They also extolled what their ancestors had accomplished in that land.

alla oy este exersito y a las de-/mas causas que se allaren convenientes para que con pareser de todos por lo/ [fol. 337v] [al margen superior izquierdo: Au[to]]/ arduo del caso y ser de tanta ymportancia y que Su Magestad con tan ca[toli]-/co pecho a sustentado de mas de ochenta años a esta parte consum[iendo]/ tanta suma de sus reales averes por explaiar la fee de Dios Nuestro Señor. Y [avien]-/do visto con la madures que se deve lo que requiere la propuesta se [den]/5 las rasones para su determinacion en lo mas asertado para que se pr[even]-/gan los medios mas eficases y este auto se aga notorio en altas [e yn]-/telexibles voses en esta plasa de armas donde a son de caxa se junten/ los capitulares del Cavildo los cavos de guerra autuales y reformados y tod[as]/ las demas personas nobles y venemeritas para que con sus determinac[iones]/10 y pareseres como tan grandes servidores de Su Magestad conferida la m[a]-/teria se determine lo que convenga siguiendose al pie lo que se re[sol]-/viere y luego sin dilacion ninguna lo aga notorio el secretario de governacion [y guerra]./ Asi lo provei mandé y firmé ante el dicho secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/15 Por mandado del señor governador y capitan general/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado] Secretario de governacion y guerra./

cost in blood and property, have upheld God and His Church, and His Majesty in this kingdom, together with the very reverend fathers definator and the guardian of the township, and the other religious, they shall inquire into, examine, and talk about that which should be done in the service of God and the King regarding the matter with which this writ is concerned. [They shall consider] the forces which this army now has, and the other matters which they may deem pertinent, so that, with the judgment of everyone [fol. 337v] concerned, given the arduous nature and the great importance of the case, and the fact that His Majesty, with such Catholic zeal, has sustained this area for more than eighty years,<sup>4</sup> consuming a large amount of his royal revenues in order to extend the faith of God, our Lord. And having considered with due prudence what the matter proposed may require, they shall give reasons in order to decide on what is best, so that the most effective measures may be readied. This writ shall be proclaimed publicly in a clear and intelligible voice in this encampment, where, at the sound of the drum, the members of the council, the active and inactive military officers, and all the other noble and meritorious persons shall assemble, so that, in the light of their decisions and opinions, as such excellent servants of His Majesty, after the matter is conferred upon, what should be done may be determined. The decision made will follow at the end of this document and immediately and without any delay the the secretary of governance and war shall proclaim it. I so provided, ordered and signed before the said Secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. By order of

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<sup>4</sup> Since the arrival of Juan de Oñate and his colonists in 1598.

the Lord governor and captain general.  
Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of  
governance and war.

**[Fray Cristóbal, 14 de septiembre de  
1680. Publicación de Francisco  
Xavier]**

Yo el maestro de campo Francisco  
Xavier secretario de la gobernacion y  
guerra destas prov[inçias]/ por  
nonvramiento del señor don Antonio de  
Otermin Governador y capitan general  
des[ta]/ provinçias por Su Magestad de  
mandato de Su Señoria hise publicar el  
auto aq[ui]/20 contenido en la plasa de  
armas deste dicho paraxe por bos de  
Sevast[ian]/ de la Chruz pregonero de  
que doy fee y lo firmé con dos testig[os]/  
que lo fueron el alcalde hordinario Juan  
Luzero de Godoy y el sarjen[to]/ mayor  
Luis de Quintana. Fecho en catorse de  
septiembre de mil seisçien-/tos y ochenta  
años./25 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]  
Secretario de governacion y guerra./  
Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Luis  
de Q[uintana] [rubricado]/

**Fray Cristobal, September 14, 1680.  
Proclamation of Francisco Xavier**

[fol. 338r] I, Field Commander Francisco  
Xavier, the secretary of governance and war  
of these provinces by appointment of Don  
Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain  
general of these provinces for His Majesty,  
by order of His Lordship, make public the  
writ contained therein in the encampment of  
this said place, by the voice of Sebastian de la  
Cruz, crier,<sup>1</sup> to which I certify. I signed it  
with two witnesses, who were Town  
Magistrate Juan Luzero de Godoy, and  
Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana. Done on  
September 14, 1680. Francisco Xavier, the  
secretary of governance and war [rubric],  
Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubric], Luis de  
Quintana [rubric].

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<sup>1</sup> The work of the town crier has endured to this day in small pueblos, although the electronic media such as the radio have greatly contributed to its demise in many places. However, edicts and resolutions of town councils are still proclaimed, but now with loudspeakers at various locations throughout Spain and the Hispanic world. Traditionally not considered sufficiently dignified work, because, according to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*: “Es oficio mui vil y baxo” (undignified and lowly).

**[Fray Cristóbal, 14 de septiembre de 1680. Opiniones]**

[fol. 338r] Los reverendos padres predicadores definidores ministros guardianes que cons-/tarán de sus firmas abiendo oído y entendido el bando publicado/por Su Señoría dijeron que como leales vasallos de Su Magestad y sus ministros en estas partes para la administración de los Santos Sacramentos y enseñanza de la santa fe así a españoles como a naturales están dispuestos sin repugnancia ninguna/ a seguir la persona de Su Señoría y el real estandarte en cualquier resolución o {de} determinación que por parte de Su Señoría y de todavía/ la demas personas se ajustare y esto dieron por su respuesta/10 y lo firmaron ante mí, el presente secretario./ Fray Nicolas Hurtado definidor [rubricado]/ Fray Thomas de Tobalina definidor [rubricado]/ Fray Francisco Gomez de la Cadena [rubricado]/ Fray Francisco Muñoz definidor subrogado [rubricado]/ 15 Fray Antonio de Sierra [rubricado]/ Fray Andres Duran [rubricado]/ Fray Joan de Zavaleta [rubricado]/ Fray Joseph de Bonillo [rubricado]/ Ante mí, Francisco Xavier [rubricado] Secretario de gobernacion y guerra./20 Los maestros de campo Francisco Gomez Robledo, Thome Dominguez de Mendoza/ Juan Dominguez de Mendosa Diego de Trujillo y el theniente general Alonso Garcia abiendo visto la propuesta de Su Señoría en su auto publicado, dijeron/ que

**Fray Cristobal, September 14, 1680. Opinions**

The reverend father preachers, definitors, and minister guardians who are recorded by their signatures, having heard and understood the proclamation published by His Lordship, said that, as loyal vassals of His Majesty and his ministers in these parts for the administration of the holy sacraments and the teaching of the holy faith to Spaniards and natives alike, they are willing, without any opposition, to follow the person of His Lordship and the royal standard in any resolution or determination that may be reached on the part of His Lordship and all the other persons. And they gave this as their response and signed it before me, the present secretary. Friar Nicolas Hurtado, Definitor [rubric], Friar Tomas de Tobalina, Definitor [rubric], Friar Francisco Gomez de la Cadena [rubric], Friar Francisco Muñoz, Definitor subrogate [rubric], Friar Antonio de Sierra [rubric], Friar Andres Duran [rubric], Friar Juan de Zavaleta [rubric], Friar Joseph de Bonillo [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Field Commanders Francisco Gomez Robledo, Thome Dominguez de Mendoza, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, and Diego de Trujillo<sup>1</sup> and Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia, having seen His Lordship's proposal in his published writ, said that, as vassals of His Majesty who have served him so faithfully at their own expense since

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<sup>1</sup> Born in Mexico City in 1613, his wife was Catalina Vásquez and his son Francisco de Trujillo. He lived four leagues from Sandia Pueblo and the name of his ranch was "Paraje de las Huertas". He died at Casas Grandes in 1862 (Chávez 1992:107-108) and <http://www.geni.com/people/Diego-de-Trujillo/600000001260009452>

como vasallos de Su Magestad y que tanto le an servido a su costa y mension/ desde que tienen uso de raçon sacrificando sus vidas en defensa de la santa/25 fee y de la Real Corona de Su Magestad a su costa y mençion sin tirar gaxe ni sueldo/ de Su Magestad ni mas del selo de vasallos de Su Magestad y que perderan las vidas/ en defensa de la santa fee y de la causa de Su Magestad que Dios guarde de cuias/ obligaciones mirando al casso susedido en la voraçidad traición alsamiento/ y alevosia de los yndios apostatas cristianos que con conjuraçion/30 y pagto diabolico an destruido los templos profanando los vasos sagra-/dos y cosas del culto divino de que an echo trofeo hasta llegar a pe-/gar fuego a los templos y ymajenes robando las haçiendas asi de gana-/dos como bienes muebles de que se an apoderado demoliendo otras casas/ y cortas viviendas donde continuamente asistiamos con las armas en/35 las manos por ser todas fronteras del henemigo ynfiel. Y esto/ [fol. 338v] Pasa la raçon a la foxa de enfrente/ [resto de la página en blanco] [fol. 339r] con la rendida obediencia a qualquier horden de Vuestra Señoria o de sus/ ofiçiales de guerra y alcaldes maiores para las campañas/ escoltas y correderias que tan continuas an sido en estas par-/tes sin atender a ynposibilidades de nuestra pobreza ni rigores/5 de los tiempos y viendo oy el caso presente sin exenplar tan/ arduo y de tantas dificultades sin recurso de remedio/ sin el seguro amparo de Su Magestad por las causas dichas y/ ver el reino sin ygleçias sin las casas de nuestras moradas sin/ sustento ni modo para ello, el henemigo retirado a lo agrio/10 y penoso de las çierrias donde a ellos le sirve de fortalessa y a/ nosotros de ynposible para la restauraçion. Y aunque en otros pa-/reseres que se dieron ante el theniente general

reaching the age of reason, sacrificing their lives in defense of the holy faith and His Majesty's Royal Crown, at their own expense, without drawing pay or salary from His Majesty or anything except the distinction of being His Majesty's vassals, they would lose their lives in defense of the holy faith and the cause of His Majesty, may God keep him. In the light of these obligations, considering what has happened in the voraciousness, treason, uprising, and complicity of the apostate Christian Indians, who, with diabolical conspiracy and collusion, have destroyed churches, profaning the holy vessels and objects of divine worship, of which they have made trophies, going so far as to set fire to the churches and images, robbing the ranches of both cattle and goods, which they have seized, demolishing other houses and scattered dwellings, where we were present with weapons always in our hands, because all of them were on the frontiers of the enemy infidel. And all this [fol. 338v] with [fol. 339r] obedience to whatever order might be sent by Your Lordship or your military officers and royal magistrates for the campaigns, escorts and expeditions, which have been so continuous in these parts, without concern for the impossibilities of our poverty, or of the rigors of the weather. And today, we see the current situation, arduous without equal and offering so many difficulties, without recourse or remedy, and without the secure protection of His Majesty, for aforesaid reasons, and we see the kingdom without churches, without our homes, and lacking sustenance or a way to get it, with the enemy withdrawn to the harsh and rugged areas of the mountains, where for them it is a fortress and for us as an obstacle to restoration. And we say that in other opinions which were given before the

Alonso Garcia se/ dixo por algunos suxetos que anparados y dispuestas tan-/tas personas españolas y niños que de nuestras familias an mar-/15chado a pie hasta este paraxe rebaldando la propuesta/ y lo mas que consta de dichos pareseres que fueron por la reputa-/çion y creditos de leales vasallos y ver las generales voses que divulgadas/ dieron notiçias de aber muerto la persona de Vuestra Señoria y los demas mora-/dores que le asistian y aber el henemigo destruido la mediania des-/20de Sandia hasta la villa y por saber lo çierto para que se diese aviso/ a Su Magestad de caso tan grave como la muerte de Vuestra Señoria y pérdida de un reino./ Y abiendo sido servido la Magestad Divina de que Vuestra Señoria y los demas salie-/sen con vida por milagro de la fuersa de tanto henemigo y llegado/ a este paraxe destrosado rovado y pereçiendo de hambre como/25 nosotros y que estamos a ojos de Vuestra Señoria con las desdichas que/ se ven aflixidos de la hambre desnudes y clamores de tan-/tas mujeres y niños que pereseran sin remedio o de anbre o/ a manos del henemigo en esta campaña desierta y tan pisada/ de los henemigos ynfieles que autualmente estan trillando/30 los caminos altos y veredas. En cuia atencion y sin faltar/ a la obediencia y prontitud de vasallos de Su Magestad desimos/ [fol. 339v] que Vuestra Señoria mudando de territorio para el seguro de las familias/ y todo lo demas dé quenta a Su Excelencia y Su Altessa para que nos socorra Su/ Magestad con lo nesario para bolver a nueba conquista que se[ra]/ oy mas grave con la ladines y abilantes de tanto enemigo tray-/5dores y ajiles asi de a cavallo como en las armas de fuego lansas/ y otras que an usado en este alsamiento con que an executad[o]/ los mayores daños y alevosias, que Su Magestad catholica

lieutenant general, Alonso Garcia. Some said that with so many persons protected and so many Spaniards and children of our families here who have marched on foot to this place, [and] accepted the proposal and the rest recorded in the said opinions, which were given out of reputation and credit as loyal vassals, and in view of the generalized rumors circulating to the effect that Your Lordship and the other inhabitants with you were dead, and that the enemy had destroyed everything from Sandia to the township, and in order to ascertain the truth in order to report to His Majesty a case as serious as that of Your Lordship's death and the loss of a kingdom. The Divine Majesty was pleased that Your Lordship and the rest should miraculously escape with your lives from the power of so many enemies, and arrived at this place exhausted, robbed and perishing of hunger like ourselves. And we are in the view of Your Lordship, who sees us with the tribulations that afflict us and the hunger, the nakedness and the clamors of the many women and children who would inevitably perish either of hunger or at the hand of the enemy in this country, which is so deserted and infested by the infidel enemy who is currently infesting the highways and trails. With this in mind, and without failing in obedience and readiness as vassals of His Majesty, we say [fol. 339v] that Your Lordship, by changing location for the safety of the families and all the rest, shall give an account to His Excellency and His Highness, so that His Majesty may come to our aid with what is necessary for us to return for a new conquest, which will now be serious because of the cunning and insolence of so many treasonous enemies, treacherous and skilful alike on horseback and with firearms, lances and other

condo-/lido de nuestros travaxos y miserias lo hara pues oy no es/ posible otra cossa. Y de la detencion y no salir a parte segura/10 se podra orijinar la destruision de la persona de Vuestra Señoria y los d[e]-/mas vasallos que estamos congregados. Y esto dieron por sus repu[es]-/tas y lo firmaron ante mí, de que doy fee./ Françisco Gomez Robledo [rubricado]/ Thome Doming[u]ez de Mendoza [rubricado]/15 Juan Doming[u]es de Mendoza [rubricado]/ Diego de Truxillo [rubricado]/ Pedro Duran y Chabez [rubricado]/ Diego del Castillo [rubricado]/ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/20 Joseph Telles Jiron [rubricado]/ Ante mí, Francisco Xavier [rubricado] Secretario de governacion y guerra./ Todas las demas personas sarjentos mayores capitanes/ reformados y soldados dijeron que se conformaban/ [fol. 340r] con los pareseres que tienen dado y consultado con los maestros de/ campo firmados en estos autos por ser tan açertados y del serviçio de Su/ Magestad y sus propuestas publicas y notorias y que no se puede/ otra cossa y lo firmaron todos los que supieron./5 Sebastian de Herrera [rubricado]/ Cristobal Enriques [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/ Diego Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Diego Domingues de Mendoza [rubricado]/10 Bartolome Romero de Pedrasa [rubricado]/ Nicolas Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Juan Severino Rodriguez de Zuballeta [rubricado]/ Nicolas Luzero [rubricado]/

weapons which they have used in this uprising, with which they have inflicted the greatest harm and treachery. His Catholic Majesty, moved to pity by our toils and miseries, will do so, for now nothing else is possible. And delaying and not leaving for a safe place can give rise to the destruction of Your Lordship's person and the rest of your vassals who are here assembled. And they gave this for their replies and signed it before me, to which I certify. Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubric], Thome Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric], Juan Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric], Diego de Trujillo [rubric], Pedro Duran y Chavez [rubric], Diego del Castillo<sup>2</sup> [rubric], Alonso Garcia [rubric], Joseph Tellez Jiron [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war [rubric]. All the other persons, sergeants major, retired captains and soldiers, said that they agreed [fol. 340r] with the opinions which the field commanders have given and discussed and signed in these writs, because they are so correct and so very fitting to His Majesty's service. And their statements are well and publicly known to be true, and because nothing else can be done. All those who were able signed it. Sebastian de Herrera [rubric], Cristobal Enriquez [rubric], Luis de Quintana [rubric], Diego Lucero de Godoy<sup>3</sup> [rubric], Bartolome Romero de Pedraza [rubric], Nicolas Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Julio Severino Rodriguez de Zuballeta [rubric],

<sup>2</sup> The full name of this sergeant was Diego Lopez del Castillo, and he was born in Seville. A resident of New Mexico for some 46 years, in 1681 he claimed to be 96 years old. He was remarried to his first cousin Maria Griego, alias Maria de la Cruz Aleman, the daughter of Juan Griego the younger (Chávez 1992:55).

<sup>3</sup> Resident of Taos, he was a widower and was in the escort of the wagons that Leyva and Ayeta drove from Mexico City. He declared that he lost 32 people in the attack, including sibilings, children and servants (Chávez 1992:60).



Blas Griego [rubricado]/ 15 Antonio de Ayala [rubricado]/ Lazaro de Mizquia [rubricado]/ Francisco Mateo Lopes de Godoy [rubricado]/ Ambrosio Sais [rubricado]/ Domingo Lopes de Ocanto [rubricado]/ 20 Juan de Madrid [rubricado]/ Alonso de M[or]aga [rubricado]/ Juan del Rio [rubricado]/ Francisco de Madrid [rubricado]/ Roque de Madrid [rubricado]/25 Diego Lopes Sanbrano [rubricado]/ Bernave Marques [rubricado]/ Phelipe Romero [rubricado]/ Cristobal de Belasco [rubricado]/ Domingo Martin [rubricado]/ 30 El Ayudante/ Sebastian Gonsales/ dise que se arrima/ en todo al pareser/ del señor Cavildo y lo firmó./35 Sebastian Gonzales [rubricado]/

Nicolas Lucero<sup>4</sup> [rubric], Blas Griego [rubric], Antonio de Ayala [rubric], Lazaro de Mizquia Francisco Mateo Lopez de Godoy [rubric], Ambrosio Sais [rubric] Domingo Lopes de Ocanto<sup>5</sup> [rubric] Juan de Madrid<sup>6</sup> [rubric], Alonso de Moraga<sup>7</sup> [rubric], Juan del Rio<sup>8</sup> [rubric] Francisco de Madrid<sup>9</sup> [rubric], Roque de Madrid<sup>10</sup> [rubric], Juan del Rio [rubric], Bernabe Marquez [rubric], Felipe Romero [rubric], Diego Lopez Sambrano<sup>11</sup> [rubric], Cristobal de Velasco<sup>12</sup> [rubric], Domingo Martin<sup>13</sup> [rubric]. The adjutant, Sebastian Gonzalez,<sup>14</sup> says that he agrees fully with the opinion of the honorable council, and he signed it. Sebastian Gonzalez [rubric]. I, Captain Francisco Xavier, say that I

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<sup>4</sup> Like his ensign namesake, his full name was also Nicholas Luzero de Godoy, although the signatures and rubrics of both show that they were different people. Chávez assumes him to be the son of Juan Lucero de Godoy and Juana de Carvajal (Chávez 1992:61).

<sup>5</sup> He was married to Juana Mondragon and had six children. In 1661 he complained that Governor Mendizabal had taken from him the encomiendas of Jemez and Nambé, inherited from his father, the conquistador Juan López de Ocanto. We know that in 1680 he was 42 years old and was a Sergeant Major but died in 1682 in an expedition to New Mexico (Chávez 1992:57).

<sup>6</sup> He was a native of New Mexico and was 40. He was married first to Micaela Martin, then to Maria Mondragon and finally Ana Holguin. After the revolt he and his family stayed to live in Guadalupe del Paso.

<sup>7</sup> This captain must have died in 1681, since his eldest son, Antonio Moraga mustered that year alone with his mother and siblings. The home of this family was still standing in Cañada after the reconquest (Chávez 1992:79).

<sup>8</sup> This New Mexican was in his thirties at the time and his wife was Ana de Moraga. He and his family remained in Guadalupe del Paso instead of returning to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:92).

<sup>9</sup> Born in New Mexico, he was 41 years old; married and had four children (Chávez 1992:66).

<sup>10</sup> New Mexican, 36, he was married to Juana de Arvid and had two sons. He participated in numerous military campaigns and returned with the reconquest of Vargas (Chávez 1992:66).

<sup>11</sup> Born in Santa Fe, he was 42 years old and was married to Maria Suazo. Along with Francisco Xavier and Luis Quintana, he was part of the trio vetoed by indigenous people in discussions about the return of the Spaniards with Governor Vargas (Chávez 1992:58).

<sup>12</sup> Born in Mexico City, came to New Mexico in 1677, at age 25, sentenced to six years of hard service. He was married to Josefa de Carvajal. In 1693 he was back in Mexico City, recruiting soldiers for the New Mexican forces of Governor Vargas (Chávez 1992:309).

<sup>13</sup> His full name was Domingo Martín Serrano and was 31 years old at the time. He returned to New Mexico with his family in 1693, settling in Santa Cruz. His wife was Josefa de Herrera, with whom he had four children: Diego, Blas, Matias and Maria (Chávez 1992:73).

<sup>14</sup> Married with four children, his house was in the Cañada district. He returned to New Mexico with the reconquest (Chávez 1992:40).

Yo el capitan Francisco Xavier digo que en todo y por todo me/ arrimo a el pareser del señor Cavildo y lo firmé./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Ante mí./ 40 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 340v] El sarjento mayor don Fernando Duran y Chaves dixo que encontrand[o]/ los carros de Su Magestad y asegurando las familias asi del seguro de/ las personas como de vastimentos y estando socorridos los sol-/dados en manera que se pueda se vuelba luego sin dilacion/5 a este reino y se reconosca a los yndios y se vea el estado de todo/ y conforme a eso se obre en servicio de Dios y de Su Magestad. Y lo firm[ó]/ Fernando Duran y Chaves [rubricado]/ Ante mí./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/10 Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [resto de la página en blanco]/

**[Fray Cristóbal, 14 de septiembre de 1680. Parecer del Cabildo]**

[fol. 341r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Pareser del Cavildo]/ Señor governador y capitan general/ El Cavildo justíçia y regimiento de la villa de Santa Fee cabese-/ra de este reyno y provinçias aviendo visto el auto de/ [al margen izquierdo: [\*C]on los autos]/ Vuestra Señoria publicado en esta plaza de armas en el/5 paraje de Fray Christoval disse: que como es/ público y notorio y consta a Vuestra Señoria a vista de/ ojos a muchos dias que los moradores de este/ reyno y los capitulares de este cavildo con rendi-/da obediencia an estado de dia y noche con las/10 armas en las manos unos asistiendo a la/ persona de Vuestra Señoria y a el real estandarte en el sitio que/ tubo peleando y destrosando al enemigo i [testado: o]/otros en la defensa de sus vidas y familias ien-

agree fully and in everything with the opinion of the honorable council, and I signed it. Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier, [rubric] The secretary of governance and war. Sergeant Major Don Fernando Duran y Chavez said that, upon meeting His Majesty's wagons and securing the families both as regards their personal safety and as regards provisions, and the soldiers being aided as much as possible, they should return to this kingdom without delay and make reconnaissance on the Indians and view the state of everything; and in accordance with this we must work in the service of God and His Majesty., and he signed it Fernando Duran y Chavez [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**Opinion of the Municipal Council. [Fray Cristobal, September 14, 1680.]**

[fol. 341r] [Upper right margin: Opinion of the council]  
Lord governor and captain general: The Council, Justice and Government of the township of Santa Fe of this kingdom and provinces, having seen the writ of [Left margin: With the writs] Your Lordship, in this encampment in the place of Fray Cristobal, say: As is publicly and widely known, and as Your Lordship can plainly see, for many days now the residents of this kingdom and members of this council, with dedicated obedience, have been with their weapons in their hands day and night, some assisting the person of Your Lordship and the royal standard in the siege which you had, fighting against and crushing the enemy, and [deleted: or] others in defense of their lives and families, all striving

/do todos a un fin de defender este pedaso de/ 15 Corona de Su Magestad: mirando ante todas cosas/ el que no se acabase la ley evangelica. Pero/ la sisaña del demonio sembrada en los natu-/rales de estas provinçias: los obligó al alsamiento general/ que cometieron del qual milagrosamente quedaron/20 libras las personas que oy se allan en este exercito/ con mucha pérdida de los que an falleçido en la/ guerra. I todos nosotros desnudos muertos de/ [fol. 341v] hambre robadas nuestras haziendas quemad[as]/ y demolidas nuestras viviendas sin bestia[s]/ para la defensa del reyno, que es el principa[l]/ nervio de la guerra, pues a los mas oblig[a]/5 traer sus mujeres i hijos marchando a p[ie]/ y de todo queda apoderado el enemigo avien[dosse]/ retirado con todos sus robos a las cumbres y pe-/ñascos de lo mas agrio de las sierras cuias [ra]-/zones obligan i desbanessen el zelo [testado: lo] que co[mo]/10 leales vasallos de Su Magestad tenemos para defe[n]-/der esta iglesia y reyno. Y asi mirando las r[e]-/feridas y otras muchas i que oy se alla este exe[r]-/cito sin el corto mantenimiento de un poco d[e]/ mais pues donde oy ay mas de de dos mil i quin[ien]-/15tas almas entre ellas poco mas de cien soldad[os]/ i todo lo demas de mugeres i niños no se allarán [ve]-/inte fanegas de mays i el mas serca bastimento en/ poder del enemigo mas de quarenta leguas des[te]/ paraje; pues le a obligado a Vuestra Señoria el despachar trop[as]/20 de hombres y avissos a la juridision de los

toward the goal of defending this portion of His Majesty's Crown: aiming above all else to keep the law of the Gospel from being extinguished. But the devil's tares sown among the natives of these provinces forced them into the general rebellion which they perpetrated, from which the persons who are today in this army miraculously escaped, with great losses of those who have perished in the war. And all of us are naked, dying of [fol. 341v] hunger, with our ranches pillaged, our homes demolished, without animals for the defense of the kingdom, which is the basic cause of the war, since most have been obliged to bring their women and children along marching on foot. And the enemy has taken control of everything, having withdrawn with all his spoils to the heights and rugged places of the most hostile mountains, which limits and weakens the zeal we have as loyal vassals of His Majesty, for defending this Church and kingdom. And thus, considering these reasons and many others, and given that this army today finds itself without even a small supply of a bit of corn, since here, where there are more than two thousand five hundred souls, among them a little more than a hundred soldiers, with the rest being women and children, there are not twenty *fanegas*<sup>1</sup> of corn to be found, and the nearest supply is under the enemy's control, more than forty leagues from this place. Thus Your Lordship has been compelled to send troops and messages to the jurisdiction of the Manso Indians<sup>2</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Measure of capacity now largely displaced by the metric system and currently the equivalent of about 55 liters. From Arabic "faniqa" 'sack'.

<sup>2</sup> Also known as Gorretas, they inhabited the area of El Paso. In fact, the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe del Paso was established in 1659 to minister to the Mansos. Through their partnership with Apaches, especially the Mescalero Apaches, the Mansos ended up merging with them and lost their ethnic identity

in[dios]/ mansos a buscar bastimentos para el socorro de[s]-/te exercito en cuia concideracion sin enb[ar]-/go de las razones expresadas i sin que se despue-/ble el reyno i por estar en una canpaña que [es]/25 de enemigos infieles apaches fuera de todo lo po[bla]-/do del reyno Vuestra Señoria se sirva de mejorar de puesto. I [ase]-/gurando el enbaraso de las familias de mug[e]-/res i niños que se ban muriendo por esos camp[os]/ se dé quenta a Su Magestad en su Vir[r]ey i real acuer[do]/ 30 para que con su christiano zelo nos dé socorr[o]/ [fol. 342r] y fuersas necessarias para bolver a restaurar este/ reyno a fuerssa de armas. I interin que Su Magestad/ determinare lo que fuere servido que los vasa-/llos que nos allamos en este exercito nos congre-/5g[u]emos en parte comoda. I si alguno, por la nececi-/dad que le podra acaeser como personas ar[r]astra-/das, pobres i robadas por el enemigo, tubieren ne-/cecidad de salir de la parte donde se isiere macion./ pida lisenzia. I con las letras de Vuestra Señoria i licencia se/ 10 le dé para que buelba siempre a cumplir el man-/dato de Su Magestad. I que se le requiera al prelado/ o prelados que convenga de la sagrada reli-/gion del señor San Francisco nos den los minis-/tros nenezarios para la administrazion del Santo Evan-/15gelio y sobre todo se aga lo que Vuestra Señoria viere que con-/venga al servicio de Dios y de Su Magestad que se-/ra lo mas asertado. I se sirva Vuestra Señoria de mandarnos/ dar un tanto autorisado en publica forma i ma-/nera que aga fee./20 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Gregorio de Valdes [rubricado]/ Luis

order to seek provisions and relief for his army. Considering this, bearing in mind the reasons expressed, and so as to not depopulate the kingdom; and due to being in the country of the infidel Apache enemies, beyond any settled area of the kingdom, may Your Lordship see fit to move to a better location. And after the families of women and children who are perishing in this region have been safeguarded from their difficulties, His Majesty should be informed, through his viceroy and royal tribunal, so that, with [fol. 342r], he may give us aid and the necessary forces in order to restore this kingdom by force of arms. Until such time as His Majesty determines what he desires, we vassals who are in this army should assemble in a suitable place. And should anyone, out of the necessity, which may befall them as wretched persons, in poverty and robbed by the enemy, need to leave the place where halt has been made, let him ask for permission. And with letters from Your Lordship and the permission granted him he may go, in order to return and carry out His Majesty's orders. And the prelate or prelates who belong to the holy Order of our Lord Saint Francis should be required to provide us with the ministers necessary for the administration of the holy gospel. And above all, may whatever Your Lordship considers to be most fitting to the service of God and His Majesty, which will be the most correct, be done. And may Your Lordship be pleased to order a copy of this document given to us, certified in due legal form. Francisco Xavier [rubric], Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric], Gregorio de Valdes [rubric], Luis Granillo [rubric],

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(Thomas N. Campbell, "Manso Indians":  
[www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/MM/bmm16.html](http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/MM/bmm16.html)).

Granillo [rubricado]/ Alonso del Rio [firmado]/25 Ante mí, de que doy fee/ bachiller Francisco de Belasco [rubricado]/ Escrivano de Cavildo/ [fol. 342v] [margen superior izquierdo: testado = lo =]/ [resto de la página en blanco]

**[Fray Cristóbal, 13 de septiembre de 1680. Auto de Otermín]**

[fol. 343r] [margen superior izquierdo: [Auto]]/ En el dicho paraxe de Fray Cristobal en dicho trese de septienbre de dicho mes y año./ Don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitan general destas provinçias por Su Magestad abien-/do echo las dilijençias que constan destes autos y mirando en todo/al serviçio de las dos majestades para el mexor assierto y reduçion/5 de las almas en los yndios apostatas alsados que siega y barvaramente/ se an querido perder cometiendo ygnormes delitos que an executado/ de que se a destruido el reino echando del a sus moradores a fuerssa/ de traiciones alevosias y latrosignios sobre que para seguir los mexo-/res medios para el mayor asierto del serviçio de Su Magestad y vien de la/10 caussa publica se an echo autos juntas y pareseres. Que de todo consta/ en el proseso, obrando con la madures que se deve para bolver a/ conseguir la poblaçion y reduçion de todo al estado en que es-/tava, que es lo que se desea para que no peresca el christianis-/mo. Y que dexado de hacer las dilijençias que se puedan/15 se apodere la siçaña del demonio entre los naturales con/ ydolatrias y supertiçiones que es a lo que les llama su torpe igno-/rançia por vivir a çiegas en sus anchuras y torpes viçios. Y mi-/rando a las causas sovredichas y las mas que se podran recre-/ser determiné se publicase auto en esta plaça de armas a son de caxa/20 y voz

Alonso del Rio [rubric]. Before me, who certify it. Bachelor Francisco de Velasco, clerk of the Council [fol. 342v] [rubric]. [f. 342v] [Upper left margin: crossed out =lo=]

**Fray Cristobal, September 13, 1680. Writ of Otermin**

[f. 343r] [Upper left margin: [Writ]] In said place of Fray Cristobal, on the said thirteenth day of September of the said month and year. After Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of these provinces for His Majesty, drew up the proceedings which appear in these writs, and seeking in everything to serve the two Majesties and the best decision and the return of the souls of the apostate Indians who have risen up (who blindly and barbarously have decided to lose them by committing enormous crimes which they have carried out, resulting in the destruction of the kingdom, expelling its inhabitants through treachery, betrayal, and pillaging), about whom, in order to proceed by the best means possible for the most prudent service of His Majesty and the good of the public interest, writs, councils, and judgments have been formed. All of the aforementioned appear in the proceedings, acting with the maturity necessary to be able to once again populate and return everything to its prior state, which is what is desired in order that Christianity not perish. And if every possible means to achieve the goal is not taken, the devil's discord may take hold among the natives, with idolatries and superstitions, to which their crude ignorance leads them, so as to blindly live in their idleness and crude vices. And seeing the above-stated reasons, and others

de pregonero haçiendo llamamiento para pareserez y votos de las/ personas relijiosos capitulares cavos de guerra y demas soldados/ de los que al presente se hallan en este exerçito; los quales aviendo oydo/ las raçones propuestas y conferido sobre ellas a lo que convenga/ dieron sus pareseres y votos, como de ellos consta, pidiendome que por quan-/25to se bia la grave nesesidad de sustento que generalmente se padese en el exerçito/ y estar talado y abrasado el terrestre del çitio y sus contornos donde/ no se halla pastos para los cortos ganadillos y bestias que an quedado y o-/tras muchas causas y raçones que an propuesto pidiendo se mude/ de paraje a diferente territorio donde se pueda pastar dichos ganados y que sean/ [fol. 343v] socorridos de vastimento por no aberlo ni donde se pueda conprar. Conque [me a]/ obligado a haçer despacho a la persona del muy reverendo padre predicador fray Françisco de [Ayeta]/ comisario del Santo Ofiçio visitador general desta Santa Custodia y procurador general della p[ara]/que como prelado tan selosso del serviçio de Su Magestad y en quien se hallan [mu]-/5chas experiençias de lo que a executado en su real serviçio favorezca esta [causa]/ como cossa de tanta consideraçion dando los vastimentos nesesarios [para]/ que se pueda obrar con determinaçion. Y por estar Su Paternidad Reverenda en las n[uebas]/ converçiones de sumas y mansos del rio del Norte que dista deste par[aje]/ mas de sesenta leguas tengo condusidas esquadras y abisos a Su Paternidad/10 para el dicho socorro. Y por quanto estando autualmente en estas di[lijen]-/sias e tenido carta de dicho muy reverendo padre visitador general fray Françisco de Ayeta [en]/ que por ella y sus raçones parese no aber llegado a su notiçia mis [car]-/tas y pedimiento para dicho

that could be added to them, I decided that a writ should be made public in this main square to the sound of the drum and by the voice of the crier, issuing a summons for the opinions and votes of the religious, members of the council, military officers, and the rest of the soldiers presently in this army. Having heard the proposed reasons and having the conferred upon them regarding the best course of action, they gave their opinions and votes, as is recorded; they asked me that, in view of the serious need of provisions which is felt throughout the whole army, and that with the area and its surroundings destroyed and burned, wherein there are no pastures for the few small cattle and animals that remain, and for many other causes and reasons which they have proposed, asking that we move to a different territory where the said cattle can be pastured, and where they may be [fol. 343v] provisioned, since there is not even any place where they may be purchased. I have thus been forced to send a dispatch to the very reverend father preacher, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, visitor general of this Holy Custody and procurator general thereof, so that, as a prelate so zealous in the service of His Majesty, and in whom there is much experience of things that he has done in his royal service, he may support this cause, as something of such importance, providing the necessary provisions in order to act with determination. And since His Reverence is at the new missions of the Sumas and the Mansos of Rio del Norte, which is more than sixty leagues away from this place, I have sent squadrons and notices to him for said aid. And even as I was engaged in these matters, I received a letter from the said very reverend father visitor general, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, in

socorro de que tanto se nesecita y ver q[ue]/ por dicha carta me ase relacion de que tiene causas que comunicar [con]- /15migo tocantes al serviçio de Dios y de Su Magestad en que no se pide dilaçion]/ por estar las matherias tan graves para su mejor execuçion y ajuste [y que]/ no se dilate el tiempo. Antes sí, se procure antissipar para la conduçion d[e los]/ vastimentos y lo mas nesessario dando lisençia solo para que se marche de e[ste]/ puesto a otro mas comodo y nesessario para lo que se pide sin exeder la ju[riski]- /20çion y derechos que a Su Magestad, que Dios guarde, pertenesen en la aprej[ençion]/ y posesion adquirida de tantos años a esta parte en su real nonvre quedand[o siem]-/pre en su fuerça y vigor para que de ella no se desista mando se apreste [luego]/ una escuadra de dose soldados arcabuseros de a cavallo de los de mayor s[atis]-/façion para que marchen con mi persona a las dichas converçio[nes]/25 del rio del Norte adonde asiste la persona de dicho reverendo padre visitador [general]/quien a de socorrer el real exercito y para que asi mesmo me ynsigne las c[ausas]/ que le mueben a llamarme del serviçio de las dos majestades como expresa p[or]/ su carta escrita en un pliego de papel a que me refiero, la qual mand[o]/ se inserte en estos autos orijinal para que en todo tiempo conste y se m[ar]-/30che luego como está mandado dexando la resoluçion de dichos parese[res]/ hasta la buelta del biaje que se vera lo mas conveniente al real serviçio. [Assi]/ lo probey mandé y firmé ante el secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí./35 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 344r] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una página en blanco]/ [fol. 344v] [una página en blanco]

which, because of it and its contents, it seems that he has not had news of my letters and request for said aid, which is so badly needed. And seeing that in said letter he reports that he has matters to communicate to me concerning the service of God and of His Majesty which cannot be delayed, as they are very serious matters, so that they may be executed well and that no time be wasted. Let haste indeed be made to bring the supplies and what is most needed, granting permission only to march from this post to one more suitable and necessary as requested, without going beyond the jurisdiction and rights that belong to His Majesty, may God keep him, which has been attained and held over many years in this area in his royal name, remaining in force and vigor. And so that this should not diminish, I order a squadron of twelve mounted harquebusiers from among the best men be made ready immediately so that they may march with me to the said missions of the Rio del Norte, where the said reverend father visitor general is, who is to give aid to the royal army, and so that he himself may explain to me the reasons which have caused him to call me out of the service of the two Majesties, as expressed in his letter written on paper, which I cite, and the original of which I order be inserted in these writs, thus permanently entered into the record. And that we march immediately, as ordered, leaving the resolution of said opinions until my return from the journey, when what is most conducive to the royal service will be decided. I so provided, ordered, and signed, before the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war [fol. 344r]. [in the middle of the page:

blank] [a blank page][fol. 344v] [a blank page].

**[El Paso, 8 de septiembre de 1680. Carta de Ayeta a Otermín]**

[fol. 345r] Señor governador dueño y muy señor mio don Antonio de Otermin./ [al margen superior izquierdo: Pongase con los autos [rúbrica]]/ An sido tantas las congojas y penas que por mí an/ pasado que ni sé cómo se a conservado la vida o no/ e perdido el juicio. Conosco que Dios Nuestro Señor me a/ 5 querido conservar lo uno y lo otro para que gustase/ lo aservo de las primeras nuevas de la lastimosa/ desgrasia y desolacion de esse reino; y despues gusta-/se lo dulce de las segundas que me partisipó el maestre/ de campo Alonso Garsia por una suia de la vida/10 de Vuestra Señoria; nueva para mí tan deleitosa quando antes/ avia sido llorada por mí y mis hermanos. Atribuilo a mi-/lagro de la Reyna de los Angeles. Pues acabandose/ su nobenario el último dia despues de la missa fue/ servida de consolarnos con las felises nuevas que/15 deseavamos: aliviandonos a todos del inmenso piela-/go de confusiones en que nos hallavamos siendo todo/ nuestro bivar un continuo suspirar. Considere Vuestra Señoria quales/ estariamos considerandolo todo en el todo acabado/ y destruido que aunque como christianos y relixiosos/20 conosiamos ser la voluntad de Dios, no dejabamos/ de sentir por lo que tenemos de hombres. Si bien siem-/pre tube firmes esperansas en mi gran padre y patron/ San Antonio de que avia de amparar y faoreser a Vuestra Señoria\*/ [al margen izquierdo: \*Se entiende para morir bien que/ esperansas de su vida ni de/ dos mil

**El Paso, September 8, 1680. Letter of Ayeta to Otermin**

[fol. 345r] Lord Governor, liege and my lord Don Antonio de Otermin. [upper left margin: To be placed with the writs (rubric)]There have been so many anxieties and sorrows that have afflicted me that I know neither how my life was preserved nor my mind not lost. I know that Our Lord God has wished to preserve both the one and the other so that I might taste the bitterness of the first news of the shameful disgrace and desolation of this kingdom; and then that I might taste the sweetness of the later news that Field Commander Alonso Garcia conveyed to me [through a letter of his] regarding the life of Your Lordship. [This] news was to me that was so delightful since I and my brothers had earlier wept over it. I attributed it to a miracle of the Queen of the Angels. As we were finishing the novena, on the last day after the mass, she was pleased to console us with the happy news that we desired: to relieve all of us of the immense sea of confusion in which we found ourselves, as our living had been transformed into one continuous sigh. Consider, Your Lordship, how we were assuming everything to be completely finished and destroyed, which, though as Christians and religious we knew to be the will of God, we could not help but feel regret due to the humanity in us. Though I had always maintained firm hopes in my great Father and Patron Saint Anthony, <sup>1</sup> that he would shield and sustain Your Lordship [left margin: Understood as in dying well, since I had not the slightest

<sup>1</sup> A Franciscan friar and patron saint of Antonio de Otermín.



leguas]/ y a tantos pobres. No seso ni  
sesamos de dar gracias a la/25 infinita  
bondad y misericordia de nuestro buen  
Dios/ y Señor por aberlos librado de la  
furia infernal/ del paganismo. Atribuiolo a  
milagro y no a fuer-/sas humanas y todos  
devenos conoserlo por tal. Y/ pues Vuestra  
Señoría gosa los dotez de la prudensia  
considere/30 que dos glorias son  
incompatibles. Y el exemplo/ lo te[ne]mos  
en el Sancto Job. Pues aviendole echo  
Dios/ rico de bienes temporales se los quitó  
y pusso en/ un muladar probandolo por la  
tribulacion y/ angustia: Porque como le  
tenia asegurada la gloria/35 eterna no le  
permitio la temporal. Mas para que/ le  
canso con digresiones quando le conosco  
unifor-/me con la voluntad del altissimo. Y  
asi dejando/ esto bamos hablando de lo  
temporal que/ con todo se sirve a Dios. Y  
digo Señor que me hallo/40 confusso por  
no tener notissias de la determinasion/ de  
Vuestra Señoría para ber lo que debo obrar.  
Y para salir/ [fol. 345v] de essa duda  
despacho los portadores a toda di-/ligensia  
advirtiendo que no abrá mas dilasion/ que  
lo que tardare el aviso de Vuestra Señoría  
porque ya todo/ lo tengo dispuesto y los  
carros a la bela. Y si Vuestra Señoría tu-  
/5biere determinasion de quedarse  
hasiendose fuerte/ en algun puesto ruego a  
Vuestra Señoría asegurando su per-/sona se  
benga para que comuniquemos algunas/  
materias convenientes al servicio de ambas  
magesades/ y asi mesmo por antisipar  
algun tiempo el goso de/10 bernos y  
porque me hallo (segun comvinere) con/  
determinasion de ir en persona a dar rason  
de lo/ susedido asi al señor Virrey y Real  
Audiensia como/ a mis prelados. Porque no  
todo se puede desir por/ escripto ni es  
posible; que aunque tengo despachado/15  
con las primeras nuebas que tubimos a un  
relixiosso/ de entera satisfasion llamado

hope for your life,] and so many poor  
people. I do not, nor do we, cease to give  
thanks to the infinite goodness and mercy  
of Our Good God and Lord for having  
saved you all from the hellish fury of the  
pagans. I attributed it to a miracle and not  
to human strength, and we must all  
recognize it as such. And since Your  
Lordship enjoys the attribute of prudence,  
consider that two glories are incompatible,  
and the example that we have in Saint Job.  
God, having made him rich in temporal  
goods, took them from him and set him on  
a dung heep, testing him through  
tribulation and anguish. For since he had  
assured him eternal glory, he did not  
permit him temporal glory. Yet why tire  
you with digressions when I know you to  
be conformed to the will of the Most High.  
Thus let us leave this aside, and speak of  
temporal matters, through all of which God  
is served. And I say, Sir, that I find myself  
confused at having no news of Your  
Lordship's decision regarding what I  
should do. And in order to emerge from  
[fol. 345v] that doubt, I am dispatching the  
curriers with the utmost urgency,  
announcing that there will be no delay  
beyond the time that Your Lordship's  
response takes in arriving, since I already  
have everything assembled and the wagons  
set to depart. And should Your Lordship  
decide to stay, fortifying Yourself in some  
place, I beg Your Lordship to come, after  
having made Yourself secure, in order that  
we might communicate some matters  
fitting to the service of both majesties, as  
well as to enjoy seeing each other sooner,  
and because I find myself (should it be  
suitable) determined to go in person to give  
an account of what happened to the Lord  
viceroy and the Royal Commission, as well  
as to my prelates. For not everything can  
be stated in writing, nor is it possible; and

fray Nicolas Lopes/no podra dar mas rason que de las primeras no-/tias que tubimos y considero a todos los señores/ y prelados con las mismas confusiones con que emos/20 estado aqui a la puerta. Y porque confio en Dios que/ nos emos de ber breve no me dilato; solo digo que/ todos los relixiosos que asisten en este comvento se encomi-/endan a Vuestra Señoria y muy en espesial el padre difinidor que su-/plica a Vuestra Señoria le perdone el no escribirle que ya save/25 es suyo. Guarde Dios a Vuestra Señoria para su gloria. Passo/ y de septiembre 8 de 1680./ Yo me allo con muy poca salud y tal/ que ni sé qué diga ni qué me aga, solo doy/ infinitas gracias a Dios de esperar/30 ver vivo a quien no e dudado muerto./ A Su Excelencia y a Mexico e participado/ la nueva de la quemaçon de la villa,/ erida de Vuestra Señoria y su venida vibo,/ remitiendo testimonio de las cartas/35 del theniente general y del padre Sierra y que/ suspendo la relacion, estado de la/ matheria y reparo nesario asta que/ nos veamos ambos. Vuestra Señoria conosca/ es predestinado y que en su vida a/40 ganado mas que en lo que a perdido./ De Vuestra Señoria asta morir amigo como lo bera/ fray Françisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/ [fol. 346r] [a mitad de la página] Blanca [una página en blanco]/ [fol. 346v] [una página en blanco]

although I have dispatched with the first news we had a religious whom I trust greatly, named Friar Nicolas Lopez,<sup>2</sup> he will not be able to speak of anything more than the first information we had, and I suppose that all of the lords and prelates will have the same confusion that we have had here at the gate. And since I trust in God that we see each other shortly, I will not continue on; I only say that all the religious who assist in this convent commend themselves to Your Lordship and especially the Father Definitor, who begs Your Lordship to forgive him for not having written, sending his sincere regards. God keep Your Lordship for his glory. El Paso, September 8, 1680. I have little health, to the point that I know not what to say nor what to do with myself, I only give infinite thanks to God for waiting for me to see alive the one who I had no doubt was dead. I have communicated to His Excellency and to Mexico the news of the burning of the township, your being wounded and having come out alive, sending testimony of the letters of the Lieutenant General and of Father Sierra<sup>3</sup> and I suspend the report, the state of affairs and the necessary measures until we both see each other. Your Lordship should know that you are predestined and that in your life you have gained more than you have lost. A friend of Your Lordship to the death, as you will see. Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric]. [fol. 346r] [halfway down the page] Blank. [fol. 346v] [a blank page].

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<sup>2</sup> His name appears again in 1683 in connection with a Jumano Indian request to establish a mission at La Junta de los Rios. (The Handbook of Texas Online: [www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/LL/flo20.html](http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/LL/flo20.html))

<sup>3</sup> Fray Antonio de Sierra was the visitor of Isleta in 1680.

**[La Salineta, 18 de septiembre de 1680.  
Encuentro de Otermín con Ayeta]**

[fol. 347r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Auto/ y diligencia/ En el paraje de La Salineta quatro leguas de la convercion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe/ del Passo del rio del Norte en dies y ocho dias del mes de septiembre de mil/ y seisçientos y ochenta años don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitan general de las/ provinçias de la Nueva Mexico por Su Magestad dixo que por quanto a caminado sesenta/5 leguas poco mas o menos desde el paraxe que llaman de Fray Cristobal has/ta este de dicha Salineta en busca del muy reverendo padre visitador general fray Françisco de Ayeta/ padre desta Santa Custodia y procurador general del real aber de limosnas de Su Magestad para/ que con su piadoso selo socorriese con vastimentos de carne y mais a mas de/ dos mil y quinientas personas, que destrosadas del alsamiento general de los/10 yndios cristianos poblados de dicho Nuevo Mexico abian salido marchando/ a el amparo de Su Señoria, las quales viniendo a pie muertas de anbre cansadas/ y con otras muchas nesesidades por socorrerlas y darles algun a-/libio a su mucha nesesidad abiendo dado parte de todo ello al/ dicho reverendo padre comisario visitador para el socorro que se pretendia oblig[ó]/15 la suma nesesidad para la mayor y mas vreve diligencia de dicho socorro a/ que dicho governador y capitan general sin atender al manifiesto riesgo de su perso[na]/ dexando en lugar a los maestros de campo Françisco Gomes Robledo y Alonso/ Garçia

**La Salineta, September 18, 1680.  
Meeting Between Otermin and Ayeta**

[fol. 347r] [Upper left margin: Writ and proceeding]. In the place of La Salineta,<sup>1</sup> four leagues from the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Rio del Norte, on the eighteenth day of the month of September, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of the provinces of New Mexico by His Majesty, said that as he has traveled about sixty leagues from the place they call Fray Cristobal to this said Salineta in search of the Very Reverend Father Visitor General Friar Francisco de Ayeta, Father of this Holy Custody and Procurator General of the Royal Alms Fund<sup>2</sup> of His Majesty, so that with his merciful zeal, he would grant aid with provisions of meat and corn to more than two thousand five hundred persons who, torn apart by the general uprising of the Christian Indian populations of said New Mexico, had marched out shielded by His Lordship, and who, coming on foot, dead of hunger, wearied and with many other necessities; thus to come to their aid and grant them some relief from their great necessity. Having communicated all of this to the said Reverend Father Commissary Visitor for the requested aid, the extreme need forced said governor and captain general, for the greatest possibility and speed of said aid, without attending to the manifest risk to himself, he left in his place Field Commanders Francisco Gomez Robledo and Alonso Garcia, to march out with twelve men over so many leagues of land

<sup>1</sup> La Salineta del rio del Norte. It remains only as a historical memory. The place likely had the characteristics of salt flats.

<sup>2</sup> Periodical stipend sent by the Crown to the missionaries.

marchase con dose hombres tanta cantidad de leguas de/ tierra toda poblada de los vorases henemigos yn fieles de naçion/20 apaches hasta llegar a las nuevas converçiones del rio del Norte/ a donde se hallava dicho muy reverendo padre comisario visitador. Asi para conseguir/ dicho socorro como para que le comunicase las causas y raçones que por/ su carta le notiçia ser del serviçio de Dios y de Su Magestad y viniendo en prosecu- çion de su biaje a dichos efectos alló en este dicho paraxe que benia/25 a la execusion del socorro dicho muy reverendo padre fray Françisco de Ayeta con/ veinte y quatro carros cargados de bastimentos y otras cosas de ropa/ y vestuario para socorrer las nesesidades de tantas españolas y niños/ de las familias robadas del henemigo. Y por estar cresido el rio del/ Norte por las muchas avenidas de niebez y aguas y aber salido de madre/30 y derramado se por todas las vegas caminos y ancones para ver si se p[o]-/dia venser tan grandes dificultades de no poder rodar dichos carros por tan-/tos atascaderos pues las vestias en que caminó dicho governador y capitan general/ y los soldados que le seguian se atascavan en los caminos hasta las/ corbas. Sin embargo de lo dicho al llegar al dicho paraxe de La Saline-/35ta oy dicho dia como a las dos oras de la tarde se bido que dicho/ reverendo padre comisario visitador por conseguir el conduçir el dicho socorro se arrojó/ en persona a pasar el rio del Norte con el primer carro de vastimentoz/ [fol. 347v] y otras cosas, el qual carro abiendole puesto quatro andanas de mul[as]/ le arroxaron al rio y nadó entrandole el agua con mas de media bara/ en alto por la boca del carro en que se vido a manifiesto peligr[o]/ de la vida la persona de dicho muy reverendo padre comisario visitador. Y abiendo[se]/5 aylado y

completely populated by the voracious infidel enemies of the Apache nation, until arriving at the new missions of the Rio del Norte, where said Very Reverend Father Commissary Visitor was. In order to secure said aid, as well as to communicate the causes and reasons which in his letter he announces to be at the service of God and His Majesty and, while in pursuit of his journey to said effects, he found at this said place that said Very Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta was coming to give aid with twenty-four wagons full of supplies and other items of clothing and garments in order to respond to the needs of so many Spanish women and children of the families robbed by the enemy. And the Rio del Norte had risen because of the many snows and rains, and had overflowed its banks, and had spilled into all the farmlands, roads and gullies. In trying to see if it were possible to overcome such great difficulties at not being able to move said wagons through so much mire, the animals that upon which said governor and captain general and the soldiers that followed him were also being bogged down on the roads up to their knees. In spite of the aforementioned, upon arriving at said place of La Salineta, today, said day, at about two in the afternoon, we saw that said Reverend Father Commissary Visitor, in order to be able to transport said aid, had decided to cross the Rio del Norte himself with the first wagon of supplies [fol. 347v] and other items. The wagon, hitched to four teams of mules, was cast into the river and sank, with more than a half vara of water entering it through the mouth of the wagon, in which the person of said Very Reverend Father Commissary Visitor was seen to be in manifest danger. And having isolated and immobilized said wagon in the middle of the river which had

encallado el dicho carro en la mitad del rio que se sum[io]/ hasta taparse las ruedas acudieron muchas personas a fa-/voreserle y sacarle como le sacaron en palmas perdiendose/ y maltratandose muchas cosas de las que yban en dicho car[ro]./ Y abiendo salido a ojos del dicho governador y capitan general y las d[e]-/10mas personas que se hallaron, asi de las que marchavan al s[e]-/guimiento de Su Señoria como de las que venian en dichos carros por acud[ir]/ Su Paternidad Reverenda al serviçio de Su Magestad y bien de sus basallos/ robados y con/ tanta nesidad de sustento sin haçer reparo en pérdi[das]/ ynstava a que pasasen todos los carros, que siendo ynpo[sible]/15 asi por la causa del rio como por lo atascosso de los cam-/pos y caminos, aunque Su Paternidad Reverenda hizo muchas ynstançias para qu[e]/se conduxese dichos socorro, se le ynpidio por las causas dichas, disp[o]-/niendo entre Su Señoria y dicho muy reverendo padre el que se despachasen cantidad [de]/ mulas de requa y las mas vestias que se pudieran cavallares asi de [los]/20 soldados de guarniçion y escolta como de otros particulares, to[das]/ las quales se aprestaron luego sin dilacion ninguna y cargadas de mai[s]/ viscocho arina chocolate y asucar se despacharon luego [re]-/mitido dicho socorro a los thenientes generales Françisco Gomes y Alonso G[ar]-/çia para que lo distribuiesen en la dicha jente. Y todo lo demas que se [alla]-/25va en la carga de los dichos veinte y quatro carros quedó de reten y m[ani]-/fiesto para que llegados al exercito los que lo conduxeron vuel[ban]/ ellos y todas las mas personas que pudieren a cargar dichas [co]-/sas para su sustento y nesidades. Y abiendo marchado como d[icho]/ es con los dichos vastimentos los dichos soldados para que Su Señoria [se]/30 enterase asi de

risen to cover its wheels, many persons went to his aid and to rescue him. And as they were pulling him out many of the items that were in said wagon were lost and damaged. And having emerged in sight of said governor and captain general and the other persons there, both those that were marching in the train of His Lordship and those who had come in said wagons, His Paternity, in order to serve His Majesty and the good of his vassals who had been robbed and in such need of supplies, without dwelling on the losses, urged all the wagons to cross. And since it was impossible, both because of the river and because of the mired fields and roads – although His Reverend Paternity greatly urged that said aid be delivered – he was impeded by the said causes. His Lordship and said Very Reverend Father agreed together to dispatch a number of pack mules and any other animals that could, horses, both of the garrison and escort soldiers, as well as those of other individuals, all of which were immediately made ready without delay. And loaded with corn, hardtack, flour, chocolate and sugar, they were immediately dispatched, with said aid being sent to Lieutenants General Francisco Gomez and Alonso Garcia so that they would distribute it among said people. And everything else that was contained in said twenty-four wagons was stored in reserve so that, having arrived at the army, those who drove it would return together with all of the other persons who could, in order to retrieve said things for their sustenance and needs. And, as said, with said provisions, said soldiers marched out, in order that His Lordship might thus understand the quantity of provisions and other things contained in the cargo of said twenty-four wagons on the other side, the other twenty-

la cantidad de vastimentos y otras cosas que constava [de]/ la carga de dichos veinte y quatro carros que estan de la otra b[an]-/da los veinte y tres y el uno desta y que a ojos vea la can[ti]-/dad de granos que oy se hallan en las ofiçinas del convent[o]/ de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Passo y las mas cosas nesesa[rias]/ [fol. 348r] para el sustento y socorro de tanto numero de jente como viene marchan-/do en compañia de dicho governador y se reconosca si ay cantidad suficien-/te y si no se hagan todas las dilijençias nesasarias en otras partes/ con la vrevedad que el casso pide para que no se falte a causa de/5 tanta caridad obrando en todo con el selo de personas tan selosas del/ serviçio de las dos majestades con repetidas ynstançias dicho muy reverendo padre comisario/ visitador general fray Françisco de Ayeta pidio y suplicó a dicho governador y capitán general/ pasase en persona a la otra banda del rio del Norte y con las personas mas/ praticas viesse y rexistrase todo lo que se allava en dichos carros. Y vistos/ 10 pasasse de la mesma suerte al dicho convento de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe/ del Passo para que se viesen y rexistrase dichas ofiçinas como dicho es/ y se trate lo que mas convenga asi de granos como de reses y carneros/ en cuia consideraçion determinó pasar Su Señoria con solos seis soldados/ para de alli rebolver con toda brebedad al real de su exerçito que viene/15 tan neseditado. Y para que conste lo mandó poner por dilijençia y lo/ firmó con dicho reverendo padre comisario visitador general fray Françisco de Ayet[a]/ y por ante mí, el presente secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Fray Françisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/20 Ante mí, Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

three and the one on this [side], and that he see with his own eyes the quantity of grain that today is found in the storehouses of the convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in El Paso, and the other things necessary [fol. 348r] for the sustenance and aid of as many people as are coming on the march in the company of said governor. And it should be ascertained as to whether there is a sufficient quantity. And if not, the necessary care should be taken in other places with the speed that the case demands in order for there to be no lack because of such charity, operating in everything with the zeal of persons so zealous in the service of the two majesties. With repeated instances, said Very Reverend Father Commissary Visitor General Friar Francisco de Ayeta requested and begged said governor and captain general to personally come to the other side of the Rio del Norte and with the most experienced persons, see and register everything contained in said wagons. And having seen them, may he go in the same way to said convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in El Paso, so that said storehouses might be seen and registered, as is said, and that what is most fitting might be done, both in terms of grains and steers and rams. In the consideration of which, His Lordship decided to go with only eight soldiers in order to return from there with as much speed as possible to where his army, which is in such need, was encamped. And in order for it to be added to the record, he ordered it to be placed in the proceedings, and he signed it with said Reverend Father Commissary Visitor General Friar Francisco de Ayeta, and before me, the present The secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]; Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier

[rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**[La Salineta, 22 de septiembre de 1680. Otermín inspecciona los víveres]**

[margen izquierdo: [A]uto y/ [di]lijençia]/ En este paraxe de La Salineta del rio del Norte jurisdición del Nuevo/ Mexico en veinte y dos dias del mes de septiembre de mil seisçientos/ y ochenta años don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitan general deste dicho/25 reino por Su Magestad dixo que en virtud del llamamiento que el reverendo padre/ comisario visitador general fray Francisco de Ayeta hizo a Su Señoria para ber y registrar/ la cantidad de vastimentos que se hallavan asi en los veinte y quatro carros/ [fol. 348v] que se hallavan en este dicho paraxe como en las ofiçinas del convento de/ Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Passo y aviendo pasado a ellas se a-/brieron y registraron y haçiendo conputo de la cantidad de vastimentos/ que se hallo asi en los carros como en dichas ofiçinas se vido que en dich[as]/5 dos partes abria hasta cantidad de quatrocientas fanegas de/ mais desgranado, la qual cantidad con otras quatrocientas re-/ses vacunas puso de manifiesto Su Paternidad Reverenda para que se fuesen dis-/trivuyendo desde luego como se hizo en la jente que viene mar-/chando a horden de Su Señoria. Y luego dispuso dicho muy reverendo padre el qu[e]/10 se pasase a Casas Grandes y Taramares y las mas partes qu[e]/ convenga a conprar todas las cantidades de

**La Salineta, 22 de September de 1680. Otermin Inspects the Food Supplies**

[left margin: Writ and proceeding] In this place of La Salineta del Rio del Norte, jurisdiction of New Mexico September 22, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this said kingdom for His Majesty, said that, in virtue of the call that Reverend Father Commissary Visitor General Fray Francisco de Ayeta made to His Lordship to see and record the amount of provisions that were in the twenty four wagons [fol. 348v] at this said place, as well as in the storehouses of the convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, and having come to them, they were opened and inspected. And having calculated the amount of provisions that were there, both in the wagons and in said storehouses, it was seen that in said two places there was a quantity of about four hundred fanegas of corn kernels. All of [these,] along with another four hundred head of cattle, his Reverend Paternity made known so that they might be distributed without delay, as was done with the people that are marching by order of His Lordship. And said very reverend father then stipulated that a journey be made to Casas Grandes<sup>1</sup> and to the Tarahumaras<sup>2</sup> and the other suitable places in order to purchase any and all corn and meat necessary, so that such a great number of people may not go without sustenance. And so that it may

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<sup>1</sup> North of Parral and near the garrison of Janos, in the XVII century San Antonio de Casas Grandes was the main center of authority in northern Mexico. The pueblo was founded by Captain Andrés García in 1661, by order of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya ([www.geocities.com/laija3/casasgrandes.htm](http://www.geocities.com/laija3/casasgrandes.htm)).

<sup>2</sup> Indians in the area of what is now the state of Chihuahua. They are Uto-Aztec speakers and call themselves rarámuri ‘runners.’

mais y carne ne-/sesarias para que no falte al sustento de tanto numero de jente. Y para que/ conste abiendo vuelto a este dicho paraje se pusso por dilijen-/çia y lo firmó dicho señor governador y capitan general y muy reverendo padre ante mí, el pre-/15sente secretario de governacion y guerra con declarasion a lo dicho ynterin que Su/ Exçelencia determina lo que fuere servido que sera lo mas acertado./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Fray Francisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/20 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[Enfrente de La Salineta, 29 de septiembre de 1680. Auto para pasar lista]**

[fol. 349r][al margen izquierdo: [A]uto para / [pa]sar mues-/ [tra] y reseña/ [de] armas cava-/ [llos] y otras/ [co]sas./ En el paraje de enfrente de La Salineta orillas del rio del Norte jurisdiccion de/ la Nueva Mexico en veinte y nueve dias del mes de septiembre de mil seis sientos y ochenta años. Don/ Antonio de Otermin governador y capitan general de este reino y provinçias de la Nueva Mexico por Su Magestad/ dixo que por quanto por el alsamiento general que los yndios cristianos an echo tiene echas/5 todas las delixencias que se an podido y constan del proseso fulminado mirando/ siempre a la mayor combeniencia y seguro de la causa de Su Magestad disponiendo las ma-/terias que se an podido en caso tan grave para el maior asierto en la reducion de/ los yndios cristianos a el estado primero no obstante el averse alsado dichos yn-/dios tan de ymproviso tomando las armas todos a un tiempo y a una ora dan-/10 do como dieron en las mas jurisdicciones del

be entered into the record, having returned to this said place, it was placed in the proceedings and said Lord governor and captain general and Very Reverend Father signed it before me, the present The secretary of governance and war with declaration to the aforesaid while His Excellency determines what pleases him to be the most correct course of action, Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Fray Francisco de Ayeta [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric]. The secretary of governance and war.

**Facing La Salineta, 29 September, 1680. Writ for Calling Roll**

[fol. 349r] [Left margin: Writ for passing in review and assessment of weapons, horses and other things.] In the place facing La Salineta along the Rio del Norte jurisdiction of New Mexico, September 29, 1680. Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this kingdom and provinces of New Mexico for His Majesty, said that in everything relating to the general uprising that the Christian Indians have made, he has taken all possible judicial actions. And they are registered in the published proceedings, always in view of the greatest benefit and the safeguarding of His Majesty's cause. [He has arranged] the matters to the best of his ability in such a grave situation, in order to choose the most correct course for returning the Christian Indians to their prior state, despite the said Indians having risen up so suddenly, taking up arms all at once and attacking as they did throughout the rest of the jurisdictions of the kingdom, where they committed atrocities, treachery, sacrilege and



reyno donde ysieron las atosida-/des  
alevosias sacrilexios y latrosignios que  
se an visto y son de notoriedad  
públicos./ Y mirando siempre con el  
desvelo que se deve al reparo que  
pudiere tener asi/ el volver a los dichos  
yndios al conosimiento de nuestra santa  
fee y vasallaxe de Su/ Magestad y que  
los vesinos y familias que an escapado  
milagrosamente de dicho alsa-/15miento  
se asegurasen sus vidas para que  
acudiesen a la obligacion de tan leales  
va-/sallos de Su Magestad por la  
ymposibilidad que siempre se allo en  
avernos dividido/ el enemigo asolando  
de vidas y asiendas la mediania del  
reyno donde puso/ su maior cuidado de  
tropas y emboscadas en los caminos altos  
y pueblos matando/ a muchas personas  
soldados españoles para que no ubiese  
noticia asi de mi perso-/20na y la jente  
que me asistia como de la que avian  
echo retirar al pueblo de La Ysleta/ que  
dista mas de treinta leguas de la villa de  
Santa Fee dando voces generales el  
dicho enemigo/ asi a mi en el sitio que  
me pusieron de que avian acavado con  
todo el reino como/ a los otros de que  
era muerta mi persona y la jente que me  
asistia y siempre tiran-/do a acavar con  
todo. Y aviendolos destrosado en la villa  
de Santa Fee con mucho nume-/25ro de  
yndios muertos y salido marchando por  
entre todos ellos y alcansado/ a la demas  
jente que avia quedado del reino y  
vernos los unos y los otros rovaldos/  
destrosados faltos de sustento y  
cavallada y las mas armas de fuego  
descompuestas/ se ysieron diferentes  
juntas que constan de los autos a que me  
refiero; mirando/ en todas ellas lo mas  
combeniente que se pudiera determinar  
en el real servicio/30 de que se  
determinó en el paraxe que llaman de

robberies that have been seen and are  
widely and publicly known. And I always  
looked with the requisite watchfulness and  
the utmost care both to return the said  
Indians to the knowledge of our Holy  
Faith and fealty to His Majesty, and that  
the inhabitants and families who have  
miraculously escaped from said uprising  
might have their lives safeguarded, so that  
they might fulfill the obligation of such  
loyal vassals of His Majesty. [And]  
because of the impossibility that was  
always encountered in the enemy having  
divided us, laying waste to the lives and  
belongings of half of the kingdom where  
[the enemy] did his best to position troops  
and ambushes along the highways and in  
the pueblos, killing many persons [and]  
Spanish soldiers. [And] so that there  
would be no news of either my person and  
the people that were in my company or of  
those who were retreating to the pueblo of  
La Isleta, which lies more than thirty  
leagues from the township of Santa Fe, the  
said enemy [was] spreading rumors, both  
to me during the siege that they had set  
upon me, that they had laid waste to the  
whole kingdom, and [also] that I was dead  
along with the people who accompanied  
me and aiming to put an end to  
everything. And after defeating them in  
the township of Santa Fe with a great  
number of Indians killed, and having  
marched out in the midst of them and  
reaching the remainder of the people left  
in the kingdom and seeing each other  
robbed and ruined, lacking means of  
survival and horses and with most of the  
firearms falling apart, various meetings  
took place, which are recorded in the writs  
I am referring to. In all of them [I sought]  
to determine what was most beneficial to  
the royal service; wherein a decision was  
made at the place called Fray Cristobal,

Fray Cristobal por la mucha falta de bastimentos y no aver de aonde conduxirlos y asegurar tantas familias y que no peresie-/sen tantas almas, tanto por esta rason como por estar en el riñon de los enemigos/ apaches, que se mejorase de puesto para conseguir lo uno y lo otro. Que aviendolo visto me pus[e]/ a cavallo y sin dilacion ninguna con dose hombres marché en persona asta este para-/35je a donde allé al reverendo padre comisario visitador fray Francisco de Ayeta procurador general del r[eino]/ con veinte y quatro carros de bastimentos y otras cosas para socorrer a toda la jente que mar-/chava, que se socor[r]io como se pudo y oy se está asiendo de la mesma suerte. Y para ente-/rarme y que conste de la jente de soldados asi de espiriencia como de mansevos y/ de la cavallada y armas que an quedado y en qué estado está asi de los vesinos españ[o]-/40les como de Su Magestad por allarme en este paraje mas pronto a donde todos poda-/mos ser socorridos con mas prontitud para la determinacion y execucion de lo que/ se resolviere en el servicio de Dios y de Su Magestad y que se sepa la jente que oy se alla de/ [fol. 349v] armas que pueda acudir al real servicio y todos los que ubieren muerto a man[os]/ del enemigo mando que todos los soldados y personas que oy se allan en este ex[er]-/sito pasen muestra ante mí asiendo reseña de las armas cavallos cueras y lo/ nesario para el real servicio para que constando de todo se prosiga a lo que combe[nga]./5 Y este auto lo aga publicar en la plasa de armas de este exercito el secretario de governa[cion y guerra]/ a voz de pregonero y son de caja que asi combiene al real sevicio para cuio cump[li]-/miento lo provei mandé y

due due to the great lack of provisions and of not having a place to bring them, and to make certain that so many families and so many souls might not perish. For this reason, and because of being in the belly of the enemy Apaches, [it was decided] that a better location be found, in order to achieve both ends. Seeing this, I mounted my horse and without delay, I marched in person with twelve men to this place, where I found the reverend father commissary visitor Friar Francisco de Ayeta, procurator general of the kingdom, with twenty-four wagons, provisions and other things to aid all the people that were on the march, who were aided to the best degree possible, and today the same thing is being done. And [it is necessary that] I know and make a record of the soldiers, both veterans and youths, and of the horses and weapons that remained, and in what condition the people are in, both the Spanish inhabitants and those of His Majesty. [And since I] find myself in this place where we all can sooner be given aid, with the most timely determination and execution of what will be decided in the service of God and of His Majesty, and so as to find out the number of [fol. 349v] armed people who are able to come to the King's service, and all those who had been killed at the hands of the enemy, I order that all the soldiers and persons that are today in this army pass in review before me, in line with their weapons, horses, leather jackets and things necessary the royal service. Thus, by making a record of everything, the most beneficial course of action may be set. And let this writ be made public in the parade ground of this encampment by the the secretary of governance and war by means of a crier and to the beat of a drum, as is suitable to the royal service. In order

firmé ante el dicho secretario etcetera./  
Don Antonio de Otermin [rúbricado]/  
Por mandado de Su Señoría/10  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario  
de governacion y guerra./ Luego  
yncontinente en dicho dia mes y año yo  
el secretario hise publicar el auto/ de  
arriva como se manda por Su Señoría  
abiendo mucho concurso de jente de que  
doy fee./15 Francisco Xavier  
[rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y  
guerra./ Pasose muestra en la forma  
siguiente luego yncontinente de la  
publicacion del ba[ndo]./ El maestre de  
campo Francisco Xavier alcalde  
ordinario de primer voto pasó muestra  
[con]/ seis cavallos mui flacos y  
ymposibilitados de servir, espada y daga  
cuera arcab[us]/20 y chimal; rogado de  
todos sus bienes del enemigo. Y para  
que conste lo firmó y [de]-/claró llevar  
de familia cuatro hijas dos hijos y una  
criada./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/  
Alcalde hordinario/ El sargento mayor  
Juan Luzero de Godoi alcalde ordinario  
de segundo voto manifestó e[spa]-/25da  
daga y arcabus un cavallo flaco y quatro  
hijos mansebos que pueden tomar  
a[rmas]/ todos desnudos y sin ningunas  
armas quatro hijas donsellas y sinco  
personas d[e ser]-/vicio, de estado  
casado y lo firmó./ Juan Luzero de  
Godoy [rubricado]/ [fol. 350r] El algusil  
mayor rexidor de primer voto y  
pendolero Gregorio Valdes pasó  
muestra/ con sinco cavallos  
ymposibilitados de poder servir, arcabus  
espada y daga y/ cuera casado con dos  
hijos y una niña y una yndia de servicio  
y lo firmó./ rogado del enemigo./5  
Gregorio de Valdes [rubricado]/ El  
sargento mayor Luis Granillo rexidor de  
segundo voto y procurador general del  
reino pasó/ muestra con nueve cavallos

that it be carried out, I so provided,  
ordered, and signed before the said  
Secretary, etc. Don Antonio de Otermin  
[rubric]. By order of His Lordship  
Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of  
governance and war. Immediately  
thereafter, on said day month and year I,  
the secretary, made the above writ public,  
as ordered by His Lordship, there being a  
great show of people, to which I attest.  
Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of  
governance and war. Immediately after  
the publication of the edict, the review  
was done in the following order. Field  
Commander Francisco Xavier, town  
magistrate of first vote, passed in review  
with six very thin horses in too poor a  
state to be of service, a sword and dagger,  
leather jacket, harquebus and shield;  
robbed of all his goods by the enemy. And  
so that it may be entered into the record he  
signed it and declared that he had with  
him the following family members: four  
daughters, two sons and a maidservant.  
Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Town  
magistrate Sergeant Major Juan Lucero de  
Godoy, secondary town magistrate,  
presented a sword, a dagger and an  
harquebus, a thin horse and four young  
sons who can bear arms, all of them  
unclad and without any weapons, four  
young daughters and five persons in his  
service; married, and he signed it. Juan  
Lucero de Godoy [rubric] [fol. 350r].  
Chief bailiff, alderman of first vote and  
scribe Gregorio Valdez passed in review  
with five horses in too poor a state to be of  
service, an harquebus, sword and dagger  
and a leather jacket; married with two  
sons and a little girl and an Indian woman  
in his service, and he signed it, robbed by  
the enemy. Gregorio de Valdez [rubric].  
Sergeant Major Luis Granillo, alderman of  
second vote and procurator general of the

mui travaxados todas armas de su persona de es-/tado casado sin hijos tres hermanos mansevos que pueden tomar armas y sin ningunas/ ni cavallos y quatro personas de su servicio y rogado del enemigo y lo firmó./10 Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ El capitan Alonso del Rio rexidor de terser voto de estado casado sin ningun hijo/ pasó muestra con tres cavallos flacos y cansados arcabus de Su Magestad espada/ y daga y cuera suia un criado y rogado del enemigo y lo firmó./ Alonso del Rio [rubricado]/15 El bachiller Francisco de Velasco secretario de cavildo pasó muestra a pie sin ningunas bestias arcabus y espa-/da de Su Magestad cuera y silla suia casado y con una hija y lo firmó./ Bachiller Francisco de Belasco [rubricado]/ El maestre de campo Francisco Gomes Robledo teniente de governador y capitan general de estado casado pasó/ muestra con ocho cavallos y sinco bestias mulares flacas y cansadas y quatro armas/20 de fuego mas y con ellas avia a un hijo suio mas sinco hijas y dos hijos todos niños, una/ ermana donsella una cuñada con siete criaturas veinte personas de servicio chico y/ grande, rogado del enemigo y lo firmó./ Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubricado]/ El maestre de campo Alonso Garsia teniente de governador y capitan general de las jurisdicciones del rio Avaxo/25 de estado casado pasó muestra ochenta cavallos sinco vestias mulares y todas flacas/ pasmadas y cansadas de servir al susodicho a tres hijos a dos guiernos, que todos tienen/ armas de su persona y son aviados por el dicho teniente general y son de estado casado sus/ dos hijos y dos guiernos, con dose personas de familia y veinte y dos criados de/ servicio y otro mansevo mas que puede

kingdom, passed in review with nine very worn out horses; all his weapons are his own; married without children, three young brothers who can take up arms, and without any weapons or horses, and four persons in his service, and robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Luis Granillo [rubric]. Captain Alonso del Rio, alderman of third vote; married without any children, passed in review with three thin and worn out horses and an harquebus of His Majesty, a sword and dagger and his own leather jacket, a servant and robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Alonso del Rio [rubric]. Bachelor Francisco de Velasco, secretary of the municipal council, passed in review on foot without any draft animals, a harquebus and sword of His Majesty, a leather jacket and his own saddle; married and with a daughter, and he signed it. Bachelor Francisco de Velasco [rubric]. Field Commander Francisco Gomez Robledo, lieutenant governor and captain general; married, passed in review with eight horses and five thin and tired out draft mules and four more firearms, and with them were his son as well as five daughters and two sons, all little children, his young sister, a sister-in-law with seven small children, twenty persons in his service, children and adults, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubric]. Field Commander Alonso Garcia, lieutenant governor and Captain General of the jurisdictions del Rio Abajo; married, passed in review with eighty horses, five draft mules, all too thin, disoriented and tired out to be of service to the aforementioned; three sons, two sons-in-law, all of whom have personal weapons and are equipped by the said lieutenant general; and his two sons and two sons-in-law are married, with

tomar armas y traí un arcabus de Su Magestad/30 rogado del enemigo y lo firmó./ Alonso Garsia [rubricado]/ [fol. 350v] El maestre de campo Thome Domingues de Mendosa pasó muestra con todas ar[mas]/ de su persona cuatro hijos soldados todos con todas armas de su persona treinta cava[llos]/ con que todos sirven a Su Magestad flacos y travaxados de estado casado y con cuatro n[iños];/ los tres hijos casados, con ocho yjos de sus familias y sinquenta y sinco personas de todo[s]/ 5 criados y criadas, chico y grande, rogados del enemigo asi el susodicho como s[u]/ hijo, de ganados casa y simenteras. Y lo firmó y en este confflito y alsamiento m[ata]-/ron los alsados treinta y ocho personas españolas todas como son hijas nietos gu[ier]-/nos hermanas y sobrinos y sobrinas y cuñados como es público y notorio y lo firmó./ Thome Doming[u]es de Mendosa [rubricado]/10 El maestre de campo Juan Domingues de Mendosa de estado casado pasó muestr[a]/ con todas armas de su persona y cuatro armas de fuego mas un hijo que p[ue]-/de servir a Su Magestad y otro pequeño una niña treinta y dos cavallos flacos/ ocho vestias mulares tres niñas guerfanas que a criado, españolas, casaderas/ y treinta y tres personas de servicio, chico y grande, y rogado del enemigo [y]/15 lo firmó./ Juan Doming[u]es de Mendoza [rubricado]/ El maestre de campo Pedro de Leiva que lo es actual del reino pasó muestra [con]/ por tres hijos suios que todos sirven a Su Magestad todos con todas armas de su p[er]-/sona y veinte y sinco cavallos que les sirven a todos algunos en buenas c[ar]-/20nes y los demas flacos. Y a el contenido le mató el enemigo a su muxer a do[s]/ hijas

twelve family members and twenty-two servants, and another young male who can take up arms, and he has an harquebus of His Majesty, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Alonso Garcia [rubric]. [fol. 350v] Field Commander Tome Dominguez de Mendoza passed in review with all his personal weapons, four sons, all soldiers with all their personal weapons, thirty horses with which all serve His Majesty, thin and worn out; married and with four small children, the three married sons, with eight children of their families and fifty-five persons in all, servants and maidservants, children and adults, robbed by the enemy, both the above mentioned as well as his son, of their cattle, home and fields., and he signed it, and in this conflict and uprising, the insurgents killed thirty-eight persons, all Spaniards, as well as a son, daughters, grandsons, sons-in-law, sisters and nephews and nieces and brothers-in-law, as is well known, and he signed it. Thome Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric]. Field Commander Juan Dominguez de Mendoza; married, passed in review with all his personal weapons and four firearms, plus a son who can serve His Majesty and another who is little, a little daughter, thirty-two thin horses, eight draft mules, three young orphan girls that he has raised, all Spanish, of marriageable age, and thirty-three persons in his service, children and adults, and robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Juan Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric]. Field Commander Pedro de Leiva, who is currently field commander of the kingdom, passed in review with three sons of his own, all of whom serve His Majesty, all of which brought all their personal weapons and twenty-five horses that all use, some in good shape and the

donsellas y dos hijos soldados estando en el pueblo de Galisteo, tres n[ie]-/tos y una nuera y de treinta personas de servicio que tenia le dexó tres e[1]/ enemigo, rogado de toda su hacienda y la de sus hijos y lo firmó. Pedro de Leyba [rubricado]/25 El capitán Ygn[a]cio Vaca de estado casado pasó muestra con seis cavallos flac[os]/ y cansados todas armas de su persona quatro hijos chicos y veinte perso[nas]/ de servicio, chico y grande, rogado del enemigo y lo firmó./ Ygn[a]cio B[aca] [rubricado]/ El sargento mayor Sevastian de Herrera pasó muestra con solo un cavallo fla-/[fol. 351r]co todas armas de su persona un hijo que tiene que puede servir a Su Magestad/ otros dos hijos chicos y dos niñas, dies y seis personas de servicio. Matole el enemi-/go a su esposa a su suegra y un cuñado y le rovó todas sus haciendas y lo fir-mó./5 Sebastian de Herrera [rubricado]/ El sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana pasó muestra con quatro cavallos flacos todas ar-/mas de su persona, casado y con una hija de pecho quatro personas de servicio, ro-/bado de casa y hacienda del henemigo y lo firmó./ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/10 El ayudante Nicolas Luzero de Godoy que lo es actual del reino passó muestra/ con arcabus espada y daga a pie robado del henemigo y es de estado casa-/do y escapó del henemigo porque fue sercado y lo firmó./ Nicolas Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ El capitán Josephe de Padilla passó muestra con un cavallo cansado todas armas de/15 su persona

rest thin. And the enemy killed his wife, two young daughters, and two sons, soldiers who were in the pueblo of Galisteo, three grandsons and a daughter-in-law, and of the thirty persons that he had in his service, the enemy left him three, robbed of all his hacienda and that of his sons, and he signed it. Pedro de Leiva [rubric]. Captain Ignacio Vaca; married, passed in review with six thin and worn out horses, all his personal weapons, four small sons and twenty persons in his service, children and adults, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Ignacio Baca [rubric]. Sergeant Major Sebastian de Herrera passed in review with only one thin [fol. 351r] horse, all his personal weapons, a son he has who can serve His Majesty, two other small sons and two little daughters, sixteen persons in his service. The enemy killed his wife, his mother-in-law and a brother-in-law and stole all their belongings, and he signed it. Sebastian de Herrera [rubric]. Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana passed in review with four thin horses, all his personal weapons; married and with a nursing daughter, four persons in his service, robbed of house and hacienda by the enemy, and he signed it. Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Aide de Camp Nicolas Lucero de Godoy, who currently holds that title for the kingdom, passed in review with an harquebus, sword and dagger, on foot, robbed by enemy, and he is married and escaped from the enemy because he was surrounded, and he signed it. Nicolas Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Captain Joseph de Padilla<sup>1</sup> passed in review with a tired

<sup>1</sup> Josephe de Padilla. A native of Queretaro, Mexico and married to Maria Lopez, his full name was Joseph Villasenor de Padilla and was 33 years old at the time. After the rebellion of 1680 he went to live in Senecu del Paso and in 1689 we have news about the trip he made to Mexico City as an escort for some friars (Chávez 1992:84).

cassado y con sinco hijos, seis criados, chico y grande, y lo firmó;/ y le robaron su cassa./ Joseph de Padilla [rubricado]/El capitan Gonsalo de Paderes passó muestra con dos cavallos flacos to-/das armas de su persona de estado casado y çinco hijos pequeños on-/20se personas de serviçio, robado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Gonsalo de Paredes [rubricado]/ El capitan don Joseph de Chaves pasó muestra con tres cavallos y quatro bes-/tias mulares todas armas de su persona dies personas de serviçio su mu-/jer y un niño y lo firmó./25 Don Joseph Duran y Chaves/ [fol. 351v] Antonio Gallegos passó muestra con dos cavallos flacos todas armas de/ su persona, de estado cassado, dos hijos pequeñitos tres personas de serviçio,/ robado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Antonio Gallegos [rubricado]/5 El capitan Juan Luis el viejo passó muestra con una yegua cansada un arca-/bus quevrado sin otras armas de estado casado, un ijo grande, sin abio, dos/ niñas, digo tres, un criado, robado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Juan Luis [rubricado]/ El capitan Salvador Olguin pasó muestra con seis cavallos flacos to-/10das armas de su persona, de estado casado, nueve hijos, dies criados,/ rovrado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Salvador Holguin [rubricado]/ El capitan Juan Luis el moso pasó muestra con un cavallo flaco arcabus/ quevrado que no sirve, espada y cuera, casado y con un hijo, sumamente/15 pobre y lo firmó./

out horse, all of his personal weapons; married and with five sons, six servants, children and adults, and he signed it, and they robbed him of his house. Joseph de Padilla [rubric]. Captain Gonzalo de Paredes passed in review with two thin horses, all his personal weapons; married and five small sons, eleven persons in his service, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Gonzalo de Paredes [rubric]. Captain Don Joseph de Chaves passed in review with three horses and four draft mules, all his personal weapons, ten persons in his service, his wife and a little boy, and he signed it. Don Joseph Duran y Chaves.<sup>2</sup> [fol. 351v] Antonio Gallegos passed in review with two thin horses, all his personal weapons; married, two very little sons, three persons in his service, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Antonio Gallegos [rubric]. Captain Juan Luis the elder passed in review with a tired out mare, a broken harquebus, without any other weapons; married, a grown son, without gear, two little daughters – I mean three – a servant, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Juan Luis [rubric]. Captain Salvador Olguin<sup>3</sup> passed in review with six thin horses all his personal weapons; married, nine sons, ten servants, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Salvador Holguin [rubric]. Captain Juan Luis the younger passed in review with a thin horse, a broken, useless harquebus, a sword and leather jacket; married and with a son, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Juan

<sup>2</sup> He was 26 years old and was married to Ana Marquez Carvajal, who tried to poison him in El Real de San Lorenzo in 1682. However, it was Juan Chavez who took the potion by mistake, which only made him sick. He was 26 years old in 1680 (Chávez 1992:22).

<sup>3</sup> Son of Cristobal Holguin, he was married to Magdalena Fresqui, was 43 years old in 1680 and had nine children (Chávez 1992:82).

Joan Luiz [rubricado]/ El alferes Francisco Varela pasó muestra con cinco vestias gordas/ todas armas de su persona, madre, quatro hermanos y dos criados, rova-/do del henemigo y le mató a su mujer y lo firmó./<sup>20</sup> Francisco Varela[rubricado]/ Antonio de Montoia pasó muestra con un cavallo flaco arcabus y espada/ casado y con tres hijos, dos criados, rogado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Antonio Montoya [rubricado]/ [fol. 352r] Felipe Montoya pasó muestra a pie desnudo sumamente pobre y con/ un cavallo cansado, casado y quatro hijos y lo firmó./ Felipe Montoya [rubricado]/ El sarjento mayor Diego Luzero de Godoy pasó muestra con dies veztias flacas todas/5 armas de su persona un criado armado; matole el henemigo treinta y dos/ personas, madre, hermanos, hijos y criados y le rovo todas sus haciendas/ y lo firmó./ Diego Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ El sarjento mayor Ambrosio Saes pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos/10 todas armas de su persona dos hijos desnudos, sin abio, mujer y o-/troz ocho hijos chicos, siete personas de serviçio, rogado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Ambrosio Sais [rubricado]/ El capitan don Fernando de Chaves pasó muestra con ocho cavallos/15 flacos y matados arcabus y espada, casado y con quatro hijos niños,/ dos criados y rogado del henemigo y lo

Luis [rubric]. Ensign Francisco Varela<sup>4</sup> passed in review with five fat draft animals, all his personal weapons, his mother, four brothers and two servants, robbed by enemy who also killed his wife, and he signed it. Francisco Varela [rubric]. Antonio de Montoya<sup>5</sup> passed in review with a thin horse, harquebus and sword; married and with three sons, two servants, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Antonio Montoya [rubric]. [fol. 352r] Felipe Montoya<sup>6</sup> passed in review on foot unclad, exceedingly poor and with a worn out horse; married and four sons, and he signed it. Felipe Montoya [rubric]. Sergeant Major Diego Lucero de Godoy passed in review with ten thin draft animals, all his personal weapons, an armed servant; the enemy killed thirty-two of his people, his mother, brothers, sons and servants and stole all of his belongings, and he signed it. Diego Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Sergeant Major Ambrosio Sais<sup>7</sup> passed in review with two thin horses, all his personal weapons, two sons, unclad, without gear, his wife and another eight small children, seven persons in his service, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Ambrosio Sais [rubric]. Captain Don Fernando de Chaves passed in review with eight thin and dying horses, an harquebus and sword; married and with four small sons, two servants and robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Fernando

<sup>4</sup> A native of New Mexico, 25 years old, the Indians killed his wife in 1680 (Chávez 1992:111).

<sup>5</sup> Native of New Mexico and approximately forty years old, he returned to New Mexico in 1693 with his wife, Maria Hurtado (Chávez 1992:78).

<sup>6</sup> A native of New Mexico and 28 years old, he was married to María de Paredes, who had four children (Chávez 1992:78).

<sup>7</sup> Given that his son used the surname Sáez (Agustín Sáez Chávez 1992:100), we assume that the surname of Ambrosio was Sáez, although the surname Saiz also exists. Ambrosio was a native of Valle de San Bartolomé in Nueva Vizcaya and had lived in San Felipe de Jesus (Chihuahua). At the time of the uprising of 1680 his house was located in Cañada. He was about forty at the time and was married to Ana Rodriguez de Anaya. In 1682 he abandoned the refugee camp in Guadalupe del Paso with his family (Chávez 1992:100).



firmó./ Fernando de Chavez/ El sarjento mayor Diego Lopez Sanvrano passó muestra con ocho cava-/llos flacos todas armas de su persona y cavallo, casado y con seis hi-/20jos pequeños çiete personas de serviçio, rogado del henemigo/ y lo firmó./ Diego Lopes Sanbrano [rubricado]/ El sarjento mayor Domingo Lopes de Ocanto, enfermo, pasó muestra/ [fol. 352v] con un cavallo arcabus y cuera, casado y con seis hijos, sumamente/ pobres, ninguna persona de serviçio y lo firmó./ Domingo Lopes de Ocanto [rubricado]/ El sarjento mayor don Felipe de Arvisu pasó muestra con, a pi[e],/5 desnudo arcabus, casado y con dos hijos barones y seis pequeñ[os]/ varones y henbras sin abio ninguno, sumamente pobrez y lo firmó./ Felipe de Albisu [rubricado]/ El capitan Françisco de Madrid pasó muestra con quatro veztias arcab[us]/ solo, casado, con quatro hijos pequeños, una criada y lo firmó./10 Françisco de Madrid [rubricado]/ El capitan Pablo de Ortega pasó muestra con çinco vestias mui fla[cas]/ arcabus espada y cuera, casado y seis hijos pequeños, rogado del/ henemigo y lo firmó./ Pablo de Ortega [rubricado]/15 El capitan Alonso Ramires pasó muestra a pie con una espada, c[asa]-/do y seis hijos chicos, sumamente pobre y lo firmó./ Alonso Ramires [rubricado]/ El alferes Felipe Serna passó muestra a pie con solo arcabus, casad[o]/ y con ocho hijos, sumamente pobrez, rogado del henemigo/20 y lo firmó./ Felipe Serna [rubricado]/ El capitan Roque de Madrid pasó muestra con tres cavallos flacos y dos bestias mulares flacas y cansada[s]/

de Chavez. Sergeant Major Diego Lopez Sanbrano passed in review with eight thin horses, all his personal weapons and horse; married and with six small children, seven persons in his service, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Diego Lopez Sanbrano [rubric]. Sergeant Major Domingo Lopez de Ocanto, ill, passed in review [fol. 352v] with a horse, an harquebus and leather jacket; married and with six sons, exceedingly poor, no persons in his service, and he signed it. Domingo Lopez de Ocanto [rubric]. Sergeant Major Don Felipe de Arvisu passed in review, on foot, unclad, an harquebus; married and with two sons and six small sons and daughters, without any gear, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Felipe de Albisu [rubric]. Captain Francisco de Madrid passed in review with four draft animals, harquebus, alone; married, with four small sons, a maidservant, and he signed it. Francisco de Madrid [rubric]. Captain Pablo de Ortega passed in review with five very thin draft animals, harquebus, sword and leather jacket; married and six small sons, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Pablo de Ortega [rubric]. Captain Alonso Ramirez passed in review on foot with a sword; married and six small sons, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Alonso Ramirez [rubric]. Ensign Felipe Serna<sup>8</sup> passed in review on foot with just an harquebus; married and with eight sons, exceedingly poor, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Felipe Serna [rubric]. Captain Roque de Madrid passed in review with three thin horses and two skinny and worn out draft mules, all his personal weapons, with his wife and four small sons, his house was stolen by the enemy and

<sup>8</sup> A native of New Mexico and 39 years old, he was married to Isabel Lujan and had eight children (Chávez 1992:103).

todas armas de su persona, con muxer y quatro hijos chicos, rovada su casa del enemigo y sum[a]-/mente pobre y lo firmó./25 Roque de Madrid [rubricado]/ [fol. 353r] El alferes Pedro Martin, de estado casado, pasó muestra con tres cavallos flacos, armas de su/ persona y con ocho hijos y yjas, rovada su casa y milpas del enemigo y lo firmó./ Pedro Martin Serrano [rubricado]/ El sargento mayor Don Pedro Duran y Chaves, de estado casado, pasó muestra con ocho cavallos/5 flacos y otros que se le an perdido en el viaxe que con ellos servia Su Mersed y un hijo suio/ a Su Magestad, todas armas de su persona y de su hijo, dies hijos y hijas chicos, treinta per-/sonas de servicio, chico y grande, rovado del enemigo de su casa, simenteras y asienda y lo/ firmó./ Don Pedro Duran y Chabez [rubricado]/10 Cristobal de Tapia pasó muestra con dos cavallos y un macho flacos, todas armas de/ su persona, de estado casado sin hijos, quatro personas de servicio y lo firmó./ Cristoval de Tapia [rubricado]/ Manuel de Valencia, enfermo, pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, armas de su per-/sona, de estado casado, con quatro hijos chicos, dos criados y lo firmó./15 Manuel de Balencia [rubricado]/ El alferes Domingo Martin pasó muestra con una vestia suia, arcabus y espada/ de Su Magestad, de estado casado, con dos hijas y sin ningun criado, sumamente pobre y/ lo firmó./ Domingo Martin [rubricado]/20 Don

exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Roque de Madrid [rubric]. [fol. 353r] Ensign Pedro Martin,<sup>9</sup> married, passed in review with three thin horses, personal weapons and with eight sons and daughters, robbed of his house and cornfield by the enemy, and he signed it. Pedro Martin Serrano [rubric]. Sergeant Major Don Pedro Duran y Chaves, married, passed in review with eight thin horses and others that he lost during the trip, and with them he served His Grace, and a son of his served His Majesty, all his personal weapons and of his son, ten small sons and daughters, thirty persons in his service, children and adults, robbed by the enemy, his home, fields and belongings, and he signed it. Don Pedro Duran y Chavez [rubric]. Cristobal de Tapia passed in review with two horses and a mule, thin, all his personal weapons; married without children, four persons in his service, and he signed it. Cristobal de Tapia [rubric]. Manuel de Valencia,<sup>10</sup> ill, passed in review with two thin horses, personal weapons; married, with four small sons, two servants, and he signed it. Manuel de Valencia [rubric]. Ensign Domingo Martin passed in review with his draft animal, an harquebus and sword of His Majesty; married, with two daughters and without any servants, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Domingo Martin [rubric]. Don Francisco Rascon<sup>11</sup> passed in review with two horses, one belonging to him and another belonging to His Majesty, an harquebus and sword of His Majesty; married, without children, and the enemy

<sup>9</sup> His full name was Pedro Martín Serrano de Salazar and was probably the son of Luis Martin Serrano and Catalina de Salazar (Chávez 1992:72). He was married to Juana Arguello with whom he returned to New Mexico in 1693 to resettle in Cañada. In 1700 Pedro had already passed away, although his widow was still residing in Santa Fe in 1718 (Chávez 1992:222).

<sup>10</sup> He was 29 years old; married to Angela Tapia and had four children (Chávez 1992:109).

<sup>11</sup> Married, no children, 34 years old. He did not return to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:91).

Francisco Rascon pasó muestra con dos cavallos, uno propio y otro de Su Magestad, arcabus/ y espada de Su Magestad, de estado casado, sin hijos y llevole el enemigo en el alsamiento dos/ cavallos y lo firmó./ Don Francisco Rascon [rubricado]/ Joseph de la Serna pasó muestra con un cavallo, adereso y arcabus, todo de Su Magestad;/25 es sola su persona y lo firmó./ Joseph de la Serna [rubricado]/ El sargento Francisco de Aguilar pasó muestra a pie con arcabus y espada de Su Magestad, de/ estado casado, sin ningun hijo y lo firmó./ Francisco de Aguilar [rubricado]/30 El capitán Antonio de Avalos pasó muestra con dos cavallos suyos, adereso suio y/ arcabus de Su Magestad, de estado casado, con ocho hijos, sumamente pobre y lo/ [fol. 353v] firmó./ Antonio de Abalos [rubricado]/ Pedro de Cuellar pasó muestra con quatro cavallos flacos, arcabus de Su Magestad y adereso sui[o],/ un muchacho que le sirve, matole el enemigo en el alsamiento a su muxer y una niña; [le]/5 rovo su pobresa y lo firmó./ Pedro de Cuellar [rubricado]/ El alferes Pedro Lopes pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, espada y arcabus, casado [y]/ una niña, sumamente pobre, y lo firmó./ Pedro Lopez [rubricado]/10 El capitán Luis Martin pasó muestra con un caballo flaco, un arcabus del Rei,

carried off his two horses in the uprising, and he signed it. Don Francisco Rascon [rubric]. Joseph de la Serna<sup>12</sup> passed in review with a horse, dressing and harquebus, all of His Majesty; he is alone, and he signed it. Joseph de la Serna [rubric]. Sergeant Francisco de Aguilar passed in review on foot with an harquebus and sword of His Majesty; married, without any children, and he signed it. Francisco de Aguilar [rubric]. Captain Antonio de Avalos<sup>13</sup> passed in review with two horses of his own, dressing of his own and harquebus of His Majesty; married, with eight sons, exceedingly poor and he signed [fol. 353v] it. Antonio de Avalos [rubric]. Pedro de Cuellar passed in review with four thin horses, an harquebus of His Majesty and dressing of his own, a young boy who serves him; the enemy in the uprising killed his wife and his little girl; the enemy robbed his poverty, and he signed it. Pedro de Cuellar [rubric]. Ensign Pedro Lopez<sup>14</sup> passed in review with two thin horses, a sword and harquebus; married with a little daughter, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Pedro Lopez [rubric]. Captain Luis Martin<sup>15</sup> passed in review with a thin horse, an harquebus of the King, broken; married, with twelve children, four of whom are sons who can serve His Majesty, and unclad and exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Luis Martin [rubric]. Sergeant Major Lorenzo de

<sup>12</sup> He arrived in 1677 forced to serve two years without salary as a soldier. He was a native of Puebla and was 34 years old. It seems that he returned to Puebla after the 1680 uprising (Hackett 1937:320, Chávez 1992:103).

<sup>13</sup> Married to Juana Ruiz Caceres and father of eight children, he was 49 years old and a native of New Mexico. In 1660 he was listed as in charge of the Salinas salt mines (Chávez 1992:8).

<sup>14</sup> 31 years old, he was married and had a daughter. He returned to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:55).

<sup>15</sup> His full name was Luis Martín Serrano (junior) and the time was around 50 years old. He was a native of New Mexico, was married to Antonia Miranda and had twelve children. They returned to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:72-73).

quebr[ado],/ de estado casado, con dose hijos, los quatro varones, que pueden servir a Su Magestad y de[snu]-/dos y sumamente pobres, y lo firmó./ Luis Martin [rubricado]/ El sargento mayor Lorenzo de Madrid pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, todas armas de su p[er]-/15sona, de estado casado, un hijo que puede servir a Su Magestad, desnudo y sin ningun av[io y]/ tres criadas; rovole el enemigo su casa y otros dos criados y lo firmó. Lorenzo de Madrid [rubricado]/ Estevan Lopez pasó muestra con un cavallo suio, arcabus de Su Magestad, espada suia, [de esta]-/do casado y con dos niños y veinte y tres personas de madre hermanos y criados y lo firmó./20 Estevan lopez [rubricado]/ El sargento mayor Diego del Castillo de mas de ochenta años de edad pasó muestra a [pie]/ y sin ningunas armas, casado y con dos hijas donsellas y sumamente pobres y [lo]/ firmó./ Diego del Castillo [rubricado]/ 25 Antonio de Aiala pasó muestra con dos cavallos suos flacos, arcabus y espada d[e Su]/ Magestad, casado sin ningun hijo, sumamente pobre, sin mas caudal que los dos [ca]-/vallos y lo firmó./ Antonio de Ayala [rubricado]/ El capitán Joseph Telles Xiron pasó muestra con tres vestias mui flacas y matadas, tod[as]/30 armas de su persona, de estado casado, tres hijos varones y quatro embras, los [va]-/rones dos de ellos que pueden servir a Su Magestad y el contenido y toda su fam[ilia]/ sumamente pobres, rovados del enemigo y sinco personas de s[u]/ [fol. 354r] servicio y lo firmó./

Madrid passed in review with two thin horses, all his personal weapons; married, a son who can serve His Majesty, unclad and without any gear and three maidservants; the enemy robbed him of his house and two other servant women, and he signed it. Lorenzo de Madrid [rubric]. Esteban Lopez<sup>16</sup> passed in review with a horse of his own, an harquebus of His Majesty, his own sword; married and with two small boys and twenty-three persons, his mother brothers and servants, and he signed it. Esteban Lopez [rubric]. Sergeant Major Diego del Castillo, more than eighty years old, passed in review on foot and without any weapons; married and with two young daughters and exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Diego del Castillo [rubric]. Antonio de Ayala passed in review with two thin horses of his own, an harquebus and sword of His Majesty; married without children, exceedingly poor, without any belongings other than the two horses, and he signed it. Antonio de Ayala [rubric]. Captain Joseph Telles Xiron passed in review with three very thin and dying draft animals, all his personal weapons; married, three sons and four daughters, two of the sons who can serve His Majesty and he and his whole family are exceedingly poor, robbed by the enemy, and five persons in his [fol. 354r] service, and he signed it. Joseph Telles Xiron [rubric]. Joseph Gallegos<sup>17</sup> passed in review with two thin horses, an harquebus of the King that is falling apart, a sword and his dagger; married and with three little sons and a maidservant, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Joseph Gallegos [rubric]. Ensign

<sup>16</sup> Same as Esteban Lopez de Grazia (see above).

<sup>17</sup> Brother of Antonio Gallegos and 27 years old, Joseph was with the escort wagons bound for Santa Fe in 1680. His family escaped the revolt and joined him. He was a native of Parral; married to Catalina Hurtado and their children were Diego, Nicolas Juan and Maria (Chávez 1992:31).

Josep Telles Jiron [rubricado]/ Joseph Gallegos pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, arcabus del/ Rei echado a perder, espada y daga suia, casado y con tres hijos chiquitos y una/5 criada, rogado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Joceph Gallegos [rubricado]/ El alferes Alonso Varela pasó muestra con cinco cavallos flacos y/ matados, arcabus, espada y coletto, casado y con cinco hijos pequeños,/ ocho personas de servicio y lo firmó./<sup>10</sup> Alonso Barela de Losada [rubricado]/ El alferes Francisco Romero pasó muestra a pie con arcabus quevrado,/ una espada y un coletto, casado y con quatro hijos y lo firmó./ Y tres personas de servicio./ Francisco Romero de Pedrasa [rubricado]/ <sup>15</sup> Diego Hurtado pasó muestra con una yegua gorda, espada y daga,/ casado, una hija, su madre, cinco hermanos chicos, dos criados, sumamente/ pobre, robado del henemigo y lo firmó./ Diego Hurtado/ Diego Varela pasó muestra con dos cavallos suios, arcabus y cuera y adere-/<sup>20</sup>so de Su Magestad, casado y con dos niños, cinco personas, madre y hermanas y una / yndia y lo firmó./ Diego Varela [rubricado]/ Diego Luxan pasó muestra con un cavallo flaco suio,

Alonso Varela<sup>18</sup> passed in review with five thin and dying horses, an harquebus, a sword and jerkin; married and with five small sons, eight persons in his service, and he signed it. Alonso Varela de Losada [rubric]. Ensign Francisco Romero passed in review on foot with a broken harquebus, a sword and a jerkin; married and with four sons, and he signed it. And three persons in his service. Francisco Romero de Pedrasa [rubric]. Diego Hurtado<sup>19</sup> passed in review with a fat mare, a sword and dagger; married, a daughter, his mother, five little brothers, two servants, exceedingly poor, robbed by enemy, and he signed it. Diego Hurtado. Diego Varela<sup>20</sup> passed in review with two horses of his own, an harquebus and leather jacket and dressing of His Majesty; married and with two little boys, five persons, his mother and sisters and an Indian woman, and he signed it. Diego Varela [rubric]. Diego Luxan<sup>21</sup> passed in review with a thin horse of his own, an harquebus and sword of the King; married and with two little sons, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Diego Luxan [rubric]. [fol. 354v] Diego de Montoya<sup>22</sup> passed in review with a thin horse without any other gear; married and with two little sons, very poor, and he signed it. Diego Montoya

<sup>18</sup> This ensign was married and had five children. There is no record of him after 1680 (Chávez 1992:111).

<sup>19</sup> Twenty-odd years old, he was married to Josefa de la Fuente and was brother of Andres Hurtado. In 1694 both Diego and his wife already were understood to be deceased (Chávez 1992:50).

<sup>20</sup> His full name was Diego Varela de Losada and was 29 years old. In 1684 we know that he was part of the Dominguez expedition and in 1692 he was appointed as the Governor's messenger to the viceroy. He was married to Ana María Fresqui and both appear as residents in Guadalupe del Paso in 1710. His children were named Juan (married to Maria Maese) and Jose (he married Maria Gallegos) (Chávez 1992:111).

<sup>21</sup> Born in New Mexico, he was 24 years of age and was married to Juana Salazar, a Zuni Indian. Both left the Real de San Lorenzo and settled in El Real de San Juan in Nueva Vizcaya (Chávez 1992:64).

<sup>22</sup> A 22-year-old native of New Mexico, he was married to Maria Josefa de Hinojos. He returned to New Mexico in 1693 with Vargas (Chávez 1992:78).

arcabus y espada/ del Rei, casado y con dos hijitos, sumamente pobre y lo firmó./25 Diego Luxan [rubricado]/ [fol. 354v] Diego de Montoia pasó muestra con un cavallo flaco sin mas abi[o],/ casado y con dos hijitos, mui pobre y lo firmó./ Diego Montoya [rubricado]/ El capitán Antonio MARQUEZ pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, ar[ca]-/5 vus, espada y cuera, casado y con çinco hijos y ocho personas d[e]/ serviçio y lo firmó./ Antonio Marques [rubricado]/Agustin Luxan passó muestra con una yegua y arcavuz, sin otro [a]-/bio, casado y con dos hijos, una criada y tres cuñadas y lo firmó./10 Agustin Luxan/ Pedro Marquespassó muestra con un cavallo flaco suio y aderes[o]/ de Su Magestad y un ijo; llebole el henemigo a su mujer y a una/ yja y lo firmó./ Pedro Marques/15 El alferéz Vlas Griego passó muestra con tres cavallos cansados d[e]/ flacos, espada y arcabus y dies y çiete personas de mujer yjos, [madre]/ y jente de serviçio, rovada su povresa del henemigo y lo firm[ó]./ Blas Griego [rubricado]/ El alferéz Antonio Luzero de Godoy passó muestra con dos veztias vien trata[das]/20 suias, arcavuz y espada de Su Magestad; matole el henemigo a su mujer y dos [ni]-/ños y quatro criadas; rovole su haçienda y lo firmó./ Antonio Luzero [rubricado]/ El

[rubric]. Captain Antonio Marquez<sup>23</sup> passed in review with two thin horses, an harquebus, a sword and leather jacket; married and with five sons and eight persons in his service, and he signed it. Antonio Marques [rubric]. Agustin Luxan<sup>24</sup> passed in review with a mare and harquebus, without any other gear; married and with two sons, a maidservant and three sister-in-laws, and he signed it. Agustin Luxan. Pedro Marques<sup>25</sup> passed in review with a thin horse of his own and dressing of His Majesty and a son; the enemy took his wife and a daughter, and he signed it. Pedro Marques. Ensign Blas Griego passed in review with three horses worn out from gauntness, a sword and harquebus and seventeen persons, his wife, sons, his mother and people in his service, robbed in his poverty by the enemy, and he signed it. Blas Griego [rubric]. Ensign Antonio Lucero de Godoy<sup>26</sup> passed in review with two well-treated draft animals of his own, an harquebus and sword of His Majesty; the enemy killed his wife and two small boys and four maidservants; he robbed him of his belongings, and he signed it. Antonio Lucero [rubric]. Captain Juan de Madrid passed in review with two horses and a mule [fol. 355r] thin, a sword and shield, a broken, useless harquebus; married and with six little sons, all of them unclad, with his house robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Juan de Madrid. Captain Juan del

<sup>23</sup> 37 years old and a native of New Mexico, he was married to Francisca Dominguez, with whom he had five children (Chávez 1992:70).

<sup>24</sup> 25 years old, a native of New Mexico and it appears that he married Luisa Varela after the reconquest(Chávez 1992:64).

<sup>25</sup> He escaped the revolt with one son, but the Indians carried off his wife and daughter. He was 40 years old in 1681 and a native of New Mexico. He was a cousin of the aforementioned Captain Pedro Marquez (Chávez 1992:70).

<sup>26</sup> His wife and children had been killed by Indians in 1680 and he remarried Antonia Varela, with whom he returned to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:61).

capitan Juan de Madrid passó muestra con dos cavallos y un mach[o] [fol. 355r] flacos, espada y chimal, arcabuz quevrado que no sirve, casado/ y con seis hijos chiquitos, todos desnudos y rovida su casa del/ henemigo y lo firmó./ Juan de Madrid/5 El capitan Juan del Rio passó muestra con tres cavallos flacos, armas de su/ persona, casado y con çiete hijos chicos, dos criados, probe sin mas vienes/ y lo firmó./ Juan del Rio [rubricado]/ Apolinar Martin passó muestra a pie, desnudo y sin armas, casado/ 10 y dos hijos, tres personas de serviçio y sumamente pobre y lo firmó./ Apolinar Martin [rubricado]/ Sevastian Gonzalez passó muestra con dos cavallos flacos y cansa-/dos y otro de Su Magestad, espada y arcavus suio y daga del Rei, sumamente po-/bre casado y con quatro hijos chicos y lo firmó./15 Sevastian Gonzalez/ Juan de las Mariñas pasó muestra a pie con arcabuz del Rei. Tiene de/ familia a su madre, seis hermanos y una criada que asen numero de nueve,/ mui pobrez todos y lo firmó./ Juan de las Mariñaz [rubricado]/20 Domingo Martin pasó muestra con tres cavallos cansados y muy/ flacos, arcavus y adarga, casado y con çinco, hijos sumamente/ pobre, con un criado y rovido del henemigo y lo firmó./ Domingo Martin [rubricado]/ Lazaro de Misquia pasó muestra con tres cavallos flacos, arcabus/25 de Su Magestad, espada y adarga, casado, con dos hijos, tres criadas, po-/ [fol. 355v]vre de

Rio passed in review with three thin horses, personal weapons; married and with seven small sons, two servants, poor, without any other goods, and he signed it. Juan del Rio [rubric] Apolinar Martin<sup>27</sup> passed in review on foot, unclad and without weapons; married and two sons, three persons in his service and exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Apolinar Martin [rubric]. Sebastian Gonzalez<sup>28</sup> passed in review with two thin and worn out horses and another of His Majesty, his own sword and harquebus and dagger of the King, exceedingly poor; married and with four small sons, and he signed it. Sebastian Gonzalez. Juan de las Mariñas<sup>29</sup> passed in review on foot with an harquebus of the King. Of his family he has his mother, six brothers and a maidservant who number nine in total, all very poor, and he signed it. Juan de las Mariñas [rubric]. Domingo Martin passed in review with three worn out and very thin horses, an harquebus and shield; married and with five sons, exceedingly poor, with a servant and robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Domingo Martin [rubric]. Lazaro de Mizquia passed in review with three thin horses, an harquebus of His Majesty, a sword and shield; married, with two sons, three maidservants, extremely [fol. 355v] poor, robbed by the enemy, of house and belongings, and he signed it. Lazaro de Mizquia [rubric]. Francisco Garcia Nieto<sup>30</sup> passed in review with four thin and dying horses and with only his own sword and a servant. And the enemy killed his father

<sup>27</sup> He was in his thirties at the time and was a native of New Mexico. He is reported in 1684 as a resident of Isleta del Paso. (Chávez 1992:73).

<sup>28</sup> A resident of the district of Cañada, it seems that his second surname was Bas and that he returned to New Mexico with the reconquest (Chávez 1992:40).

<sup>29</sup> There is no further news of this young man. Judging by his last name, he would be from Galicia.

<sup>30</sup> 25 years old, most of his family was killed by the Indians of Galisteo. (Chávez 1992:81).

solegnidad, rogado del henemigo, casa y hacienda y lo firmó./ Lazaro de Mizquia [rubricado]/ Francisco Garcia Nieto pasó muestra con cuatro cavallos flacos y matados y espada sola suia/ y un criado. Y le mató el enemigo a su padre y a su madre, dos hermanas, una cuñada y cuatro sobrinas./5 Y le rovoó el enemigo todo quanto tenían sus padres y él con mas cuatro yndias de servicio/ y lo firmó./ Francisco Garcia Nieto [rubricado]/ El capitan Alonso de Moraga pasó muestra con quatro cavallos y un macho flacos y to-/das armas de su persona y enfermo, de estado casado, con sinco hijos chicos y trein-/10ta personas de servicio, chico y grande, y lo firmó./ Alonso de Moraga [rubricado]/ Francisco Gonsales Bernal pasó muestra con solo un cavallo, arcabus del Rey y espada suia, d[e]/ estado viudo, con su madre y una cuñada viuda y sinco sobrinas suias, una yndia/ y tres hijos criados suios, sumamente pobres, y lo firmó./15 Francisco Gonsales Bernal [rubricado]/ Nicolas Luzero de Godoi pasó muestra a pie, desnudo, con arcabus y espada de Su Magestad./ casado, con dos hijitos, sumamente pobres, y lo firmó./ Nicolas Luzero [rubricado]/ Juan Pacheco pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, espada suia y arcabus de Su Magestad, [sin]/ 20 mas vienes, de estado casado, con tres hijos pequeños y una criada y lo firmó. Juan Pacheco [rubricado]/ Domingo de

and his mother, two sisters, a sister-in-law and four nieces. And the enemy robbed everything his parents had, and he with four Indian women in his service, and he signed it. Francisco Garcia Nieto [rubric]. Captain Alonso de Moraga passed in review with four horses and a mule, thin and all his personal weapons and ill; married, with five small sons and thirty persons in his service, children and adults, and he signed it. Alonso de Moraga [rubric]. Francisco Gonzalez Bernal<sup>31</sup> passed in review with only one horse, an harquebus of the King and his own sword, a widower, with his mother and a sister-in-law widow and five nieces his own, an Indian woman and three sons servants of his own, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Francisco Gonzalez Bernal [rubric]. Nicolas Lucero de Godoy passed in review on foot, unclad, with an harquebus and sword of His Majesty; married, with two little sons, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Nicolas Lucero [rubric]. Juan Pacheco<sup>32</sup> passed in review with two thin horses, his own sword and an harquebus of His Majesty, without any other goods; married, with three small sons and a maidservant, and he signed it. Juan Pacheco [rubric]. Domingo de Herrera<sup>33</sup> passed in review with a thin horse and an unbroken colt, an harquebus, a sword and dagger of His Majesty. The enemy killed his wife and seven sons his mother-in-law and two brothers-in-law, who amount to eleven persons. They robbed his poverty and

<sup>31</sup> Son of Felipa Jiménez García Bernal and Diego González (Chávez 1992:40).

<sup>32</sup> He was 35 years old in 1680, a native of New Mexico and was married to Antonia de Arratia. They returned to Santa Fe in 1693 (Chávez 1992:84).

<sup>33</sup> He was 30 years old and was born in Cañada. He lived in Taos, where he lost his wife, Maria Ramos, and seven children at the hands of the Indians in the 1680 attack. He survived, however, since he was in the escort of the wagons in Guadalupe del Paso. He remarried three years later with Maria Martin (widow of Antonio Lujan), who is recorded as a widow in 1710, living in Santa Cruz (Chávez 1992:46).



Herrera pasó muestra con un cavallo flaco y un potro serrero, arcabus, espad[a]/ y daga de Su Magestad. Matole el enemigo a su muxer y siete hijos y a su suegra y dos [cu]-ñados, que asen numero de onse personas. Rovaronle su pobresa y casa en el pu[eblo]/25 de los taos. Rogo firmasen por él por no saver a ruego de Domingo de Herrera. Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ El capitan Juan de Mondragon, de mas de ochenta años de edad, mui biejo y pobrasi[mo],/ pasó muestra a pie, desnudo, com beinte y quatro personas de familia y lo firmó./ Juan de Mondragon [rubricado]/ [fol. 356r] Cristoval Nieto pasó muestra con quatro vestias flacas, arcabus y espada/ suias y sumamente pobre y lo firmó./ Cristoval Nieto [rubricado]/ Francisco Montoia pasó muestra con quatro cavallos suios, arcabus suio y espa-/5da del Rey y dies y seis personas de familia, de madre, hermanas y sobrinos y jente/ de servicio y lo firmó./ Francisco Montoya [rubricado]/ Lorenso Gutierrez pasó muestra con un cavallo mui flaco, cansado, de esta-/do casado, con un hijo chico y sumamente pobre y lo firmó./10

house in the pueblo de the Taos. He asked them to sign for him because he did not know how. At the petition of Domingo de Herrera. Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Captain Juan de Mondragon,<sup>34</sup> more than eighty years old, very old and very poor, passed in review on foot, unclad, with twenty-four family members, and he signed it. Juan de Mondragon [rubric]. [fol. 356r] Cristobal Nieto<sup>35</sup> passed in review with four skinny draft animals, an harquebus and his own sword and exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Cristobal Nieto [rubric]. Francisco Montoya<sup>36</sup> passed in review with four horses of his own, an harquebus of his own and sword of the King and sixteen family members, including his mother, sisters and nephews and people in his service, and he signed it. Francisco Montoya [rubric]. Lorenzo Gutierrez<sup>37</sup> passed in review with a very thin, worn out horse; married, with a small son and exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Lorenzo Gutierrez [rubric]. Tiburcio de Ortega<sup>38</sup> passed in review with three thin horses, all his personal weapons; married and with a son, with twenty family members, his wife, a daughter, his mother, brothers, nieces and nephews and servants, and he signed it. Tiburcio de Ortega

<sup>34</sup> Encomendero Senecu in 1660, he was more than 80 years of age in 1680. He died two years later in Guadalupe del Paso (Chávez 1992:75)

<sup>35</sup> He was the brother of the aforementioned Francisco García Nieto. The enemy kidnapped his wife, Petrona Pacheco, and their children at the outbreak of revolt. In 1692, twelve years later, Roque de Madrid found her in the pueblo of San Juan with five daughters and two sons (she had three more children during captivity) and released her. Cristobal, who at the time lived in Sonora, returned with his family to Santa Fe in 1692 (Chávez 1992:81).

<sup>36</sup> 47 years old, he was a native of New Mexico and deserted the camp at Guadalupe del Paso (Chávez 1992:78).

<sup>37</sup> There is no further news of him, so it is assumed that he either died or left the refugee camp of El Paso (Chávez 1992:44).

<sup>38</sup> This young scribe was a native of New Mexico and is believed to be the eldest son of Francisco de Ortega and Isabel Zamora, whose residence was near the pueblo of Sandia (Chávez 1992:82).

Lorenzo Gutierrez [rubricado]/ Tivurçio de Ortega passó muestra con tres cavallos flacos, todas armas/ de su persona, casado y con un hijo, con veinte personas de familia, mujer,/ una hija, madre, hermanos, sovornos y criados y lo firmó./ Tiburçio de Ortega [rubricado]/15 Alonso Maese pasó muestra con un cavallo flaco y manco, espada suia, arcabus de Su/ Magestad, de estado casado, con quince personas de familia de madre hermanas y hijos, sumamente/ pobres, y un hijo que puede tomar armas, desnudo de todo, y lo firmó. Alonso Maese [rubricado]/ El sargento mayor Cristoval Enriques pasó muestra con un cavallo y una yegua/20 flacos de travaxar, armas de su persona, casado, con familia de siete hijos/ pequeños y nueve personas de servicio y lo firmó./ Cristoval Enriques [rubricado]/ El aiudante Salvador Duran pasó muestra a pi[e] con arcabus de Su Magestad y no mas,/ de estado casado, con familia de dose personas de hijas y criadas, sumamente pobres,/ 25 y lo firmó./ Salvador Duran [rubricado]/ Juan Lopez Olguin pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, arcavus y espada,/ casado, hijo uno y quatro personas de servicio y lo firmó./ Juan Lopez Holguin [rubricado]/ 30 Cristoval Holguin pasó muestra a pie, desnudo, sin armas ni

[rubric]. Alonso Maese<sup>39</sup> passed in review with a thin horse missing a leg, his own sword, an harquebus of His Majesty; married, with fifteen family members including his mother, sisters and sons, exceedingly poor, and a son that can bear arms, completely unclad, and he signed it. Alonso Maese [rubric]. Sergeant Major Cristobal Enriquez passed in review with a horse and a mare thin from work, personal weapons; married, with a family of seven small sons and nine persons in his service, and he signed it. Cristobal Enriquez [rubric]. Aide de Camp Salvador Duran passed in review on foot with an harquebus of His Majesty and nothing else; married, with a family of twelve persons made up of daughters and maidservants, exceedingly poor, and he signed it. Salvador Duran<sup>40</sup> [rubric]. Juan Lopez Olguin<sup>41</sup> passed in review with two thin horses, an harquebus and sword; married, one son and four persons in his service, and he signed it. Juan Lopez Olguin [rubric]. Cristobal Holguin<sup>42</sup> passed in review on foot, unclad, without weapons or anything other [fol. 356v] than himself, and he signed it. Cristobal Holguin. Ensign Francisco Lucero passed in review on foot with an harquebus, a sword and dagger and twenty-two family members, his wife, sons and servants, and he signed it. Francisco Lucero de Godoy<sup>43</sup> [rubric]. Thomas de

<sup>39</sup> He was 39 years old and married to Catalina Montañó. They did not return with the reconquest, staying in El Real de San Lorenzo, where his children married (Chávez 1992:68).

<sup>40</sup> He was married to Ana Marquez and was a native of New Mexico. Despite the name, he belonged to the clan of Duran and Chavez (Chávez 1992:28).

<sup>41</sup> His name no longer appears in the list of 1681 or later, so it might be assumed he had died (Chávez 1992:81).

<sup>42</sup> A Santa Fe native who resided in the jurisdiction of Isleta and was married to Melchora de Carvajal (Chávez 1992:81).

<sup>43</sup> Married to Josefa Lopez de Grijalva, and was ensign and armorer, his ranch was on the road to La Cienega, in Santa Fe and he was part of the reconquest with Vargas in 1692. His daughter testified that she had been responsible for taking the statue of Our Lady of the Rosary, "La Conquistadora", from Santa Fe in 1680 and

mas/ [fol. 356v] que su persona y lo firmó./ Cristobal Holg[u]in/ El alferes Francisco Luzero pasó muestra a pie con arcabuz, espada y daga/ y veinte y dos personas de familia, mujer, hijos y criados y lo firmó./5 Francisco Lucero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Thomas de Mestas y Juan de Mestas pasaron muestra con solo un cavallo/ del Rei y una espada sua, sin otra cossa y çiete personas de familia, madre/ y hermanos y sobrinos y lo firmaron por ellos el alcalde Juan Luzero./ Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/10 El capitan Pedro Marquez pasó muestra con seis cavallos flacos, armas de/ su persona, mujer y dos hijos y seis criados y lo firmó./ Pedro Marquez [rubricado]/ Antonio de Carbajal pasó muestra con dos yeguas flacas, espada y ar-/cabuz, mujer, madre, quatro hermanos chicos, dos criados y lo firmó./15 Antonio de Carbajal [rubricado]/ Juan Griego pasó muestra con un cavallo y una yegua flacos, arcabuz de Su/ Magestad y no mas armas, soltero, con siete personas, madre, hermanas y un/ muchacho y lo firmó./Juan Griego [rubricado]/20

Mestas<sup>44</sup> and Juan de Mestas<sup>45</sup> passed in review with only a horse of the King and his own sword, without anything else, seven family members, his mother and brothers and nephews and the magistrate Juan Lucero signed it for them. Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Captain Pedro Marquez passed in review with six thin horses, personal weapons, his wife and two sons and six servants, and he signed it. Pedro Marquez [rubric]. Antonio de Carbajal<sup>46</sup> passed in review with two thin mares, a sword and harquebus, his wife, his mother, four small brothers, two servants, and he signed it. Antonio de Carbajal [rubric]. Juan Griego<sup>47</sup> passed in review with a horse and a thin mare, an harquebus of His Majesty and no other weapons, unmarried, with seven persons, his mother, sisters and a young boy, and he signed it. Juan Griego [rubric]. Miguel Moran,<sup>48</sup> mixed-blood, passed in review on foot, unclad, without weapons, with seven, I mean, nine family members. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Simon de Molina<sup>49</sup> passed in review on foot with an harquebus and dressing of His Majesty, alone, with no family, a

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had guarded it during the attack and exile. She also personally returned the statue to Santa Fe with the reconquest (Chávez 1992:60-61).

<sup>44</sup> He was twenty or twenty-years old and a widower. He escaped after the revolt but nothing more is known of him (Chávez 1992:73).

<sup>45</sup> Younger brother of Thomas Mestas, he was twenty years old and returned with the reconquest. On the occasion of his second marriage he signed as Juan de Mestas Peralta. According to Chávez, his descendants changed the family name to "Maestas" (Chávez 1992:74).

<sup>46</sup> A native of the Sandia district, he was 22 years of age in 1680. His relations with the exiles were rough because he was accused of appropriating provisions and improperly selling them. He consequently deserted the camp and never returned to New Mexico (Chávez 1992:16).

<sup>47</sup> Just twenty years old, he was a native of New Mexico and unmarried. Surely the son of Nicolas Griego, son of Juan Griego "the younger" (Chávez 1992:42).

<sup>48</sup> He was married to María Celestina de la Cruz and returned with the reconquest (Chávez 1992:80).

<sup>49</sup> Son of Thomas Molina, 29 years old in 1680, born in San Juan, Mexico. He was sentenced to six years of service in 1677, but was assigned regular salary of soldier (Hackett 1937, vol. III, p. 317). Thomas García. Not mentioned in the list of 1681, which would indicate that he might have died (Chávez 1992:34).

Miguel Moran, mestiso, pasó muestra a pie, desnudo, sin armas, con siete./ digo nueve personas de familia, no firmó por no saver./ Simon de Molina pasó muestra a pie con arcabuz y adereso de Su Magestad, solo./ sin familia, de los agcinados por Su Magestad y lo firmó./Simon de Molina [rubricado]/ [fol. 357r] Thomas Garçia pasó muestra con una yegua flaca, sin armas y suma-mente pobre, con siete personas de familia, mujer, yjos y nietos y lo firmó./ Thomas Garcia [rubricado]/ Bartolome de Montoia pasó muestra a pie, desnudo, sin armas ningunas,/5 con familia de çiete personas, madre y hermanas y lo firmó./ Bartolome de Montoia/ Anjelina, yndia mexicana, pasó muestra con nueve personas de fa-/milia. No firmó./ Magdalena Garçia pasó muestra con ocho personas. No firmó./10 Juan de Archuleta pasó muestra a pie desnudo y con una daga de Su Magestad/ y dose personas de familia, madre, hermanas, tias y sobrinas. No firmó./ Francisco de la Muerte, agcinado, pasó muestra a pie con adereso y ar-/cabuz de Su Magestad, con veinte y dos personas de familia. No

convict of His Majesty, and he signed it. Simon de Molina [rubric]. [fol. 357r] Thomas Garcia passed in review with a thin mare, without weapons and exceedingly poor, with seven family members, his wife, sons and grandsons, and he signed it. Thomas Garcia [rubric]. Bartolome de Montoya<sup>50</sup> passed in review on foot, unclad, without any weapons, with a family of seven persons, his mother and sisters, and he signed it. Bartolome de Montoya. Angelina, a Mexican Indian, passed in review with nine family members. She did not sign her name. Magdalena Garcia<sup>51</sup> passed in review with eight persons. She did not sign her name. Juan de Archuleta<sup>52</sup> passed in review on foot unclad and with a dagger of His Majesty, twelve family members, his mother, sisters, aunts and nieces. He did not sign his name. Francisco de la Muerte,<sup>53</sup> forced conscript, passed in review on foot with dressing and harquebus of His Majesty, with twenty-two family members. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Pedro Hidalgo<sup>54</sup> passed in review with a thin horse, an harquebus of His Majesty, his

<sup>50</sup> He was probably the son of Diego Montoya and Maria Baca Ortiz, and there is no later news of him (Chávez 1992:78).

<sup>51</sup> This seems to be Magdalena Montaña (Chávez 1992:33).

<sup>52</sup> There are reports of two people with the same name among the refugees. Chávez believes that they would be first cousins, one son of Juan de Archuleta "the younger" and the other son of Melchor de Archuleta. One of these cousins was killed Indians of the mission of in Janos, Santa Gertrudis del Ojito, along with his wife and children in 1682. The other Juan; married to Isabel Gonzalez, returned to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:131).

<sup>53</sup> His full name was Francisco García Muerte and was a native of Cadiz, Spain. He had arrived in 1677 with the forced convicts, sentenced to serve eight years without a salary (Hackett 1937:321). Chávez believes that the epithet "Death" (Muerte) would be a nickname due to his somber appearance (Chávez 1992:33). It appears that he did not return to New Mexico.

<sup>54</sup> Married to Ana Griego Montoya, he was 34 years old and a native of New Mexico. His wife, also known as Ana Martin Griego, appears as a widow in 1705 in Guadalupe del Paso. His son, Alfonso Hidalgo, was notary of the friars, drafting matrimonial proceedings between 1682 and 1684. In addition, he served as an interpreter with the Pecos during the first entry of Vargas in 1692. Later did not return to New Mexico (Chávez 1992:47-48).

firmó por/ no saver./15 Pedro Hidalgo pasó muestra con un cavallo flaco, arcabuz de Su Magestad,/ espada suia, casado y con ocho personas de familia y lo firmó./Pedro Ydalgo [rubricado]/ Salvador Samorano pasó muestra con dos cavallos mui flacos, espada y ar- /cavus de Su Magestad, solo y mui pobre y no firmó./ 20 Miguel de Sossa pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos, arcabuz y es-/pada de Su Magestad, casado y con çiete personas de familia. No firmó./ El alferez Juan Rodriguez de Cangas passó muestra con dos pistolas/ [fol. 357v] de arçon, adereso, cuera y chimal; sin familia, un muchacho de su/ serviçio y lo rovo el henemigo y lo firmó./ Juan de Cangas [rubricado]/ El ayudante Hernando de Ynojos passó muestra con un cavallo, arcabus y espa-/5da y daga de Su Magestad, casado y con çinco personas de familia y lo firmó./ Hernando de Ynojos [rubricado]/ Agustin Grego, soltero, pasó muestra con un cavallo del Rei, sinco personas/ de familia, madre y hermanos y no firmó./ El capitan Felipe Romero pasó muestra a pie con adereso y arcabus./10 Declaró quatro cavallos flacos, casado, con seis hijos, el uno de armas,/ los otros chicos y quatro hijas donsellas y una muchacha y un/ muchacho y lo firmó./Phelipe Romero [rubricado]/ Juan

own sword; married and with eight family members, and he signed it. Pedro Hidalgo [rubric]. Salvador Zamorano<sup>55</sup> passed in review with two very thin horses, a sword and harquebus of His Majesty, alone and very poor and did not sign it. Miguel de Sosa<sup>56</sup> passed in review with two thin horses, an harquebus and sword of His Majesty; married and with seven family members. He did not sign his name. Ensign Juan Rodriguez de Cangas<sup>57</sup> passed in review with two horse-pistols [fol. 357v], dressing, leather jacket and shield; with no family, a young boy in his service and the enemy robbed him, and he signed it. Juan de Cangas [rubric]. Aide-de-camp Hernando de Hinojos passed in review with a horse, a harquebus and sword and dagger of His Majesty; married and with five family members, and he signed it. Hernando de Hinojos<sup>58</sup> [rubric]. Agustin Grego, unmarried, passed in review with a horse of the King, five family members, his mother and brothers and he did not sign it. Captain Felipe Romero passed in review on foot with dressing and harquebus. He declared four thin horses; married, with six sons, one of them able to carry arms, the others small, and four young daughters and a young girl and a young boy, and he signed it. Felipe Romero [rubric]. Juan de Yllescas,<sup>59</sup> forced conscript, passed in review with a horse, dressing and

<sup>55</sup> He came as a forced convict in 1677 and was listed as mestizo, born in Mexico. He was forced to serve for an indefinite time, but with a salary (Hackett 1937:320). In 1680 he was 27 years old and unmarried. There is no news of him subsequently (Chávez 1992:114).

<sup>56</sup> He was with the wagon escort in Guadalupe del Paso at the time. He was nineteen in 1680 and Chávez believes he was a native of Guadalupe del Paso. After 1681 his name does not appear again (Chávez 1992:105).

<sup>57</sup> See note for fol. 312v:6

<sup>58</sup> Born in New Mexico, he was 35 years in 1680, although the following year he claimed to be 38 years old. He descended from Hernando de Hinojos (Ynojos) who came with Oñate in 1598 (Chávez 1992:48).

<sup>59</sup> He was one of those soldiers forced to serve who arrived in 1677. His sentence was to serve four years with salary. He came from Mexico and was 23 years old in 1680 (Hackett 1937:318).

de Yllescas, agçinado, passó muestra con un cavallo, adereso y arcabuz de/15 Su Magestad, sumamente pobre, sin familia y lo firmó./ Juan de Yllescas [rubricado]/ Domingo Gonsales passó muestra a pie con arcabuz y adereso de Su/ Magestad, sin tornillos; soltero, con familia de ciete personas, madre y herma-/nos y lo firmó./20 Domingo Gonsales [rubricado]/ Juan Grego passó muestra a pie, desnudo y descalsso, sin veztia ni armas,/ sumamente pobre, con mujer y un hijo y no firmó./ El ayudante Bartolome Romero de Pedrassa passó muestra con dos cavallos/ flacos, armas de su persona, solo y sin familia y lo firmó./25 Bartolome Romero de Pedrasa [rubricado]/ [fol. 358r] Anbrosio de Carvajal pasó muestra con dos cavallos flacos y mata-/dos, arcabuz y espada, soltero con familia de madre y tres hermanas,/ donsellas y una criada y lo firmó./ Anberosyo de Carbajal [rubricado]/5 El alferes Diego de Luna passó muestra con çinco veztias flacas, armas de/ su persona, casado, con tres hijos y hasta treinta personas, suegra, cuñados/ y criados. No firmó por no saver./ Joseph Sanches, forsado, passó muestra a pie y sin armas porque las que le/ dieron de Su Magestad las a perdido y quevrado. No tiene familia ni mas/10 que su persona y no supo firmar./ Pedro de Madrid passó muestra con un cavallo gordo, una espada sola y jubon de/ gamusa, casado y çinco hijos. No firmó

harquebus of His Majesty, exceedingly poor, with no family, and he signed it. Juan de Yllescas [rubric]. Domingo Gonzalez<sup>60</sup> passed in review on foot with an harquebus and dressing of His Majesty, without bolts; unmarried, with a family of seven persons, his mother and brothers, and he signed it. Domingo Gonzalez [rubric]. Juan Grego passed in review on foot, unclad and shoeless, without draft animal or weapons, exceedingly poor, with his wife and a son and he did not sign. Aide-de-camp Bartolome Romero de Pedrasa passed in review with two thin horses, personal weapons, alone and with no family, and he signed it. Bartolome Romero de Pedrasa [rubric]. [fol. 358r] Ambrosio de Carvajal passed in review with two thin and dying horses, an harquebus and sword, unmarried, with a family made up of his mother and three young sisters, and a maidservant, and he signed it. Ambrosio de Carvajal [rubric]. Ensign Diego de Luna<sup>61</sup> passed in review with five thin draft animals, personal weapons; married, with three sons and as many as thirty persons, mother-in-law, brother-in-laws and servants. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Joseph Sanchez,<sup>62</sup> convict, passed in review on foot and without weapons because he has lost and broken the ones of His Majesty that they gave him. He has no family other than himself and he did not know how to sign his name. Pedro de Madrid<sup>63</sup> passed in review with a fat horse, just one sword and

<sup>60</sup> He belonged to the González Lobón family. No more is known of him after 1680 (Chávez 1992:39).

<sup>61</sup> 48 years old, born in New Mexico, he and his family are named as exiles in Corpus Cristi de Isleta in 1687. In 1692 he accompanied Vargas on his first entry to New Mexico (Chávez 1992:65).

<sup>62</sup> Forced soldier of the 1677 contingent. He was mestizo and born in Mexico (Hackett 1937:322). In 1682 abandoned the colony of San Lorenzo del Paso (Chávez 1992:102).

<sup>63</sup> He was native of New Mexico and was married to Yumar Varela Jaramillo. Chávez believes he and his family remained in Guadalupe del Paso after the rebellion (Chávez 1992:66-67).

por no saver./ El capitan Francisco Lopez pasó muestra a pie, espada y daga y arcabus, casado/ y con tres personas de su servicio. No firmó por no saver./15 El capitan Francisco de Anaia pasó muestra a pie, armas de su persona, rogado/ del henemigo; mataronle a su esposa y tres personas, hijos, parientez y cria-/dos. No le quedó cosa mas de lo que trae ensima y lo firmó./ Francisco de Anaia [rubricado]/ El capitan Francisco Doming[u]es de Mendossa, siego, viexo y mui enfermo, pasó mues-/20tra cargado con sinco personas de familia, sumamente pobre y sin nada/ y lo firmó por él el capitan Francisco de Anaia./ Francisco de Anaia [rubricado]/ Josephe Doming[u]es pasó muestra con solo su persona, sin abio/ ni armas ni familia y lo firmó./25 Joseph Domingues [rubricado]/ [fol. 358v] Francisco Vernal pasó muestra a pie, sin armas ni cosa ninguna, sumamente po-/bre, soltero, con familia de ocho personas, madre, hermanas y sobrinas./ No firmó por no saver./ Juan Duran pasó muestra con onse personas de familia, sumamente/5 pobres, hermanos y hijos chicos todos. No firmó por no saver./ Doña Chatalina de Samorap pasó muestra con quatro

a chamois doublet; married and five sons. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Captain Francisco Lopez<sup>64</sup> passed in review on foot, a sword and dagger and harquebus; married and with three persons in his service. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Captain Francisco de Anaya passed in review on foot, with his personal weapons, robbed by the enemy; they killed his wife and three persons, sons, relatives and servants. He was left with nothing more than what he carries with him, and he signed it. Francisco de Anaya [rubric]. Captain Francisco Dominguez de Mendoza,<sup>65</sup> blind, old and very sick, passed in review burdened with five family members, exceedingly poor and without anything, and Captain Francisco de Anaya signed for him. Francisco de Anaya [rubric]. Joseph Dominguez<sup>66</sup> passed in review by himself, with neither gear nor weapons, nor family, and he signed it. Joseph Dominguez [rubric]. [fol. 358v] Francisco Bernal<sup>67</sup> passed in review on foot, with neither weapons nor anything else, exceedingly poor; unmarried, with a family of eight persons, his mother, sisters and nieces. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Juan

<sup>64</sup> Native of New México, 42 years old and married (Chávez 1992:58).

<sup>65</sup> He was 63 years old in 1680 and he had been the captain of the jurisdiction of Zía and of Cochití. He was from Mexico City and he was married to Juana de Rueda. His name no longer appears after 1680, which could mean that he died before the fall of 1681 (Chávez 1992:26).

<sup>66</sup> His full name was José Domínguez de Mendoza and was with the escort of the carriages at the time of the revolt. He was 23 in 1680 and was native of New Mexico. In 1692 he returned to the reconquest and was able to rescue his sister Juana, wife Domingo Lujan, and their four children. During her captivity among the Indians, Juana had a daughter named Josefa mestizo ([www.nmhcpl.comstlawrencedaymassacre.htm](http://www.nmhcpl.comstlawrencedaymassacre.htm)). According to Chávez, Joseph and his sister Juana were illegitimate children of Tomé Dominguez and Ana Velasquez (Chávez 1992:27).

<sup>67</sup> Aged 22, he was native of New Mexico and probably son of Francisco Bernal and Bernardina Moran (Chávez 1992:12).

sobrinas españo-/las, donsellas, a pie y sumamente pobrez y çinco personas de serviçio. No firmó/por no saver. Mataron a dos sobrinos suos los enemigos y mas de treinta pa-/rientez./10 Doña Ynes Luzero, viuda, pasó muestra a pie con dos hijas viudas que el/ enemigo mató a sus maridos y con quatro nietos chiquitos, sumamente pobrez./ No firmó por no saber./ Francisca de Abrego pasó muestra con ocho hijos y nietos, desnudos y a/ pie, sumamente pobrez. No firmó por no saber./15 El capitan Francisco Xavier pasó muestra con seis vestias flacas, armas de/ su persona, viudo y con un ijo de tres a quatro años, rogado del henemigo/ y lo firmó./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ El sarjento mayor Bernave Marques pasó muestra con dies cavallos flacos/20 y cansados, todas armas de su persona, casado y con seis hijos medianos,/ çiete personas de servicio y un cuñado que pu[e]de servir a Su Magestad; desaviado/ de todo y lo firmó./ Bernave Marques [rubricado]/ El capitan Juan de Valençia passó muestra con quatro cavallos maltrata-/25dos, todas armas de su persona, casado, con seis hijos, todos medianos,/ madre viuda y hasta quarenta y seis personas de familia, nietos y/ criados y lo firmó./ Juan de Valençia [rubricado]/ [fol. 359r] Sevastian Sanches de Monroi pasó

Duran<sup>68</sup> passed in review with eleven family members, exceedingly poor, brothers and all small children. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Doña Catalina de Zamora<sup>69</sup> passed in review with four young nieces, all Spanish, on foot and exceedingly poor and five persons in her service. She did not sign her name because she did not know how. The enemies killed two of her nephews and more than thirty relatives. Doña Ynes Lucero,<sup>70</sup> widow, passed in review on foot with two widowed daughters whose husbands the enemy killed and with four small grandsons, exceedingly poor. She did not sign her name because she did not know how. Francisca de Abrego<sup>71</sup> passed in review with eight sons and grandsons, unclad and on foot, exceedingly poor. She did not sign her name because she did not know how. Captain Francisco Xavier passed in review with six thin draft animals, personal weapons; a widower and with a three to four year-old son, robbed by the enemy, and he signed it. Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Sergeant Major Bernabe Marques passed in review with ten thin and worn out horses, all his personal weapons; married and with six adolescent sons, seven persons in his service and a brother-in-law who can serve His Majesty; completely without equipment, and he signed it. Bernabe Marques [rubric]. Captain Juan de

<sup>68</sup> Juan Duran "the younger" was from Santa Fe and was 58 years old in 1680. He was part of the escort of the carriages from Mexico City in 1657, 1658 and 1661. He is not mentioned after 1680 (Chávez 1992:28).

<sup>69</sup> Born June 3, 1641 in Santa Fe, the daughter of Pedro Lucero de Godoy and Petronila de Zamora. She was married to Diego Pérez Romero (Chávez 1992:59 y [www.newmexico1598.com/genealogical\\_report.htm](http://www.newmexico1598.com/genealogical_report.htm)).

<sup>70</sup> Ynés Lucero de Godoy. She was probably the daughter of Pedro Lucero de Godoy and was married to Juan de la Escallada, who had died before the rebellion of 1680 (Chávez 1992:60).

<sup>71</sup> Not found in Chávez's lists of the seventeenth century, although the surname Abrego comes up again in eighteenth century Santa Fe (Chávez 1992:120).



muestra a pie, desnudo, pobre de soglenidad,/ de estado casado, con tres personas de familia. No firmó por no saver./ El sarjento mayor don Fernando Duran [testado: y] Chaves pasó muestra con seis bestias/ buenas, todas armas de su persona, un hijo y un criado. Fue robado de/5 toda su haçienda y le llevó o mató el henemigo a su esposa, a tres hijos, veinte/ y ocho criados, otra mujer y un hijo suyo y lo firmó./ Don Fernando Duran y Chaves [rubricado]/ El capitan Pedro de Sedillo pasó muestra con una vestia, arcabus y espada,/ casado y con ocho yjos y lo firmó./10 Pedro de Sedillo [rubricado]/ El capitan Estevan de Graçia pasó muestra por sí, un yjo y dos yernos que sirven/ a Su Magestad, y alistó quatro caballos. Tienen espada y arcabuz, dos hijas, dos/ yndias y dos muchachos de serviçio y lo firmó./ Estevan Lopez de Grazia [rubricado]/15 Joseph Xavier passó muestra con un caballo gordo, todas armas de su persona,/ cassado, con un hijo chico y dos criados de su serviçio y no firmó por no saber./ El ayudante Sebastian Gonçales passó muestra con tres caballos, espada/ y daga, arcabus y todas armas de su persona, casado y con familia de ocho/ hijo[s] y doce criados y lo firmó./20 Sebastian Gonçales [rubricado]/ Luis Martin el moço passó muestra con un caballo solo, sin otra cossa, casado/ y con çinco personas de

Valencia<sup>72</sup> passed in review with four ill-treated horses, all his personal weapons; married, with six sons, all adolescents, his widowed mother and as many as forty-six family members, grandchildren and servants, and he signed it. Juan de Valencia [rubric]. [fol. 359r] Sebastian Sanchez de Monroy<sup>73</sup> passed in review on foot, unclad, extremely poor; married, with three family members. He did not sign his name because he did not know how. Sergeant Major Don Fernando Duran [crossed out: y] Chaves passed in review with six good draft animals, all his personal weapons, a son and a servant. He was robbed of all his goods, and the enemy carried away or killed his wife, three sons, twenty-eight servants, another woman and one of his sons, and he signed it. Don Fernando Duran y Chaves [rubric]. Captain Pedro de Zedillo passed in review with a draft animal, an harquebus and sword; married and with eight sons, and he signed it. Pedro de Zedillo [rubric]. Captain Esteban de Gracia passed in review on behalf of himself, a son and two sons-in-law who serve His Majesty, and enlisted four horses. They have a sword and an harquebus, two daughters, two Indian women and two servant boys, and he signed it. Esteban Lopez de Gracia [rubric]. Joseph Xavier<sup>74</sup> passed in review with a fat horse, all his personal weapons; married, with a small son and two servants and he did not sign his name because he did not know how.

<sup>72</sup> He was married to Juana Martin and he is mentioned in 1684 in the refugee camp and in 1692, as deputy mayor of Senecu, Socorro and Isleta del Paso. He received orders to recruit troops during the first entry of Vargas, but it seems that he remained with his family in Guadalupe del Paso after the reconquest (Chávez 1992:109).

<sup>73</sup> Also known as Sebastián Sánchez Mondragón, he was about twenty or twenty-five years old and a native of New Mexico. He returned with the reconquest and served as an interpreter during the first campaign Vargas (Chávez 1992:75).

<sup>74</sup> He was with the escort of the wagons in 1680. There is no later news of him (Chávez 1992:113).

familia. No firmó por no saber./ Euxenio Barela, soltero, pasó muestra con quatro caballos suyos, arcabuz/ [fol. 359v] de Su Magestad, su madre y cinco personas de familia y no firmó por no/ saber./

Aide de Camp Sebastian Gonzalez passed in review with three horses, a sword and dagger, an harquebus and all the weapons of his person; married and with a family of eight sons and twelve servants and signed it. Sebastian Gonzales [rubric]. Luis Martin the younger<sup>75</sup> passed in review with only one horse and nothing else; married and with five family members. He did not sign because he did not know how. Eugenio Varela,<sup>76</sup> unmarried, passed in review with four horses of his own, an harquebus [fol. 359v] of His Majesty, his mother and five family members, and he did not sign because he did not know how.

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<sup>75</sup> Son of Captain Luis Martín, was actually the third Luis Martín Serrano of the family. There is no record of him after the reconquest (Chávez 1992:72-73 y 222).

<sup>76</sup> 28 years old, his full name was Eugenio Varela de Losada (Chávez 1992:111).

**[Enfrente de La Salineta, 1º de octubre de 1680. Auto de Otermín prohibiendo la deserción]**

En el dicho paraje de enfrente de La Salineta orillas del rio del/ Norte jurisdicción del Nuevo Mexico en primero dia del mes de octubre de mil/5 seiscientos y ochenta años don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitan general/ deste dicho reyno por Su Magestad dijo que por quanto haze oy terçero dia que/ en la plaça de armas deste real se publicó un vando para que se/ alistasse y pasase muestra, la qual asta oy no está ajustada a caussa de abe[r]se/ desparramado mucha jente que sin liçençia se an ydo a la poblaçon de Guada-/10lupe del Paso faltando a la lista y muestra y porque es fuerça concluir los autos/ para dar notiçia al exçelentissimo señor Virrey governador y capitan general de la Nueva/ España, mando se aga requerimiento al theniente de alcalde mayor/ de la jurisdicción de Casas Grandes para que con ningun pretesto sin/ liçençia mia por escripto no deje persona ninguna en su jurisdicción/ 15 y la que estuviere de presente en ella la mande venir a mi presençia so [las]/ penas en que les ynpusiere y echo dicho requerimiento con la respuesta de dicho/ theniente de alcalde mayor se yncorpore todo en los dichos autos para que cons[te]/ y las personas que pareçieren se prosiga con ellos la dicha lista para el a[jus]-/te de lo que está mandado. Asi lo provey mandé y firmé ante el dicho/20 secretario de governacion y guerra./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 360r] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una página en blanco]/ [fol. 360v] [una página en blanco]

**Facing La Salineta, October 1, 1680.  
Writ of Otermin Forbidding Desertion**

In the said place facing La Salineta along the Rio del Norte jurisdiction of New Mexico on the first day of the month of October, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this said kingdom for His Majesty, said that three days have passed since in the parade ground of this encampment a public proclamation was made that roll should be called and a review made. At present has not been fully carried out due to the fact that many people have dispersed and without permission have gone to the settlement of Guadalupe del Paso, missing the roll call and muster. Since it is necessary to conclude the writs in order to report to the Most Excellent Lord viceroy governor and captain general of New Spain, I order a directive be issued to the Deputy Royal Magistrate of the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes that under no pretext without my written permission may he allow any person into his jurisdiction. And those who might be there he shall command to come to my presence under the penalties that might be imposed on them. And once said summons has been made, with the reply of said Deputy Royal Magistrate, let it all be incorporated into the said writs so that it may be entered into the record. And with the persons who might be found, the said roll call shall be carried out, in order to comply with what is commanded. I so provided, ordered and signed before the said The secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. [fol. 360r] At the

middle of the page: Blank] [a blank page]  
[fol. 360v] [a blank page].

**[La Salineta, 1º de octubre de 1680. Auto de Otermín para evitar la salida de los vecinos]**

[fol. 361r] Don Antonio de Otermin gobernador y capitan general deste reyno y provinçiaz/ de la Nueva Mexico por Su Magestad etcetera./ Por quanto por el alçamiento general que los yndios cristianos deste dicho reyno con-/bocados y confederados en su traición se alçaron tirando a destruir y acabar con/5 todo como con efecto tomaron las armas y a un tiempo dieron guerra en todas/ las jurisdicções del reyno cometiendo graves delitos de sacrilegios ale-/bosias atrocidades y latroçinios contra la magestad de Dios y en desobediencia/ de la real persona de Su Magestad asta llegar a poner sitio a la billa/ y cassas reales donde yo asistia para acavarme con las personas que me asis-/10tian en el sitio y abiendo dividido las personas que se pudieron juntar y esca-/par de sus traiciones como consta del proçesso fulminado, acavada la guerra/ de nueve dias sali marchando por las jurisdicções del reyno donde/ a ojos bi los pueblos despoblados y la jente alçada açiando muecas/ por las mesas y aspereças. Y abiendo alcançado a los otros españoles y familias/15 en el paraje que llaman de Fray Cristoval y estando todos juntos/ y unidos publicqué auto para que se determinasse lo que mas combenia al/ real serviçio a Su Magestad en la reduçion de los alçados apostatas. De la/ qual junta se resolvió, por la mucha falta de bastimentos y por/ asegurar tanto numero de familias que se allavan en el campo y estar/20 su caballada tan maltratada y todos fuera ya de lo poblado del/ reyno seis leguas de distrito,

**La Salineta, October 1, 1680. Writ of Otermin to Impede the Departure of the Inhabitants**

[fol. 361r] Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this kingdom and provinces of New Mexico for His Majesty, etc. With regard to the general uprising that the Christian Indians of this said kingdom, convoked and confederated, [who]in their treason rose up, they aimed to destroy and put an end to everything – for indeed they took up arms and all at once made war in all the jurisdictions of the kingdom; they committed grave crimes of sacrileges, treacheries, atrocities and larceny against God’s Majesty and in disobedience of the royal person of His Majesty. [They went] so far as to lay siege to the township and Governor’s Palace where I resided, in order to do away with me and with the persons who were at my side in that place, and having separated the persons who were able to unite and escape from their treason, as is recorded in the trial that was prosecuted. After nine days of war were ended, I marched out toward the jurisdictions of the kingdom where I clearly saw the pueblos deserted and those who had risen up making mockery from the mesas and rocky places. And having reached the other Spaniards and families in the place called Fray Cristobal and being all together and united, I published a writ in order to determine what was most fitting to the royal service to His Majesty in subduing the rebellious apostates. In that assembly it was resolved, due to the great lack of provisions and in order to safeguard such a large number of families that were

que mejorasemos de puesto y se buscasse/  
el sustento neçesario para determinar lo  
combeniente atendiendo/ en todo al  
serviçio de las dos majestades. Y abiendo  
echo paraje/ en este puesto de La Salineta  
del rio del Norte donde fue la/25 jente  
socorrida de carne y maiz y otras cossas y  
se está socorriendo/[fol. 361v] como consta  
de los autos fulminados a que me refiero,  
para enterarme de l[a]/ jente de armas que  
se allava con mi persona y en asistencia del  
real estan[darte]/ y de la fuerça de armas  
caballada y demas peltrechos que se  
allavan [en]/ este ejerçito y de qué calidad  
estava todo, publicué vando luego qu[e]/5  
paró el real para que todo jenero de jente  
passase muestra y lo[s]/ españoles alistasen  
armas y caballos, la qual se empeçó  
acabada [la]/ publicaçion del vando y oy  
que se cuentan terçero dia de la dicha  
d[ili]-/jençia no se a acabado de alistar  
mucha cantidad por aberse ydo a [la]/  
combercion de Nuestra Señora de  
Guadalupe del Passo maliciosame[n]te/ 10  
y sin pedir liçençia embaraçando el tiempo  
y todo lo mas que se pue[de]/ determinar y  
resolver en el real serviçio asi para lo dicho  
como pa[ra]/ concluir los autos y dar parte  
con su conclusion al excelentissimo señor  
[Virrey]/ governador y capitán general de  
la Nueva España. Por cuyas raçones y para  
[que]/ se acabe de conseguir lo que se  
pretende y aber declinado jurisdic[i]o[n]/15  
las personas que faltan, por el presente de  
parte de Su Magestad y en su [real]/  
nombre exsorto y requiero y de la mia  
ruego y encargo al theni[ente]/ de la  
jurisdic[i]on de Casas Grandes, que oy se  
alla en la dicha comb[ersion]/ de  
Guadalupe del Passo, y a otras  
qualesquiera justiçias que devan y  
p[uedan]/ y tengan autoridad dada por el  
señor general don Bartolome de Estra[da]  
/20 caballero de la horden militar del señor

in the field and with their horses in such  
poor shape – all of them outside of the  
settled part of the kingdom six leagues  
beyond its district – to find a better  
position and to seek the supplies necessary  
in order to determine what is most fitting,  
attending in everything to the service of the  
two majesties. And halting at this place of  
La Salineta del Rio del Norte, the people  
were given aid with meat, corn and other  
things and are being helped [fol. 361v]. As  
is recorded in the dictated writs to which I  
am referring, in order to take account of the  
people at arms that were with my person  
and in attendance to the royal standard and  
of the force of arms, horses and other  
equipment present in this army and in what  
condition everything was, I made a public  
proclamation as soon as the royal army  
stopped, that all classes of people should  
pass in review and the Spaniards enlist  
their weapons and horses. [This] began as  
soon as the proclamation was made, and as  
of today it has been three days that the said  
procedure has not managed to enlist a great  
number of persons, since they have gone to  
the mission of Nuestra Señora de  
Guadalupe del Paso maliciously and  
without asking for permission, causing  
delay in time and everything else that may  
be decided and resolved in the royal  
service, both for the afore said and in order  
to conclude the writs and make a report  
with its conclusion to the Most Excellent  
Lord viceroy governor and captain general  
of New Spain. For those reasons, and in  
order to achieve what is being attempted,  
and [since] the persons who are missing  
[have] gone to another jurisdiction, for the  
present, on behalf of His Majesty and in his  
royal name, I exhort and call upon, and for  
my own part I entreat and charge the  
lieutenant of the jurisdiction of Casas  
Grandes, who is today at the said mission

Santiago gobernador y/ capitán general de la Nueva Bizcaya por Su Magestad hagan que comp[ares]-/can en esta plaça de armas a mi presençia las personas de qua[l]-/quier estado calidad y condiçion que estuvieren en aquel distrito [y]/ jurisdiccion por ser causa tan grave y del serviçio de Dios y del [Rey]/25 y poniendoles las penas graves que corresponden a semejantes ex[cesos]/ por aberse ydo sin pedir liçençia ni que se aya sabido quando se a[n]/ ydo. Y que despues de ser capaz y estar enterado deste auto no se d[eje]/ pasar a dicha jurisdiccion a persona ninguna sin liçençia mi[a]/ por escripto. Y que conste a lo que va y el que no fuere despacha[do]/30 en esta forma sea su persona asegurada con prision para cuy[o]/ cumplimiento y sin perjuicio de las dos jurisdicciones de Bizcaya/ [fol. 362r] y Nuevo Mexico mando al maestre de campo Francisco Xavier secretario de gobierno y guerra/ baya a la parte y lugar donde estubiere el dicho theniente de Casas Grandes/ u otro ministro que pueda y deva en la causa que se pide y le aga notorio/ este requerimiento. En virtud de lo qual y porque no falte a pro le doy/5 poder para que pueda parecer en mi nombre y con la respuesta de dicho/ theniente de alcalde mayor que ynsertará al pie deste auto lo traerá para/ que se yncorpore en el proçesso. Asi lo provey mandé y firmé ante el/ dicho secretario y testigos que lo fueron los maestros de campo Francisco Gomez/

of Guadalupe del Paso, and any other justices who must and can and who hold authority granted by Lord General Don Bartolome de Estrada,<sup>1</sup> Knight of the Military Order of Lord St. James,<sup>2</sup> governor and captain general of NuevaVizcaya<sup>3</sup> for His Majesty, cause to appear in my presence the persons of any and all state in life, quality and condition who might be in that district and jurisdiction in this parade ground, since the cause is of such great gravity and service to God and to the King. They shall impose upon them the grave penalties for such excesses of having left without begging leave, or giving notice of their departure. And that after being informed and notified of this writ, no person may be allowed to pass into said jurisdiction without my written permission. And it shall be entered into the record from this point on and whosoever was not sent in this way, may his person be secured with prison. And in order that it be carried out and without harm to the two jurisdictions of Vizcaya [fol. 362r] and New Mexico I order Field Commander Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war, to go to the area and place where the said Lieutenant of Casas Grandes may be, or another minister who can and must do what is asked and make this summons known to him. In virtue of which, and so that he may not lack authority, I empower him to

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<sup>1</sup> He was possibly descended from Juan Sánchez de Estrada, who arrived in Santo Domingo in 1502 with Diego Columbus, son of Christopher Columbus. He then traveled to Mexico with Narvaez and participated in the conquest with Hernán Cortés. He settled in Mexico City and there is a record of a Bartolomé de Estrada as his grandson (“The Genealogy of Mexico, en: <http://members.tripod.com/~GaryFelix/index1.htm>). Bartolome de Estrada governed New Mexico from 1679 to 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Order founded in the twelfth century, probably in the kingdom of León, under the reign of Ferdinand II. The last Master, Alonso de Cardenas, died shortly after the fall of Granada and in 1493 the Catholic Monarchs became perpetual administrators by integrating the mastership into the Crown of Castile.

<sup>3</sup> It was established in 1562 in what is now Chihuahua and Durango. Its conquest was entrusted to Francisco de Ibarra, a fifteen year-old Basque youth who became its first governor.

Robledo y Pedro de Leiva y el sarjento mayor Diego Lucero de Godoy./10 Fecho en este paraje de La Salineta del rio del Norte jurisdicion del/ Nuevo Mexico en primero de octubre del año de mil y seisientos y o-/chenta./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubricado]/ 15 Pedro de Leyba [rubricado]/ Diego Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Por mandado del señor governador y capitan general/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, 1° de octubre de 1680. Auto de Francisco Xavier]**

20 Yo Francisco Xabier secretario de la gobernasion y guerra de las/ probinsias de la Nueva Mexico alcalde ordinario de primer/ boto de {de} la billa de Santa Fee doy fee en lo que puedo y a lugar/ de derecho que yntimé el requerimiento aqui contenido/ al teniente de alcalde maior de esta jurisdision Jose Lopes/25 de Grasia en su persona, que abiendolo oydo dixo que como/ ministro de Su Majesta y basallo suyo acudira a causa/ tan de su real serbisio y desde luego le dara ejecucion como/ el caso pide para que no pare el curso de la real justisia y ser-/bisio de Su Magestad y lo firmó con el dicho secretario/30 y los testigos. Fecho en este pueblo de Nuestra Señora/ [fol. 362v] de Guadalupe del Paso a primero dia de otubre de mil [seis]-

appear in my name and with the answer of said Deputy Royal Magistrate that he will insert at the foot of this writ and he will bring it so that it will be incorporated into the proceeding. I so provided, ordered and signed before the said Secretary and witnesses, who were Field Commanders Francisco Gomez Robledo and Pedro de Leiva and Sergeant Major Diego Lucero de Godoy. Done in this place of La Salineta del Rio del Norte, jurisdiction of New Mexico on the first of October, 1680. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubric]. Pedro de Leiva [rubric]. Diego Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. By order of the Lord governor and captain general Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, October 1, 1680. Writ of Francisco Xavier**

I, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war of the provinces of New Mexico, town magistrate of first vote of the township of Santa Fe, attest to, to the best of my ability, and as is my right, that I communicated the directive contained herein to the deputy royal magistrate of this jurisdiction, Jose Lopez de Gracia,<sup>1</sup> in person. [He], having heard it, said that as minister of His Majesty and his vassal, he will join a cause so important to his royal service and will certainly execute it as the case demands, so that the course of royal justice and service of His Majesty may not be stopped. And he signed it with the said secretary and the witness. Done in this pueblo of Nuestra Señora [fol. 362v] de Guadalupe del Paso, the first day of

<sup>1</sup> This deputy magistrate of Casas Grandes was probably the son of Andrés López de Gracia, the crown magistrate of the town (Chávez 1992:56).

/sientos y ochenta años y pidio y suplicó al señor governador y ca[pitan]/ general don Antonio de Otermin se sirba de mandarle dar u[n tan]-/to autorizado de este escrito en publica forma y man[era]/5 que aga fee./ Josepe Lopez de Grazia [rubricado]/ Testigo Diego Lopes Sanbrano [rubricado]/ Testigo Domingo Lo[pes] de Ocanto [rubricado]/ Juan del Rio [rubricado]/10 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario./

**[La Salineta, 2 de octubre de 1680.  
Continuación de la lista]**

Prosigue la lista en dos de octubre de mil seisçientos y ochenta años en el [dicho]/ paraje expresado./ Melchor de los Reyes yndio mexicano de estado casado pasó mu[estra]/15 a pie y sin ningunas armas, con familia de mujer y un hijo. No firm[ó]/ por no saber./ Catalina Bernal, viuda, sumamente pobre, pasó muestra con n[ueve]/ personas de familia yjos y nietos. No firmó por no saver./ Juan de Archuleta pasó muestra con un caballo arcabuz de Su M[agestad]/20 casado y con dos hijos. No firmó por no saber./ Juan de Dios, mexicano, pasó muestra a pie sin armas ningun[as]/ casado y con tres hijos madre y dos hermanas. No supo firmar./ [fol. 363r] Antonio Jorje pasó muestra con dos caballos arcabuz y espada. Es soltero./ con familia de madre y dos criados y lo firmó./ Antonio Jorje [rubricado]/ El capitan Hernando Martin Serrano pasó muestra a pie con arcabuz y espada./5 tiene mas de ochenta años, con familia de nueve personas, mujer hijos y/ nietos y criados y

October, 1680 and asked and beseeched Lord governor and captain general Don Antonio de Otermin be pleased to send him an authorized and publicly certified copy of this document. Joseph Lopez de Grazia [rubric]. Witness Diego Lopez Sanbrano [rubric]. Witness Domingo Lopez de Ocanto [rubric]. Juan del Rio [rubric]. Francisco Xavier [rubric], Secretary.

**La Salineta, October 2, 1680. Continuation of the Roll**

Continuation of the roll on October 2, 1680 in the aforesaid place. Melchor de las Reces, Mexican Indian, married, passed in review on foot and with no weapons, with a family made up of his wife and a son. He did not sign because he did not know how. Catalina Bernal, widow, exceedingly poor, passed in review with nine family members, children and grandchildren. She did not sign because she does not know how. Juan de Archuleta passed in review with a horse, harquebus of His Majesty; married and with two sons. He did not sign because he did not know how. Juan de Dios, a Mexican, passed in review on foot, with no weapons; married and with three sons, his mother and two sisters. He did not know how to sign. [fol. 363r] Antonio Jorje passed in review with two horses, harquebus and a sword. He is unmarried, with a family made of his mother and two servants, and he signed it. Antonio Jorje [rubric]. Captain Hernando Martin Serrano<sup>1</sup> passed in review on foot with harquebus and a sword; he is more than 80 years old, with a family of nine persons, wife,

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<sup>1</sup> In his long life, Hernando Martín, "the younger" was married three times. His first wife was Maria Montaña, the second was Catalina Griego and the third was Josefa de la Ascension (Ascension) Gonzalez. He was nearing eighty in 1681 and still claimed to be ready as a soldier. He spoke several indigenous languages and served as a Jumana interpreter for the Texas expedition between 1683 and 1684. His family returned to New Mexico with the reconquest (Chávez 1992:72).



lo firmó./ Hernando Martin Serrano [rubricado]/ Antonio de Sotomayor Montaña forçado, pasó muestra a pie con arcabuz/ y espada y daga de Su Magestad; es casado y tiene una criada, sin hijo ninguno./10 No supo firmar./ El capitan Cristoval Baca pasó muestra con un caballo y espada suyo, arcabuz/ de Su Magestad quebrado y que no caça, casado, con tres hijos varones, sumamente/ pobres, desabiados, tres hijas y una yndia de serviçio y lo firmó./ Cristoval Baca [rubricado]/15 Juan Chamiço, yndio mexicano, pasó muestra con un caballo y dos machos,/ ningunas armas, casado y con veinte personas de mujer yjos y nietos y/ jente de serviçio. No firmó por no saber./ Agustin, yndio mexicano, pasó muestra a pie sin ningunas armaz, casado,/ con nueve personas de familia yjos y nueras. No supo firmar./ 20 Antonio Gomez pasó muestra a pie y sin armas, es yndio de naçion teguaz,/ casado y con siete personas de familia, mujer y yjos. No supo firmar./ Nicolas de los Angeles, mexicano, pasó muestra a pie y sin ningunas armaz,/ soltero, con tres hermanos de familia. No supo firmar./ Juan Miguel, mexicano, pasó muestra a pie y sin armas ningunas, tiene/ [fol. 363v] de familia diez personas, mujer, yjos y parientes. No firmó por no sab[er]./ Pasqual Cobos de la Parra, mestiço, pasó muestra a pie y sin ningu[nas]/ armas, con nueve personas de familia, mujer, madre, hermanos y sobrin[os]./ No supo firmar./5

children and grandchildren and servants, and he signed it. Hernando Martin Serrano [rubric]. Antonio de Sotomayor Montaña,<sup>2</sup> convict, passed in review on foot with harquebus and a sword and dagger of His Majesty; he is married and has a maidservant, and no children. He did not know how to sign. Captain Cristobal Baca<sup>3</sup> passed in review with his horse and sword, an harquebus of His Majesty, broken and which does not fire; married, with three sons, exceedingly poor, unequipped, three daughters and an Indian woman in his service and signed it. Cristobal Baca [rubric]. Juan Chamizo,<sup>4</sup> Mexican Indian, passed in review with a horse and two stallions, no weapons; married and with twenty persons, including his wife, children and grandchildren and people in his service. He did not sign because he did not know how. Agustin, Mexican Indian, passed in review on foot without any weapons; married, with nine family members sons and daughters-in-law. He did not know how to sign. Antonio Gomez passed in review on foot and without weapons; he is an Indian of the Tewa nation; married and with seven family members, his wife and children. He did not know how to sign. Nicolas de los Angeles, Mexican, passed in review on foot and with no weapons, unmarried, with three brothers of his family. He did not know how to sign. Juan Miguel, Mexican, passed in review on foot and without any weapons; [fol. 363v] he has ten in his family, wife, children and relatives. He did not sign because he did not know how. Pasqual Cobas de la Parra,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A native of Mexico City, he came as a forced soldier. In 1680 he was 29 and had contracted marriage with Isabel Jorge de Vera. Both returned to Santa Fe in 1693 with seven children, all born in Guadalupe del Paso (Chávez 1992:76-77).

<sup>3</sup> He was married to Ana Moreno de Lara with whom he had three sons and three daughters. By 1687, when only his family is mentioned, he already would have died (Chávez 1992:10).

<sup>4</sup> From here mestizos, blacks and Indians are listed along with some women and Spanish soldiers. This would reflect a grouping of those members that placed them below others in the social scale.

<sup>5</sup> This blue-eyed mestizo was 25 and was a native of New Mexico (Chávez 1992:85).

Mathias Lujan, soldado, pasó muestra con dos bestias, espada y cole[to]/ suyo, arcabuz de Su Magestad, con ocho personas de familia, mujer, yjo[s]/ y cuñados. No firmó por no saver./ Antonio Lujan, soldado, pasó muestra a pie, desnudo, sumam[ente]/ pobre, con familia de mujer y dos yjos. No firmó por no saber./<sup>10</sup> Pasqual Naranjo, de color pardo, pobre de soglenidad, pasó mu[estra]/ a pie y sin ningunas armas, con familia de mujer y seis yjos. No supo [firmar]./ El alferes Cristoval de Belasco, forçado, pasó muestra con un caba[llo]/ y una mula suyo, arcabuz, espada y daga de Su Magestad, cuera [y]/ chimal suyo, casado, con un hijito y con dos criadas y lo firmó./<sup>15</sup> Cristoval de Belasco [rubricado]/ Joseph de los Reyes, yndio mexicano, pasó muestra a pie sin/ ningunas armas, casado y con tres hijos. No supo firmar./ Cristoval de Truxillo, mestiço, pasó muestra con una yegua, [sin]/ armas, con mujer y doce personas de familia. No supo firmar./<sup>20</sup> Ysabel de Archuleta, viuda de Lucas de Gamboa, que le matar[on]/ los yndios, pasó muestra con seis hijitos, sumamente pobre. No fir[mó]./ Maria Hernandez, viuda, pasó muestra a pie con familia de qua[tro]/ hijos. No firmó./ Cristoval de Apodaca, mestiço pasó muestra a pie y desnudo, con

mixed-blood, passed in review on foot and without any weapons, with nine family members, wife, mother, brothers, nieces and nephews. He did not know how to sign. Matias Lujan,<sup>6</sup> soldier, passed in review with two draft animals, a sword and jerkin belonging to him, a harquebus of His Majesty, with eight family members, wife, children and brothers-in-law. He did not sign because he did not know how. Antonio Lujan,<sup>7</sup> soldier, passed in review on foot, unclad, exceedingly poor, with a family made up of his wife and two children. He did not sign because he did not know how. Pasqual Naranjo,<sup>8</sup> mixed race, extremely poor, passed in review on foot and without weapons, with a family composed of his wife and six children. He did not know how to sign. Ensign Cristobal de Velasco, convict, passed in review with a horse and his mule, an harquebus, a sword and dagger of His Majesty, leather jacket and his shield; married, with one small son and with two maidservants, and he signed it. Cristobal de Velasco [rubric]. Joseph de las Reces, Mexican Indian, passed in review on foot without any weapons; married and with three children. He did not know how to sign. Cristobal de Truxillo,<sup>9</sup> mixed-blood, passed in review with a mare, without weapons, with wife and twelve kinfolk. He did not know how to sign. Ysabel de Archuleta,<sup>10</sup> widow de Lucas de Gamboa, whom the Indians killed,

<sup>6</sup> Born in San Cristobal, in the area of La Cañada, he was married to Francisca Romero and returned with his family with the reconquest (Chávez 1992:63).

<sup>7</sup> This 41 year-old New Mexican had married Maria Martin, with whom he had a son. Antonio Lujan died in 1682 and was buried in Socorro del Paso. His widow married Domingo de Herrera the following year and both returned to New Mexico in 1693 (Chávez 1992:64).

<sup>8</sup> Aged 37, he was married to Maria Romero, alias "Cota, la Naranja." They were residing in Guadalupe del Paso in 1706 and it seems that they did not return to New Mexico (Chávez 1992:80).

<sup>9</sup> The wife of Cristobal Trujillo "the elder" was Maria Manzanares (or Sandoval). This family did not return to New Mexico, but remained in Guadalupe del Paso, although there is evidence that in 1717 Cristobal Truxillo "the younger" still was sending his fee as a devout member of the society of La Conquistadora (Chávez 1992:108).

<sup>10</sup> She was the widow of Lucas de Gamboa, who was killed by the Indians when carrying the message Otermín had asked him to deliver to Alonso Garcia in the Rio Abajo district (Chávez 1992:31-32).

mu[er]/25 y dos yjos. No supo firmar./ [fol. 364r] Mathias Francisco, yndio mexicano, pasó muestra a pie y desnudo, con/ siete personas de mujer y yjos. No firmó por no saber./ Familia del señor gobernador, treinta [testado: per]sonas de todos, criados, españolez, negros y yndios./ Familia del padre guardian de asistencia y servicio treinta personas./5 Conque se acabó por oy la dicha lista y muestra sin aver parecido mas jente/ despues de la diligencia echa. Y para que conste y se prosiga a el ajuste de armaz/ caballos y peltrechos personas que pueden servir a Su Magestad como se manda/ por el bando publicado lo mandó Su Señoria poner por diligencia dejando/ abierta la lista para si pareciere alguna otra persona y lo firmó ante mí,/10 el presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./15 De jente yndiana, cristianos, que se vinieron con el exercito de los pueblos de/ La Ysleta, Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro y Senecu, henbras y varones, chico y grande,/ tresientas y diez y çiete personas que pasaron muestra. 317./ [rúbrica]/ En tres de octubre pasó muestra Juan Sanchez Cabello a pie con arcabuz cuera/ y espada de Su Magestad, de estado casado, con seis personas de familia y lo firmó./20 Juan San[c]hes Cabello [rubricado]/ [fol. 364v] [una página en blanco] [fol. 365r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Auto de Junta/ [de] Guerra]./

passed in review with six little children, exceedingly poor. She did not sign. Maria Hernandez, widow, passed in review on foot with a family of four sons. She did not sign. Cristobal de Apodaca,<sup>11</sup> mixed-blood, passed in review on foot and unclad, with his wife and two sons. He did not know how to sign. [fol. 364r] Mathias Francisco, Mexican Indian, passed in review on foot and unclad, with seven persons, made up of his wife and sons. He did not sign because he did not know how. The family of the lord governor, thirty persons in all, servants, Spaniards, Blacks and Indians. Family of the father guardian, thirty attendants and servants. Wherewith the said roll and review is ended for today without more people presenting themselves after the records being drawn up. And so that it may be entered into the record and arrangements can be made for weapons, horses and equipment, persons who can serve His Majesty as ordered in the published edict, His Lordship ordered it set down as a proceeding, leaving the list open should any other person appear, and he signed it before me, the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Of Indian people, Christians, who came with the army from the pueblos of La Isleta, Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro and Senecu, males and females, children and adults, three hundred seventeen persons who passed in review. [rubric]. On October 3 Juan Sanchez Cabello<sup>12</sup> passed in review on foot with harquebus, leather jacket and a sword of His Majesty; married, with six family members and signed it. Juan Sanchez Cabello [rubric]. [fol. 364v] [a blank page] [fol. 365r] [at upper left margin: Writ of the

<sup>11</sup> He was married to Regina Peralta and returned to New Mexico with the reconquest (Chávez 1992:5).

<sup>12</sup> 23 years old, born in Mexico City, he arrived in 1677 as a forced soldier and married Maria Lopez Cabello. He did not return to New Mexico, remaining in Guadalupe del Paso. In 1703 there is a record that he had died (Chávez 1992:101).

war council.]

**[La Salineta, 2 de octubre de 1680. Auto para la petición de pareceres]**

En este paraje del rio del Norte de La Salineta jurisdicción de las provincias/ del Nuevo Mexico en dos dias del mes de octubre de mil seisçientos y ochenta años./ Don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitán general deste dicho reyno/ por Su Magestad dijo que por quanto por el alçamiento general de los yn-/5dios cristianos de dicho Nuevo Mexico tiene fulminado proçesso en la/ forma que se a podido sin omitir dilijençia ninguna desde el dia/ nueve de agosto que empeçaron los dichos yndios a tomar las armas/ ejecutando sus alevosias traiciones y desacatos asta poner fuego/ a los templos robando y profanando las cossas sagradas, ymajenez y/10 preseas del culto divino, robando las haciendas de los españoles/ en general, saqueando las cassas y siempre tirando a acabar con todo;/ de cuyas boraçidades se recojieron todos los beçinos que pudieron/ en un cuerpo quedando otros con mi persona sitiados dentro de la/ billa y cassas reales por aber el enemigo apoderadose de mas de treinta/15 leguas [manchado: de d]istrito en la mediania del reyno en pueblos lomas/ y ber {r}edas con numero para estorvar el que no tuviesemos abiso los/ unos de los otros, como lo consiguieron, matando a muchos soldados/ mujeres y niños, españoles y de otra calidad, que todo consta de los autos./ Y aunque se yçieron dilijençias neçesarias para poder yncorporarnos nunca/ 20 se pudo conseguir por lo distante que nos allavamos, a mas de las causas/ sobredichas. Conque abiendo salido por mi horden quatro soldados/ por notiçias que tube de la demas jente que abia escapado,

**La Salineta, October 2, 1680. Writ Requesting Opinions**

In this place of El Rio del Norte de La Salineta, jurisdiction of the provinces of New Mexico, on the second day of the month of October 1680. Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this said kingdom for His Majesty, said that regarding the general uprising of the Christian Indians of said New Mexico, he has dictated a proceeding in the required form without omitting any procedure since August 9. [That day] the said Indians began to take up arms, carrying out their treacheries, betrayals and contemptuous acts to the point of setting fire to the churches, robbing and profaning the holy things, images and precious ornaments of divine worship, robbing the ranches of the Spaniards in general, pillaging homes and ever aiming to destroy all; from whose voracity all of the inhabitants who could be gathered into a single force, with others together with my person besieged within the township and Governor's Palace. [This was] due to the enemy having taken control of more than thirty leagues of the district in the middle of the kingdom in pueblos, hills and pathways, with a great enough number to hinder us from having news of each other. [This] they achieved, killing many soldiers women and children, Spaniards and other categories, all of which is recorded in the writs. And although the necessary measures were taken for us to be able to join together, it was never possible to achieve this due to the great distance between us, in addition to the above-mentioned reasons. Thus, four soldiers departed by my order on news that I received of the rest of the people that had

los alca[n]-çaron en el paraje que llaman de Fray Cristoval a donde yçieron a[lt]o/ y me aguardaron. Y biendonos todos juntos publiqué bando para/25 que determinasemos lo que se devia haçer en el real serviçio para bol-/ber a los dichos yndios alçados a el estado de antes, lo qual no se pudo/ conseguir por venir mucha cantidad de españolas y niños y otra calidad de jente a pie asi en el un real como en el otro y por allarnos sin/ ningun bastimento y la caballada trabajada de la marcha que/30 se benia haçiendo. Por cuyas causas y poder asegurar tantas familias/ que benian marchando con las neçesidades referidas y en tierra del enemigo ynfiel de naçion apache se determinó en la dicha junta/ [fol. 365v] que se mejorase de puesto y se buscasse bastimentos y se diese abiso a Su Magestad./ Y abiendo llegado a este paraje donde ay mas seguridad de los enemigos/ ynfieles y por aber venido yo en persona a ber la persona del muy reverendo padre/ predicador fray Françisco de Ayeta comisario del Santo Ofiçio bisitador general desta/ 5 Santa Custodia y procurador general del reyno en lo eclesiastico y secular/ para que yçiesse todas las dilijençias y medios posibles para socorrer la/ jente que benia marchando aviendome adelantado en su busca/ con doçe hombres le hallé en este dicho paraje con el socorro que/ consta del proçesso y de las dilijençias que se yçieron con las cantidad[es]/ 10 de maiz y carne que tiene de manifiesto y lo mas que se está haçiendo/ dilijençias y tiene ofreçido con que se a socorrido y está socorriendo todo/ este ejerçito. Y por quanto se deve mirar con toda atençion lo/ que se deve al serviçio de Dios y de Su Magestad y vien de la caussa/ pública en la reduçion poblaçon y quietud de los yndios

escaped. They reached them in the place called Fray Cristobal where they halted and awaited me. And seeing us all together, I published a proclamation that we should determine what was to be done in the royal service in order to return the said insurgent Indians to their prior state. [This] was not possible due to the great number of Spanish women and children and other categories of people on foot both in one encampment and in the other, and due to finding ourselves with no provisions and the horses worn out from the march that was being done. For such reasons, and to be able to safeguard so many families who were on the march with the aforementioned necessities and the lands of the infidel enemy of the Apache nation, it was determined in the said assembly [fol. 365v] that we improve our location and that provisions be sought and that His Majesty be notified. And having arrived at this place where there is more safety from the enemy infidels, and due to my having come in person to see the person of the Very Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the holy office, visitor general of this holy custody and procurator general of the kingdom in both ecclesiastical and secular matters, so that he might take the actions and use the means possible to give aid to the people who were on the march, after advancing in my search for him with twelve men, I found him in this said place with the aid that is recorded in the proceedings, and the actions taken with the quantities of corn and meat that are in the manifest, and the additional aid that is being investigated and he has offered with this whole army has been aided and is being aided. And insofar as one must look with all the attention that is due to the service of God and of His Majesty, and the good of the public cause in the subduing, settlement and peace of the insurgent Indians and that the

alçados/15 y que los basallos de Su Magestad que oy se allan en estos campos/ sin bibiendas fuera de sus cassas y robados de sus aziendas yçe pa-/sar muestra y lista de toda la jente deste ejerçito para reconoçer/ el numero de españoles armas caballos y demas peltrechos neçesar[ios]/ para ver si con ello aziendo este serviçio a Dios y a Su Magestad se pue[da]/20 bolver a restaurar en todo u en parte la poblaçon de dicho Nuevo/ Mexico. Y porque en la dicha lista se an alistado y pasado muestra/ [al margen izquierdo: [1]55]/ çiento y çinquenta y çinco personas de tomar armas con mançebos/ axiles de a caballo quatroçientas y setenta y una bestias caba- /llares y mulares y aber muniçiones y sustento de carne y maiz/25 y ser las personas de todo jentio que oy se allan presentes entre/ españolas niños jente de serviçio y de todas calidades mil nobe- /çientas y quarenta y seis personas que podran quedar con al-/gun seguro con una tropa de españoles en este paraje o en otro/ mas combeniente que sea de la jurisdicçion o territorio de dicho Nuev[o]/30 Mexico y que algunas armas de arcabuçes estan maltratadas/ se podra dar forma para que se adereçen y pongan en corriente. Y aunq[ue]/ algunos soldados estan sin abio de armas y caballos se podran/ [fol. 366r] unos a otros ayudar y socorrer en caussa tan grave del serviçio de las dos/ majestades y como personas tan servidores de Su Magestad benemeritos nobles/ y leales y tan çelosos del real serviçio ymitando a sus antepasados conquis- /tadores y pobladores y que su ymitaçion los presentes an sustentado la/5 santa fee y reyno de Su Magestad. Por cuyas raçones y las mas que se pueden/ expresar en el derecho de la real y catolica Magestad como basallos que/ todos somos suyos mando que para la determinaçion de casso

vassals of His Majesty who are present today in these fields without shelter, out of their homes and robbed of their belongings, I ordered a muster and roll call of all the people of this army in order to ascertain the number of Spaniards, weapons, horses and any other equipment necessary. [This was done] in order to see whether with it, in doing this service to God and to His Majesty it would be possible to restore all or a part of the population of said New Mexico. And because in the said roll call the following [persons] enlisted and passed in review: [at left margin: 155] one hundred fifty-five persons who can bear arms, with nimble young men who can ride horseback; four hundred seventy-one draft animals, horses and mules; and there are munitions and supplies of meat and corn and among the throngs of people there present, including Spanish women, children, people of service; and of all categories there are one thousand nine hundred forty-six persons who will be able to stay with reasonable safety with a troop of Spaniards in this place or in one more suitable, either in the jurisdiction or territory of said New Mexico. And [since] some of the harquebuses are in poor condition, there could be a way so that they be repaired and brought back to service. And although some soldiers are not equipped with weapons and horses, they can [fol. 366r] help one another and give support in a cause that is of such serious service to the two majesties. And as persons of such great service to His Majesty, distinguished, noble and loyal and so zealous in the royal service, imitating their ancestors the conquistadors and settlers, and that in their imitation the ones present have sustained the Holy Faith and kingdom of His Majesty. For which reasons and the others that may be expressed in the law of the Royal and Catholic Majesty, as his

tan/ grave se aga junta general de guerra en la qual asistan la persona/ de dicho muy reverendo padre fray Francisco de Ayeta los reberendos padres difinidores/10 y los mas relijiosos que aqui se allan con todas las personas [superpuesto: del cavildo y reximiento] ofiçiales/ de guerra cavos y reformados y pueda qualquiera otro soldado parecer en ella/ por ser junta general y como basallos todos del Rey Nuestro Señor que Dios/ guarde.

Consultada la materia y mirandola como se deve la resuelban/ en lo que se deve azer con la atencion que el casso pide para que con pare-/15çer de todos y como quienes tambien la sabran mirar y determinar den/ sus pareceres libres por escripto asi en este auto y junta como separados/ o mas vien les pareçiere al serviçio de Dios y del Rey y bien de la causa/ pública. Y este auto lo aga notorio en la dicha junta el secretario de governacion y guerra/ para que con él se ynserte lo determinado por las personas de ella y todo/20 se ponga en los autos del proçesso para que se fenezcan y conste. Asi lo prov[ei]/ mandé y firmé ante el dicho secretario; entre renglones: del cavildo y reximiento./ Vale./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Por mandado de Su Señoria/25 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[La Salineta, 2 de octubre de 1680. Pareceres que se dieron]**

Luego yncontinente en dicho dia mes y año dichos abiendose congregado/ en esta plassa de armas en presençia del señor gornvador y capitan general las

vassals which we all are, I command that, in order to make a determination on such a grave matter, a general assembly of war be held, in which the person of said Very Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, the reverend fathers definitor, and the other religious who are here present, shall attend with all the above-written persons. [above: of the council and government] Military officers, leaders, reservists and any other soldier my opine in it, since it is a general assembly, and as we are all vassals of the King Our Lord, may God keep him. Having examined the matter and looking into it as must be, let them reach a resolution about what must be done with the attention the case demands so that, with opinions of all and as those who also will be capable of looking into it and deciding, they may freely give their opinions in writing in this writ and assembly as well as separately, or however they choose in the service of God and of the King and the good of the public cause. And may the the secretary of governance and war publicly announce this writ in the said assembly, so that it may be inserted with what was determined by the persons in it. And let all be placed in the writs of the proceeding so that they may be concluded and entered into the record. I so provided, ordered and signed before the said Secretary; [between lines: of the council and Government. Vale. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. By order of His Lordship Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war.

**La Salineta, 2 October, 1680. Opinions Given**

Immediately thereafter on said day month and year, having congregated in this parade ground in the presence of the Lord governor and captain general, the persons [fol. 366v]

personas/ [fol. 366v] que se expresan en este auto y constará de sus firmas, abiendo tratado/ y conferido largamente en la matheria y la gravedad della para el maior açier-/to en lo que se pretende el muy reverendo padre ministro predicador fray Francisco de Ayeta padre desta Santa/ Custodia comisario del Santo Ofiçio comisario visitador general y procurador general de los dos/5 estados eclesiastico y secular deste reyno dixo que en esta matheria con-/sidera dos puntos como prinçipales siendo el prinsipaliçimo el acudir al servicio/ de Dios y del Rei como lo manifiesta el auto promulgado que mirando al/ punto de la matheria i serviçio de Dios y del Rei le parese a su selo como tal que si los/ señores de la junta como tan lealissimos vasallos y servidores de Su Magestad,/10 que Dios guarde, si hallan medios suficièntes se tire a reduçir y pacificar/ estos apostatas christianos. El si se puede restaurar o no parese que, re-/conosida la muestra que se a echo, los prudentissimos y leales vasallos/ que se hallan presentez en la junta lo podran discurrir por no tener Su Paternidad Muy/ Reverenda experiençia de qué medios son nesarios y por no ser de su profe-/15sion. Que por lo que a Su Paternidad Muy Reverenda toca está prognto para obedecer y asis-/tir con todos los relijiosos nesarios en la parte o partes donde se le/ mandare por el señor governador y capitan general y que porque las nesidades/ travaxos y desdichas con que a venido saliendo este exerçito son pa-/tentes y manifiestas, pues todos los mas an perdido en manos de/20 los henemigos no solo las haçiendas sino mujeres y hijos y todos/ los mas por lo menos parientes. Y absolutamente es una porçion ynfima/ de algunos ganados de que se an venido manteniendo la que se escapó/ y de granos

that expressed themselves in this writ and whose signatures are recorded on it, having dealt with and conferred upon the matter and its seriousness for a long time, for the best solution in what is being attempted, Very Reverend Father Minister Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta, father of this holy custody, commissary of the Holy Office, commissary visitor general and procurator general of the two estates, ecclesiastical and secular, of this kingdom, said that he deems there to be two main points: the most important being that of reporting to the service of God and of the king, as is made clear by writ promulgated. Thus, looking to the point of the matter and the service of God and of the king, it appears to his zeal as such that if the gentlemen of the assembly, being such extremely loyal vassals and servants of His Majesty, –may God keep him – if they find sufficient means, the aim must be to subdue and pacify these Christian apostates. As to whether or not it can be restored, it seems that, on the basis of the muster that has been held, the most prudent and loyal vassals that are present in the assembly will be able to consider it, since His Very Reverend Paternity does not have experience of what means are necessary, and since it is not his profession. As regards His Very Reverend Paternity, he is ready to obey and assist with all the religious necessary in the area or areas where the lord governor and captain general may send him; and because the necessities, travails and misfortunes this army has borne on its march are evident and manifest, since the vast majority have lost at the hands of the enemies not only their belongings, but wives and children and all the rest, at least relatives. And it is only a tiny portion of some cattle that escaped, upon which they have been supporting themselves; and no grain arrived, the area



llegaron sin ningunos, no siendo suficiente el casco deste pueblo para/ poder sustentarlos y aber ochenta leguas a la parte donde se puede/25 haçer alguna dilijençia de juntarlos. Executado de la nesesidad presente/ y abiendolo conferido con su difinitorio y relijiosos para vuscar algun/ medio de alivio a tanto numero, deseando cumplir con la obliga-çion de vasallo, diçe que si se tomare resoluçion de que alguna tro-/pa vuelba al Nuevo Mexico la socor[r]era luego prontamente con los vasti-/30 mentos nesesarios menos vestias y para ayuda de los señores soldados/ desaviados dara veinte corasas. Que le an quedado quatro dosenas/ de estrivos de medio lazo y comunes çinquenta frenos otros tantos sonvreros/ zapatos para sí y para sus mujeres y dosientas varas de vramantes/ [fol. 367r] floretes para que agan algunas camisas prontamente. Y cuidará de que se/ les asista con lo nesesario a sus mujeres y familias para el sustento dejan-/dolas congregadas por lo mucho que puede ymportar al servicio de Dios/ y del Rei no dexar criar fuersas al henemigo. Y que en casso de no/ 5 poderse haçer esto que se vintilará en los señores de la junta para que con/ sus grandes experiençias y selo agan juicio de si son o no los medios c[on]/ que se hallan suficientes. En qualquier estado en que quedare la det[er]-/minaçion que se tomare devaxo de dos condiçiones ofrese que servir[a]/ para todo el comun con dies resez cada dia y ocho fanegas de mais en gra-/10no. Y es la una que asi como para entregar las resez como los granos o se/ nombren beedores o por quarteles de los puestos y lugares donde/ se quedaren ranheados ymbien al pueblo del Passo en la forma que les/ pareçiere o por raçion de quinse dias o de un mes que se entregará/ a las personas que asi nonvraren para que se

of this pueblo not being sufficient to be able to supply it, and since it is eighty leagues to the area where steps can be taken to gather it. Impelled by the present necessity, and having deliberated with his definitory and religious in order to seek some means of relief for so many, desirous of fulfilling the obligation of a vassal, he says that if it be resolved that some troops should return to New Mexico then he will promptly aid them with the provisions necessary, excepting draft animals. And in order to help the unequipped soldiers he will provide twenty breastplates. He still has four dozen common half-strap stirrups and fifty bits, the same number of hats, shoes for them and for their wives, and two hundred *varas* of white [fol. 367r] brabant linen so that some shirts can promptly be made. And he will take care that they be assisted with what is necessary to their wives and families as means of support while they are left congregated together, as important as it can be to the service of God and of the King that the enemy not be allowed to grow in strength. And that should this not be possible, it will be discussed among the gentlemen of the assembly so that, with their great experience and zeal, they may come to a judgment on whether or not the means they have available are sufficient. In whatever state the determination to be made will be concluded, he offers to serve common good with ten head of cattle per day and eight fanegas corn in kernels, under two conditions. And the first is: that for handing over both the cattle and the corn, that either supervisors be appointed, or that the headquarters of the posts and places where they will be stored shall send [them] to the pueblo of El Paso, in whatever way they deem fit, either by a ration of fifteen days or of one month, which will be handed over to

destrivuan en el comun./15 Y la otra que porque se nesecita de yr muchas leguas para conprar y con-/duçir en los carros los vastimentos para que no falten de golpe,/ en esta junta se resuelva y se le dé raçon de si se admite o no este cor-/to socorro, que no es mas por ser hasta donde pueden raiar los medios con/ que se hallan dicho reverendo padre y sus relijiosos, para que luego salgan los carros/20 antes que se acave lo que se va comiendo. Pues si se passa el tiempo no/ podra conduçir los tales granos. Y que en quanto al puesto o modo/ en que se an de acomodar las familias no tiene que discurrir porque/ tanpoco entiende de la matheria. Y que el tiempo que socorrera con lo/ prometido es ynterin que con vista destes autos el excelentissimo señor Virrey/25 probea de remedio conviniente socorriendonos o abisandonos/ qué devemos aser. Y deste pareser pidio se le dé testimonio en publica forma/ y manera que aga fee para en guarda de su derecho y de sus relijiosos y lo/ firmó con Su Señoria ante mí el secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/30 Fray Francisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 367v] Los reverendos padres difinidores fray Nicolas Hurtado fray Thomas/ de Tovalina y fray Françisco Muños, que se hallaron presentez, que se conforman/ con el pareser de nuestro mui reverendo padre visitador fray Francisco de Ayeta y mejor/ en la condision del socorro y que en todo lo demas [superpuesto: que convenga] vienen como en dicho pare-/5ser se contiene y lo firmaron con Su Señoria ante mí, el secretario; "que convenga" vale./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Fray Nicolas Hurtado [rubricado] Difinidor/ Fray Thomas de Tobalina [rubricado]

the persons that shall be thus appointed so that it be distributed amongst all. And the other: that since it is necessary to go for many leagues in order to purchase and drive the provisions in the wagons so that they may not suddenly go lacking, may it be resolved in this assembly and agreed to as to whether or not this limited aid be admitted, since that is the distance the means in possession of said Reverend Father and his religious can reach, so that the wagons may soon depart before what is being eaten is depleted. Since if the time passes he will not be able to send such corn. And regarding the location or way in the families may be accommodated, he does not need to opine, because he is not versed in the matter either. And the time that he will come with the promised aid is to be established, so that with a view to these writs may the Most Excellent Lord viceroy provide a suitable remedy either by coming to our aid or advising us about what we must do. And of this opinion, he asked that witness to it be certified in public form and manner in order to safeguard his right and that of his religious, and he signed it with His Lordship before me the secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. [fol. 367v] The reverend fathers definitor Friar Nicolas Hurtado, Friar Thomas de Tobalina and Friar Francisco Muñoz, who were present, agree with the opinion of our very reverend father visitor, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, and better in the condition of the aid, and that regarding all the rest [superscript: may it be so agreed] agree with what is contained in said opinion, and they signed it with His Lordship before me, the secretary; "may it be so agreed" vale. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Friar Nicolas Hurtado

Difinidor/ Fray Francisco Muñoz [rubricado] Difinidor subrogado/10 Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El reverendo padre predicador fray Andres Duran difinidor avitual desta Santa Custodia dijo/ que mirando al mayor servicio de anvas mageztades desnudandose de todo/15 amor propio como ministro que sirve a Su Magestad en este ministerio veinte/ años, atendiendo a los pareseres del reverendo padre fray Francisco de Ayeta/ y del reverendo difinitorio y a lo expresado en el auto del señor governador/ y capitan general, admitiendo los socorros, dise y siendo vistos por los señores/ de la junta y admitidos sera mui justo poner los medios para atraer al/20 gremio de la ygleçia estos fieles apostataz y a la Corona de Su Magestad estos/ vasallos para cuiio fin con selo de Dios y de la caridad y como ministro de/ Su Magestad se ofrese desde luego a perder la vida si fuere nesesario. Esto s'en-/tiende si los señores de la junta determinaren siendo posible algun/ trozo o trozos de exerçito para la reduçion. Y esto lo dijo con selo de Dios/25 y que no le muebe ynteres ninguno ni vienes temporales y por ser servicio de/ la ygleçia y de la catholica Magestad y que este es su pareser salvand[o]/ el mexor y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante mí, el secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Fray Andres Duran [rubricado]/30 Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El reverendo padre predicador fray Francisco Farfan dixo que por quanto fue lla-/ [fol. 368r]llamado de estos yndios apostatas de la santa fe[e] con los quales estu-/bo comunicando su desconsuelo y viendolos ya contritos de los/ atroses que por ellos fue echo y tomando conçexos unos de

[rubric]. Definitor Friar Thomas de Tobalina [rubric]. Definitor Friar Francisco Muños [rubric]. Definitor Substitute. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Reverend Father Preacher Friar Andres Duran habitual definitor of this Holy Custody said that looking to the greatest service of both majesties, stripping himself of all egotism, as a minister who has served His Majesty in this ministry for twenty years, attending to the opinions of Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta and of the Reverend Definitory and what was expressed in the writ of the Lord governor and captain general, admitting the aid, says and having been seen and admitted by the gentlemen of assembly, it will be very just to provide the means for attracting to the pale of the Church these apostate faithful and to the crown of His Majesty these vassals to which end, with godly zeal and charity and as minister of His Majesty, he promptly offers to lose his life should it be necessary. This is understood if the gentlemen of the assembly should determine that a detachment or detachments from the army are possible for the subdual. And he said this with godly zeal and that he is moved by no self-interest or by temporal goods, and in order to be of service to the Church and to the Catholic Majesty and that this is his opinion, lacking a better one, and he signed it with His Lordship before me, the secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Friar Andres Duran [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco Farfan [fol. 368r] said that, in as much as he was called by these Indian apostates of the Holy Faith, with whom he was communicating his grief, and seeing them already repentant of the atrocities committed by them, and when

otros/ fue pedido que se quedase para lo que tocava a su administracion, a lo/5 qual quedó obligado con otros relijiosos para dicha administracion./ Dijo que por aver visto los pareseres antesedentes y el de nuestro muy/ reverendo padre visitador fray Francisco de Ayeta con cuio socorro façilita asi/ la entrada como que estos dichos apostatas se redusgan a la santa/ fee catholica que es lo que se pretende y pretende dicho padre obligando-/10se siempre como quedó obligado a la entrada con los que se deter-/minaren a entrar a lo poblado de dicho Nuevo Mexico. Y esto dio por su/ pareser y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante mí, el secretario, y dixo que siempre/ lo reconosera por dicho suio a que quedó obligado y dara estas/ causas y otras diferentes del serviçio de ambas mageztades/15 que como leal vasallo suio no faltará a lo que lleba dicho./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Fray Francisco Farfan [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/20 Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El maestro de campo Francisco Gomes Robledo theniente general dijo que abiendo/ visto el auto y junta, las proposiciones del y los pareseres dados/ y enteradose dello, alla en su consciencia que aunque se an alistado/ çiento y çinquenta y çinco soldados no estan abiados de caballos los/25 quarenta ni los çiento de armas y la cavallada que oi tiene el exer-/sio flaca y travaxada y el yvierno a la puerta en tierra tan des-/tenplada de frios y que si se mira como se debe la matheria es yn-/posible el que se consiga y de entrar sin las fuersas nesarias/ y mui suficièntes es acavar de [manchado: per]derlo todo. Ademas de co-/[fol. 368v]rrer voses en la converçion de Guadalupe que los yndios de Sonora es-

they took council among themselves, he was asked to stay for their administration, to which he remained obligated with other religious for said administration. He said that, having seen the foregoing opinions and that of our Very Reverend Father Visitor, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, whose aid thus facilitates the entry, as well the return of these apostates to the Holy Catholic Faith, which is what is desired and what said father desires, ever obligating himself, he became committed to the entry with those who may decide to enter the inhabited area of said New Mexico. And he gave this his opinion and signed it with His Lordship before me, the secretary, and said that he will always recognize it as his declaration, to which he became obligated, and will serve both majesties for these and other reasons; as their vassal he will live up to what he has said. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Friar Francisco Farfan [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Field Commander Francisco Gomez Robledo, Lieutenant General said that, having seen the writ and assembly, its propositions and the opinions given, and having understood it, he finds in his conscience that although one hundred fifty-five soldiers have enlisted, forty of them are not equipped with horses, and one hundred are without weapons. And the horses that the army possesses today are thin and overworked, and winter is at the gates in such a harsh land of coldness. And if the matter is looked at as it should be, it is impossible to be successful. And to enter without the very necessary and sufficient forces is to end up [blurred: losing] everything. Furthermore, [fol. 368v] rumors are circulating in the mission of Guadalupe that the Indians of

/tan ynquietos y los presentes mansos y sumas no bivimos mui ase-/gurados dellos. Conque se a de atender al mayor peligro y pérdida,/ que se dé abiso a Su Magestad de todo y se le pida el socorro nesesario para nue-/5ba forma de conquista que es de lo que se nesesa por estar/ oy el reyno yermo y despoblado yn totun. Que con la deter-/minación de Su Magestad entremos sujetandolo todo con fuer-/[ç]a y disposición. Y intirin que se da quenta a Su Magestad sin p[er]-/ju[i]cio de la jurisdición que tiene pretendida el Nuevo Mexico, qu[e]-/10de de reten este pie de exerçito en paraje co[n] modo que podamos man-/tenernos con el socorro prometido. Y esto dio por su pareser y lo firmó/ con su Su Señoria ante mí el secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubricado]/15 Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El maestro de campo Thome Doming[u]ez de Mendossa dijo que abiendo atendid[o]/ a la propuesta del auto de Su Señoria con la obligaçion de vasallo de Su Magestad dese[osso]/ 20 de emplearse en su real servicio habla en su consciencia aviendo visto/ el pareser del muy reverendo padre predicador fray Francisco de Ayeta comisario del Santo Ofiçio y pro-/curador general deste reyno. Y que assi el señor governador y capitán general como dicho reveren[do]/ padre atendiendo unanimes y conformes al mayor servicio de anbas magesta-/ des hiçieron junta general asi el señor governador de todos los maestros de

Sonora<sup>1</sup> are restless, and that as to the Mansos and Sumas<sup>2</sup> here present, we do not live in very much safety from them. Thus, the greatest danger and loss must be attended to. His Majesty must be given news of everything and must be asked for the aid necessary for a new form of conquest, which is what is needed, since the kingdom is completely barren and deserted. With the determination of His Majesty, we may enter and take hold of everything with force and will. And in while the report is given to His Majesty, without harm to the jurisdiction claimed by New Mexico, may this re-constituted army remain in place so that we may sustain ourselves with the promised aid. And he gave this as his opinion and signed it with His Lordship before me, the secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Francisco Gomez Robledo [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Field Commander Thome Dominguez de Mendoza said that, having attended to the proposal of the writ of His Lordship with the obligation of a vassal of His Majesty desirous of occupying himself in his royal service, he speaks from his conscience, having seen the opinion of the Very Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office and procurator general of this kingdom. And that both the Lord governor and captain general as well as said Reverend Father, attending unanimously and in agreement to the greatest service of both majesties, made a general assembly: the Lord Governor as well as all the field

<sup>1</sup> Indians of northwestern Mexico of the Opatá family which includes Papago, Yuma, Yaqui, Mayo, Tarahumara, Cora and Huichol (Santamaría 1942, see sonorensis).

<sup>2</sup> They lived from the El Paso area to northeastern Sonora. As happened with the Mansos, it is believed that they merged with the Apaches (Thomas N. Campbell, [www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/SS/bms45.html](http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/SS/bms45.html)).

campo y d[e]-/25mas soldados de su  
posicion como dicho reverendo padre de  
su difinitorio y [de]-/mas relijiosos que al  
presente se hallan. Y abiendo visto y  
entendid[o]/ dicho reberendo padre el auto  
y proposicion del señor governador y  
capitan general juntament[e]/ con su  
mandato publicamente y en bos alta  
prometió dicho reverendo padre ayuda de/  
costa para que se acuda al real servicio  
como consta por escripto y de-/30vajo de  
su firma a que me refiero mas largamente.  
Dixo que/ [fol. 369r] alla que conviene  
aseptar la ayuda de costa segun y como  
dicho reverendo/ padre lo ofrese y que se  
dé quenta al Rei Nuestro Señor en su  
Virrei y real acuerdo de la/ çiuudad de  
Mexico. Y que en el ynterin que viene la  
repuesta de Su Exçelencia/ y real acuerdo  
se disponga, siendo Su Señoria servido, un  
troso de soldados/5 lo mexor abiados que  
sea posible y sean despachados con su  
capitan y cavo a las provinciaz del Nuevo  
Mexico con horden y poder general y  
bastan-/te de Su Señoria para que entren  
en dichas provinciaz procurando apresar  
algunoz/ yndios de los cristianos rebeldes.  
Y aprisionados los agasajen y los/ ynbien  
por enbaxadarez a los demas reveldes para  
que les agan notorio/10 el vuen  
tratamiento que se les a echo. Y que,  
considerando sus cortas ca-/pasidades, el  
Rei Nuestro Señor y en su real nonvre los  
perdona y avsuelbe/ el señor governador  
de todas sus atosidades. Y que dando la  
obediencia/ a Su Magestad no se les hara  
molestia ni agravio ninguno. Antes sí,/  
seran amparados en el real nonvre. Y que  
echas todas las/15 dilijençias que en tal  
casso son nesesarias y jallandolos re-  
/veldes y tenasez en su ferosidad y  
apostaçia se lleven a fuego/ y sangre,  
siendo posible. Y que para poder  
despachar este trossos/ de soldados sea

commanders and other soldiers of his  
position, as did said Reverend Father with  
his definitory and the other religious who  
are here present. And said Reverend Father,  
having seen and understood the writ and  
proposition of the Lord governor and  
captain general together with his command,  
said Reverend Father promised subsidies  
publicly and aloud, so that the royal service  
might be fulfilled, as is in the written record  
and below his signature, to which I refer to  
at greater length. He said that [fol. 369r]  
there it is advisable to accept the subsidy  
according to and how said Reverend Father  
offers it, and that an account be given to the  
King Our Lord in his viceroy and Royal  
Tribunal of Mexico City. And while the  
answer from His Excellency and Royal  
Tribunal is coming may there be prepared,  
being His Lordship pleased, a force of  
soldiers as well-equipped as possible and let  
them be dispatched with their captain and  
leader to the provinces of New Mexico with  
the order and general and sufficient power  
from His Lordship to enter said provinces  
with the intent of arresting some Indians  
from among the Christian rebels. And once  
captured, they should treat them splendidly  
and send them as ambassadors to the rest of  
the rebels so that they will communicate to  
the good treatment they have received. And  
that, in consideration of their meager  
capacities, the King Our Lord and in his  
royal name the Lord Governor pardons and  
absolves them of all their atrocities. And  
that in giving obedience to His Majesty no  
trouble or offense shall be given them. They  
shall, instead be protected in the royal  
name. And that once all the procedures  
necessary in such a case have been carried  
out, and if they are found to be rebellious  
and tenacious in their ferocity and apostasy,  
fire and blood shall be brought, if that be  
possible. And that in order to dispatch this

primero mudado todo este real enfrente de/ la Toma del rio del Norte, jurisdiccion del Nuevo Mexico que es de la/20 otra banda del rio del Norte parte llana y a proposito para forman-/do xacales y abrigo para las familias se puede asistir en diçiplina/ militar hasta la determinacion y húltimo mandato/ de Su Exçelencia a quien Su Señoria sera servido de ynbiar vastante relacion/ de nuestra pobresa y robos que el henemigo nos a echo y en el mi-/25serable estado que nos hallamos. Para que en nonvre de Su Magestad sien-/do servido Su Exçelencia nos socorra en el real nonvre asi a nuestras/ personas como siendo servido de ynbiar soldados pagados/ para que asistan en las provinciaz del Nuebo Mexico guarnesiendolas/ y apresidiandolas para que el Santo Evangelio sea estendido por todas/30 partes venerado y acatado asi de fieles como de ynfiel que [es]/ la prinsipal mira y cuidado del Rei Nuestro Señor en que a gastado/ [fol. 369v] y está gastando con franca mano todos sus reales averes. Y que este es/ su pareser salbo lo que al señor governador y capitan general mas vien le paresiere/ y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante mí el secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/5 Thome Doming[u]ez de Mendosa [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El maestro de campo Juan Doming[u]ez de Mendossa dixo que se conformava/ 10 en todo con el pareser del maestro de campo Thome Doming[u]ez de Men-/dossa. Solo sí, que el trozo de hombres conviene sea, quando llegare el casso,/ siento vien abiados de armas y cavallos y que este es su pareser./ Y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante mí, el secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/15 Juan Doming[u]es de Mendoza [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco

band soldiers, first let this whole encampment be moved, facing La Toma del Rio del Norte, jurisdiction of New Mexico, which the one on the other side of the Rio del Norte, the flat area, and purposefully. Thus, by creating dwellings and shelter for the families, it may be possible to assist with military discipline until the determination and final order of His Excellency, to whom His Lordship will be pleased to send a sufficient report of our poverty and the robberies the enemy has carried out on us, and the miserable state in which we find ourselves. So that in the name of His Majesty, His Excellency being pleased, he may give us aid in the royal name, to our persons as well as being pleased to send paid soldiers to assist in the provinces of New Mexico, garrisoning them and fortifying them, so that the Holy Gospel may be extended everywhere, venerated and abided by both the faithful and the infidels. [This] is the principal aim and concern of the King Our Lord in which he has spent [fol. 369v] and is freely spending his royal assets. And this is his opinion, save what the Lord governor and captain general may instead believe, and he signed it with His Lordship before me, the secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Thome Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Field Commander Juan Dominguez de Mendoza said that he agreed in everything with the opinion of Field Commander Thome Dominguez de Mendoza. Only, that the detachment of men should, when the case should arise, be one hundred, well equipped with weapons and horses and that this is his opinion, and he signed it with His Lordship before me, the secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Juan Dominguez de Mendoza [rubric]. Before me, Francisco

Xavier/ Secretario./ El sarjento mayor don Pedro Duran y Chaves hombre de setenta años/20 dijo que abiendo oydo y considerado el auto mandado promul-/gar por el señor governador y capitan general que con tan cristiano celo/ procura el mayor serviçio de ambas magestades diçe que en quant[o]/ a la propuesta de que vayan hombres deste real a las provincias del/ Nuevo Mexico no combiene por las raçones que dare atendiend[o]/25 al mayor servicio de Su Magestad y conservaçion de los basallos qu[e]/ le an quedado, las quales son que este real que oy se alla çie[n]/ leguas del reyno está sumamente pobre robado y destruido/ sin peltrechos de armas y caballos suficiẽtes para poder/ emprender y conquistar el reyno del Nuevo Mexico por estar/30 como estan conduçidos apaches con cristianos en tanto nu-/mero que es neçesario que el Rey Nuestro Señor, que Dios guarde/ muchos años, dé duçientos hombres con pagas corrientes./ [fol. 370r]{cor[r]ientes} Los çiento para que se apresidie el reyno y cien vezinos pagados/ y mandados proveer para nueva reedificacion de él porque los ganados/ que tenia el reyno para la tásita y congrua sustentacion de los/ vezinos se consumio. Uno que robó el enemigo y lo restante en el sus-/5tento de las familias que salieron retirandose asta este puesto/ por allarse yndefenssos y reconociendo que en todo el reyno no abia/ fortaleça exido ni puesto donde los basallos del Rey se pudieran/ resistir. Y asi combiene al mayor servicio de ambas magestades el que Vuestra Señoria/ siendo servido dé quenta a Su Magestad ynsiguandole todas estas/10 desdichas y otras muchas que a Vuestra Señoria le constan y los muchos años que a que/ los basallos de Su Magestad le estan sirviendo a su costa y mencion/ en estas partes en persona con

Xavier, secretary. Sergeant Major Don Pedro Duran y Chavez, a seventy year-old man, said that having heard and considered the writ ordered promulgated by the Lord governor and captain general, who with such Christian zeal is seeking the greatest service of both majesties, says that regarding the proposal that men of this encampment go to the provinces of New Mexico, it is not advisable for the reasons that I will give, attending to the greatest service of His Majesty and preservation of the vassals who have remained. [The reasons] are: that this encampment, which today stands one hundred leagues from the kingdom, is exceedingly poor, robbed and destroyed without being sufficiently equipped with weapons and horses so as to be able to set out and conquer the kingdom of New Mexico. Because Apaches are allied with Christians in such a great number that it is necessary that the King Our Lord – may God keep him many years – provide two hundred men with up-to-date pay: [fol. 370r] one hundred so that the kingdom may be fortified, and one hundred inhabitants paid and ordered to provide for its new rebuilding, because the cattle the kingdom had for the tacit and congruous support of the inhabitants were consumed. One which the enemy stole and what was left in the support of the families who marched out to this post due to their finding themselves defenseless, and recognizing that in the whole kingdom there was no fortress, ranch or communal land where the King’s vassals could hold out. And thus it is fitting to the greatest service of both majesties that Your Lordship, being pleased, render an account to His Majesty, apprising him of all these misfortunes and many others that Your Lordship is aware of, and the many years in which the vassals of His Majesty have been personally serving



armas y caballos. Y oy se alla sumamente/  
ymposibilitados no solo de emprender una  
cosa tan grave como es la/ conquista de un  
reyno, pues asta el sustento no lo tienen  
seguro/15 sy el muy reverendo padre  
bisitador general con su acostumbrada  
caridad/ cristiano çelo que tiene del  
servicio de ambas magestades no yciera el/  
socorro que tiene prometido, el qual de mi  
parte lo admito por poder/ asistir a la  
guardia y custodia del señor governador y  
capitan general asta que/ Su Magestad, que  
Dios guarde, nos mande y ordene lo que  
mas fuere servido, a cuya/20 obediencia  
estaremos aora y siempre. Y en este mi  
pareçer para que conste/ a su alteça en su  
Birrey y real {y real} acuerdo digo que  
zito/ se les aga notorio a todos los  
maestros de campo sarjentos mayores/  
bivos y reformados y a todo el reyno que  
está presente en comun/ que si alguno  
tiene que adiçãoar o contradèçir contra la  
verdad/ 25 deste pareçer parezca ante  
Vuestra Señoria dando las causas contra  
las que/ yo tengo dadas que a la prueba  
dello pongo la cabeza y esto d[io]/ por su  
pareçer y lo firmó./ Don Antonio de  
Otermin [rubricado]/ Don Pedro Duran y  
Chaves [rubricado]/30 El sarjento mayor  
don Fernando Duran y Chaves dijo que  
abiendo visto el pareçer/ del maestro de  
campo Thome Dominguez de Mendoza  
digo que me conformo/ con él por  
convenir al servicio de ambas magestades  
y que soy uno de los abiados/ y prompto  
para salir a campaña y lo firmó con Su  
Señoria ante mí el secretario./ Don  
Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/35 Don  
Fernando Duran y Chaves/ Ante mí/  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario./  
[fol. 370v] El sarjento mayor Lorenço de  
Madrid dijo que abiendo bisto el pareser/  
del sarjento mayor Don Pedro de Chaves  
se arrima a él y que este es su pareser y lo/

him at their own expense in these parts with  
weapons and horses. And today it finds  
itself exceedingly prevented not only from  
embarking on something as serious as the  
conquest of a kingdom, but they do not  
even have their sustenance secured if the  
Very Reverend Father Visitor General, with  
his customary charity and Christian zeal,  
which he has for serving both majesties,  
were not to give the aid he promised, which  
for my part, I admit. [All this] in order to be  
able to assist the guard and custody of the  
Lord governor and captain general until His  
Majesty, may God keep him, may  
command us and order what will most  
please him, in whose obedience we will  
now and always be. And in this my opinion.  
So that it may be communicated to His  
Highness in his viceroy and royal tribunal, I  
say that it should be made known quickly to  
all the field commanders, sergeants major,  
active and reserve, and to the whole  
kingdom that is present together. And if  
someone has something to add or contradict  
against the truth of this opinion may he  
appear before Your Lordship, giving the  
causes against those I have given, and in  
proof of this I swear; and he gave this as his  
opinion and signed it. Don Antonio de  
Otermin [rubric]. Don Pedro Duran y  
Chaves [rubric]. Sergeant Major Don  
Fernando Duran y Chavez said that, having  
seen the opinion of Field Commander  
Thome Dominguez de Mendoza, I say that I  
agree with him that it is fitting to the  
service of both majesties, and that I am one  
of those equipped and ready to leave on  
campaign; and he signed it with His  
Lordship before me, the secretary. Don  
Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Don Fernando  
Duran y Chavez. Before me, Francisco  
Xavier [rubric], Secretary. [fol. 370v]  
Sergeant Major Lorenzo de Madrid said  
that, having seen the opinion of Sergeant

firmó con Su Señoría ante el presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/5 Lorenzo Madrid [rubricado]/ Ante mí/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El sarjento mayor Diego Lopez dijo que mi pareser es que se vaya al/10 Nuevo Mexico y que se acepte el socorro que nuestro muy reverendo padre comisario/ bisitador fray Francisco de Ayeta da y que está abiado y pronto d[e]/ todas armas y caballos y que para el abio de cien hombres que/ podran yr al Nuevo Mexico es neçesario para una cosa tan ympor- /tante y del servicio de ambas majestades se junten todas/ 15 las caballadas asi las deste real como las destas jurisdicõiones/ de los manssos asta la mision que está en el rio de Xanos/ asi de los relijiosos como los demas y que juntas estas caball[a]-/das se podran sacar las que pueden servir y que este es su pa-/reçer y lo firmó con Su Señoría ante el presente secretario./ 20 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Diego Lopes Sanbrano [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ 25 El sarjento mayor Domingo Lopez dijo que me arrimo al pareser d[el]/ maestro de campo Thome Domingues y que dandome abio estoy pronto/ para yr al Nuevo Mexico y que este es su pareçer y lo firmó con Su Señoría/ ante el presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ 30 Domingo Lopes de Ocanto [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El sarjento mayor Luis de Quintana dijo que es su pareçer que se

Major Don Pedro de Chavez,<sup>3</sup> he agrees with him, and that this is his opinion; and he signed with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Lorenzo Madrid [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Sergeant Major Diego Lopez<sup>4</sup> said, that my opinion is that we should go to New Mexico, and the aid which our very reverend father commissary visitor, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, gives should be accepted, and that he is equipped and ready with all weapons and horses, and that in order to equip one hundred men who will be able to go to New Mexico, it is necessary for something so important and of service to both majesties to gather together all the horses, both of this camp, and of the other jurisdictions of the Mansos to the mission on the Janos river,<sup>5</sup> as well as of the religious and the others. And that, having gathered these horses, those that can be of use can be selected, and that this is his opinion; and he signed it with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Diego Lopez Zambrano [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Sergeant Major Domingo Lopes said that I agree with opinion of Field Commander Thome Dominguez, and that giving me equipment, I am ready to go to New Mexico, and that this is his opinion; and he signed it with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Domingo Lopez de Ocanto [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Sergeant Major Luis de Quintana

<sup>3</sup> The same Pedro Duran y Chavez.

<sup>4</sup> Also known as Diego Lopes Sanbrano.

<sup>5</sup> The Janos River joins the Casas Grandes and flows into the Laguna de Guzman, in the northern state of Chihuahua, southwest of Ciudad Juarez.

vaya al/35 Nuevo Mexico çien soldados vien abiados y que está abiado/ de todas armas y con quatro caballos y que este es su parecer/ y lo firmó con su Su Señoria ante el presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Luis de Quintana [rubricado]/40 Ante mí./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 371r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Con los autos/ y lo firmó Su Señoria]/ El capitan Pedro Marques soldado de este exercito de/ las probinçias de la Nueva Mexico abiendo hoydo y entendido el auto que mandó promulgar el señor governador/ y capitan general don Antonio de Otermin y abien-/5do bisto los pareseres que an dado en esta ra-/son digo que en quanto a la propuesta que ase/ en el dicho auto el señor governador y capitan general en que dies {e} en/ su pareser en esta junta de guerra si conbiene ho no el en-/biar soldados que buelban a las probinsias de la Nue-/10ba Mexico a dar guerra digo que mi pareser es atendi-/endo al mayor serbisio de anbas magestades que no/ conbiene al presente asta que se dé quenta al Rey/ Nuestro Señor en su Birrey y real acuerdo para que su al-/tesa siendo serbido enbie numero de soldados pa-/15gados para que con fundamento se pueda ganar/ poblar y apresidiar el dicho reyno para la conse[r]-/basion y siguridad del. Porque los soldados que oy/ se allan en este paraje del Paso del rio que dista de/ aqui al postrer pueblo del Nuebo Mexico sien leg[uas]/20 estan sumamente pobres sin peltrecho de arma[s]/ ni caballos, cargados de todas sus familias y niñ[os]/ sin bastimentos y asi como para emprender la dich[a]/ jornada como para la congrua sustentasion de su[s]/ familias. Y que para poderse probeer de los dichos/25 bastimentos estando como está en guarda y cu[s]-/todia del

said that it is his opinion that with one hundred well-equipped soldiers we should go to New Mexico, and that he is equipped with all weapons and with four horses, and that this is his opinion; and he signed it with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Luis de Quintana [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. [fol. 371r] [upper left margin: With the writs and signed it His Lordship] I, Captain Pedro Marquez, soldier of this army of the provinces of New Mexico, having heard and understood the writ that Lord governor and captain general Don Antonio de Otermin ordered promulgated, and having seen the opinions that they have given in this cause, say that, regarding the proposal in the said writ Lord governor and captain general makes, in that opinions should be given in this war council whether it is beneficial or not to send soldiers to return to the provinces of New Mexico a wage war, I say that my opinion is, attending to the greatest service of both majesties, that it is not beneficial at present, until a report be made to the King Our Lord in his viceroy and royal tribunal. Thus, his highness being pleased, he may send a group of paid soldiers, so that with a firm foundation the said kingdom can be won, settled and fortified for its preservation and security. Because the soldiers that are today in this place of El Paso del Rio, which lies one hundred leagues from the last pueblo of New Mexico, are exceedingly poor, unequipped of weapons or horses, burdened with all of their families and children, without provisions either for embarking on the said campaign or for the decent support of their families. And that in order to be able to furnish themselves with the said provisions, being in the guard and custody of the Lord governor and captain general, it

señor governador y capitan general es necesario para p[ro]-beerse de bastimentos en caso contingente y llo/ a buscar a la Taramara que está ochenta le-/guas de este paraje. Y es mi pareser que no con-/30biene por todas las razones espresadas y otra[s]/ muchas que pudiera dar, conque lo allo por inposib[le]./ Y este es mi pareser y pido y suplico a Vuestra Señoria/ [fol. 371v] sea serbido de mandarme dar testimonio auten-/tico de este mi pareser para en guarda de mi {de mi} de-/recho./ Pedro Marques [rubricado]/5 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ [fol. 372r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Con los autos/ y lo firmó Su Señoria]/ El capitan don Fernando Duran y Chabes soldado deste ejersito de las probinsi-/as del Nuebo Mexico abiendo hoido y entendido el auto que mandó promu-/lgar el señor governador y capitan general don Antonio de Hotermin y abiendo visto los pa-/reseres que an dado en esta rason dise que en quanto a la propuesta que a-/5se en el dicho auto el señor governador y capitan general en que diesen su pareser en esta junt[a]/ de guerra si conbiene ho no el enbiar soldados que buelbal a las provinsias del Nue-/bo Mexico digo que atendiendo al servicio de Su Majestad digo que mi pa-/reser es que si se allan todos con suficiente avio y fuersas para bolber/ que yo tamvien bolvere al dicho castigo atendiendo que a de ser/10 dejando esto resguardado por la bos que a cor[r]ido en que llega aqui la/ conbocasion y dandome alguna ayuda de costa por aver salido/ desposeido de todos mis bienes. Este es mi pareser./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Don Hernando Duran y Chaves [rubricado]/15 Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de

is necessary, so as to be supplied with provisions in a contingency, to go seek them in La Taramara, which is eighty leagues from this place. And this is my opinion: that it is not advantageous for all the reasons expressed and many others I could give, so I find it to be impossible. And this is my opinion and I ask and beseech Your Lordship [fol. 371v] be pleased to send me to give authentic witness of this my opinion, so as to safeguard my right. Pedro Marquez [rubric]. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric]. [fol. 372r] [upper left margin: With the writs and signed it] His Lordship Captain Don Fernando Duran y Chaves, soldier of this army of the provinces of New Mexico, having heard and understood the writ that Lord governor and captain general Don Antonio de Otermin ordered promulgated, and having seen the opinions that they have given on this matter, says that, regarding the proposal the Lord governor and captain general makes in the said writ, that they should give their opinion in this war council about whether it is beneficial to send soldiers to return to the provinces of New Mexico, I say that, attending to the service of His Majesty, my opinion is: that if all have equipment and strength enough to return, that I too shall go back for said punishment, well aware that this means leaving this place unprotected, for the rumors circulating that the convocation is arriving here, and giving me some help with the cost, since I am left dispossessed of all my belongings. This is my opinion. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Don Pedro Duran y Chavez [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. [fol. 372v] [a blank page]. [fol. 373r] Captain Joseph Telles Jiron said that he agrees with the opinion of

governacion y guerra./ [fol. 372v] [una página en blanco] [fol. 373r] El capitan Joseph Tellez Jiron dijo que se conforma con el parecer del/ sarjento mayor Don Pedro de Chaves y que si ubiere abio vastante de caballoz/ se prosiga al biaje de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico y este es su parecer/ y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante el presente secretario./5 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Josep Telles y Jiron [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./10 Joseph Gallegos dijo que sigue el parecer del sarjento mayor don Pedro de/ Chaves y que dandole abio yra al Nuevo Mexico y que este es su/ parecer y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante el presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Josepe Gallegos [rubricado]/15 Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ Antonio Gallegos dijo que se conforma con el pareser de arriva por/ conbenir al servicio de ambas magestades y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante el/ 20 presente secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Antonio Gallegos [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/25 Secretario de governacion y guerra./ El capitan Luis Martin dijo que se arrima al parecer del maestro de/ campo Thome Dominguez y que le den abio y yrá al Nuevo Mexico,/ que combiene al servicio de ambas magestades y que este es su/ parecer y lo firmó con Su Señoria ante el presente secretario./30 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Luis Martin Serrano [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./35 El sarjento mayor Diego Luzero de Godoy dijo que aviendo atendido al auto de/ [fol. 373v] de Su Señoria en la junta que se a echo y a los pareseres dados y en particular a la pro-/puesta del muy

Sergeant Major Don Pedro de Chavez, and if there is sufficient number of horses, the voyage to the provinces of New Mexico should be undertaken, and this is his opinion; and he signed it with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Josep Telles y Jiron [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Joseph Gallegos said that he follows the opinion of Sergeant Major Don Pedro de Chavez, and if he is given equipment he will go to New Mexico, and that this is his opinion; and he signed it with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Joseph Gallegos [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Antonio Gallegos said that he agrees with the above opinion because it is fitting to the service of both majesties; and he signed it with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Antonio Gallegos [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Captain Luis Martin said that he agrees with the opinion of Field Commander Thome Dominguez, and that he should be given equipment and he will go to New Mexico, which is fitting to the service of both majesties, and that this is his opinion; and he signed it with His Lordship before the present secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Luis Martin Serrano [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Sergeant Major Diego Lucero de Godoy said that having attended to the writ [fol. 373v] of His Lordship in the assembly that has been formed and to the opinions given and in particular to the proposal of the Very Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, finds in his conscience that it is fitting for him to go to New Mexico, for

reverendo padre fray Francisco de Ayeta  
 alla en su consiençia que conviene que/ se  
 vuelva al Nuevo Mexico para lo qual  
 desde luego y sin enbaraso ninguno se  
 halla/ abiado de todas armas y cavallos y  
 pronto para ser uno de los que se  
 alistaren/5 por horden de Su Señoria. Y  
 que conviene que se admita el socorro  
 prometido asi/ para los que ubieren de yr  
 como para los que quedaren con las  
 familias. Y que des-/de luego se elixa çitio  
 conveniente para hacer pie y se señale las  
 personas/ que an de acudir a conduçir el  
 socorro de vastimentos para la jente que  
 que-/dare de pie en estas partes y que lo  
 que dicho tiene siente como vasallo/ 10 de  
 Su Magestad y lo firmó con Su Señoria.  
 Ante mí, el secretario./ Don Antonio de  
 Otermin [rubricado]/ Diego Luzero de  
 Godoy [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco  
 Xavier [rubricado]/15 Secretario de  
 governacion y guerra./ El alferes Francisco  
 Luçero dijo que alla ser justo el parecer del  
 maestro de cam[po]/ Thome Dominguez  
 de Mendosa y alla en su conçiençia que se  
 deve haçer a[biendo]/ abio para ello y que  
 el contenido está de manifiesto con su  
 perssona [por]-/que no tiene otra cosa de  
 abio y lo firmó con Su Señoria y por ante  
 mí, el p[resente]/20 secretario./ Don  
 Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Francisco  
 Lucero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco  
 Xavier [rubricado]/25 Secretario  
 de governacion y guerra./ El sarjento  
 mayor Sevastian de Her[r]era aviendo  
 visto y enteradose de[l]/ contenimiento del  
 auto propuesta y oferta del muy reverendo  
 padre predicador comissario v[isi]-/tador  
 general y los demas pareseres que se an  
 dado rindiendo de su parte como [vasallo]/  
 de Su Magestad el devido agradeçimiento  
 a dicho reverendo padre por ser un socorro  
 y dadiv[a]/30 tan de ymportançia en la  
 ocasion presente y que de no aberlo podia

which, immediately and without delay he  
 shall be equipped with all weapons and  
 horses and promptly, so that he may be  
 among those who are to enlist by order of  
 His Lordship. And it is fitting that the  
 promised aid be admitted, both for those  
 who will have to leave as well as for those  
 who will be with the families. And that of  
 course, let a site be chosen to establish a  
 foothold and the persons who must come to  
 bring the aid of the provisions for the  
 people who will be left standing in this  
 area, and that what he has said he feels as a  
 vassal of His Majesty; and he signed it with  
 His Lordship. Before me, the secretary.  
 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Diego  
 Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Before me,  
 Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of  
 governance and war. Ensign Francisco  
 Lucero said that he finds the opinion of  
 Field Commander Thome Dominguez de  
 Mendoza to be correct. He finds in his  
 conscience that it should be done, having  
 equipment for it, and that the content is  
 manifest with his person because he has no  
 other equipment; and he signed it with His  
 Lordship and before me, the present  
 secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin  
 [rubric]. Francisco Lucero de Godoy  
 [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier  
 [rubric] The secretary of governance and  
 war. Sergeant Major Sebastian de Herrera,  
 having seen and learned of the content of  
 the writ, proposal and offer of Very  
 Reverend Father Preacher Commissary  
 Visitor General, and the rest of the opinions  
 that have been given, offered for his part, as  
 vassal of His Majesty, the gratitude owed to  
 said Reverend Father for the aid and gift of  
 such importance on the present occasion.  
 And that in not having it, this army could  
 have perished. [He] said that, with respect  
 to the determination, [we should] go to the  
 first pueblos and area where an Indian or

pereser est[e]/ exercito, dixo que en quanto a la determinacion de poder yr a recono[ser]/ a los primeros poblados y parte donde se pueda coxer algun yndio o [yn]-/dios de la jurisdiccion del reino para mejor ynformarnos de la [ynten]-/[fol. 374r]cion con que oy se hallan y del estado en que estan algunos relijiosos, que/ a la fecha desta no savemos si son [vibos] o difuntos. Y que estas dilijençias/ a su pareser son lisitas açerlas con un troso de soldados no abiendo otros yn-/convinientes como son que respeto de los soldados que se dispuçiere/5 el que se vaia se aga el conputo de la cavallada nesearia y asi mismo de los/ vastimentos y armas y demas avio neseario para que las familias que/ aqui quedaren ynterin que se ba a dicha funçion no perescan y les obligue/ la nesearidad a desmantelarse y desparramarse. Y que echo el conputo/ de la vesindad que aqui queda se puede colexir si son vastantes las ocho/10 fanegas de bastimento y reses que el dicho reverendo padre ofrese y assi mesmo es de/ pareser que por vernos al presente tan ynposibilitados del todo se bea si se pue-/de formar una bivienda donde se pueda resistir el rigor de un ybierno/ que nos amenassa con tanta mujer y niños a donde se recojan ynterin/ que bamos y bolvemos. Para que dando quenta a Su Magestad con la vrebbe-/15dad posible manifestandole todas estas calamidades se sirva como/ tan catholico socorrernos con todo lo neseario como para nueva conquista, pues/ a ojos de todos se a bisto la ruina que a executado el henemigo y que/ oy nos hallamos en el campo desnudos rovados cansados y sin vestias/ que es el mayor ynstrumento para defender y ofender y que el contenido es/ 20 uno de los postreros que escapó del henemigo en el pueblo de T[a]os, que ia estavan/ los

Indians of the jurisdiction of the kingdom can be captured so as to better inform ourselves about the [fol. 374r] intention with which today they find themselves and of the situation of some of the religious; for as of today we do not know if they are alive or dead. And that in his opinion it is licit to carry out these steps with a group of soldiers, if there are no other obstacles, as there are with respect to the soldiers who may be willing to go. A count should be made of the horses necessary and also of the provisions and weapons and other necessary equipment, so that the families which may remain here while the troops go on that mission do not perish and are not forced by necessity to break camp and be scattered. And once a count of the settlers who remain here is made, it will be possible to understand if the eight fanegas of provisions and cattle that the said Reverend Father offers are sufficient, and he is also of the opinion that, seeing that we are at present so helpless, it is necessary to see if it is possible to build a dwelling wherein to resist the rigor of a winter that threatens us with so many women and children, where they can be gathered after we leave and until we return. So that, in giving an account to His Majesty with all possible brevity, making manifest to him all of these calamities, he may be pleased, as Catholic as he is, to aid us with all that is necessary for a new conquest, since all have seen with their own eyes the ruin that the enemy has wreaked. And that now we find ourselves in the open, unclad, robbed, tired and without animals, which are the greatest tool for both defense and offense. And that he is one of the last to escape from the enemy in the pueblo of Taos, when the Indians had already taken over all the ranches and wiped out the Spaniards and families, in which he lost his wife, his mother-in-law

yndios apoderados de todas haciendas y consumidos españoles y/ familias en los quales perdio su mujer su suegra y un cuñado y sus vestias/ escapando solo en un cavallo, defendiendose en distrito de mas de quarenta/ leguas en compañia de otro soldado. Y que para la dicha determinacion no/25 ay fuersas al presente. No firmó por no saver. Firmolo Su Señoria ante mí,/ el secretario./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/30 Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 374v] [una página en blanco] [fol. 375r] El maestre de campo Alonso Garsia teniente general actual deste reyno en las jurisdicciones del rio Avaxo digo que soy de pareser que allo por ymposible el que se pueda entrar al reino por las rasones siguientes: lo primero porque en todo este exercito no se allan/ mas de treinta y seis hombres aviados y estos solos no pueden entrar por causa de tener/5 las vestias tan flacas y maltratadas que con ellas no se puede aser viaxe de quarenta/ leguas, lo segundo que acavamos de salir destrosados desnudos a pie y que todavia/ estamos con mil ynconvenientes en la mano, el ynvierno, el frio grande, sin tener casas ni/ xacales en que podernos guareser. Lo tersero que solos dichos treinta hombres no son/ bastantes a poder entrar pues lo menos que se pudiera avian de ser sien hombres avia-/10dos y que estas familias avian de quedar aseguradas pues no savemos si a ymitacion/ de los del Nuevo Mexico arán estos lo propio. Y allo en mi consciencia que lo mas con-/veniente es dar quenta al señor Vir[r]ey y real acuerdo con todas ynstancias y la brevedad/ posible para que socorra este reino con todo lo nesarario para aser nueva conquista,/ que sera oy gravisima por causa de ser ladignos en lengua castellana y mui axi-/15les de a cavallo y tener en su

and one brother-in-law and his animals, escaping alone on one horse, defending himself for a distance of forty leagues together with another soldier. And that for the said decision there are not the [necessary] forces at this time. He did not sign because he does not know how. His Lordship signed it before me, the secretary. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. [fol. 374v] [a blank page]. [fol. 375r] Field Commander Alonso Garcia, current lieutenant general of this kingdom in the jurisdictions of Rio Abajo: I say that I am of the opinion that I find it impossible to enter the kingdom for the following reasons: the first, because in this entire army no more than thirty-six men can be found who are at the ready, and these alone cannot enter because their animals are so thin and worn out, that a journey of forty leagues cannot be made with them. The second is that we have just recently come forth in ruins, unclad, on foot and we still have a thousand difficulties at hand, the winter, the great cold, having neither houses nor huts in which we can take shelter. The third is that said thirty men alone are not sufficient to be able to enter, since the minimum would have to be one hundred outfitted men and that these families must be safeguarded, since we do not know if, in imitation of those of New Mexico, these will do the same. And I find in my conscience that the most suitable thing is to give an account to the Lord viceroy and royal tribunal with all urgency and with the greatest possible brevity, so that he may send aid to this kingdom with all that is necessary to carry out a new conquest. [Such a conquest] will be most serious, since they are versant in the Castilian language and are very nimble on horseback and have in their power many firearms,



poder muchas armas de fuego espadas  
lansas dagas/ y otras muchas armas de su  
uso y que estan apoderados de todas las  
cavalladas/ ganados y asiendas de todos  
los vesinos y tener conbocacion y  
confederacion/ con los enemigos ynfieles  
de nacion apache y otras naciones. Y asi  
mesmo/ las armas que oy tenemos estan  
las mas quebradas y desconpuestas de la  
pelea que/20 se tubo y no ay forma de que  
se puedan aderesar. Y que en quanto al  
socorro que/ ofrese dar el muy reverendo  
padre predicador fray Francisco de Aieta  
comisario visitador y procurador/ general  
deste reyno en los dos fueros eclesiastico y  
secular digo que lo aseto y se/ le den los  
devidos agradesimientos y se nos señale  
puesto donde estemos todos/ juntos y  
congregados asta que benga la resulta del  
señor Vir[r]ey y real acuer-/25do. Y que  
este es su pareser y lo que alla en su  
consciencia y lo firmó de su nom-/bre/ Don  
Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Alonso  
Garcia [rubricado]/ Todos los que aqui  
firmamos abiendo pesado todas las cir-  
/30cunstancias somos de el mismo pareser  
de el maestro de canpo/ y theniente  
general Alonso Garcia y lo firmamos en  
dicho dia/ mes y año para que resuelva el  
señor governador y capitán general/  
Sebastian de Herrera [rubricado]/  
Christoval Enriquez [rubricado]/ 35  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Juan del Rio  
[rubricado]/ Juan Luis [rubricado]/  
Ygnacio Baca [rubricado]/ Diego  
Domingues de Mendosa [rubricado]/ 40  
Antonio Luzero [rubricado]/ [fol. 375v]  
Alonso Barela de Losada [rubricado]/  
Antonio Doming[u]es de Mendosa  
[rubricado]/ Felipe Serna/ Sevastian  
Gonsa[les] [rubricado]/5 Juan de Balensia  
[rubricado]/ Estevan Lopez [rubricado]/

swords, lances, daggers, and many other  
weapons that they use. And they have  
seized all the horses, livestock and ranches  
of all the residents, and have a convocation  
and confederation with the enemy infidels  
of the Apache nation and other nations. And  
in the same way, most of the weapons that  
we now have are broken and worn out  
because of the fight we had, and there is no  
way to repair them. And regarding the aid  
that the Very Reverend Father Preacher  
Fray Francisco de Ayeta, Commissary  
visitor and procurator general of this  
kingdom in both ecclesiastical and secular  
realms, offers, I say that I accept it, and  
may be he given due thanks, and that we  
should be shown a place where we may all  
be gathered together until the decision of  
the Lord viceroy and royal tribunal arrives.  
And that this is his opinion and what is in  
his conscience; and he signed it with his  
name. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric].  
Alonso Garcia [rubric]. All of us who sign  
here, having weighed all the circumstances,  
are of the same opinion as the Field  
Commander and Lieutenant General Alonso  
Garcia and we sign it on said day, month  
and year so that the Lord governor and  
captain general will make a resolution.  
Sebastian de Herrera [rubric]. Christoval  
Enriquez [rubric]. Francisco Xavier  
[rubric]. Juan of the Rio [rubric]. Juan Luis  
[rubric]. Ignacio Baca [rubric]. Diego  
Dorninguez de Mendoza [rubric]. Antonio  
Lucero [rubric]. [fol. 375v] Alonso Barela  
de Losada [rubric]. Antonio Domingues de  
Mendoza [rubric]. Felipe Serna Sebastian  
Gonzalez [rubric]. Juan de Valencia  
[rubric]. Esteban Lopez<sup>6</sup> [rubric]. Pedro  
Martin Serrano [rubric]. Francisco de  
Aguilar [rubric]. Don Joseph Duran y  
Chaves [rubric]. Domingo de Herrera

<sup>6</sup> Judging by the rubric in both signatures, this is the same person who signed as “Esteban Lopez de Grazia.”

Pedro Martin Serrano [rubricado]/  
 Francisco de Aguilar [rubricado]/ Don  
 Joseph Duran y Chabes [rubricado]/10  
 Domingo de Herrera [rubricado]/ Tomas  
 de Mestaz [rubricado]/ Josep de Leyba  
 Nebares [rubricado]/ Christoval Nieto  
 [rubricado]/ Pedro Ydalgo [rubricado]/15  
 Don Francisco Rascon [rubricado]/ Jose de  
 la Serna/ El capitán Francisco Lopez viene  
 con este parecer y no firmó porque no  
 [save]/ Juan de Yllescas [rubricado]/  
 Salvador Samorano [rubricado]/20 Joseph  
 de Padilla Villaseñor [rubricado]/ Don  
 Pedro Lopez [rubricado]/ Sebastian  
 Gonsales [rubricado]/ Nicolas Luzero de  
 Godoy [rubricado]/ Phelipe Romero  
 [rubricado]/25 Bernave Marques  
 [rubricado]/ Anberosyo de Carbajal/ [fol.  
 376r] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una  
 página en blanco]/ [fol. 376v] [una página  
 en blanco] [fol. 377r] [en el margen  
 superior izquierdo: Presentado y mandó Su  
 Señoría que/ se ponga con los autos y  
 pare-/seres y lo rubricó]/ [rúbrica]

[rubric]. Tomas de Mestas [rubric]. Joseph  
 de Leiva Nebares<sup>7</sup> [rubric]. Christobal  
 Nieto [rubric]. Pedro Hidalgo [rubric].  
 Don Francisco Rascon [rubric]. Jose de la  
 Serna. Captain Francisco Lopez comes with  
 this opinion and did not sign because he  
 does not know how. Juan de Yllescas  
 [rubric]. Salvador Zamorano [rubric].  
 Joseph de Padilla Villaseñor [rubric]. Don  
 Pedro Lopez [rubric]. Sebastian Gonzalez  
 [rubric]. Nicolas Luzero de Godoy [rubric].  
 Felipe Romero [rubric]. Bernabe Marques  
 [rubric]. Ambrosio de Carbajal [fol. 376r]  
 at the middle of the page: a blank page].  
 [fol. 376v a blank page]. [fo1. 377r] in the  
 upper left margin: Presented, and His  
 Lordship ordered that it be put with the  
 writs and opinions and he placed his rubric  
 on it [rubric].

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<sup>7</sup> The son of the Field Commander Pedro de Leyva, he was 31 years old and served as interpreter during the campaign Otermín's Tiwa campaign. He was married to Juana Fresqui, who was killed by the Indians in 1680 and remarried Estefania Dominguez Marquez in Real de San Pedro de Alcantara in 1682. In 1692 his daughters, kidnapped by the Pueblo Indians during the rebellion of 1680, were rescued (Chávez 1992:53-54).



**[La Salineta, 3 de octubre de 1680.  
Pareceres del Cabildo]**

Señor governador y capitan general./ Los alcaldes y rexidores del cavildo de la villa de Santa Fee cavesera de las provincias de la/ Nueva Mexico que assi los vesinos de dicha villa como los demas del reino/ que se an escapado del alsamiento general de los yndios christianos que oy nos/5 hallamos todos juntos y congregados en esta plassa de armas del paraje de La / Salineta a horden de Vuestra Señoria como nuestro governador y capitan general dise que aviendose en-/terado de un auto que por horden de Vuestra Señoria se publicó en esta plasa de armas/ llamando a junta general de todas las personas que se hallan presentez para que/ visto las causas que se an seguido sobre el alsamiento general de los yndios/10 cristianos y las proposiciones del auto de Vuestra Señoria en que este cavildo con çelo/ del servicio de las dos majestades y vien de la caussa pública en el amparo y seguro/ de los vasallos de su magestad mirando la matheria como se deve y dando satisfa-çion a todas las propuestas, lo primero (diçe) que la convocasion y con-/juraçion de dichos yndios consta aver sido con tanto secreto que generalmente/15 ejecutaron su traición en todas las jurisdicçiones del reyno como se vido desde/ el dia nueve de agosto en la noche que tomaron las armas dichos yndios. Y lleva-/dos de su yndignaçion mataron a relijiosos saçerdotes españoletz y muje-/res sin reservar la ignoçiencia de las criaturas de pecho. Y como voraçes cie-/gos del demonio puçieron fuego a los santos templos y ymajenes asiendo escar-/20nio en sus vailes y trofeos de las vestiduras saçerdotales y otras cosas del/ culto divino llegando a tanto su extremo

**La Salineta, October 3, 1680. Opinions  
of the Municipal Council**

Lord governor and captain general. The magistrates and officers of the municipal council of the township of Santa Fe, capital of the provinces of New Mexico, as well as the residents of said township and all the others of the kingdom who have escaped the general uprising of the Christian Indians, who are all together and gathered in this encampment at the place of La Salineta by order of Your Lordship, as our governor and captain general says, that having learned of an edict that by order of Your Lordship was made public in this parade ground, called a general council of all the people here present so that, seeing the causes that have been followed regarding the general uprising of the Christian Indians and the propositions of the edict of Your Lordship, in which this council, with zeal for serving the two majesties and the good of the public cause in giving protection and safety to the vassals of His Majesty, dutifully looked at the matter and satisfied all of the proposals. The first thing [the council] says is that the convocation and conspiracy of said Indians was evidently done with so much secrecy that they carried out their treason simultaneously in all the jurisdictions of the kingdom, as was seen beginning on the ninth of August at night that said Indians took up arms. And borne along by their indignation, they killed religious, priests, Spaniards and women without sparing the innocence of nursing babes. And like ravenous beasts blinded by the devil, they set fire to the holy temples and images, making mockery in their dances and trophies out the priestly vestments, and other things of divine worship, with their hatred and barbarous rapaciousness reaching

odio y voraçidad varvara que en el/ pueblo de Sandia se hallaron unos santos corporales escrementados y dos/ calises dentro de una petaca escondidos entre estiercol y una echura de/ un crucifixo quitado a asotes la [manchado: en]carnaçion y el varnis, escrementado/25 el lugar del açiento de la sacra ara del altar maior y una echura del Señor/ San Francisco quitados los vrassos a jachassos. Y esto se vido solo en un templo por/ [fol. 377v] donde salimos marchando, que el de la villa lo quemaron y consumieron tod[o]/ a ojos de Vuestra Señoria y de este cavildo y de la jente que le asistia en el sitio que el hen[e]-/migo nos pusso. Y teniendonos señidos en las dichas cassas reales y pelean-/do con ellos porque no fuese defendido dicho templo le pegó fuego hasta que/5 lo consumo y quedó todo demolido sin quedar mas de algunas paredes sin/ los estragos y sacrilejios que hiçieron en las demas jurisdicçiones de treinta/ y quatro pueblos y en las estanças y cassas de los españolez de que se compo[ne]/ [al margen izquierdo, línea 7: 34]/ el dicho Nuevo Mexico. Y esto tan distantes y sin fuersas sus poblaçion que m[ila]-/grosamente a escapado la jente que oy se halla en este exercito adonde co[nsta]/10 nos falta el prelado, cavessa de esta ygleçia, dies y ocho ministros

such an extreme that in the pueblo of Sandia two holy corporals were found covered with excrement and two chalices in a pouch hidden among feces and the corpus of a crucifix with the paint and varnish hacked away, the seating area of the holy table of the high altar was covered with excrement, as well as a statue of Lord St. Francis with his arms hacked off. And this was seen in just one church in the area [fol. 377v] we marched out of, since they completely burned down the one of the township before Your Lordship's eyes and those of this council and of the people who were with you in the siege that the enemy set on us. And keeping us hemmed in at the said governor's palace and busy fighting with them, so that said church would not be defended, [the enemy] set fire to it until it was consumed and demolished with nothing left but some walls, without the ravages and sacrileges that they committed in the rest of the jurisdictions of thirty-four pueblos and in the ranches and houses of the Spaniards that make up the said New Mexico. And their pueblos are so far apart and lacking forces that the people today present in this army have escaped miraculously. Wherein we know that the prelate, head of this church, eighteen priest ministers,<sup>1</sup> two religious lay brothers, for a total of twenty-one, and more than three hundred and eighty

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<sup>1</sup> Eighteen priest ministers. In total 21 religious were massacred, including the prelate and two lay brothers: Friar Juan Bernal, guardian, native of Mexico City, in Galisteo; Friar Domingo de Vera, also from Mexico City, in Galisteo; Friar Fernando Velasco, from Cadiz, in Pecos; Friar Juan Bautista Pio, native of Vitoria (Alava), in Santa Fe; Friar Tomas de Torres, of Tepoztlan, in Nambé; Luis de Morales (Jaen) in San Ildefonso; Friar Antonio Sánchez de Pio, Mexican lay brother, also died in San Ildefonso; Friar Matías Rendon, in Pecuries; Friar Antonio de Mora, Michoacan, in Taos; Friar Juan de la Pedrosa, lay brother, from Mexico city, also in Taos; Friar Manuel Tinoco, in San Marcos; Friar Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, Galician, in Santo Domingo; Juan de Talabani, Seville, in Santo Domingo; Friar Jose de Montesdeoca, Queretaro, also in Santo Domingo; Juan de Jesus, Granada, in Jemes; Friar Lucas Maldonado, Trebujena (Cádiz), in Acoma; Friar Juan de Bal, Castilian, in Alona; Friar José de Figueroa, Mexico city, in Aguatubi (Awatobi); Friar José Trujillo, Cadiz, in San Bartolomé de Xongo Pavi; Friar José Espelette, Estella (Navarre), in Oraibi; and Friar Agustin de Santa María, from Patzcuaro, Michoacan.

saçerdotez/ dos relijiosos legos que asen numero de veinte y uno y mas de tresientas y och[enta]/ personas españolas, hombres niños y mujeres con alguna jente de çer[viçio],/ entre los quales son setenta y tres españoles de tomar armas que todos an pe[re]-/sido a manos de dichos henemigos allssados rovandoles las armas haç[ien]-/15das y quanto tenian, executando lo mesmo a ojos de Vuestra Señoria assi en la d[icha]/ villa donde nos saquearon las cassas y nos pusieron fuego como en lo[s]/ conventos y estançias. Pues se conprueba esta verdad con lo que a ojos vim[os]/ en la marcha que se hizo para salir del reino que hallamos los pueblos/ despoblados los conventos y estançias saqueadas y la cavallada gana[dos]/20 y otras cosas de nuestro vestuario y nesesidades en las mesas y çierrias en lo mas/ agri[o] de ellas y en guarniçion de todo ello los dichos henemigos mof[an]-/do y hultrajandonos de palabra. Y esta salida es sin duda no la hub[iera]-/mos conseguido a no ser por obra divina aberle quitado al dicho [hene]-/migo, peleando, una tropa de cavallada y aver escapado algunos ataj[ue]-/25los de ganado y con las masorcas de mais que se cojian de las milpas/ en los campos como consta a Vuestra Señoria que se sustento muchos dias/ con masorcas asadas como nosotros, que de no aberlo sin duda/ hubieramos peresido de ambre. Lo otro el afliçion y cuidad[o]/ que emos tenido en venir velando y guardando el real estandar[te]/30 y tantas familias assi del çitio y guerra que se tubo en la villa com[o]/ en el camino que a durado desde el dia nuebe de agosto has[ta]/ el de oy de tres de otubre velando las dichas familias y cavall[ada]/ [fol. 378r] y açistiendo al cuerpo de guardia del real estandarte y otras muchas faenas que/ se an ofresido, teniendo de dia y de noche cavallos

Spanish persons, men, children and women, with some servants, among which are seventy-three Spaniards able to bear arms, all of whom have perished at the hands of said insurgent enemies, who robbed their weapons, homes and everything they had, carrying out the same thing before the eyes of Your Lordship, as well as in the said township where they pillaged our houses and set fire to us, as in the convents and ranches. This truth is confirmed by what we saw with our eyes on the march out of the kingdom. We found the pueblos emptied, the convents and ranches pillaged and the horses, livestock and other items of our clothing and necessities on the mesas and sierras in the harshest areas, and on top of all that, the said enemies mocking and verbally insulting us. And without a doubt we would not have achieved this exit were it not – thanks to divine intervention – for taking from said enemy, by fighting, a number of horses and some small herds of livestock escaping. And with the ears of corn that were taken from the fields in the countryside, as Your Lordship knows, since you lived for many days off of grilled corncobs as did we, and were it not for it, no doubt we would have died of hunger. The other thing is the affliction and concern that we have had in keeping watch and guard over the royal standard and so many families, both from the siege and war that took place in the township and on the journey that lasted from the ninth of August to the third of October. [We are] keeping watch over said families and horses [fol. 378r] and participating as guards of the royal standard, and many other tasks that have come up, keeping horses saddled and armed day and night, because of which they have grown thin and incapable of being able to serve for many days. And a great many of them have died, and we find ourselves

ensillados y armados, de que se an/  
enflaquesido y ynposivilitado de poder  
servir en muchos dias y que mucha/  
cantidad de ellos se a muerto y nosotros  
nos hallamos rendidos de cansan-/5çio de  
la hanvre y falta de sueño de que algunos  
van enfermando. En cuia/ consideraçion y  
atençion a las yncomodidades y general  
nesesidad que oy/ se halla y se ve de  
manifiesto en todos los leales vasallos de  
Su Magestad/ que con rendida obediencia  
estan en este exercito a ojos de Vuestra  
Señoria a-/tendiendo a la lista y muestra  
que se a passado que, de toda ella, mirada/  
10 con la atençion que se deve, no ai mas  
que treinta y seis hombres abia-/dos de  
armas de su persona sin tener ternos de  
armas los mas y el que mas/ vestias tiene  
para sí son ocho y esas en el estado  
sobredicho y los mas/ restantes a çiento y  
çinquenta y çinco que an passado muestra  
estan/ ynposivilitados de todo desnudos a  
pie y sin ningunas armas,/15 mas numero  
de setenta hombrez, que son mansevos  
hijos de fa-/milia y los restantes al dicho  
numero de los çiento y çinquenta y çinco  
ser/ hombres que el que mas tiene son tres  
cavallos flacos y qual y qual/ arcabus y  
espada y los mas a pie, quevrados los  
arcabuses y que no/ casan, sin cueras ni los  
peltrechos de guerra nesarios le parese a  
este/20 cavildo, respondienddo con la  
atençion que se deve a la propuesta del/  
auto de Vuestra Señoria en que dise si sera  
conveniente el bolver a poblar en/ todo o  
parte la jurisdiccion del Nuebo Mexico (no  
ser posible) sin que Su/ Magestad, que  
Dios guarde, con su grandessa y catholico  
pecho patrosigne esta caussa/ con el  
fomento nesario dando parte de todo lo  
que convenga (al excelentissimo señor)/25  
Virrey governador y capitan general de la  
Nueva España y a su altessa del real  
acuerdo/ al señor fiscal de Su Magestad y a

overcome with weariness, hunger and lack  
of sleep, which is causing some to fall ill. In  
consideration of which, and with attention to  
the discomforts and general necessity that  
there are today and which are clearly seen in  
the loyal vassals of His Majesty who,  
offering obedience, are in this encampment  
before the eyes of Your Lordship, [we  
looked] carefully at the roll call and review  
that was made. Out of all of it, viewed with  
the necessary attention, there are no more  
than thirty-six men equipped with their own  
weapons, most of whom do not have a full  
set of weapons. And the one who has most  
horses of his own has eight, and those are in  
the aforementioned state. And most of the  
other one hundred and fifty-five men that  
have passed in review are incapable of  
anything, unclad, on foot and without any  
weapons, in addition to the seventy who are  
boys, their sons. And the remaining of said  
number of the one hundred and fifty five are  
men, and the one who has the most only  
owns three thin horses and one or another  
harquebus and sword. And most of them are  
on foot, with arquebuses that do not fire,  
without leather jackets or the necessary  
equipment for battle. It seems to this  
council, in responding with the attention due  
to the proposal of the edict of Your  
Lordship, in which you say whether it will  
be suitable to resettle wholly or in part the  
jurisdiction of New Mexico (not being  
possible) without His Majesty –may God  
keep him – with greatness and Catholic  
heart, should sponsor this cause with the  
necessary support, providing an account of  
all that all that is necessary (to the Most  
Excellent Lord) viceroy governor and  
captain general of New Spain and, to His  
Highness of the Royal Tribunal, to the Lord  
Crown Attorney of His Majesty and to  
whomever by law can or should know the  
matter. So that in such case, by contributing

quien con derecho pueda o deva conoser de la mathe-/ria. Para que en tal casso poniendo los medios que se deve se venga a/ nueba conquista de los alsados apostatas que oy se hallan muchos/ ladinós con la experiéncia de ochenta y tantos años de comunicasion/30 con los españoles, axiles de a cavallo, y que mandan un arma de fuego/ como qualquier español, con el conosimiento de todo el ter[r]ezte del/ reyno y muchos de ellos con el de toda la Nueva España desde la Bera-/cruz hasta Sonora. Y el numero de todo jentio naturales que oy se halla/ [fol. 378v] en el Nuevo Mexico de los apostatas alsados no es tan corto que no pasará/ de dies y seis mil almas, sin las naçiones ynfieles de su amistad y com[u]-nicasion, que es tan copioso el jentio, al qual no se le puede poner num[ero]/ porque coxe toda la redondes del Nuevo Mexico y en parte se dilata mas de d[o]-/5sientas leguas de la villa de Santa Fee, que se deve entender que quien por ellos s[olos]/ tomó semejante resoluçion y atrevimiento para alsarse con todo el reino, c[omo]/ pretendieron executar, aviendose librado la jente que oi se halla con Vuestra [Señoria]/ es cossa evidente que an de estar a que se volvera al dicho reino y se abrán c[on]-/federado y congregado con los dichos ynfieles apaches fortaleçiendose en [los]/10 pueblos y en las estancias mas a proposito para que no se pueda bolver a [po]-/blaçion, matheria que se deve mirar con la madures y atençion que el c[asso]/ pide. Porque de no ejecutar lo que se pretende es dar mayor mofa y escarnio d[e]/ matar a los que entraren y quitarles las armas y cavallos maior [abi]-/lantes y fuersa al henemigo y deteriorar mas la jente que oy se halla en [este]/15 real para las ocasiones del serviçio de Su Magestad que se podran ofreser en l[a]/ execusion de sus reales mandatos, a que

with the necessary means, we may arrive at a new conquest of the apostates risen in rebellion. Many of them today are very versant in Spanish from the experience of over eighty years of communication with Spaniards, nimble on horseback, and handle a firearm like any Spaniard, with knowledge of all the land of the kingdom and many of them with that of all of New Spain from Vera Cruz to Sonora. And the number of all of the natives that are today [fol. 378v] in New Mexico, of rebellious apostates, is not so small that it does not surpass sixteen thousand souls. [This] without counting the infidel nations friendly to them and with whom they communicate, who are so numerous that they cannot be numbered. For they encompass the entirety of New Mexico and in part extends more than two hundred leagues from the township of Santa Fe. It must be understood that those who of their own accord made such a resolution and audacious act in order to rise up with the entire kingdom, as they claimed to do, with the people that are present today with Your Lordship having freed themselves, clearly and evidently expect a return to said kingdom. And they likely have allied themselves and joined together with the said infidel Apaches, fortifying themselves in the pueblos and in the ranches with the main purpose of preventing another settlement, a matter that must be looked at with the maturity and attention the case demands. Because if it is not done, the hope is to give greater mockery and ridicule by killing those who may enter, and take their weapons and horses, [as well as] greater insolence and strength to the enemy, and further enfeeble the people that are today present in this encampment for the possibilities of serving His Majesty that may present themselves the execution of his royal mandates, to which we all promptly



todos estamos con prontitud. [En]/ cuia  
consideraçion y estar ya en el mes de  
otubre en este paraje, do[nde]/ tambien no  
ai seguridad assi de los henemigos ynfielos  
apaches co[mo]/ de las vosez que corren de  
que los yndios de estas nuevas  
converçion[es]/ 20 y los de Sonora y otras  
partes ay entre ellos convocasion general  
para alsars[e]./ Y que le consta a Vuestra  
Señoria y a toda la jente que tubo en el  
çitio que por repetida[s]/ vesez estando  
peleando con los alsados dijeron que no  
abia de esc[a]-/par con vida ninguno de  
todo el reino porque el que escapara  
moriria en/ las converçionez de los  
manssos por estar ya abisados y ser en la  
co[n]-/25vocacion. Que quisa el no aberlo  
executado sera por ver la fuersa que t[e]-  
/nemos, no poder ellos concluirlo. Y que  
las familias que traemos es fu[ersa]/  
queden en este territorio y jurisdiccion  
(como se manda) por el auto de [Vuestra  
Señoria]. / Y como dicho es estar a las  
puertas del yvierno que no se puede  
haç[er]/ nada por los rigurosos  
temperamentos destas partes de  
yntolerab[les]/30 frios niebes yelos y  
yncomodidades en que en sana pas se  
mue[ren]/ y consumen los ganados y  
cavalladas quedandose elados en los  
can[pos]/ y oy se halla este real con  
algunas personas de mucha edad y [los]/  
que van enfermando y mujeres resien  
paridas y sin ninguna bivienda [ni]/ abrigo  
a las ynclemençias de los tiempos, que  
todo es publico y noto[rio], /35 y a que se  
debe atender con todo desvelo por no  
hallarse posivi[lidad]/ [fol. 379r] para lo  
que se pretende sin la ayuda de Su  
Magestad, que Dios guarde, en cuio/ real  
nonvre y sin contradiccion de otro pareser  
que pueda aber dado/ este cavildo por aber  
sido en diferentes territorios y tiempos,  
con ter-/mino de dias que an pasado, a

adhere. In consideration of which, and being  
now in the month of October in this place,  
where, furthermore, there is no safety either  
from the enemy infidel Apaches or from the  
rumors that circulate that the Indians of  
these new missions and those of Sonora and  
other areas have sent out a general  
convocation to rise up. And it is known to  
Your Lordship and to all the people who  
were in the siege, that many times in the  
midst of the fighting with the insurgents,  
they said that no one of the whole kingdom  
was to escape with his life, because  
whosoever might escape would die in the  
missions of the Mansos, who had been  
alerted to and were taking part in the  
convocation. For perhaps they were not able  
to carry it out after seeing the strength we  
have, impeding them from doing so. And  
the families that we bring with us are  
obliged to remain in this territory and  
jurisdiction (as is commanded) by the edict  
of Your Lordship. And, as they say, it  
means to be at the gates of winter, and there  
is nothing that can be done due to the  
rigorous temperatures in these areas of  
intolerable cold, snow, ice and discomforts  
in which, in peace and tranquility, the  
livestock and horses die and are consumed,  
frozen in the fields. And today this  
encampment contains some very aged  
persons and those who are falling ill, and  
women who recently gave birth and who  
have no dwelling place or shelter from the  
severities of the weather. [This] is all well  
known, and must be attended to with all  
diligence, since there is no possibility of  
accomplishing [fol. 379r] the objective  
without His Majesty's help – may God keep  
him – in whose royal name, and without  
contradicting another opinion that this  
municipal council might have given in  
different territories and times, with the  
number of days that have passed, [this

Vuestra Señoria pide y suplica se atiende a la/5 propuesta que es verçimil y del cerviçio de las dos magestades. Y so-/vre todo se dé avisso como lleva pedido con la vrebidad que el casso/ aclama, pues de él no se hallará exemplar. Y aunque es ver-/dad que en diferentes ocasiones an yntentado alsamiento y des-/obidiençia los yndios allssados del Nuevo Mexico a sido en di-/10ferentes pueblos y naçiones, como fue los suñis en el Peñol de Caqui-/ma los queres en el Peñol de Acoma los taos en su pueblo,/ que obstigados del castigo se redujeron volviendo a la o-/vidiençia. Y en otras conjuraçiones que los yndios emex y otros/ an yntentado se a tenido alguna luz y se an castigado los agre-/15sores, conque se a quietado la sisaña; lo qual oy susede al contra-/rio porque en la mayor quietud y sosiego del reino todos en general se alsaron/ en un día y una ora que por milagro de Dios no acabaron con todo/ como era su pretençion. Y abiendose de volver al reino a de ser en/ forma de conquista con jente armas y peltrechos para asegurar/20 y guarneser lo que se fuere reduçiendo al yugo del Santo Evangelio y o-/vediençia de la catholica magestad de manera que ellos se sujeten y sus alia-/dos se aterroren a la vos y armas de Su Magestad. Y siendo suficienete la propues-/ta, sin desistir de lo que mas fuere asertado y Vuestra Señoria dispuçiere a que/ acudira este cavildo como vasallos de Su Magestad, y la representaçion que le/25 asiste, se deve admitir el donativo y graçia que ase en su yngresso el/ muy reverendo padre predicador fray Françisco de Ayeta padre desta Santa Custodia comisario del Santo/ Ofiçio visitador y procurador general de su sagrada relijion y de este reyno/ quien con su reverendo difinitorio tiene echa propuesta en dicha junta asiendo/ este serviçio a Su Magestad, el

council] asks and beseeches Your Lordship to pay heed to the proposal which is truthful and of service to the two Majesties. And above all, let reports be sent out, as has been requested, with the urgency that the situation demands, since it is absolutely unprecedented. And although it is true that on different occasions the rebellious Indians of New Mexico have attempted to rise up and disobey, it has been in different pueblos and nations, like the Zuni at the Rock of Kiakima, the Queres at the Rock of Acoma, the Taos in their pueblo who, harassed by chastisement, were subdued and returned to obedience. And other conspiracies that the Jemez and other Indians have attempted have come to light, and the aggressors have been punished, so that the discord has been calmed;. Today the opposite is happening, because in the greatest peace and calm of the kingdom they all rose up together on one day and one hour, and by divine miracle they did not wipe out everything, as was their intent. And in having to return to the kingdom it will necessarily take the form of a conquest with people, weapons and equipment, in order to secure and protect what may be returned to the yoke of the Holy Gospel and obedience to the Catholic Majesty, such that they might be subdued and their allies be terrified by the voice and weapons of His Majesty. And should the proposal be sufficient, without leaving aside a better solution which Your Lordship may propose, to which this council will assent as vassals of His Majesty, and as his representatives, the donation and gift made upon his entry by the Very Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta, father of this holy custody, commissary of the Holy Office, visitor and procurator general of his holy religious order and of this kingdom, who, with his reverend difinitory, has made a proposal in said council, performing this

qual se le admita y dé las graçias. Y en virtud de/30 ello se disponga el aloxamiento y seguro de los vasallos de Su Magestad/ y sus familias y de las armas y cavalladas nonvrando Vuestra Señoria perso-/ [fol. 379v] nas para cavos de las cossas que se ubieren de disponer y para [vee]-/dores de los mantenimientos ofreçidos y que se distribuian con [la]/ atençion y modificasion que se deve y se le dé aviso a Su Paternidad Muy Reverenda de las p[er]-/sonas que pide se le agan notorias y la aseptaçion de la dadiva y si es/5 sufiçiente o no para que le conste, que quien ase ese serviçio particular h[ara]/ quanto pueda en la matheria que se trata. Y si de toda donaçion p[i]-/diere testimonios juridicos se le dé para su mayor honor y de su sagrada relij[i]on./ Y admitido se le pida que en la parte y lugar que hiçieremos pie [y]/ frontera hasta la determinaçion de Su Magestad queden congregado[s]/10 los reberendos padrez difinidores guardian de la villa y de La Isleta [y los]/ mas que convengan como vasallos y ministros de Su Magestad en estas par[tes]/ y el conosimiento y experiençia que les asiste en la administraçio[n]/ de tanto tiempo para lo qual assi por parte de Vuestra Señoria como de este cavild[o]/ se aga relaçion a dicho reverendo padre. Y en todo se aga y execute lo q[ue]/15 Vuestra Señoria mandare que sera lo mas açertado. Y esto dio por su pareser [y pi]-/de testimonio en publica forma de todo ello y lo firmaron de sus nonvres/ en esta plasa de armas en tres dias del mes de otubre de dicho año/ por ante el escrivano de cavildo./ Francisco Xavier [rubricado] Alcalde hordinario/20 Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado] Alcalde ordinario/ Gregorio de Val[des] [rubricado] Alguazil ma[yor]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado] Procurador general/ Alonso del Rio

service to His Majesty, which should be accepted and for which he is to be thanked. And in virtue of that, may the lodging and safety of the vassals of His Majesty and their families and of the weapons and horses be made ready, with Your Lordship naming persons [fol. 379v] in charge of the things that are to be distributed, and inspectors of the supplies offered. And may they be allocated with the care and flexibility necessary. And may his very reverend paternity be notified of the persons that he ask be made known, and the acceptance of the gift, and whether or not it is sufficient, so that it be entered into the record. And whoever performs that particular service will do whatever he can in this regard. And should he request juridical witnesses to the whole donation, let them be given him for his greater honor and that of his sacred religious order. And once accepted, let him be asked that in the area and place that we might establish our foothold and boundary until His Majesty's determination, may the reverend fathers definator, the guardian of the township and of La Isleta, and the others that are advisable, as vassals and ministers of His Majesty stay in these parts, and the knowledge and experience that aid him in having administered for so much time, that on behalf of Your Lordship and of this council may a report be made to said Reverend Father. And in everything may whatever Your Lordship commands, which will be the most appropriate thing, be done and executed. And [the council] gave this as its opinion, and asks for public witness of all of it. And they signed it with their names in this parade ground on the third day of the month of October of said year before the scribe of the council. Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Town magistrate Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Town magistrate Gregorio de Valdes [rubric]. Chief Bailiff Luis

[rubricado] Regidor/ Por mandado del cavildo justiçia y regimiento/25 Bachiller Françisco de Belasco [rubricado]/ Escrivano de cavildo/ [fol. 380r] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una página en blanco]/ [fol. 380v] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una página en blanco]/

**[La Salineta, 5 de octubre de 1680. Petición de Luis Granillo para mudar el campamento]**

[fol. 381r] Señor governador y capitan general./ En el paraje de La Salineta en çinco dias del mes de octubre/ de mil seiscientos y ochenta años ante el señor governador y capitan general/ presentó esta el procurador general i se huvo por presentada./5 El sargento mayor Luis Granillo regidor y procurador general/ en vos i en nombre de todos los vezinos que salimos del/ Nuevo Mexico der[r]otados paresco ante Vuestra Señoria en la mejor for-/ma de derecho y digo que por horden de Vuestra Señoria fue publica-/do un bando que contenia hisiesemos pie eligiendo sitio/10 dentro de dicha juridizion. Y atento que en dicha juridic-/tion no ay puesto al proposito ni comodo para que pue-/da aser mancion tanto numero de gente como se halla el dia/ de oy en estos dos reales ni seguridad ninguna por ser frontera/ de enemigos, assi Siete Rios como de Los Organos, i seguirse/15 muchos y graves i[n]convenientes, por lo qual/ A Vuestra Señoria pido y suplico como tal procurador general de las provincias del/ Nuevo Mexico i dichos sus vezinos se sirva en atencion a lo re-/ferido

Granillo [rubric]. Procurator General Alonso del Rio [rubric], Alderman. By order of the Council, Justice and Government, Bachelor Francisco de Velasco [rubric]. Scribe of the Council [fol. 380r] At the middle: “A blank page” [fol. 380v] At the middle of the page: a blank page].

**La Salineta, 5 October 1680. Petition of Luis Granillo to Move the Encampment**

[fol. 381r] Lord governor and captain general. In the place of La Salineta on the fifth day of the month October of 1680, before the Lord governor and captain general, the procurator general and it was registered as presented. I, Sergeant Major Luis Granillo, Alderman and procurator general, speaking on behalf and in the name of all of us, the residents who came forth from New Mexico defeated, appear before Your Lordship in the best legal form. And I say that by order of Your Lordship, an edict was published which ordered that we halt and choose a location within said jurisdiction. And attentive to the fact that in said jurisdiction there is no post for such purpose, nor is there any suitable place to camp with such a number of people as are present today in these two encampments, nor any security since we are on the enemies' frontier, both Seven Rivers<sup>1</sup> and the Organ Mountains,<sup>2</sup> and many serious difficulties follow from this, whereby as procurator general of the provinces of New Mexico and its said residents, I ask and beseech Your Lordship be pleased to attend to the prior mention

<sup>1</sup> Area perhaps named after the seven sleeves formed by the stretch flowing into the Pecos River near the present city of Carlsbad.

<sup>2</sup> Mountain range ten miles east of Las Cruces. The name could derive from the possible similarity of its peaks with the tubes of a musical instrument.

de que estos dichos dos reales o incorporandosse se muden/ de donde al presente estan i se pongan y agan asiento en la/20 converssion que llaman de Guadalupe de la otra vanda del/ rio del Norte, parte muy comoda de pastos y leña, a donde/ la pobre gente podra fabricar chosas y jacales en que/ poderse reparar de los rigores de un invierno que amenasa./ [fol. 381v] Que en acerlo Vuestra Señoria assi recibiremos bien i conseguiran un/ gran bien los vassallos de Su Magestad que tan deteriorados se/ hallan de todo reparo humano y necesario. Pido justicia en nombre de las dichas mis partes y el real amparo de Vuestra Señoria imploro i e[n]/5 lo necesario etcetera./ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Procurador general./ Y vista por Su Señoria dixo que la a por presentada en q[uanto]/ a lugar en derecho y que se aga al thenor de como lo/10 pide y lo firmó Su Señoria ante mí el scrivano de governacion y gue[rra]/ en dicho dia mes i año dichos i este pedimiento se ponga con los/ autos./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/15 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./ [fol. 382r] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una página en blanco]/ [fol. 382v] [una página en blanco]

that these said two camps should join together and move from where they are at present and establish themselves and set up a base in the mission known as Guadalupe<sup>3</sup> on the other side of the Rio del Norte. [This] place is very suitable with grazing land and firewood, wherein the poor people will be able to construct huts and small houses in which to be able to defend themselves from the rigors of a winter that is threatening. [fol. 381v] In Your Lordship doing so, we will thus receive a benefit, and the vassals of His Majesty who find themselves so despoiled of all human and necessary recuperation will achieve a great good. I ask for justice in the name of the said parties and the royal protection of Your Lordship, I implore, and in what is necessary, etc. Luis Granillo [rubric], procurator general. And His Lordship, having seen it, said that he considers it presented according to legal norms, and to let it be done according to what is asked. And His Lordship signed it before me, the scribe of governance and war on said day, month and year, and that said request is to be placed with the writs. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric]. The secretary of governance and war. [fol. 382r] [At the middle of the page: a blank page] [fol. 382v a blank page].

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<sup>3</sup> Location of present-day Ciudad Juárez, previously El Paso. The mission was established in 1659, whereas the township of El Paso del Norte was founded by viceroy Friar Payo Enríquez de Rivera.

**[El Parral, 24 de septiembre de 1680.  
Orden desde Nueva Vizcaya de no  
aceptar refugiados]**

[fol. 383r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Man]damiento del/ [señor gobernado]r y capitan/ [general de]l Parral./ El general don Bartolome de Estrada Ramirez cavallero del horden/ de Santiago governador y capitan general deste reyno y provinçias de la Nueva/ Bizcaya por el Rey Nuestro Señor etcetera. Por quanto abiendo subçe-/dido en las provinçias y reyno del Nuevo Mexico que los yndios/5 enemigos rebelados a la Real Corona confederados con los amigos/ que estavan de paz y se alçaron asolaron y distruieron muchos/ pueblos mataron los relijiosos doctrineros y otros muchos vezinos y/ perssonas. Y el governador y capitan general que lo es el general don/ Antonio de Otermin se escapó milagrosamente y con la jente/10 que le a quedado y algunos de los amigos está retirado donde/ mas le a pareçido y en forma de plaça de armas está en defenssa/ y ofenssa de los enemigos. De todo lo qual se a dado quenta/ con correos a el excelentissimo señor Birrey de la Nueva España/ para que como a quien toca mandar lo mas combeniente. Y aora/15 me a sido ynformado por parte de dicho governador que está temeroso/ de que con lo subçidido los dichos bezinos y abitadores del dicho reyno/ se le quieren yr retirando y saliendo para este a la jurisdiccion/ de Casas Grandes Carretas Sonora y otras partes, de que se seguira/ totalmente la ruina. Y que asi me sirviesse de no permitirlo. Y a-/20tendiendo a ello lo justificado que es y lo mucho que en el casso presente/ todos devemos cooperar

**Parral, September 24, 1680. Order from  
Nueva Vizcaya to not Accept Refugees**

[fol. 383r at the upper left margin: Writ of the Lord governor and captain general of Parral.] General Don Bartolome de Estrada Ramirez, Knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this kingdom and Provinces of Nueva Vizcaya by the King Our Lord etc. Regarding what took place in the provinces and kingdom of New Mexico that the Indians, enemies rebelling against the Royal Crown, confederated with the friends who were at peace, and rose up, devastated and destroyed many pueblos, killed the visiting missionaries and many other residents and persons. And the governor and captain general, General Don Antonio de Otermin, miraculously escaped and with the people who remain and some of his friends he has retreated to where he deemed most suitable. And he has formed an armed camp in order to defend against and attack the enemies. About all of which he has given an account with missives to the Most Excellent Lord viceroy of New Spain, as he is the one who upon whom it falls to order what is most suitable. And now I have been informed by said governor that he is fearful that, with what has happened, the said residents and inhabitants of the said kingdom want to retreat from it and set out for the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, Carretas,<sup>1</sup> Sonora and other parts, from which will follow total ruin, and that I be pleased to not permit it. And in accordance with it and how very justified it is, and how much in the present situation we must cooperate in order to be of good

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<sup>1</sup> Community to the west of Casas Grandes, along the border with the present-day Mexican state of Sonora.

por ser tan del serviçio de Su Magestad, por el/ presente horden y mando al capitán Andres Lopez de Graçia al-/calde mayor del Balle de San Antonio de Casas Grandes y en su au-/sençia o ympedimento al capitán Alonso Perez Granillo al-/25calde mayor de la jurisdiccion de Carretas y Janos que luego que/ reziva esta horden baya personalmente a el Passo del rio del/ Norte jurisdiccion deste gobierno y junto a la raya del otro y/ no consienta ni permita que por ninguna manera caussa raçon/ pretesto mando o so color alguno ninguna perssona de qual-/30quier estado calidad y condiçion que sea passe del dicho reyno/ del Nuevo Mexico a este ni ninguna parte de su jurisdiccion sino fuere/ con liçençia y horden de su gobernador a quien deven asistir mientras/ [fol. 383v] que otra cosa se resuelva y mande por el excelentissimo señor Birrey ympo-/niendoles a los susodichos como desde luego yo les ympongo/ pena de la vida y traidores al Rey requiriendoles que ymbiola-/blemente se a de ejecutar en los ygnobedientes. Y para que lo ten-/5gan entendido y que pueda llegar a su notiçia mando que el/ dicho alcalde mayor aga pregonar este mandamiento en el dicho/ Passo y deje allí theniente que lo aga cumplir. Y sobre presistençia/ y reinsidençia en el casso prenderan los transgresores y me los re-/mitiran para su castigo segun dicha pena. Y asi mesmo mando al dicho/10 alcalde mayor no

service to His Majesty, with the present document I order and command Captain Andres Lopez de Gracia,<sup>2</sup> royal magistrate of the Valley of San Antonio de Casas Grandes and in his absence or impediment, Captain Alonso Perez Granillo,<sup>3</sup> royal magistrate of the jurisdiction of Carretas and Janos<sup>4</sup> that, upon receiving this order, he go in person to El Paso of the Rio del Norte, jurisdiction of this government, and which borders the other, and to neither allow nor permit in any way or for any cause, reason, pretext, order or grounds, any persons of whatever estate, quality or condition there may be to pass from the said kingdom of New Mexico to this or any other part of his jurisdiction without license and order of his Governor, whom they must obey until and unless [fol. 383v] something else may be decided and ordered by the Most Excellent Lord viceroy. Imposing upon the aforementioned, as I of course do, the penalty of death and treachery to the King, advising them that without exception it will be applied to those who disobey. And so that they understand, and that the news may reach them, I order that the said royal magistrate cause this commandment to be publicly proclaimed in the said El Paso, and to leave there a lieutenant who will cause it to be carried out. And in the case of persistence and repeated offences, they will seize the transgressors and send them to me for their punishment according to

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<sup>2</sup> Ensign recorded as a resident of San Antonio Isleta in 1638. He was also the owner of wagons that made the route from Santa Fe to Mexico City. In 1661 he was Royal Magistrate of Guadalupe del Paso and between 1680 and 1681 he exercised the same position in Casas Grandes when he was asked to prohibit the passage of New Mexican refugees into Mexico (Chávez 1992:55-56).

<sup>3</sup> He had a ranch two leagues from the town of Alamillo. In 1680 he was royal magistrate of the jurisdiction of Janos (Chávez 1992:88).

<sup>4</sup> Locality north of Casas Grandes and south of Ascension, in the northern state of Chihuahua. Janos was founded in 1580 by Franciscan missionaries who departed from there for the evangelization of the peoples of New Mexico ([www.janoschih.com/historia.html](http://www.janoschih.com/historia.html)).

admita a ninguno de los susodichos rexistros/ de sitios ni tierras y si alguno ubieren fecho lo anulo y doy por/ ninguno pues ademas del casso presente a mí y no a ninguno de mis al-/caldes mayores toca el azer merced dellos. Y uno y otro lo cumpla/ puntualmente, pena de un mil pesos en reales, en que condeno al dicho/ 15 alcalde mayor y otra qualquiera justiciã que faltare al cum-/plimiento de lo referido y aplico por mitad real camara de Su Magestad/ y guerra deste reyno. Y para que lo tengan entendido los alcaldes mayores/ y justicias de la provinçia de Sonora Carretas Gentiles y donde/ mas combenga y cada uno en su jurisdiccion lo cumpla so la pena/20 dicha en horden a no permitir ni admitir ninguno de los dichos/ beçinos o habitadores del dicho Nuevo Mexico ni admitirles los dichos/ rexistros mando que el presente escrivano, quedando este mandamiento/ en el archivo de gobierno para que en todo tiempo conste, saque los/ traslados que combengan y se remitan a los dichos alcaldes mayo-/25res quienes cada uno me dara cuenta de lo que sobre ello/ se yçiere, que asi combiene al servicio de Su Magestad y administracion/ de su real justiciã. Dado en este real y minas de San Joseph del Parral/ en veinte y quatro de septiembre de mil y seisçientos y ochenta años. Don/ Bartolome de Estrada. Por mandado del señor gobernador y capitan general./

said penalty. And in the same way, I order the said royal magistrate to not admit any of the aforementioned to register sites or properties. And if someone were to have done so, I annul it and withdraw it. For in addition to the present case, I alone, and not any of my councilmen, may grant them. And let him carry both out in a punctual way, under penalty of one thousand pesos in *reals*,<sup>5</sup> to which I condemn the said royal magistrate and any other officer of justice who may fail to comply with the aforementioned, and I apply half of it to the Royal Chamber and War Council of this kingdom. And so that the royal magistrates and justices of the province of Sonora, Carretas, Gentiles<sup>6</sup> and wherever it is most suitable, and each one in his jurisdiction may understand and comply under the said penalty to neither permit nor admit any of the said residents or settlers of the said New Mexico, nor admit the said registries, I order the present scribe, with this order placed in the government archive so that at all times it may be on record, to draft suitable notifications. And may they be sent to the said royal magistrates, each of whom will render an account to me of what is done in this regard, as is conducive to the service of His Majesty and the administration of his royal justice. Given in this mining settlement of San Jose del Parral, September 24, 1680. Don Bartolome de Estrada. By order of Lord governor and captain general.

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<sup>5</sup> The real was a coin made of copper (real de vellón), with a value equal to 34 maravedies or made of silver (real de plata), valued at 2.5 reales de vellón. (Dic. Aut., s. v. 'real').

<sup>6</sup> Reference to pueblos of unbaptized Indians. Today the term is still used among those Tarahumara who have resisted accepting the Christian influence of Mexican society. It is estimated that gentiles account for 18 percent of the Tarahumara people today and the reside in isolated areas of Chihuahua ([www.cnca.gob.mx/cnca/nuevo/diarias270300/alaschih.html](http://www.cnca.gob.mx/cnca/nuevo/diarias270300/alaschih.html)).



**[El Paso, 5 de octubre de 1680.  
Publicación de la orden anterior]**

30 Miguel de Aranda escrivano real. En el pueblo de Nuestra Señora/ de Guadalupe del Passo jurisdicción de la Nueva Bizcaya en/ çinco dias del mes de octubre de mil seisçientos y ochenta años;/ yo Joseph Lopez de Graçia theniente de alcalde mayor de la/ jurisdicción de Casas Grandes en obedeçimiento del mandato/ [fol. 384r] del señor general don Bartolome de Estrada cavallero del horden/ de Santiago gobernador y capitan general de la Nueva Bizcaya/ por Su Magestad cumpliendo y dando entero cumplimiento a el/ horden y mandato de Su Señoria yçe tocar una caja de guerra y a son/ 5 de ella se juntó mucha jente asi deste pueblo como de las/ provinçias de la Nueva Mexico. Y abiendo mucho concursso a voz/ de pregonero en {al} altas e yntelexibles boçes se publicó/ el mandamiento aqui contenido abiendolo oydo y entendido/ todos los que se allaron presentes. Y para que conste lo mandé poner/10 por auto y dilijençia de que doy fee como juez reçeptor/ y lo firmé de mi nombre con dos testigos de asistençia que lo/ fueron Nicolas Ruiz y Felipe de Santiago que lo firmaron/ conmigo. Fecho en la dicha combersion en dicho dia mes y año dichos/ Joseph Lopez de Graçia juez receptor, testigo Nicolas Ruiz,/15 testigo Felipe de Santiago./

**[Certificación de la copia]**

Concuerta con el mandamiendo orijinal de donde yo Francisco/ Xavier secretario de governaçion y guerra lo saqué a la letra de mandato del/ señor governador y capitan general y se entregó el orijinal al theniente

**El Paso, October 5, 1680. Publication of the Earlier Order**

Miguel de Aranda, royal scribe. In the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya, on the fifth day of the month October of 1680, I, Joseph Lopez de Gracia, deputy royal magistrate of the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, in obedience to the order [fol. 384r] of Lord General Don Bartolome de Estrada, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain general of Nueva Vizcaya by His Majesty, fulfilling and giving complete compliance with the order and mandate of His Lordship, had a war drum sounded, and in response many people both of this pueblo and of the provinces of New Mexico gathered together. And with a great number of people present, by a crier's voice, in a loud and intelligible way, the order herein contained was made public, with all those there present having heard and understood it. And so that it be entered into the record, I ordered it set down as writ and judicial proceeding, to which I attest as judge receptor, and I signed it with my name with two assisting witnesses, who are: Nicolas Ruiz and Felipe de Santiago, and they signed it with me. Done in the said mission on said day, month and year, said Joseph Lopez de Gracia,<sup>7</sup> judge receptor, witness Nicolas Ruiz, witness Felipe de Santiago.

**Certification of the Copy**

It is in agreement with the original order from which I, Francisco Xavier, the secretary of governance and war, copied it directly by mandate of the Lord governor and captain general and the original was

<sup>7</sup> The same Joseph Lopez de Gracia indicated above.

de alcalde mayor/ Josephe de Graçia, en  
cuio poder pasó, de que doy fee y se  
hallaron a su con-/20cordança el sarjento  
mayor Luis de Quintana y el bachiller  
Francisco de Belasco que/ lo firmaron  
conmigo en dicho dia mes y año./  
Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de  
governacion y guerra./ Testigo Luis de  
Quintana [rubricado]/25 Testigo bachiller  
Francisco de Belasco [rubricado]/

**[La Salineta, 5 de octubre de 1680. Auto  
de Otermín para la inclusión de dos  
cartas]**

[fol. 384v] En el dicho paraje de La  
Salineta en los dichos sinco dias del mes de  
octubre/ de dicho año don Antonio de  
Otermin governador y capitan general del  
reyno y provinçiaz de la/ Nueva Mexico  
por Su Magestad dijo que atento a la junta  
general que tiene fecha/ con el cavildo y  
rejimiento cavos de guerra y soldadoz con  
asistència/5 del reverendo padre predicador  
fray Francisco de Ayeta visitador y  
procurador general des-/ta Santa Custodia  
y reino y que actualmente acavada dicha  
junta le an lle-/gado dos cartas {cartas} a  
Su Señoria de la provinçia de Sonora, la  
una del general/ don Francisco de  
Agramont, persona que asistio mucho  
tiempo en el real/ de El Parral por asesor y  
alcalde mayor y despues fue governador  
ynterino/10 de la Nueva Biscaia con  
grandes experiençias y conosimiento de  
los/ yndios de dicho reino, que asi por lo  
dicho como por la sospecha que de dicha/  
carta se ynfiere, como de otra del sarjento  
mayor Juan Baptista de Escor-/sa, vezino  
de dichas provinçiaz, y ambas tratan aserca  
de la matheria por/ lo que de ellas consta y  
que sea notorio a Su Exçelencia el  
exçelentissimo señor Virrei gobernado[r]/15

handed over to Deputy Magistrate Joseph  
de Gracia, into whose power it passed, to  
which I attest. And the Sergeant Major  
Luis de Quintana and the Bachelor  
Francisco de Velasco found themselves in  
accord with it, and they signed it with me  
on said day month and year. Francisco  
Xavier [rubric]. The secretary of  
governance and war. Witness Luis de  
Quintana [rubric]. Witness Bachelor  
Francisco de Velasco [rubric].

**La Salineta, October 5, 1680. Writ of  
Otermín for the Inclusion of Two  
Letters**

[fol. 384v] In the said place of La Salineta  
on the said fifth day of the month October  
of said year, Don Antonio de Otermin,  
governor and captain general of the  
kingdom and provinces of New Mexico by  
His Majesty, said that, attentive to the  
general council he made with the council  
and government, military officers and  
soldiers, with assistance of the Reverend  
Father Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta,  
visitor and procurator general of this Holy  
Custody and kingdom and that said council  
is now finished, two letters have arrived to  
His Lordship from the province of Sonora.  
One [is] from General Don Francisco de  
Agramont, a person who spent much time  
in the camp of Parral as councilor and  
royal magistrate, and who later was interim  
governor of Nueva Viscaya, with great  
experience and knowledge of the Indians  
of said kingdom. And both for what it says  
and for the suspicion inferred from said  
letter, and from another from Sergeant  
Major Juan Baptista de Escorsa, resident of  
said provinces (and both deal with the  
matter as part of the record and must be  
made known to His Lordship the Most  
Excellent Lord viceroy, governor and

y capitan general de la Nueva España, mando se pongan las dichas dos cartas/ orijinales en estos autos y fecho se traigan todos para que bistos los/ pareseres de la dicha junta resuelva lo mas asertado y conbeniente al servicio de las dos majestades y bien de la caussa pública./ Assi lo probey mandé y firmé ante el secretario de governaçion y guerra./20 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de governacion y guerra./

**[San Juan Bautista de Sonora, 16 de septiembre de 1680. Carta de Agramont]**

[fol. 385r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Por lo que contiene esta carta de la presunçion/ que ay de alsamiento general de los yndios ynfieles/ de diferentes jurisdicçiones mando se ponga con los/ autos para que conste dellas al exçelentissimo señor/ Vir[r]ei governador y capitan general de la Nueva Es-/paña etcetera]./ Señor mio y mi amigo, en este real de San Juan Baptista/ de Sonora tubimos aier quince del corriente la/ noticia lastimossa del lebantamiento desse reyno/ y entre las circunstancias lamentables quiso Dios Nuestro/5 Señor consolarame con aver sabido que Vuestra Merced avia escapado,/ aunque herido, y que el reverendo y amigo padre fray Francisco de Aieta/ que se hallava en El Passo entró a socorrer los que vajavan/ retirandosse con 80 arcabuceros y bastimentos. Quedo no/ obstante temerosso de que el enemigo no les aia cortado/10 el passo y ya que por mi poca suerte no he sido ni he/ podido ser de provecho, hallandome tan lexos y avien-/dolo sabido tan tarde he procurado que con sacrificios/ y oraciones se aplaque Dios Nuestro Señor

captain general of New Spain), I order that the said two original letters be placed in these writs. And having done so, all shall be brought so that, having seen the opinions of the said council, he may decide what is most right and conducive to the service of the two majesties and good of the public cause. I so provided, ordered and signed before the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], The secretary of governance and war.

**San Juan Bautista de Sonora, September 16, 1680. Agramont's Letter**

[fol. 385r] [at the upper left margin:] Due to what this letter contains of the presumption there is of a general uprising of the infidel Indians of different jurisdictions, I order it to be placed with the writs, so that it be entered into the record for the Most Excellent Lord viceroy governor and captain general of New Spain etc. My lord and my friend, in this camp of San Juan Bautista of Sonora, yesterday, the fifteenth of this month, we received the dreadful news of the uprising of that kingdom. And amidst the deplorable circumstances, God Our Lord saw fit to console me with learning that Your Grace had escaped, though wounded, and that the Reverend Father Friar and friend Francisco de Ayeta, who was in El Paso, came to give aid to those who were traveling in retreat with 80 harquebusiers and provisions. Nevertheless, I am fearful that the enemy may have cut you off, and that thanks to my poor luck, I have not been, nor have been able to be of service, being so far away, and having found out so late. I have seen too it that with sacrifices and prayers God Our Lord may be placated and

y se proseguira en/ adelante hasta que Su Magestad sea servido de que nos vengan/15 mejores nuevas. Lo que importa ahora es que se acuerde/ Vuestra Merced de que a los escogidos les da Dios tribulaciones y/ trabajos. Aprovecharse del entendimiento y de la/ prudencia, mostrar gallardia de ánimo, que para las/ adversidades son los gallardos coraçones. Pareceme que/20 sera a proposito formar plaza de armas en esse puesto/ del Passo y que el reverendo padre fray Francisco parta a Mexico personal-/mente a representtar el successo al señor Virrey. Y si este/ ubiere venido nuevo sera muy del caso que el señor arçobispo/ tome por su cuenta este negocio y se le represente al/25 dicho señor Virrey con toda claridad y resolucion, que de no/ entrar pie de exercito formado y a lo menos treientos/ hombres con toda disciplina militar (los quales hagan/ alto en Santa Fee y se fortifiquen, desde donde se podran/ ir reduciendo y castigando executando todas las operaciones/30 como lo pidieren las circunstancias presentes y que ocurrieren)/ que no solo se llorará el daño presente, pero que está muy/ cerca de perderse todo este reyno de la Vizcaya porque los/ [fol. 385v] janos yummas y otras naciones de aqui que confinan con esos/ todos son de unos humores y quiça peores. Y viendo que se han sa-/lido con esso no hallo duda en que todos hagan lo mismo especial-/mente quando aqui ay mucha menos defenssa que avia alla. Pues/ 5 ablando lo que siento solo pende de la providencia y missiricordia/ de Dios el mantenerse, porque medios humanos no ay ningunos/ y, antes sí, todos son contrarios a poderse

this will continue until His Majesty be pleased that we may receive better news. What matters now is that Your Grace remember that to the chosen ones God gives tribulations and toils. To make the most of intelligence and of prudence, show bravery of soul, because adversities are for brave hearts. It seems to me that it will be appropriate to form an encampment in that post of El Paso and that the Reverend Father Friar Francisco should go to Mexico personally to present this occurrence to the Lord viceroy. And if he should be newly arrived, it will be fitting that the Lord Archbishop for his part take up this business and present it to the said Lord viceroy with all frankness and resolve. For if there does not enter an army unit made up of at least three hundred men with all military discipline (who should make their halt in Santa Fe and fortify themselves, whence they can set about subduing and punishing and executing all of the operations as the present circumstances and those that might occur demand), not only will the current harm be lamented, but this whole kingdom of Vizcaya is very close to being lost, since the [fol. 385v] Janos, Yumas<sup>1</sup> and other nations here that border them are of the same mindset, and perhaps worse. And seeing that they have gotten away with that, I have no doubt that all will do the same, especially when here there is much less defense than there was there. So, saying what I feel, survival rests only in God's providence and mercy, because there are no human means, or rather, all are contrary to being able to save ourselves, our sins are many, and on another occasion I would tell you my feeling and my

<sup>1</sup> Opata-Pima indigenous group situated between the state of Arizona and northern Mexico, which inhabited the banks of the Colorado River. According to Santamaría "the Yuma of Sonora have disappeared" (1942: see "yuma").

conservar, nuestros pecados/ son muchos, y en otra ocasion dijera con mas libertad mi sentir y/ lo que tengo discurrido sobre esta materia./<sup>10</sup> Yo como tengo escrito a Vuestra Merced bajé a esta provincia a recojer a mi hermano,/ tomé estado y estoy consollado porque tengo creido que Dios Nuestro Señor/ fue servido desta accion. Estoy con todo anhelo procurando des-/pacharme para sacar mi cassa a Mexico. Lo executaré con la/ aiuda de Dios hasta el mes de enero, pierdasse lo que se perdiere./<sup>15</sup> porque tengo firme intento de buscar un rincon quieto adonde v[ivir]/ vida privada buscando solo el fin último para que fuimos cria[dos]./ En el interim suplico a Vuestra Merced me avise de todo el successo y/ si soy de provecho en algo me avise y mande que executaré/ las hordenes que me diere con todo mi corazon. Dios guarde a Vuestra Merced muchos/<sup>20</sup> años, le guarde y me le deje ver. San Juan y septiembre 16 de 1680./ Besa la mano de Vuestra Merced su seguro amigo y afecto servidor Francisco de Agramont y Arce [rubricado]./ Al reverendo padre fray Francisco de Ayeta que reciba esta por suya y me mande./ [al margen inferior izquierdo: Señor Don Antonio de Otermin mi amigo y señor]/ [fol. 386r] [a mitad de la página: Blanca] [una página en blanco]/ [fol. 386v] [al margen derecho: [San] Juan Agramont 16 de septiembre de 680]/

reflections on this matter. As I have written to Your Grace, I came down to this province in order to retrieve my brother, I got married, and I am consoled because I believe that God Our Lord was served by this action. I am, with immense longing, endeavoring to sort out my affairs in order to take my household to Mexico. I will do so with God's help until the month of January, whatever the loss may be, because my firm intent is to find a peaceful corner in which to live a private life, seeking only the final goal for which we were created. In the meantime, I beseech Your Grace to inform me of everything that happened, and if I am of benefit in something, that you notify me and I will carry out any orders you may give me with all my heart. God keep Your Grace many years, may He watch over you and allow me to see you. San Juan, September 16, 1680. Your Grace's sure friend and affectionate servant kisses your hand, Francisco de Agramont y Arce<sup>2</sup> [rubric]. To the Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, may he receive it as his own and command me. [at the lower left margin:] Don Antonio de Otermin, my friend and Lord [fol. 386r at the middle of the page: a blank page]. [fol. 386v at the right margin: San Juan, Agramont. 10 September, 1680].

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<sup>2</sup> Governor of Nueva Vizcaya in 1678-1679. Subsequently, he was appointed governor of the Sinaloa Presidio in 1692, post at which he died in the early of the Tarahumara rebellion in the nineties.

**[San Juan, 17 de septiembre de 1680.  
Carta de Escorza]**

[fol. 387r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Ene viozeco adisquidea]./ Con lagrimas del corazon escribo estos renglones por el sentimiento/ que me a caussado el desastrado suzesso de ese reyno que zierto/ es materia sin egemplar en esta Nueva España y puede ser/ lo sea para otras provincias. Mas considerando el fin del/5 antes allo que devemos estar dando grazias a la Magestad/ Divina por su gran misericordia pues a permitidio el/ daño en la menor parte siendo que no cave en razon/ humana que dispuestos esos varvaros a tan atroz/ echo escapasse hombre y asi lo entendi yo siempre./10 Supe el suzesso en mi cassa a 10 de septiembre por un/ papel que es con esta que vien a casso vino a mi mano/ y luego al punto suvi a cavallo y vine a este real y no/ allé la menor noticia del mundo. Antes e savido/ hubo alguna rissa en Los Rincones, despaché por todas/15 partes como fue a Santa Maria Guazavas y Teuricachi./ Conque a los 15 deste a la tarde conseguimos ver/ las que se escrivian del Passo y Casas Grandes y en/ ellas una del reverendo padre custodio Ayeta para/ Andres. Conque en medio de mi tribulazion tuve/20 muchisimo alivio con saver escapó Vuestra Merced aunque/

**San Juan, September 17, 1680. Letter of Escorza**

[fol. 387r] at the upper left margin: *Ene viozeco adisquidea*.<sup>1</sup> I write these lines with heartfelt tears because of the sentiment the disastrous occurrence in that kingdom has caused me, one that is surely a matter without precedent in this New Spain and it may be that it is for other provinces. Yet considering the outcome, I think we ought to be giving thanks to the Divine Majesty for this great mercy, since he has allowed the least harm, being that it is beyond human reason that, with those barbarians willing to carry out such an atrocious thing, any man should escape, and that is how I always understood it. I found out about the event in my house on September 10 by means of a paper that is with this one, which quite by accident reached my hands, and I immediately got on my horse and came to this encampment, and found not even the least news in the world. Instead, I have learned that there had been some massacres in Los Rincones.<sup>2</sup> I sent out to all places, such as Santa Maria, Guazavas<sup>3</sup> and Teuricachi.<sup>4</sup> Thus at 3 pm today we managed to see those that were written from El Paso and Casas Grandes and amongst them one of the Reverend Father Custodian Ayeta for Andres. So that in the midst of my

<sup>1</sup> “My dear friend.” This greeting in Basque or Euskera seems to show that both Escorza and Otermin were Basques and spoke their native language. Ene is the possessive adjective “my”; biotzeko (in modern spelling) is an adjective meaning “cordial”, “esteemed”, “dear”, from biotz “heart”; adiskide is “friend”; -a is a suffix that marks the singular definite article.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Los Rincones, in the state of Coahuila, east of Monclova and almost abutting the boundaries of the state of Nuevo León.

<sup>3</sup> Surely the mission of Santa Maria de Baceraca, which, together with the missions of Guazavas, Bacadeguachi and San Miguel Bavispe, was founded in 1645, all in the area of the Yaqui ([www.mexicodesconocido.com.mx/espanol/cultura\\_y\\_sociedad/religion](http://www.mexicodesconocido.com.mx/espanol/cultura_y_sociedad/religion)).

<sup>4</sup> Mission in northern Sonora, near the Nacozari river.

herido y tambien algunos religiosos y muchos vezinos./ Que vuelvo a que devemos ynfinitas grazias/ a Dios pues save castigarnos tan misericordiossa- /mente, pues parece materia ymposible esca- /25passe hombre de todo el reino. Anoche reçevi/ otra de Vuestra Merced por mano de un Pedro de la Rossa/ [fol. 387v] y en ella despues de ber el estado de las cossas de por alla/ parese que Vuestra Merced se pronosticava el suzesso. ¡Ea amigo! No ay/ sino buen animo y fuerte corazon, que Dios Nuestro Señor los/ suzessos midio con los sugetos y para grandes cala- /5midades eligio grandes corazones. Mas le devio Job/ en lo humano de alavanja y en lo divino de gloria/ por las calamidades [superpuesto: y trabajos] que por las grandezas y prosperi- /dades que le dio antes ni despues. Vuestra Merced se consuele/ mucho pues se acuerda tanto la Magestad Divina de Vuestra Merced/ 10 y en lo del mundo no desmaye, pues tiene amigos. Y yo/ que tengo a Vuestra Merced en lugar de mi mui querido herm[ano]/ y assi siempre que el tiempo dé lugar espero a Vuestra Merced/ en su cassa de las minas de Nacatovorí, que a la/ fecha no tengo en corriente las haciendas por la dificultad/15 de las maderas, que cada una me cuesta a peso/ de plata, pero en todo este año lo estaran. En q[uan]to/ a empeños lo estoy asta las orejas pues llevo ga[s]- /tados de mas de 25.000 pesos. Y Don Pedro que vino/ con su muger vive seis leguas de mí en una huer[t]a/20 y casa mia mui recreable desde donde me avia./ Yo aunque con trabajos grandes voy con yguales/ esperanzas. El gusto quedará para quando Vuestra Merced veng[a]/ a [manchado: e]sta su cassa que la yre

tribulation I had much relief in finding out that Your Grace escaped, though wounded, together with some religious and many residents. So I return to the fact that we owe infinite thanks to God, since He knows how to punish us so mercifully, as it seems to be an impossible matter that any man in the whole kingdom should have escaped. Last night I received another one of Your Grace by the hand of one Pedro de la Rosa [fol. 387v] and in it, after seeing the state of the things over there, it seems that Your Grace was predicting the event. Well, friend, we have no choice but to have good spirits and strong heart, for Our Lord God matched events to men, and for great catastrophes chose great hearts. Job owed Him more human praise and divine glory for the calamities [superimposed: and toils] than for the greatness and prosperity He granted him before and after. Your Grace should be very consoled, since the Divine Majesty greatly remembers Your Grace and in worldly affairs. Do not lose heart, since you have friends. And I, for whom Your Grace takes the place of my very dear brother and insofar as time makes it possible, await Your Grace in his house at the mines of Nacatovorí,<sup>5</sup> which at the moment I have not finished working on because of the difficulty of finding lumber, each piece of which costs me one peso of silver, but throughout this year they will be. As far as debts are concerned, I am up to my ears in them, since I have spent more than 25,000 pesos. And Don Pedro, who came with his wife, lives six leagues from me in a very pleasant orchard and house of mine from where he provides for me. Albeit with great toils, I maintain great hopes. Enjoyment will wait for when Your

<sup>5</sup> The adjacent mines were Arroyo, Lampazos, Las Guijas, Santo Domingo and Coronilla in the Tepache Valley, Sonora ([southwest.library.arizona.edu/southwset/rudo/back.1\\_div.2html](http://southwest.library.arizona.edu/southwset/rudo/back.1_div.2html)).

disponiendo de sue[rte]/ que tenga Vuestra Merced mucho gusto y recreo en él. No/25 escribo mas largo ni lo ago a mi muy reverendo padre/ fray Francisco Ayeta porque no me dan lugar los q[ue]/ ban asta Carretas. Estimaré que Vuestra Merced me des-/empeñe y tenga esta por suia, que ayer hiz[e]/ [fol. 388r] un propio a mi cassa que ay 25 leguas por la tienda/ y que se la remitire. Yo me encomiendo a todos/ los aflijidos y al padre fray Juan Alvarez que/ lo estara por todos. Mi dueño el amigo Don/5 Francisco Agramont, con quien posso, escribe a Vuestra Merced/ que a sentido notablemente la desgrazia./ Yo e echo quanto e podido por aliviar a los de/ por alla mas no puedo cossa. Aqui entran/ las profezias que tengo echas de la destrui-/10cion de este reyno y lo que escrivi a Don Ysi-/dro, cuyo tanto le embiaré al padre Ayeta,/ pues otro que le embié no se lo dio Andres./ Si yo huviera estado desembarazado ya estu-/viera allá con Vuestras Mercedes a conquistar de nuevo/15 esos sacrilegos. Y por mi voto y el cono-/zimiento que tengo de la ayuda que el presi-/dio de Zinaloa puede dar a ese reino, dias/ a que nos huvieramos visto, pues desde/ donde estoy asentado escriviendo esta/20 a Senecu me atrevo a yr, sin apresurar de/ correo, en siete dias, por Teuricachí. Deje-/mos estos discursos pues no los podemos poner/ en egecucion, que a poderlo mui presto/ estuviera restaurado el reino con egem-/25plares castigos. Adios amigo hermano/ y señor mio que guarde a Vuestra Merced

Grace comes to this, your house, which I will be arranging so that Your Grace will have great pleasure and rest in it. I will not write anymore, nor will I write to my Very Reverend Father Friar Francisco Ayeta because those that are going to Carretas do not give me any space. I will be obliged if Your Grace will excuse me to him and consider this addressed to him as well, for yesterday I sent [fol. 388r] a messenger to my house which is 25 leagues by way of the store and which I will send to him. I commend myself to all the afflicted and to Father Friar Juan Alvarez<sup>6</sup> who must be so on behalf of all. My master and friend Don Francisco Agramont, with whom I am staying, writes to Your Grace that he has been greatly affected by the disaster. I have done what I could to lighten the burden of those who are there, but I was unsuccessful. This is where the prophecies I have made of the destruction of this kingdom come in, and what I wrote to Don Ysidro, a copy of which I sent to Father Ayeta, since the other I sent Andres did not give him. Had I been unhindered, I would already be there with Your Graces to reconquer those sacrilegious ones. And for my vow and the knowledge I have of the help that the presidio of Sinaloa<sup>7</sup> can give to that kingdom, we would have seen each other days ago, for from where I sit writing this to Senecu I dare go, without the haste of a courier, in seven days, by way of Teuricachi. Enough of these discourses, since we cannot carry them out, for if we could, very soon the kingdom would be

<sup>6</sup> He was also Antonio de Otermin's scribe.

<sup>7</sup> The presidio of Sinaloa was founded in 1595 upon the arrival of Captain Alonso with twelve soldiers. In 1599 the garrison increased to 32 soldiers under the command of Captain Diego Martinez de Hurdaide, who, besides being in charge of the presidio, was royal magistrate of Sinaloa for twenty years. In 1609 the fort named Fuerte de Montesclaros was built by viceroy Conde de Montesclaros. ([http://omega.ilce.edu.mx/biblioteca/sites/estados/libros/sinaloa/html/sec\\_38.html](http://omega.ilce.edu.mx/biblioteca/sites/estados/libros/sinaloa/html/sec_38.html)).



muchos años. San Juan/ 17 de septiembre de 1680/ [fol. 388v] años. Puede ser que baya el sargento Re-/zaval, que para lo que aqui haze no pierde tiempo./ Plega a Dios no se pierda con el tiempo, porque/ a zapatos que ponga a de consumi el empleo,/5 pues está esto que se saca y ay la mima/ plata que en Galizia. Y sobre dezirme que/ en dos meses no a vendido 4 pesos, no ay que pedir./ Responda Vuestra Merced y denos cuenta por menudo/ de todo el suzesso./10 De Vuestra Merced amigo eta zure/ anaya zu artean. / Joan Baptista de Escorza [rubricado]/ [al margen derecho: \*15 de septiembre de 680]/ Don Juan Baptista Escorza respondida]/

restored, with exemplary punishments. Farewell my friend, brother and Lord. May He keep Your Grace many years. San Juan, 17 September 1680 [fol. 388v]. Sergeant Rezaval<sup>8</sup> might possibly go, since for what he is doing here, he will not lose time. May it please God that he not be lost along with the time, because even if he tries hard, nothing will come of it, for there is no hope here and there is no more silver than in Galicia! To give you an idea, he told me that in two months he has not sold 4 pesos, so no use asking. Please answer, Your Grace, and give us a detailed account of the whole affair. I remain Your Grace's friend *eta zure anaya zu artean*.<sup>9</sup> Joan Baptista de Escorza [rubric]. [at the right margin: \*15 September of 1680 Don Juan Bautista Escorza answered]

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<sup>8</sup> The surname Rezaval reveals a Basque origin of this sergeant. Andres de Rezaval (his name appears in Hackett written as "Razaval"), who was commissioned from Mexico in 1677 to lead the contingent of 47 forced soldiers and 3 volunteers to strengthen the territory of New Mexico (Hackett 1937:16). On the death of Manuel Agramont y Arce, Rezaval was appointed Governor of the Sinaloa Garrison in 1696.

<sup>9</sup> "Friend and in the meantime your brother." The farewell is completed in Basque.

**[La Salineta, 6 de octubre de 1680. Auto de Otermín nombrando veedores]**

[fol. 389r] En el dicho paraxe de La Salineta en seis dias del mes de octubre/ de mil seis sientos y ochenta años don Antonio de Otermin/ governador y capitan general de las provinçiaz de la Nueva Mexico por Su Magestad dijo/ que, aviendo visto y reconosido la muestra general que se paso y los/ 5 pareseres que se an dado en la junta general de guerra que se a tenido/ y consta de los autos y sobre todo la propuesta del cavildo/ justia y reximiento con el fundamento de sus proposisio-nes que son notorias y publicas y las voses que corren de la dañ-/-da yntençion de tanta naçion de yndios jentiles y otros que/10 estan devajo de administracion y las dos cartas que a reçivido/ de la provinçia de Sonora y otras muchas causas y rasones/ assi de la ynposivilidad de la cavallada como del tienpo/ por estar ya en el mes de octubre y que la jente va enferman-/-do en este campo sin tener modo de albergue ni alojamiento/15to que es nesario se aga aunque sea en joios estufas<sup>1</sup> o/ xacales. Y por la falta de jente y armas y otras rasones/ y causas que ynposivilitan el poder conseguir açion/ ninguna en cuja atençion y en birtud de el socorro que el/ reverendo padre visitador general tiene dado a toda la jente/20 y por la obligacion que caritativamente a echo del so-/-corro de carne y mais para que la jente que a escapado/ con vida haga pie y no se divida hasta que Su Magestad so-/-corra o determine lo que convenga a su real serviçio./ Por cuias rasones conformandome con el dicho pareser/25

**La Salineta, October 6, 1680. Writ of Otermín Naming Auditors**

[fol. 389r] In the said place of La Salineta the sixth day of the month of October of 1680, Don Antonio de Otermin governor and captain general of the provinces of New Mexico by His Majesty said that he saw and examined the general review that took place and the opinions that have been given in the general council of war that was held and is on record in the writs and above all the proposal of the council, justice and government with the basis of their propositions. [These] are well-known and public, [as are] the widespread rumors of the accursed intentions of so many nations of gentile Indians and others who are under administration and the two letters that he has received from the province of Sonora and many other causes and reasons, as well as of the inability of the horses, and the time. For it is now the month of October and the people are falling ill in this open country without any means of shelter or lodging, which is necessary even if it be in pits, mud huts or lean-tos. And due to the lack of people and weapons and other reasons and causes that make it impossible to achieve any action, in view of which and in virtue of the aid that the Reverend Father Visitor General has given all the people and due to the obligation that he charitably has assumed of aiding with meat and corn so that the people who have escaped with their lives can resist and not be divided until His Majesty provide relief or determine what is conducive to his royal service. Thereby, in agreement with the said opinion of the municipal council and

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<sup>1</sup> estufas. 'Aposento recogido y abrigado' (Dic. de Aut.). This is how the Spaniards referred to the "kivas" or rooms for secret religious ceremonies of the Pueblo of New Mexico. They are entered through the roof.

del cavildo y las demas personas praticas y de/ experiencia mando se le aga notorio al reverendo padre fray/ [fol. 389v] Francisco de Ayeta la propuesta del cavildo y cómo se an señalado/ por veedores administradores de racion a el alcalde/ hordinario Juan Luzero de Godoy y al sarjento mayor Diego Lopes./ Y rindiendo las devidas graçias a Su Paternidad Reverenda por tanto/5 bien como a echo si pidiere algunos ynstrumentos para/ que le conste a Su Magestad se le despachen en publica forma/ y se ajusten los autos y se de abisso con la mayor breb[e]-/dad que el caso pide. Asi lo probey mandé y firmé ant[e]/ el secretario de gobernaçion y guerra./10 Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Por mandado de Su Señoria/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de gobernaçion y guerra./

**[La Salineta, 6 de octubre de 1680.  
Auxilio de Ayeta]**

Luego yncontinente en dicho dia mes y año dichos en birtud del/ 15 auto de arriva de Su Señoria y por el pedimiento del cavildo justia/ y rejimiento con la atencion y ruego que se deve para el m[ayor]/ bien y fomento de la causa de Su Magestad en el socorro y sus-/tento de sus basallos que oy se hallan en esta plas[a]/ de armas se le hicieron notorias las propuestas y sup[lica]/20 al muy reverendo padre visitador y procurador general fray Francisco de Ayeta p[adre]/ desta Santa Custodia y comisario de el Santo Ofiçio que abiendola oy[do]/ y entendido Su Paternidad Muy Reverenda, lleno de la caridad que acostumbra, c[on]/ piadoso pecho y seloso del mayor açierto en el serviçio de las d[os]/ majestades dixo que, desde luego y por segundo socorro, ofrese

the other persons of knowledge and of experience, I order that the proposal of the municipal council be made known to Reverend Father Friar [fol. 389v] Francisco de Ayeta and how the town magistrate Juan Luzero de Godoy and Sergeant Major Diego Lopez have been indicated as auditors to administer the rations. And giving the thanks due to His Reverend Paternity for so much good that he has done, if he should request some instruments in order that it be entered into the record for His Majesty, let them be dispatched in a public way, and let the writs be adjusted and notice given as quickly as the case demands. I so provided, ordered and signed before the the secretary of governance and war. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. By order of His Lordship Francisco Xavier [rubric]. The secretary of governance and war.

**La Salineta, 6 October 1680. Ayeta's Aid**

Immediately thereafter, on said day month and year, in virtue of the above writ of His Lordship and at the behest of the municipal council, justice and government, with the due attention and solicitude toward the greatest good and promotion of the cause of His Majesty, in aid and support of his vassals who are today present in this encampment, the proposals and entreaty were made known to the Very Reverend Father visitor and procurator general Friar Francisco de Ayeta, father of this Holy Custody and commissary of the Holy Office. Whereupon having heard and understood it, His Very Reverend Paternity, full of his customary charity, with a compassionate heart and zealous for the best course in the service of the two majesties said that, most certainly and as a second relief, he offers two [fol. 390r]

d[os]/ [fol. 390r] fanegas mas de mays en cada dia sobre las ocho que tiene agçinadas,/ que asen numero de dies. Y que a mas de lo que costa tiene puesto de basti- /mento y carne de manifiesto desde el dia que enpeso a socorrer/ la jente tiene conpradas y pagadas otras seisçientas fanegas/5 de mais y los carros dispuestos para salir el dia dies y ocho des-/te presente mes para yr a conprar y acarrear todo lo que se hallare/ para que no falte. Y que oy tiene conpradas y pagadas en/ la jurisdicïon de Casas Grandes mil seisçientas y quarenta/ reses vacunas, sin las dilijençias que ase a la solisita-/10 çion de otras partidas, y a mayor abundamiento al reparo de/ nesidades sobre lo que a dado con todo amor y boluntad/ pide al Señor Governador y cavildo se dibulgue entre toda la jente que/ los que hubieren quedado mas nesitados acudan a Su Paternidad Muy/ Reverenda para que los socorra con quanto tubiere de ropa y abrigo y se les/15 haga saver que les remitira del Parral y sus alrrededores/ todas las cantidades de lana que pueda para que la benefiçien/ y les sea de mayor convenençia en el campo. Y que a todos en general/ pide por el amor de Dios lleben en paçiençia los trabajos/ y discomodidades en estos paramos hasta que la gran providen-/20çia del exçelentissimo señor Virrei con su catholico çelo y gran caridad/ les socorra como lo a echo en quanto a podido en todo su gobierno./ Y que de su parte desde luego aguarda se baia por quanto le a quedado,/ sin reservar mas del santo abito que trae [e]nsima de Nuestro Padre San Françisco./ Y esto respondio Su Paternidad Muy Reverenda de que se le volvieron a dar re-/25petidas graçias y lo firmó con los dos alcaldes hor-/dinarios./ Fray Françisco de Ayeta [rubricado] Comisario visitador/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado] Alcalde

fanegas more of corn each day beyond the eight that he has assigned, for a total of ten. And beyond what he has provided in provisions and meat for the record and publicly from the day he began to give aid to the people, he has bought and paid for another six hundred fanegas of corn. And the wagons are ready to depart on the eighteenth of this month in order to buy and transport anything that may be found so that it may not be lacking. And today he has bought and paid for, in the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, one thousand six hundred and forty head of cattle, in addition to the steps he has taken to request them from other parties, and in greater abundance to relieve the necessities. Regarding what he has given with all love and good will, he asks the Lord Governor and municipal council that it be communicated among all the people that those who are the most needy among the people should come to His Very Reverend Paternity so that he may aid them with whatever clothing and protection he may have, and to let them know that from Parral and vicinity they will be sent all the quantities of wool possible, so that it may be of benefit to them and so that it may be of greater usefulness in the field. And he asks all in general that for the love of God they bear the toils and discomforts in these bleak lands patiently, until the great providence of the Most Excellent Lord viceroy, with his Catholic zeal and great charity, comes to their aid, as he has done to the best of his ability in all of his rule. And for his part, he most certainly expects them to come for what remains to him, keeping for himself nothing by the holy habit of our father St. Francis that he wears. And this is what His Very Reverend Paternity replied, for which they thanked him repeatedly, and he signed it

hordinario/ Juan Luzero de Godoy  
[rubricado] Alcalde ordinario/

**[Paraje del río del Norte, 9 de octubre de 1680. Otermín recopila y envía los autos]**

[fol. 390v] En esta plasa de armas y paraje de el rio del Norte de la Tom[a]/ en nueve dias del mes de otubre de mil y seisçientos y ochen[ta]/ años don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitan general del reyno y/ provinçiaz de la Nueva Mexico por Su Magestad dijo que por quanto/5 tiene fulminados y sustançiadados estos autos en la/ forma que se a podido sobre el alsamiento desobedien-çia y tanto xenero de delitos que an cometido los ynd[ios]/ cristianos poblados sovre mas de ochenta años de po-/blasion redusidos al santo vautismo y obediencia de Su Magestad/10 y faltando a todo en el seguro de tales debajo de traicion/ y con todo secreto en un dia y a una ora convocados/ aliados y confederados siendo cavesas motores/ y guias los ladinos y mas veneficiados ronpie-/ron con todo faltando a la obligacion de cristianos/15 y vasallos de Su Magestad dando guerra generalmente en todo el/ reino donde con varbaro arroxo mataron veinte y un reliji[o]-/sos, entre ellos el custodio cavessa de esta ygleçia, dies y ocho saçe[r]-/dotes ministros y dos legos; profanando los santos templos/ quemandolos y las ymajenes de sus altares escarnesiendo d[e]/20 las cosas del culto divino poniendose las vestiduras saçerd[o]-/tales en sus vailes ydolatricos de que an echo trofeos com[o]/ de los vassos sagrados matando a muchos españoles mu[je]-/res y niños que de todos hiçieron anotomias alevosam[ente]/ consumiend

with the two town magistrates. Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric]. Commissary Visitor Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Town magistrate Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubric], Town magistrate.

**Rio del Norte, October 9, 1680. Otermin Compiles and Forwards the Dossiers**

[fo1. 390v] In this encampment and place of El Rio del Norte de La Toma on the 9th day of the month of October of 1680, Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico by His Majesty, said that he has to the best of his ability dictated and compiled these writs regarding the uprising, disobedience and multiple types of crimes committed by the Christian Indian inhabitants after more than of eighty years of settlement. [After] having been brought to Holy Baptism and obedience to His Majesty, and rejecting everything in the safety of their status, through treason and with complete secrecy on a day and time, called together, allied and confederated – with the leaders, fomenters and guides being the Spanish-speaking and most favored of them – they broke with everything, renouncing their obligation as Christians and vassals of His Majesty, waging war generally in the whole kingdom. Wherein, with barbarous boldness, they killed twenty-one religious, among them the custodian head of this church, eighteen priest ministers and two lay brothers, profaning the holy temples, burning them and the images on their altars, making mockery of the objects of divine worship, putting on the priestly vestments in their idolatrous dances, which they made trophies of, as they did with the sacred vessels. They killed many Spanish men, women and children, making corpses

mas de tresientas y ochenta personas y g[eneral]-/25mente robaron los conventos casas y estançias de todo [el]/ reino apoderandose de los ganados y cavalladas y de t[odo]/ lo que tenia todo el reino de que se hiçieron señores lleg[an]-/do su odio y benganssa a sercar la villa para matar a el go[vernador]/ y las personas que le asistian a su persona y defenssa de[I]/ [fol. 391r] real estandarte durando el çitio por término de nueve dias./ Que todo y lo demas consta de los autos de el prosesso a que me/ refiero y por estar conchlussos y ajustados para que de todo/ ello conste al exçelentissimo señor Virrey governador y capitán general de/5 la Nueva España y los tribunales de la Real Corona de/ Su Magestad donde convenga para su determinaçion y con-/ clusion. Y que sean despachados con la vvedad que el/ casso pide ago de todos ellos remiçion a dicho señor/ exçelentissimo para que con su grandessa mande lo que convenga;/10 los quales van en ochenta y ocho foxas escritas en/ todo y parte con algunas vlanca. Y para su remision/ seguridad y entrego en la real corte de Mexico se/ entreguen al reverendo padre predicador fray Françisco de Ayeta/ padre de esta Santa Custodia comisario del Santo Ofiçio visita-/15dor y procurador general de todo el reino en los dos/ estados eclesiastico y secular, quien se sirva de dar reçivo de dichos autos y a ellos asista y alegue en la/ dicha corte de Mexico todo lo que convenga a nuestra jus-/tiçia como nuestro procurador general y en virtud de po-/20deres que se le despacharon para toda caussa/ de este reino. Que asi

of all of them, treacherously destroying more than thee hundred and eighty persons and in general robbing the convents, houses and ranches of the entire kingdom, seizing the livestock and horses and everything in the whole kingdom, of which they made themselves lords. With their hatred and vengefulness they went so far as to besiege the township in order to kill the governor and the persons who assisted his person and the defense of the [fo1. 391r] royal standard, with the siege lasting a period of nine days. All this and the rest is recorded in the dossiers of the process to which I refer. And since they are concluded and arranged so that everything may be made evident to the Most Excellent Lord viceroy governor and captain general of New Spain<sup>1</sup> and the tribunals of His Majesty's Royal Crown, where it may be conducive to their determination and conclusion. And so that they may be dispatched with swiftness that the case requires, I send them all to said Most Excellent Lord, so that in his greatness he may order what is most fitting. They contain eighty-eight fully and partially written folios with some of them blank. And for their remittance, safeguarding and delivery to the royal court of Mexico, they are to be handed over to the Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta, father of this Holy Custody, commissary of the Holy Office, visitor and procurator general of all the kingdom in the two estates, ecclesiastical and secular, who will be pleased to give a receipt for said writs and to be present and plead in the said court of Mexico for everything that may be

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<sup>1</sup> The viceroyalty of New Spain included Mexico and Central America plus the West Indies, though generally the territory of Mexico was understood as New Spain. The map by J. B. Homanno of 1725 defines the "Mexicanum regnum sive Nova Hispania" between Panama to the south and New Mexico at the north, with Parral on the northern boundary within New Spain.

conbiene a la buena admi-/nistración de la real justicia y por lo que podra acae-/ser en tan dilatado camino como ay de esta plaza de/ armas a la ciudad y corte de Mexico se saque testimonio/25 a la letra de todos ellos en publica forma y manera/[fol. 391v] que aga fee. Asi lo probey mandé y firmé ante el secretario/ de gobernación y guerra en dicho dia mes y año dichos./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Ante mí,/5 Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Secretario de gobernacion y guerra./ Mexico 4 de henero de 1681/ Al Señor fiscal con la carta/ tocante a esta matheria [rúbrica]/

conducive to justice for us as our procurator general and in virtue of the powers granted to him in all cases concerning this kingdom. For such is fitting to the good administration of royal justice. And considering what could happen in such a long journey as there is from this encampment to the city and court of Mexico, accurate and certified copies of all of them shall be made in due public and legal form and be attested to [fol. 391 v]. I so provided, ordered and signed before the the secretary of governance and war on said day month and year. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Before me, Francisco Xavier [rubric], the secretary of governance and war. Mexico 4 of January of 1681. To the Lord Crown Attorney with the letter concerning this matter [rubric].

*With the rubrics of Otermin and Francisco Xavier the writs of the uprising, properly speaking, end. What follows is a series of answers from Mexico, although this includes letters received in Mexico from the Municipal Council of Santa Fe, letters to the viceroy from Otermin during the flight from New Mexico, and even from the King referring to the administration of New Mexico. From here on we proceed not chronologically, but letters and reports related to the case of New Mexico are inserted.*

**[México, 7 de enero de 1681. Respuesta del Fiscal]**

10 Exçelentissimo señor/ El fiscal de Su Magestad habiendo visto estos autos fulminados/ por Don Antonio de Otermin governador y capitan general de la/ provincia de la Nueva Mexico y la carta escripta por el cabildo/ justicia y regimiento de la villa de Santa Fee cabecera de dicha provincia/15 dice que sobre esta materia tiene dada dilatada respuesta a la/ remission de autos y cartas que con las primeras noticias escribió/ el padre visitador y procurador general fray Francisco de Ayeta/ de haverse conjurado

**Mexico, January 7, 1681. The Crown Attorney's Response**

The Most Excellent Lord Crown Attorney of His Majesty, has seen these documents drawn up by Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of the province of New Mexico, as well as the letter written by the municipal council, justice and government of the township of Santa Fe, capital of said province. He says that, with regard to this matter, he has given an extensive answer to the delivery of writs and letters that together with the first accounts the Father visitor and procurator general Friar Francisco de

y alzado todos los yndios cristianos de/  
aquella provincia cuya respuesta  
reproduce. Y lo que aora nuevam[ente]/20  
consta de estos autos es verificarse que en  
el dia trece de agosto exe-/cutaron la  
conjuracion los yndios alzados en todos los  
pueblos/ y estancias a un mismo tiempo  
con tanto rigor y crueldad/ como haver  
muerto veinte y un religiosos misioneros  
los diez/ y nueve sacerdotes y entre ellos el  
padre custodio general/ [fol. 392r]  
{general} y los dos legos y mas de  
trescientas y ochenta/ personas españolas,  
sin que perdonassen la inocencia de las/  
mugeres y de los parvulos poniendo fuego  
a los templos haciendo/ irrision de los  
sanctos y profanando los vasos sagrados/ 5  
con tan graves desacatos y atrevimientos  
que es indecencia el proferirlos,/ dejando  
totalmente asolados y destruidos treinta y  
quatro pueblos/ sin otras muchas estancias  
y haciendas que estaban separadas de ellos/  
sin que huviesse hallado resistencia su  
voracidad, si no es en el/ de dicha villa y  
cabecera de Santa Fee, donde residia dicho  
governador/10 que se puso en deffensa en  
las cassas reales donde estubo sitiado  
nuebe/ dias, haviendo recojido en ellas toda  
la gente y ganados que pudo. Y/  
reconociendo que le havian cortado la agua  
y que le iban faltando/ los bastimentos y  
que se iba acrecentando el numero de los  
enemigos/ que iban llegando de otros  
pueblos y naciones y que la abilantez y  
furor/15 era tan grande como haver puesto  
fuego a las casas y a los templos inten-  
/tando tambien ponerle a las casas reales. Y  
considerando que no le/ podia venir  
socorro de parte alguna, assi por la  
muchedumbre de los/ barbaros que tenian  
tomados todos los passos, como por las  
noticias que/ adquirio de algunos que  
cojieron los nuestros y de otros que se  
huyeron de los/20 enemigos de haver

Ayeta wrote about all the Christian Indians  
of that province having conspired together  
and risen up, whose answer is herein  
reproduced. And what is now newly  
recorded in the documents is proof that on  
the thirteenth day of August the insurgent  
Indians carried out the plot in all of the  
pueblos and ranches at once, with such  
brutality and cruelty that they killed  
twenty-one religious missionaries, nineteen  
of them priests and among them the Father  
Custodian General [fol. 392r] and the two  
lay brothers and more than three hundred  
and eighty Spanish persons. [They did this]  
without sparing innocent women and  
babies, setting fire to churches, making  
mockery of the saints and profaning the  
holy vessels with such grave acts of  
disrespect and insolence that it would be  
indecent to utter them. [They left] thirty-  
four pueblos devastated and destroyed,  
without counting many other remote  
ranches and homesteads that were isolated,  
without encountering any resistance to  
their voraciousness, if not for the said  
township and capital of Santa Fe, wherein  
resided said governor, who organized a  
defense in the Governor's Palace, where he  
was under siege for nine days, having  
gathered into them all the people and  
livestock he could. And he realized that  
they had cut off the water supply, and  
provisions began to run out, and the  
number of enemies arriving from other  
pueblos and nations was growing, and the  
audacity and furor were so great that they  
set fire to the houses and churches and  
tried to do the same to the Governor's  
Palace. And considering that no aid could  
come to him from anywhere, both because  
of the great throng of the barbarians who  
had taken all the passes, as well as the  
news he acquired from some of our people  
and others who fled the enemies about the



muerto a todos los relijiosos y españoles de los pueblos/ circunvezinos, resolvió con junta y parecer de los que estaban sitiados,/ viendose en el estrecho de perder la vida de hambre o a manos de los/ enemigos de salir a romperlos o retirarse como pudiesse, lo qual/ executaron, rompiendo el trozo principal de los barbaros, con pérdida/ 25 de un español y muchos heridos, como lo quedó tambien el governador/ con dos heridas en el rostro y un balaso en el pecho. Con cuyo acome-/timiento, haviendose puesto en huida los barbaros, revolvieron los/ nuestros sobre unas casas donde estaban fortificados quarenta y siete/ yndios, a los quales arcabucearon, despues de haver declarado que havia/ 30 mucho tiempo tenian deliberada la sublevacion a instancias de los yndios/ teguas del pueblo de Tezuque. Y sin embargo de haver muerto en la/ refriega mas de trescientos yndios, temiendo que se fuessen juntando los/ de otros pueblos y se convocassen los de las naciones gentiles, resolvieron/ [fol. 392v] salirse retirando de dicha villa, cargando los bastimentos/ que pudiesen y los pocos ganados que les havian quedado, encaminando/ su viage hacia el puesto llamado de Fray Cristoval donde se/ hallaba el theniente general Alonso Garcia, donde havia recojido todos/5 los yndios cristianos y españoles del pueblo de La Ysleta y de las/ estancias circunvezinas, el qual con las noticias que le llegaron de algunos/ que se escaparon a uña de cavallo de quedar abrasandose todas las/ cassas de la villa de Santa Fee y sin esperanza de deffensa, el/ governador por considerarle muerto a manos de los enemigos, y/10 temiendo la mesma sublevacion, por haver sido general en los/ yndios que estaban a su cargo y considerando que de salir a/ socorrer a dicho governador peligrarian de manifesto las/ mugeres y niños españoles

killing of all the religious and Spaniards of the surrounding pueblos, he resolved, with the council and opinion of those who were under siege (seeing themselves forced to either die of hunger or at the hands of enemies), to either break out or retreat as well as he could. [This] they did, breaking through the main force of the barbarians, with the loss of one Spaniard and many wounded, as was the governor himself, with two wounds to his face and a bullet wound in the chest. With this action, with the barbarians having fled, our people turned to some houses wherein forty-seven Indians were fortified, whom they shot with harquebuses, after having declared that they had deliberated for a great deal of time about the uprising at the insistence the Tiwa Indians of the pueblo of Tezuque. And despite having killed more than three hundred Indians in the skirmish, fearing that they might join up with those of other pueblos and that those of the gentile nations might be convoked, they resolved [fol. 392v] to withdraw from said Governor's Palace, carrying whatever supplies they could and the small number of livestock that remained to them. [They] journeyed toward the outpost called Fray Cristobal, where Lieutenant General Alonso Garcia was, where he had gathered the Christian Indians and Spaniards of the pueblo of La Isleta and of the surrounding ranches, who, with the news that reached him of some who had barely escaped that all of the houses of the township of Santa Fe were burning and without hope of defense. For, believing that the governor was dead at the hands of the enemies, and fearful of the same uprising, which was generalized among the Indians who were under his authority, and that in going out to aid said governor the Spanish women and children he had gathered together would be

que havia recojido sin tener gente/  
suficiente para poder dejarla bastante en su  
custodia e ir a/15 socorrer con los demas a  
dicho governador, relsolvio con parecer y/  
acuerdo de sus companeros irse  
encaminando con su gente hacia el Passo/  
del rio del Norte. Y a pocas jornadas en el  
parage que llaman El/ Socorro alcanzó el  
governador con su gente a este primer  
trozo y poc[o]/ antes le havian encontrado  
la gente que havia enviado de socorro el/20  
dicho padre visitador fray Francisco de  
Ayeta. Y juntos ambos trozos/ en dicho  
parage del Socorro les hizo proposicion  
dicho governador si convendria/ que  
nuestro real hiciesse alli alto y que los que  
se hallassen armados/ y con bestias  
revolviessen sobre el enemigo a restaurar  
dicha/ villa de Santa Fee y los demas  
pueblos. Y cassi todos fueron de parecer/25  
que no convenia respecto de hallarse sin  
bastimentos con muy poca/ polvora y  
munitiones con poco numero de cavallos,  
y esos flacos y/ cansados, y la gente  
rendida con el viage, poco sustento y el/  
trabajo de los nueve dias que estuvieron  
velando, mientras fueron/ sitiados, y  
porque era preciso que mucha parte de  
nuestra gente se/ 30 quedasse en custodia  
de las mugeres y niños por ser aquel  
parage/ tierras de la barbara y numerosa  
nacion del enemigo apache,/ debiendose  
considerar que quando venia marchando se  
havia reconosid[o]/ que los enemigos los  
venian espiando. Y que temiendo havian/  
[fol. 393r] de revolver sobre ellos los  
españoles, se havian de congrega/ todos  
los alzados y aun convocar en su ayuda las  
naciones del/ gentilismo, porque eran de  
parecer, respecto de la grande necesidad/  
y desnudez en que se hallaban, que la gente  
fuesse marchando como/5 pudiesse hacia  
El Passo, donde estaba dicho padre  
visitador fray Francisco/ de Ayeta con los

in manifest danger, without having  
sufficient people to be able to leave them  
in their custody and with the others go to  
the aid of said governor, he resolved, with  
the judgment and agreement of his  
companions, to journey with his people  
toward El Paso del Rio del Norte. And  
after just a few days march, at the place  
called Socorro, the governor with his  
people reached this first group, and a little  
while earlier they had encountered the  
people that said Father Visitor Friar  
Francisco de Ayeta had sent to their aid.  
And with both groups together in said  
place of Socorro, said governor made them  
a proposition: whether it would be suitable  
that our camp halt there, and that those  
who were and who had draft animals  
should resolve, regarding the enemy, to  
recover said township of Santa Fe and the  
other pueblos. And almost all were of the  
opinion that it would not be suitable, given  
that they were without provisions, with  
very little gunpowder and ammunition,  
with a small number of horses, and those  
were thin and worn out, and [with] the  
people exhausted from the journey, little  
sustenance, and the labor of the nine days  
they were on watch while they were under  
siege. And because it was necessary for  
many of our people to stay behind to watch  
over the women and children, because that  
halting place was in the land of the  
barbarous and numerous nation of the  
enemy Apache, having to take into account  
that when they were on the march it  
became clear that the enemies were spying  
on them. And fearful that [fo1. 393r] the  
Spaniards would turn on them, all of the  
insurgents would join together and even  
convoke in their aid the gentile nations. For  
they were of the opinion, regarding the  
great necessity and nakedness in which  
they found themselves, that the people

carros del, situado de las limoznas, con cuyo/ acuerdo y con los socorros que les diese (haviendo puesto en/ salvo las mugeres y niños) se podria tomar deliberacion mas/ acertada. Y reconociendo lo resuelto por dicha junta y que dicho padre procurador/ 10 general le decia en su carta que recibio en el referido parage tenian que/ comunicar para la resolucion que se havia de tomar, determinó/ adelantarse con doce hombres a encontrarle y le halló que estaba disponiendo/ passassen el rio veinte y quatro carros cargados que inviaba de socorro, con/ el uno atascado en medio del rio, que no havia podido passar de la otra/ 15 vanda por las muchas aguas que llevaba su corriente, adonde estuvo muy/ peligrado dicho padre procurador general y le sacaron diversos yndios nadadores/ que se echaron a la agua y a fuerza de brazos y con duplicados tiros/ de mulas que se echaron al referido carro acabó de passar, aunque/ con pérdida de algunas cossas, y maltratados y mojados muchos generos/ 20 de los que llevaba, que haviendolos sacado y oreado al sol y con otros/ que se passaron a nado en las bestias se fueron disponiendo esquadras/ de a cavallo que a la gurupa fuessen successivamente llevando socorro/ de bastimentos a los dos trozos de gente que venia marchando para que fuessen/ socorridos de la gran necesidad con que venian que se componian de cerca/25 de dos mil personas./ Y haviendo llegado a dicho parage del Passo proveyó luego auto/ dicho governador para que se convocasse junta general de toda la gente en que/ concurriessen tambien dicho padre procurador general y demas religiosos/ para que discurriessen y diessen su parecer sobre el parage en que se/30 havian de congregar y si convenia el que se volviesse

should keep marching as best they could toward El Paso, where said Father Visitor Friar Francisco de Ayeta was with his wagons full of the alms, with whose consent and with the aid that he might give them (having safeguarded the women and children) a more suitable decision could be made. And recognizing what was decided by said council, and that said father procurator general told him, in the letter he received in the aforementioned place, that they needed to confer about which decision to make, he decided to go forth with twelve men to meet him. And he found [Ayeta] making ready to have twenty-four wagons full of the aid he was sending cross the river, with the one bogged down in the middle of the river, for it had not been able to cross to the other side because of the high waters carried by its current. Wherein father procurator general was very much in danger, and various Indian swimmers who threw themselves into the water pulled him out with sheer strength. And with double lines of mules hitched to said wagon, it succeeded in crossing, though with the loss of some things. And many of the goods it was carrying [were] damaged and soaked. After having taken them out and dried them in the sun, and with others who swam across with their horses, squadrons on horseback were organized which would, in shifts, bring the provisions to the two groups of people that were on the march, made up of almost two thousand persons. Thus they could be rescued from the dire need with which they came. And having arrived at said place of El Paso, said governor immediately dictated a writ so that a general council of all people might be convoked, in which the father procurator general and the other religious might also take part, so that they would reflect and give their opinion about the

luego sobre/ los enemigos a castigar los rebeldes y recuperar las poblaciones de que/ se havian apoderado, sobre que dieron todos sus pareceres por escripto./ [fol. 393v] Dicho padre procurador general con su definitorio ofreciendo quanto/ traia en sus carros y los religiosos para que les asistiessen/ y que, si se resolvia salir alguna tropa a la recuperacion/ de lo perdido, ofrecia especialmente asistirles y socorrerles/5 con los bastimentos necesarios menos bestias. Y para ayuda/ de los soldados desabiados daria veinte corazas que le havian/ quedado, quatro docenas de estribos de medio lazo y comu-nes, cinquenta frenos cinquenta sombreros zapatos para/ sí y para sus mugeres y doscientas baras de bramante/10 florete para algunas camisas y cuidaria de que se le asistiessa/ con todo lo necesario a sus mujeres y familias para su sustento./ Y que para el comun asistiria con diez rezes y ocho fanegas de maiz/ en grano en cada un dia. Y que se nombrassen veedores para que la/ distribucion fuesse ajustada y proporcionada y despues por otro/15 escripto ofrecio dicho padre procurador general socorrer a dicha gente con dos/ fanegas mas de maiz, que por todas hacen diez en cada un dia./ Y que en cumplimiento de lo ofrecido tiene puesto de manifiesto/ de bastimentos y carne desde el dia en que llegó la gente y compradas/ y pagadas otras seiscientas fanegas de maiz y los carro dispuestos/20 para salir a acarrear bastimentos desde el dia diez y ocho de octubre./ Y que tenia compradas y pagadas en la jurisdiccion de Casas/ Grandes mil seiscientas y quarenta reses bacunas y que estaba/ continuando las diligencias para mayor socorro y pedia se divulgasse entre/ toda la gente que los que huviessen quedado necessitados acudiessen/25 a dicho padre procurador

place in which to congregate and whether it was suitable to then return to the enemies in order to punish the rebels and recover the areas they had taken over, regarding which they all gave their opinions in writing. [fo1. 393v] Said father procurator general with his definitory offered everything he was bringing in their wagons and the religious so that they would assist them and that, if it was decided that some troops should go out to recover what was lost, he offered to especially assist them and aid them with the necessary supplies, minus draft animals. And for the help of the unequipped soldiers, he would give twenty cuirasses that remained to him, four dozen half-strap and common stirrups, fifty bits for the horses, fifty hats, shoes for them and for their wives, and two hundred yards of white brabantt for some shirts, and would take care that they be assisted with all that is necessary to their wives and families for their sustenance. And in general he would assist with ten head of cattle and eight fanegas of corn kernels each day. And auditors were to be named so that the distribution would be measured and proportionate, and afterward, through another document, said father procurator general offered to give aid to said people with two fanegas more of corn, which in all amount to ten per day, and that in compliance with the offer, he has posted a manifest of supplies and meat since the day in which the people arrived and has bought and paid for another six hundred fanegas of corn and the wagons are ready to leave to transport supplies since October 18. And [he said] that in the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes he had bought and paid for one thousand six hundred and forty head of cattle, and that he was continuing to take steps for greater aid. And he asked that the word be spread throughout all the people

general que estaba prompto a socorrerles con todos los/ generos de ropa y abrigo que traia y se les hiciesse saber que teni[a]/ prevenido en la provincia del Parral y sus contornos le inviass[e]/ toda la cantidad de lana que pudiesen para que las mugeres del real/ la beneficiassen para el socorro de sus necessidades./30 Y haviendo dado todos sus votos por escripto cassi todos se/ conformaron con el parecer de Thome Dominguez de Mendoza/ de que no convenia ni havia posibilidad de poder revolver sob[re]/ [fol. 394r] {sobre} el enemigo por las causas que exp[re]s[ó] en su parecer y en el del Cabildo y regimiento y especialmente/ por haver entrado el invierno. Y que de ciento y cinquenta y cinco hombres que se hallaban de poder tomar armas no/5 se podian armar los cinquenta por falta de ellas, pues de las/ que tenian las mas de ellas no cazaban y por falta de bestias,/ pues las pocas que havian quedado estaban muy flacas y/ rendidas con el continuo trabajo. Y porque se debia considerar/ que los rebeldes alzados previniendose de que havian de volver/10 sobre ellos los españoles estarian todos congregados y havrian/ hecho alianza con los yndios gentiles. Conque de conocido se aventuraba/ el sucesso porque fueron casi todos de parecer se suspendiesse la salida/ hasta dar quenta a Vuestra Excelencia y que en el interin se congregasse la gente/ y se alistasse en el parage que se eligiesse por mas a proposito. Y con-/15formandose con dicho parecer el governador hizo lista de toda la gente española/ y se halló haver mil nobecientas y quarenta y seis personas de todas/ edades; las ciento y cinquenta y cinco de tomar armas y quatrocientas/ y setenta y una bestias cavallares y mulares. Conque resolvieron/ ranchearse entre las conversiones de Guadalupe y San

that those who were still in need should go to the father procurator general, who was ready to assist them with all the types of clothing and covering he had with him, and that they be informed that he had arranged in the province of Parral and its surrounding areas that they would send him any quantities of wool they could, so that the women of the encampment could benefit of it for the relief of their necessities. And having given all of their votes in writing, almost all agreed with the opinion of Thome Dominguez de Mendoza, that it was not advisable, nor was it possible to be able to return [fol. 394r] upon the enemy for the reasons he expressed in his opinion and in that of the municipal council and aldermen, and especially due to winter having begun. And of the one hundred and fifty-five men there were who could bear arms, fifty of them could not be armed for lack of them, because most of the [weapons] they had did not work, and for lack of horses, since the few that remained were very thin and exhausted from the continuous labor. And because it was necessary to consider that the insurgent rebels, realizing that the Spaniards would intend to return upon them, would all have joined forces and would have formed an alliance with the gentile Indians. Therefore the outcome was predictable, since almost all were of the opinion that the march forth be suspended until giving an account to Your Excellency, and that in the meantime the people should be gathered together, and that preparations be made in the place chosen to be most suitable. And upon forming said opinion, the governor made a list of all the Spanish people. And there were found to be one thousand nine hundred forty-six persons of all ages, one hundred and fifty-five capable of bearing arms, and four hundred and

Francisco/20 esperando los ordenes de  
Vuestra Excelencia y el socorro que fuere  
servido de/ hacerles a cuya solicitud vino  
personalmente dicho padre procurador  
general/ fray Francisco de Ayeta con  
poderes de todo aquel reyno para/  
representar sus necesidades y el socorro  
que sera menester para/ volver a recuperar  
los treinta y quatro pueblos perdidos, a  
quien/25 parece se debe pedir memoria  
especifica de lo que sera necessario para/  
dicha restauracion. Y siempre parece sera  
precisso que se forme/ un presidio de  
cinquenta hombres pagados, por ser en  
conformidad/ de la real cedula de  
poblaciones y nuevas conversiones en que  
se/ dispone que en todas las fronteras aya  
presidios pagados por/30 reconocer que  
faltando esta prevencion siempre estamos  
dispuestos/ a tan lamentables sucessos  
como el que oy se experimenta. Y parece/  
que dicho presidio sera muy conveniente se  
funde del rio del Norte/ [fol. 394v] acá, en  
el parage que se eligiere por mas a  
proposito entre/ las tres conversiones que  
han quedado de aquella custodia/ llamadas  
La Soledad, Guadalupe del Passo y San  
Francisco/ de los Zumas. Y que en el  
puesto que elijieren se ayan de/5 congregarse  
precissamente todos los españoles, porque  
de estar des-/unidas las fuerzas en la  
provincia de la Nueva Mexico/ y a tanta  
distancia los pueblos y estancias, como de  
treinta/ y quarenta leguas, ha sido la causa  
de haver executado tan/ a su salvo los  
enemigos la conjuracion sin poderse  
socorrer/10 los españoles unos a otros. Y  
que dicho parage donde se congregaren/ se  
entienda ser jurisdiccion y cabecera de la

seventy-one horses and mules. They thus  
decided to take up quarters between the  
missions of Guadalupe and San Francisco,<sup>1</sup>  
awaiting the orders of Your Excellency and  
the aid you might be pleased to give them,  
in search of whom Father Procurator  
General Friar Francisco de Ayeta came in  
person, with powers from that entire  
kingdom in order to present their  
necessities and the aid that will be needed  
so as to return to recover the thirty-four  
lost pueblos, to whom it seems that a  
specific report of what will be necessary  
for said restoration should be requested.  
And it always seems that it will be  
necessary to form a garrison of fifty paid  
men, to be in conformity with the royal  
edict of settlements and new missions in  
which it is stipulated that on all the  
frontiers there be paid garrisons, thereby  
recognizing that lacking this measure, we  
are always exposed to such regrettable  
events as are today being experienced. And  
it seems that it will be very advisable that  
said garrison be established between the  
Rio del Norte [fol. 394v] and here, in the  
place chosen as most suitable among the  
three missions of that custody that have  
remained, called La Soledad,<sup>2</sup> Guadalupe  
del Paso and San Francisco de los Sumas.  
And in the outpost that they will choose, all  
the Spaniards shall be specifically gathered  
together, because the forces in the province  
of New Mexico being divided and the  
pueblos and ranches being so far apart – as  
much as thirty or forty leagues – has been  
the cause of the enemies having carried out  
their plot so much to their satisfaction,  
without the Spaniards being able to come

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<sup>1</sup> This mission, twelve leagues south of Guadalupe del Paso, was founded in 1665, in what is today the town of Fabens, Texas (<http://rootsweb.com/~txelpaso/towns.html>).

<sup>2</sup> The mission of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de Janos was destroyed in 1680 and rebuilt in 1717 ([www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00083/00083p1-P.html](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00083/00083p1-P.html)).

Nueva Mexico, de donde/ hallandose con la prevencion necessaria se podra salir a castigar los/ rebeldes y recuperacion de lo perdido y servira juntamente/ de defensa al reyno del Parral, que se halla oy con mucho/ 15 riezgo, por ser muy verisimil que estos yndios alzados se junten/ con las demas naciones de los gentiles y por ser aquellos tan/ practicos en dicho reyno de la Viscaya y tan habiles para/ manejar armas y cavallos, unidos con los gentiles nos podran/ hacer mucho daño. Y en dicho puesto del rio del Norte aca/20 podran ser socorridos los nuestros y los misioneros con mucha/ mayor promptitud y al rio del Norte le servira de ante-/muralla, demas de haver otras muchas naciones de gentiles/ en que poder emplearse el santo ministerio apostolico de los/ misioneros. Y considerando que es muy necesario que dichos yndios/25 alzados sean castigados, porque no quede tan pernicioso exemplar/ de que han dado bastante causa para ser subiugados por fuerza/ de armas, especialmente siendo rebeldes y apostatas y que/ deben ser reducidos al gremio de la yglesia por todos los/ medios posibles, se deben dar por Vuestra Excelencia todas las disposiciones/ 30 convenientes para que sean reducidos y vencidos, que sean/ [fol. 395r] por los nuestros compelidos a donde el governador les señalare/ con que sea cerca del rio del Norte, sin dejar de/ por medio naciones de gentiles, como lo estaba hasta aora/ la de los apaches. Y que para asegurar el que no se vuelban/5 les traigan la chuzma de mugeres y niños. Y que se hagan/ las poblaciones cerca del presidio para que puedan ser/ castigados siempre que huviere qualquiera alteracion. Y por aora,/ mientras dicho padre procurador general no hiciere representacion/ de las

to each others' aid. And said place where they are to be gathered shall be understood to have the jurisdiction over and be capital of New Mexico, from which, having the necessary preparation, it will be possible to go forth to punish the rebels and recover what was lost. And additionally it will serve as a defense of kingdom of Parral, which today finds itself at great risk, since it is very likely that these insurgent Indians might join with the other nations of the gentiles. And since they are very experienced in said kingdom of Viscaya,<sup>3</sup> and so skilled at handling weapons and horses, when united with the gentiles they will be able to cause us great harm. And here in said post of Rio del Norte our people and the missionaries can be aided with much greater swiftness and it will serve Rio del Norte as a front line of defense, besides there being many other nations of gentiles among which the missionaries' holy apostolic ministry can be carried out. And considering that it is very necessary that said insurgent Indians be punished, so that there may not remain such a pernicious example, by which they have given serious cause to be subjugated by force of arms, especially by being rebels and apostates and who must be returned to the bosom of the Church by all possible means, all suitable provisions must be given by Your Excellency so that they may be subdued and conquered, [fol. 395r] by our people and be compelled to go where the governor might indicate, as long as it is near the Rio del Norte, without leaving nations of gentiles in their midst, as was that of the Apaches until now. And in order to make certain that they will not return, they should bring the mob of women and children to them. And may settlements be

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<sup>3</sup> Understood as Nueva Vizcaya.

cossas que son necessarias, sean socorridos los vezinos/10 de dicha provincia para en cuenta de los gastos que con ellos ha hecho/ y se van haciendo por dicho padre procurador general con los ocho mil pesos que/ tiene suplidos al governador el capitan Joseph de Retes, de que hizo/ escriptura el thesorero de la Cassa de la Moneda, por haver llevado/ los empleos de su importancia dicho padre procurador, los cuales/15 se le paguen de esta real caxa, que son los efectos mas promptos/ que se pueden discurrir debiendose estar en la inteligencia/ de que aquellos miserables hombres no tienen oy recurso de donde/ poder sustentarse y sus familias, por haver quedado en poder/ de los enemigos todas sus haciendas y los mas de ellos con el/20 dolor de haver passado los rebeldes a cuchillo sus mugeres e hijos,/ que todo promueve a la piedad, que sera muy accepta al Rey Nuestro Señor,/ cuya voluntad repetidas vezes tiene explicada de cuánto/ dessea el fomento de las nuevas conversiones y propagacion de nuestra/ santa fee catholica, dando ordenes para que se gaste en ello todo/25 lo que fuere necessario, sobre que Vuestra Excelencia, con su gran celo piedad y provi- dencia, resolvera lo mas conveniente. Mexico 7 de henero de 1681./ Licenciado Don Martin de Solis Miranda [rubricado]/ [fol. 395v] [una página en blanco]

made near the garrison so that they can be punished should there ever be any uprising. And for now, until said father procurator general makes the report of the things that are necessary, may the residents of said province be aided against the expenses that with them said father procurator general has incurred and is incurring with the eight thousand pesos that Captain Joseph de Retes<sup>4</sup> has provided to the Governor, of which the Treasurer of the Mint has made a record, for said father procurator having borne the expenses on his own. [This] should be paid to him out of this royal treasury, which are the most ready assets that can be thought of, having to bear in mind that those miserable men today have no resources from which to support themselves and their families. For all their belongings have fallen into the power of the enemies, and most of them are bearing the sorrow of the rebels having put their wives and children to the sword, all of which inspires pity, which will be very pleasing to the King Our Lord, who has repeatedly willed to explain how much he desires the development of the new missions and propagation of our Holy Catholic Faith, giving orders so that everything that might be necessary be spent on that, about which Your Excellency, with your great zeal, piety and providence, will decide what is most suitable. Mexico, January 7, 1681. Licentiate Don Martin de Solis Miranda [rubric]. [fol. 395v a blank page].

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<sup>4</sup> He was *apartador* (royal official in the mints of New Spain) between 1655 and 1687, the year in which the office passed to his nephew Domingo Retes de Largacha, who held the position until 1697 ([www.ejournal.unam.mx/historia\\_novo/ehn23/EHN02305.pdf](http://www.ejournal.unam.mx/historia_novo/ehn23/EHN02305.pdf)).



**[El Paso, 12 de octubre de 1680. El Cabildo de Santa Fe escribe al Virrey]**

[fol. 396r] Excelentissimo Señor/ Quisiera este cavildo de la villa de Santa Fee, de el miserable/ reino del Nuevo Mexico, dar a Vuestra Excelencia mui dilata-/das nuevas en que se explaiara el Santo Evan-/5 jelio aumentandose el poder de Su Magestad en la/ dilatacion de su monarquia pero los decretos/ divinos no son reparables a los miseros pe-/cadores. Esto supuesto, Señor, y que el desa-/ogo y alivio que oy se halla para la restaura-/10sion de todo está en el seguro patrosignio/ y amparo de Vuestra Excelencia, postrado este cavildo/ a las plantas de tan gran señor, para no/ molestar con clamores que se dejan entender/ en la pérdida de un reino donde a quedado/15 el terrestre regado de sangre de un prelado, cavesa/ de esta ygleçia, dies y ocho saçerdotes y dos/ relijiosoz legos y mucho numero de españo-/les niños y mujerez, quemados los templos/ y sus ymajenes, profanadas las cosas de el/20 divino culto y las haçiendas casas y labores/ perdidas, saliendo del naufraxio un governador/ y capitan general marchando con sus vesinos y fa-/milia, los mas a pie, desnudos, sustentan-/dose con mais de las milpas, con las ar-/25mas en las manos y muchas leguas por la/ mayor fuersa de los yndios alsados, dan/ entera satisfaçion a lo que se pudiera dila-/tar este cavildo. Pero con la atencion de/ que todo consta de los autos que el governador/30 y capitan general a sustançiado con tanta justi-/ [fol. 396v]ficacion, sesa en esta parte y solo sí notiç[ia]/ a Vuestra Excelencia que con çelo de bolver por la caus[a]/ de Dios y asistencia de el real serviçio sea deter[mina]-/do con toda atencion lo muy

**El Paso, October 12, 1680. The Municipal Council of Santa Fe Writes to the Viceroy**

[fol. 396r] Most Excellent Lord, this municipal council of the township of Santa Fe of the miserable kingdom of New Mexico would like to give Your Excellency very extensive news in which the Holy Gospel will be extended, increasing the power of His Majesty in expansion of his monarchy, but divine decrees are inscrutable to miserable sinners. With this in mind, Lord, and that the alleviation and relief that there is today for the restoration of everything is under the sure patronage and protection of Your Excellency, this municipal council is prostrated at the feet of such a great lord, and is unwilling to trouble you with the understandable lamentations at the loss of a kingdom wherein the land has been soaked with the blood of a prelate, head of this church, eighteen priests and two religious lay brothers and a great number of Spaniards, children and women. [This along] with the churches burned together with their images, the objects of divine worship profaned and belongings, homes and labors lost, a governor and captain general who escaped from the disaster by marching out with his residents and families, the majority on foot, unclad, surviving on corn from the fields, with their weapons in their hands and many leagues through the great force of insurgent Indians, provide a complete account of what this municipal council could tell. But mindful that everything is recorded in the writs that the governor and captain general has compiled with so much justification, [the council] concludes this part and only gives notice to Your Excellency that, with

menor que [se le]/5 puede gastar a Su Magestad catholica de su real [haber]/ en casso que el Nuebo Mexico se aya de bolver [a]/ nueba conquista, cuiã relación lleva [en]/ escripto el reverendo padre visitador y procu[rador]/ general de este reyno fray Francisco de Ayeta, [a]/10 cuiã caridad çelo y muchissimos desb[elos]/ se deve el pie de exersito que oy se ha[lla]/ en este campo a las hordenes de el g[obernador]/ y capitan General, quien por sus muchos esfuer[zos]/ balor disposiciones y desvelos fue prinçipal/ 15 ynstrumento a que no peresieramos todos,/ saliendo con dos heridas en el rostro y un ba[laso]/ en el pecho y tan desnudo como sus subdi[tos],/ a cuias nesidades acudio dicho reverendo padre d[ando]/ desde el sapato al sonbrero y a las muje[res]/20 y niños, reparando tambien su desnudes, e[n que ha]/ consumido mas cantidad de trese a cato[rse mil]/ pesos. Como el governador, que a la partida de[l sitio]/ de la villa entregó todo lo que pudo tod[a la]/ jente que le segu[i]a cargar de su haçiend[a para]/25 poder conseguir el biaje hasta esta pa[raje];/ serviçios a Su Magestad de una y otra per[sona]/ muy particular. La dilaçion de los escri[ptos],/ Señor Excelentissimo, a sido por los muchos riesgos [y cor]-/to abio, pues hasta vreve trecho de aqu[i don]-/30de se halla este exerçito se a benido con las [ar]-/mas en las manos y el henemigo a [la]/ vista. De todo lo que acaesiere se [dara]/ aviso a Vuestra Excelencia en cuiã grande[ssa]/ y como quien tanto a fomentado [este]/35 misero reyno en todo el asertado [go]-/vierno de Vuestra Excelencia y a quien la Mag[estad]/ Divina a puesto para su mayor resta[u]-/raçion, queda este cavildo y vasal[los]/ de Su Magestad pidiendo a Dios guarde la p[er]-/40sona y grandessa de Vuestra Excelencia pa[ra]/ [fol. 397r] la

zeal to return for the cause of God and assistance to the royal service, let it be determined with all attention paid to the very least that it may cost Your Catholic Majesty from the Royal Assets, should New Mexico undergo a new conquest, a written report about which the Reverend Father visitor and procurator general of this kingdom, Friar Francisco de Ayeta. Due to [his] charity, zeal and great care the army detachment is today present in this field at the orders of the governor and captain general, who, thanks to his many labors, courage, great care and vigilance, was the main instrument whereby we did not all perish. [He went] forth with two wounds to the face and a bullet wound in the chest, and as unclad as his subjects, to whose aid came said reverend father, providing everything from head to toe, and to the women and children, remedying their nakedness as well, in which he spent more than thirteen to fourteen thousand pesos. Like the governor, who at the exit from the siege of the township gave of his belongings everything the people following him could carry, in order to make the journey to this place; very special services to His Majesty from both persons. The delay of the documents, Most Excellent Lord, has been due to the many dangers and lack of equipment, since up until a short distance from here, where this army is at present, they have come with weapons in their hands and the enemy in sight. Of everything that may come to pass, notice will be given to Your Excellency, in whose greatness and as the one who has so greatly fostered this miserable kingdom in throughout the wise government of Your Excellency and whom the Divine Majesty has put in place for its greater restoration, this municipal council and vassals of His Majesty are asking God to keep the person

dilatacion de la propagaçion y monar-/quia.  
Plassa de armas de el Passo del rio/ del  
Norte y otubre a 12 de 1680 años./  
Excelentissimo Señor b[esa] los pies de/5  
Vuestra Excelencia este cavildo justiçia y  
re-/ximiento./ Francisco Xavier  
[rubricado]/ Juan Luzero de Godoy  
[rubricado]/ Gregorio de Valdes  
[rubricado]/10 Luis Granillo [rubricado]/  
Alonso del Rio [rubricado]/ Por mandado  
del cavildo justiçia y regimiento./ Bachiller  
Francisco de Belasco [rubricado]/  
Escrivano de cavildo/ [fol. 397v] [una  
página en blanco]

**[Madrid, 25 de junio de 1680. Cédula del Rey al Virrey apoyando Nuevo México]**

[fol. 398r] [arriba al centro: El Rey]/  
Conde de Paredes Marques de la Laguna,  
pariente, de mi Consejo/ Camara y Junta de  
Guerra de Yndias a quien he proveido por  
mi Virrey governador/ y capitán general de  
las provincias de la Nueva España y  
presidente de mi Audiencia Real de/  
Mexico o a la persona o personas a cuyo  
cargo fuere su gobierno./5 Don fray Payo  
de Rivera ar[ç]obispo de la yglesia  
metropolitana de esa/ ciudad de Mexico,  
vuestro antecesor en los cargos de virrey,  
en carta de diez/ y nueve de junio del año  
pasado de mil y seiscientos y setenta y

and greatness of Your Excellency for [fo1.  
397r] the expansion of the gospel mission  
and monarchy. Encampment of El Paso del  
Rio del Norte, October 12, 1680. Most  
Excellent Lord, this municipal council,  
justice and government kiss the feet of  
Your Excellency. Francisco Xavier  
[rubric]. Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric].  
Gregorio de Valdes [rubric]. Luis Granillo  
[rubric]. Alonso del Rio [rubric]. By  
order of the municipal council, justice and  
government. Bachelor Francisco de  
Velasco [rubric], Scribe of the municipal  
council [fo1. 397v a blank page].

**Madrid, June 25, 1680. Edict of the King to the Viceroy in Support of New Mexico**

[fol. 398r] [Upper center: The King<sup>1</sup>],  
Count of Paredes,<sup>2</sup> Marquis of La Laguna,  
relative, member of my Council, Chamber  
and War Council of the Indies,<sup>3</sup> whom I  
have provided as my viceroy, governor and  
captain general of the Provinces of New  
Spain and president of my Royal Tribunal  
of Mexico, or to the person or persons  
under whose charge its government may  
be. Don Friar Payo de Rivera, Archbishop  
of the Metropolitan Church of that City of  
Mexico, your predecessor in the office of  
viceroy, in a letter of June 19 of the past  
year of 1679, indicates that, as per the edict

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<sup>1</sup> Carlos II.

<sup>2</sup> Tomas Antonio Manuel de la Cerda y Aragón, born December 24, 1638. He was the third Marquis of La Laguna de Camero-Viejo, Field Commander of the Third Provincial of the Militia of Seville, Minister of the Council and House of Indies, Captain General of the Ocean Sea, Steward of Queen Mariana of Bavaria and viceroy and Captain General of New Spain, which he governed from November 30, 1680 until 1686. Married to Maria Luisa Manrique de Lara y Lujan Gonzaga, Countess of Paredes de Nava ([www.abcgenealogia.com/delaCerde00.html#CerdeXIII](http://www.abcgenealogia.com/delaCerde00.html#CerdeXIII) y Castañeda Iturbide 1985:138).

<sup>3</sup> This Council was created by royal decree on September 14, 1519 within the Council of Castile. On August 1, 1524, under the presidency of Cardinal Loaysa it was already organized as an independent body. After the king, this organism was the highest administrative legislative authority concerning the Americas. The agreements it adopted passed on to the King, who then reviewed them and decreed its final decision. The agreements were then enacted and executed ([www.puc.cl/sw\\_educ/historia/america/html/1\\_1\\_3.html](http://www.puc.cl/sw_educ/historia/america/html/1_1_3.html)).

nuebe/ refiere que por zedula de diez y ocho de junio de mil seiscientos y se-/tenta y ocho le approve el socorro de gente armas y cavallos que/10 el año de seiscientos y setenta y siete remitió a las provincias del Nuevo/ Mexico. Y que con ocasion de haverla hecho notoria al custodio de ellas/ le representó el fruto y logro que se consiguió con dicho socorro y le pro-/puso que para la mayor seguridad de aquellas provincias serian ne-/cesarios otros cinquenta soldados. Y que con ellos se formase un pre-/sidio por tiempo de diez años por lo menos armados y pagados/ en la forma y manera que se estila en la provincia de Sinaloa. Y que/ habiendo dado vista de ello al fiscal de esa audiencia le pareció suspen-/der por aora su execucion y el nuevo socorro que se pedia remi-/tiendome el testimonio que vino con su carta de la quenta y razon/20 que le dio el custodio de haver entregado el socorro referido al/ gobernador de dichas provincias y de la nueva representacion que le hizo para/ que con vista dello y del estado y necesidades en que se hallan/ [fol. 398v] y de los buenos efectos que resultaron del mandase lo que fue[se ser]/-vido. Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las Yndias con [lo]/ que en esta razon me escrivio fray Francisco de Ayeta custodio y [pro]-/curador general de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico de la orden de San Francisco en [car]-/5ta de veinte y ocho de mayo de mil seiscientos y setenta y nuebe y los te[sti]-/monios que él y mi ar[ç]obispo virrey remitieron tocantes a [esta]/ materia y lo que sobre todo pidio mi fiscal ha parecido orden[aros]/ y mandaros (como por la presente os ordeno y mando) que ha[vien]-/doos ynformado de los adelantamientos que tiene la com[ber]-/10sion de los indios de las dichas provincias del Nuevo Mexico ([pues]/

of June 18, 1678, I approved the aid of people, weapons and horses that in the year 1677 he sent to the provinces of New Mexico. And once it was made known to the guardian of the provinces, he told him of the good outcome and success that was attained with said aid, and he proposed to him that, for the greater security of those provinces, another fifty soldiers would be necessary. And that with them a garrison be established for a period of at least ten years, armed and paid in the same way and form as in the province of Sinaloa. And having served notice of it to the crown attorney of that commission, he chose to suspend its execution for now, as well as the new aid that was requested. [He sent] to me the testimony that came with his letter of the account that the guardian gave him of having handed over the aforementioned aid to the governor of said provinces and of the new presentation that he made to him, so that, with knowledge of it, and of the state and need they find themselves in [fo1. 398v] and of the good effects that resulted from it, I might send what I could. And having seen in my Royal Council of the Indies what regarding this Friar Francisco de Ayeta, guardian and procurator general of the provinces of New Mexico of the Order of St. Francis, wrote to me in a letter May 28, 1679, and the testimonies that he and my archbishop viceroy sent concerning this matter, and above all what my crown attorney asked me, I have chosen to order you and command you (and I order and command you by means of this letter) that, having been informed of the progress made in the missions among the Indians of the said provinces of New Mexico (since you know that this is my main concern and desire) and since you are aware that this obligation is being carried out by the ministers charged with its administration,

saveis que esto es mi principal cuydado y deseo) y cons[tando]-/os que se cumple con esta obligazion por los ministros a qu[ienes]/ está encargada su administrazion doctrina y enseña[nza]/ apliqueis todos los medios que os fueren posibles para el [socorro]/ 15 y defensa de aquellas provincias y sus conversiones en la [for]-/ma que tubieredes por mas combeniente y necesario pa[ra]/ que se consiga asi la conducion y conversion de los yndios y [na]-/turales de ellas a nuestra santa fee catholica como la conserva[cion]/ de lo descubierto y que se fuere descubriendo. Y de lo que en es[ta obra]-/20redes y efectos que de ello resultaren me dareis qu[enta]/ en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieren teniendo e[n]-/tendido quedo con toda confianca de que apli[ca]-/reis a esto toda vuestra atencion y cuidado par[a]/ [fol. 399r] que se consiga el mayor servicio de Dios y mio/ en que me dare de vos por bien servido. Fecha en Madrid a veinte/ y cinco de junio de mil y seiscientos y ochenta años./ Yo el Rey [rubricado]/5 Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor./ Don Joseph de Veitia Linage [rubricado]/ [en medio de la página: rúbrica]/ Al Virrey de la Nueva España que haviendose informado de los adelan-/tamientos que tiene la conversion de los yndios de las provincias de la Nueva Mexico y cons-/tandole que se cumple con esta obligazion aplique todos los medios posibles para/ 10 su socorro y defensa./ Asentada [rúbrica]/ [fol. 399v] [parte superior de la página: cuatro rúbricas]/

indoctrination and teaching, you are to apply all the means possible to you to the aid and defense of those provinces and their missions, in the manner you may deem most suitable and necessary. [All this] so that thereby the Indians and natives of them may be successfully led and converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, and that what has been discovered and what might be discovered may be safeguarded. And concerning what you do in this regard and the effects that result from it, you will render an account to me whenever the occasion may offer itself, having understood, I retain utter confidence that you will apply your entire attention and care to this matter, so that [fol. 399r] the greatest service to God and to me may be rendered, in which I will consider myself well served by you. Made in Madrid on June 25, 1680. I the King [rubric]. By mandate of the King Our Lord. Don Joseph de Veitia Linage<sup>4</sup> [rubric]. [in the middle of the page:] [rubric]. To the viceroy of New Spain who, having been informed of the progress of the mission among the Indians of the provinces of New Mexico and confirming that this obligation is being fulfilled, he shall apply all means necessary to its aid and defense. Certified rubric [fol. 399v] upper part of the page: four rubrics

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<sup>4</sup> Born in Burgos in 1620, this writer and administrator served as royal judge (oidor) and superintendent of the Puebla Mint in Mexico. He returned to Spain in 1641, was secretary of New Spain affairs and worked in the house of Trade in Seville and in that of the Indies. In 1672 he wrote *Norte de la contratación de las Indias Occidentales* (Guide to Trade in the West Indies). He died in Madrid in 1688.

**[México, 7 de enero de 1681. Carta de Ayeta al Virrey, donde expone su petición de ayuda para Nuevo México]**

[fol. 400r] Excelentísimo Señor/ fray Francisco de Ayeta, commissario del Santo Ofizio/ vissitador y procurador general de las misiones de la/ Nueva Mexico, digo que aora llegó a mí notiçia que Vuestra Excelencia/ 5 se ha servido de combocar a junta general para reconozzer/ en ella lo pedido por el señor fiscal con vista de los autos y car-/tas remitidas por el suplicante dando notiçia de la miserable/ y lastimosa ruina que ha padeçido aquel reyno con el alza-/miento impensado de los yndios christianos de los pueblos/ 10 circunveçinos de él haçiendo tantos insultos y muertes como de/ los autos consta. Y porque esta materia es de la gravedad/ que se deja considerar y su determinaçion pende de la particu-/lar inspeccion de ellos parece que, siendo Vuestra Excelencia servido, se pudie-/ra suspender la resoluçion por tener que representar a la/15 grandeça de Vuestra Excelencia que cada que me mande executar lo hare/ con toda obediencia y promptitud y para ello se ha de servir Vuestra Excelencia/ de conçederme siquiera veinte y quatro horas de término/ por haver llegado tan estropeado del camino y con muy poca/ salud por lo dilatado del viage. Y siendo neçessario y com-/20beniente el que pueda informar en la junta a voca o en la/ forma que Vuestra Excelencia me mandare asistire con todo rendimiento cer-/ca de lo que en la materia alcançare. Y respecto de que/ acavo de reçevir la real cedula que presento con la solemnidad/ neçessaria dirigida a Vuestra Excelencia en que Su Magestad manda se/25 asista a aquella provinçia con todo lo

**Mexico, January 7, 1681. Letter of Ayeta to the Viceroy, Wherein He Details His Petition of Aid for New Mexico**

[fol. 400r] Most Excellent Lord, I, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, visitor and procurator general of the missions of New Mexico, say that now that the news has reached me that Your Excellency has been pleased to convoke a general council in order to recognize what was requested by the Lord Crown Attorney after seeing the writs and letters sent by the petitioner, giving news of the miserable and dreadful ruin which that kingdom has undergone with the unforeseen uprising of the Christian Indians of the pueblos and their outlying areas causing so many offenses and deaths, as are recorded in the writs. And because this matter is of the gravity should be considered, and its determination depends on the particular inspection of them, it seems that, if Your Excellency is so pleased, the resolution could be suspended, in order to present to the greatness of Your Excellency that when he asks me to proceed with it I will do so with all obedience and promptness. And for that, may Your Excellency be pleased to grant me at least twenty-four hours of time, for I have arrived so worn out from the journey and in very poor health due to the great length of the trip. And since it is necessary and suitable that I might give an oral report in the council, or in whatever form Your Excellency might order me, I will assist with all my ability in whatever I may achieve in the matter. And in that regard, I just received the royal edict that I present with the necessary solemnity addressed to Your Excellency, in which His Majesty orders that the province be aided with

que fuere neçessario/ para su conservaçon y ordena se le haga informe en lo/ que en ella se expresa, Vuestra Excelencia con su vista resolvera en todo/ lo que combenga al mayor serviçio de Su Magestad, conservazion/ y aumento de la fee catholica alivio y consuelo de aquellos/30 miserables vassallos, fomento de la poblazon de aquel/ [fol. 400v] reyno y reduccion de los yndios apostatas al gremio/ de la Santa Yglesia. Vuestra Excelencia con la providençia y çelo que/ acostumbra resolvera lo que tubiere por mas combeniente./ Mexico y henero 7 de 1681 años./5 Fray Francisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/

**[México, 7 de enero de 1681. Resolución de la Junta General de hacienda]**

En la Junta General de Hazienda de siete de henero de mil seissientos y ochenta y/ un años en que con Su Excelencia asistieron los señores licenciado don Juan Miguel de/ Agurto y Salçedo cavallero del orden de Alcantara; licenciado don Gon[ç]alo Sua-/res de San Martin oydores de esta Real Audiencia; licenciado don Jacinto de Vargas/10 Campusano y licenciado don Augustin Felix Maldonado alcaldes del crim[en]/ de ella; presentes los señores fiscales de Su Magestad don Francisco de Prado/ y Castro contador del Tribunal de Quantas de esta Nueva España, factor don Fernando/ de Deza y Ulloa,

everything that might be necessary for its protection, and orders that a report be made for him regarding what is expressed in it, After Your Excellency sees it, you will decide in all matters what is most suitable to the greatest service of His Majesty, the preservation and increase of the Catholic faith, the relief and comfort of those miserable vassals, the promotion of the settlement of that[fol. 400v] kingdom and the return of the apostate Indians to the bosom of the Holy Church. Your Excellency, with your customary providence and zeal, will decide what you shall consider most suitable. Mexico, January 7, 1681. Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric].

**Mexico, January 7, 1681. Resolution of the General Council of the Treasury**

In the general council of the Treasury of January 7, 1681, in which, together with His Lordship, were present the honorable Licentiate Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo,<sup>1</sup> Knight of the Order of Alcantara; Licentiate Don Gonzalo Suares de San Martin,<sup>2</sup> judges of this Royal Commission; Licentiate Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano<sup>3</sup> and Licentiate Don Augustin Felix Maldonado, criminal magistrates of the Commission; also present were the Lords Royal Attorney of His Majesty Don Francisco de Prado y Castro, accountant of the Tribunal of Accounts of this New Spain, Viceregal

<sup>1</sup> Born in Soria, Spain, he is recorded as a member of the Order of Alcantara since 1662 (www.buber.net/Basque/Surname/A/Aburto.html).

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to King from 1649 a lawyer and prosecutor of the same name is mentioned in Santa Fe de Bogota (A.G.I., Santa Fe, R5,N. 58, transcription by Micaela Carrera de la Red).

<sup>3</sup> He was royal judge (juez oidor) of the Commission of Santa Fe Bogota and made an official visit to the province of Cartagena de Indias in 1675 (Julián Ruiz Rivera, “La provincia de Cartagena de Indias en 1675”. *Ensayos Históricos*, Vol. 1, n° 13, pág 11).

thesorero don Antonio del Rosal y contador don/ Sebastian de Gusman y Cordova juezes ofiziales reales de esta corte;/15 don Antonio de la Vega y Noroña contador general de los reales tributos/ y a[ç]ogues de este reyno. Haviendo visto y hechoso relazion/ de las cartas y demas diligencias tocantes al alzamiento de la/ Nueva Mexico escritas por el padre custodio fray Francisco de Ayeta/ se resolvio que dicho padre custtodio informe por escrito todo lo/20 que tuviere por conveniente para que se vea en la junta que se for-/mará para la resolucion de esta materia el viernes diez/ del corriente; y assi lo resolvieron y rubricaron con Su Excelencia./ Emendado ‘diez’. Vale./ Su Excelencia./25 Señores Agurto, San Martin, Vargas, Maldonado, presentes los señores/ fiscales de Su Magestad Prado, Deza, Rosal, Gusman, Noroña./ [fol. 401r] [una página en blanco] [fol. 401v] [una página en blanco] [fol. 402r] [una página en blanco] [fol. 402v] [una página en blanco]

**[El Paso, 15 de octubre de 1680. Petición de ayuda de varios padres al Virrey]**

[fol. 403r] Yllustrissimo Reverendissimo y Excelentissimo Señor/ El aservo dolor que ocupa nuestros corazones por el estrago y/ lamentable desdicha que por divina permission a susedido/ en este reyno sera ocasion para no poder expresar a Vueselencia/5 todo lo que se debe llorar y sentir en tanta lastima. Y ya/ que en medio de calamidad semejante nos proveyo Dios para/ alivio en la pena a nuestro reverendo padre visitador fray Francisco de Ayeta/

Tribute Collector Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa,<sup>4</sup> Treasurer Don Antonio del Rosal and Accountant Don Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova, royal judge officers of this Court; Don Antonio de la Vega y Noroña, accountant general of the royal tributes and commerce of this kingdom. Having seen and made a report of the letters and other proceedings regarding the New Mexico uprising written by the Father Guardian Friar Francisco de Ayeta, it was resolved that said father guardian should report in writing everything he might hold advisable, to be seen in the council that will be formed for the resolution of this matter Friday the 10th of this month; and thus they decided and placed their rubric with His Lordship. Emended “10th”. Stet. His Lordship. Honorable Agurto, San Martin, Vargas, Maldonado, present also the Lords Crown Attorney of His Majesty Prado, Deza, Rosal, Guzman, Noroña. [fo1. 401r a blank page, fo1. 401v a blank page, fo1. 402r a blank page, fo1. 402v a blank page].

**El Paso, October 15, 1680. Petition for Aid from Various Fathers to the Viceroy**

[fo1. 403r] Very Illustrious Most Reverend and Most Excellent Lord, the bitter pain that is in our hearts at the ravage and lamentable misfortune which, by divine permission, has taken place in this kingdom, will be the occasion for not being able to express to Your Excellency all that should be wept over and felt with so much sorrow. And since in the midst of such a calamity God provided our reverend father visitor Friar Francisco de Ayeta for relief

<sup>4</sup> He likely died in 1718, given that in that year a case file was opened regarding “discovering the whereabouts of the writs drawn up regarding the goods seized on the death of the Accountant General of Tributes, Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa ” ([www.history.vt.edu/Arnold/AGN/Civil/siglosviii1700.htm](http://www.history.vt.edu/Arnold/AGN/Civil/siglosviii1700.htm)).



para que en presencia de Vueselencia y su real acuerdo aga viva relacion/ por nosotros de todo lo susedido, como quien tan de serca lo a experi-/10mentado, nos remitimos a su verífica relacion en la qual/ tendra Vueselencia mucho que sentir por la ternura con que su amor/ avia abrasado este pobre y desamparado reyno donde nun-/ca experimentamos alivios asta que Vueselencia padre piadoso lo/ socorrio charitativo. Y quando los trabajos son con exseso grandes/15 por allarnos gravados de asistir a todo el real que salio lastimo-/samente perdido y derrotado con otro troso de yndios naturales de/ la tierra y ser nesario asistir nuestro cuydado a su consuelo y alimento/ y ser los bastimentos no solo pocos pero muy escasos para tanto numero,/ pudiera ser mucha aflicssion para nuestros corazones pero nos a exonerado/ 20 desta penosa carga el piadoso zelo y solicitud charitativa de nuestro/ padre visitador, el qual nos a ayudado a expensas de mucho costo con/ mil y seissientas rezes y otra porsion de bastimentos, interin que llega/ a obrar la piedad de vueselencia en quien esperamos el total remedio/ para nuestro alivio. Y este es el punto que nos tiene en sumo consuelo/25 y la calamidad de allarnos en el desabrigo de los campos/ a todos los rigores del tiempo no labra ninguna pena/ en nuestros corazones, conque pasaremos consolados con los auxi-/lios del cielo y sombra de Vueselencia./ Señor, para asegurar que toda la gente derrotada no se desmenbrase/30 y desamparase totalmente el reyno fue nesario que nuestro padre/ visitador hiziese la dicha provission de ganados y bastimentos y quedase/ la mitad de los carros conduciendo a toda deligencia dicho socorro/ que en el tiempo a sido muy costoso por aver sido año de gran/ calamidad por las muchas aguas, que en

from suffering, so that in Your Excellency's presence and your Royal Tribunal he may make a vivid report of all that happened to us, as one who experienced it first hand, we refer to his truthful account in which Your Excellency will have much at which to be moved for the tenderness with which his love had embraced this poor and helpless kingdom where we never experienced relief until Your Excellency, merciful Father, charitably sent aid. And when the labors are excessive, because we find ourselves burdened with assisting the whole force that went out deplorably lost and defeated with another group of Indians native to that land, and it being necessary to assist in our care its consolation and nourishment, and with the provisions not only limited but scarce for such a great number, and could be too much affliction for our hearts, the pious zeal and charitable kindness of Our Father Visitor freed us from this terrible burden. He helped us at great personal expense with one thousand six hundred head of cattle and another portion of provisions, while the mercy of Your Excellency, in whom we hope for the complete solution for our relief, is at work. And this is the point that keeps us totally comforted, and the calamity of finding ourselves exposed in the fields to all the rigors of the weather instills no grief in our hearts. So we will go on consoled with the help of Heaven and the shadow of Your Excellency. Sir, in order to assure that all the defeated people were not completely scattered and the kingdom not completely abandoned, it was necessary for our father visitor to make the said provision of livestock and supplies, and that half of the wagons remain, bringing said aid with the greatest care, which in time has been very costly due to it having been a year of great

todo a querido Dios regalar-/35nos con trabajos. Y no lloramos al presente la sangre derra-/mada de veynte y un hermanos nuestros, pues dellos resulta/ para nosotros y nuestra sagrada religion tan adelantados/ credits y tanta honra y gloria a Dios y su yglessia. Sí llora-/mos y lloraremos por muchos siglos el malogro en/40 nuestros trabajos en la dolorosa apostasia de tantos/ [fol. 403v] christianos con tantos años de enseñanza y conosimiento/ de Dios. Este, Señor, es el dolor solo que sin consuelo humano/ aflige nuestros corazones junto con la ciega prophanasion [del]/ sagrado culto ultrage de los vasos sagrados destroso de yma[ge]-/5nes e yncendio de templos. Pero en manos de Vueselencia [está]/ con el ayuda de Dios el remedio de todo. Nuestro Señor nos [con]-/ceda y guarde a Vueselencia con la felicidad que nuestra gratitud de[ssea]./ Passo y octubre 15 de 1680 años./ Yllustrissimo Reverendissimo y Excelentissimo Señor besan los pies/ 10 de Vueselencia sus mas afectos y rendidos capellan[es]./ Fray Juan Alvarez [rubricado] Difinidor/ Fray Nicolas Hurtado [rubricado] Difinidor/ Fray Thomas de Tobalina [rubricado] Difinidor/ Fray Francisco Muñoz [rubricado] Difinidor/

**[Río del Norte, 16 de octubre de 1680. Carta del Cabildo al Virrey]**

[fol. 404r] Exçelentissimo Señor/ Aunque tiene ynformado a Vuestra Excelencia este cavildo de la/ ruina y pérdida de el Nuevo Mexico por el alsamien-/to general de los yndios y lo que a Vuestra Excelencia se pide para/5 la nueba conquista de dicho reino atendiendo como/ se deve a su maior conservacion y reparo previ-/niendo los

calamity thanks to the many rains. And in everything God has willed to reward us with labors. And at present we do not weep over the blood of twenty-one of our brothers poured out, since from them derives for us and our holy Order such advanced credit and so much honor and glory to God and His Church. Yes, we weep and will weep for many centuries over the failure in our labors of the sorrowful apostasy of so many [fo1. 403v] Christians with so many years of teaching and knowledge of God. This, Sir, is the pain, which without any human consolation, afflicts our hearts, together with the blind profanation of sacred worship, the outrage against the sacred vessels, the destruction of images, and the burning of churches. Yet in Your Excellency's hands lies, with God's help, the solution of everything. May Our Lord grant it to us and keep Your Excellency with the happiness that our gratitude desires. El Paso, October 12, 1680. Very Illustrious Most Reverend and Most Excellent Sir, your fondest and most devoted chaplains kiss the feet of Your Excellency. Friar Juan Alvarez [rubric]. Definitor Friar Nicolas Hurtado [rubric]. Definitor Friar Tomas de Tobalina [rubric]. Definitor Friar Francisco Muñoz [rubric], Definitor.

**Rio del Norte, October 16, 1680. Letter of the Council to the Viceroy**

[fol. 404r] Most Excellent Sir: Although this council has informed Your Excellency of the ruin and loss of New Mexico due to the general uprising of the Indians and what is requested of Your Excellency for the new conquest of said kingdom, attending, as it should be, to its greatest safeguarding and restoration, preventing

graves daños que se orijinan y los que se/  
an experimentado de disimular que los  
yndios/ de este reino sean admitidos en el  
de la Viscaia/10 y sus jurisdicçiones donde  
an bisto muchos malos/ susesos en carros y  
recuas de que cobran grande/ abilantez  
notiçando a las demas naçiones es/ mui  
nesesario que Vuestra Excelencia mande  
con reales proviçiones/ so graves penas a  
las dichas justiçias de la Bisca-/15ya y  
otras partes no permitan en sus territo-/rios  
a ningun natural de el Nuevo Mexico.  
Antes/ sí, los manden se vaian a los  
pueblos de don-/de son naturales y que  
agan vesindad en e-/llos, mui en particular  
mucha cantidad/20 de yndios piros y de  
otras naçiones que oy se/ allan en la  
conversion de Guadalupe del/ Passo  
adonde se a congregado la jente de/ quatro  
pueblos que son Senecu Socorro Alami-/llo  
y Sevilleta sin otros muchos de otras/25  
naçiones que abisados unos de otros se an/  
congregado a su bivir con no mucha suje-  
çion desamparando sus pueblos en el Nue-  
/[fol. 404v]vo Mexico, de que se a seguido  
dar mucha entra[da]/ a los henemigos  
ynfieles que an echo ar-/to destroso en  
dichos pueblos, pues aun/ antes del  
alsamiento general estaban des[ier]-/5tos y  
los ynfieles mas abilantados/ y los  
congregados donde no ai ninguna besin-  
/dad de españoles en muchas leguas y/ mui  
çircunbesinos a muchisimo num[e]-/ro de  
naçiones jentiles y todos a la pri-/10mer  
puerta y entrada del Nuevo Mexico a-/  
donde queda oy este exerçito con el m[es]-  
/mo reselo que entre los alsados henemi-  
/gos. Porque suplica este cavildo a Vuestra  
Excelencia man[de]/ esta matheria de  
manera que se consiga [con]/15 efecto y  
como mandato de tan gran prin[cipe]/ y si a  
ella Señor se le agregase el que los vesinos/  
españoles naturales de este reyno que se  
an/ retirado del haçiendo poblaçon en

the serious harm that originates and has  
been experienced from allowing that the  
Indians of this kingdom be admitted into  
that of Viscaya and its jurisdictions, where  
many bad occurrences have been seen in  
wagons and pack trains of which they  
display great insolence, giving notice to  
other nations, it is quite necessary that  
Your Excellency order with royal  
provisions, under grave penalties, that said  
justices of Viscaya and other parts not  
allow into their territories any native of  
New Mexico. Better yet, let them order  
them to go to their native pueblos and to  
settle in them, most particularly, a great  
number of Piro Indians and those of other  
nations that today are in the mission of  
Guadalupe del Paso, where the people of  
the four pueblos of Senecu, Socorro,  
Alamillo and Sevilleta have congregated.  
Not to mention many of other nations who,  
communicating amongst one another, have  
gathered together to live without much  
supervision, abandoning their pueblos in  
New [fol. 404v] Mexico, which had led to  
opening the way to the infidel enemies who  
have wrought great devastation in said  
pueblos. For even before the general  
uprising they were deserted, and the  
infidels more insolent, and those  
congregated where there are no  
communities of Spaniards for many  
leagues and in close proximity to a great  
number of gentile nations and all at the  
first gateway and entry to New Mexico,  
where today this army is, with the same  
suspicion as amongst the enemy  
insurgents. For this council implores Your  
Excellency to command this matter so as to  
be achieved effectively, and as the mandate  
of such a great Prince and if to it, Sir, it  
were to be added that the resident  
Spaniards, natives of this kingdom, who  
have withdrawn from it, settling in Casas

Casas Gr[an]-/des y otros partidos dejando la ocupacion/20 del real serviçio y muchos de mas de dies a[ños]/ a esta parte y otros que salen fuxitivos, que-/dandose perdidos de un gobierno a otro,/ fuera tambien Señor de mucha consecu[en]-/çia que bolviesen a su patria y asistiesen al/25 real serviçio. Y el que saliese sin liçençia del/ governador, aunque fuese por el tiempo de la p[a]-/sifiçation, que se castigue. En todo mandar[á]/ Vuestra Excelencia lo que fuere servido, que sera lo mas as[er]-/tado, como se expera de la grandessa de Vuestra Excelencia/30 y quien tanto a favorecido este reyno duran[te]/ el gobierno de tan gran señor. Guarde Dios a Vuestra Excelencia/ como a menester este reyno y basallos de Su M[agestad]/ para mas vien emplearse en el serviçio de las majes[ta]-/des. Plasa de armas del rio del Norte i octubre a 16 de 1680 años./35

Exçelentissimo [superpuesto: mo] Señor bes[a] los pies de Vuestra Excelencia este cavildo jus[tiçia]/ y reximiento./ Bachiller Francisco de Belasco [rubricado] Escrivano de cavildo/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/40 Luis [Gran]illo [rubricado]/ Gregorio de Valdes [rubricado]/ Alonso del Rio [rubricado]/ [fol. 405r] [una página en blanco] [fol. 405v] [una página en blanco, excepto en el margen inferior derecho: Nuebo Mexico]/ [fol. 406r] [una página en blanco] [fol. 406v] [una página en blanco] [fol. 407r] [una página en blanco] [fol. 407v] [una página en blanco] [fol. 408r] [al margen superior izquierdo: Mexico 9 de henero de 1681/ Ponganse con lo autos tocantes/ a esta materia para la junta

Grandes and other areas, leaving the occupation of the royal service, and many for more than ten years in this area<sup>1</sup> and others who leave as fugitives who, giving themselves for lost from one government to another, it would also be, Sir, of great consequence were they to return to their homeland<sup>2</sup> and assist in the royal service. And whomsoever should leave without permission of the Governor, even though it were for the time of the pacification, let him be punished. In everything Your Excellency will order what pleases you, which will be what is most correct, as is expected from the greatness of Your Excellency, who has so favored this kingdom during the government of such a great Lord. God keep Your Excellency as this kingdom needs and the vassals of His Majesty so as to better engage in the service of the majesties. Encampment of Rio del Norte, October 16, 1680. Most Excellent Lord, this Council, Justice and Government kisses the feet of Your Excellency. Bachelor Francisco de Velasco [rubric]. Council Scribe Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Luis Granillo [rubric]. Gregorio de Valdes [rubric]. Alonso del Rio [rubric]. [fol. 405r a blank page], [fol. 405v a blank page, except in the lower right margin: New Mexico [fol. 406r a blank page], [fol. 406v a blank page], [fol. 407r a blank page], [fol. 407v a blank page], [fol. 408r at the upper left margin: Mexico, January 2, 1681 To be placed with the writs regarding this matter for general council.] Rubric.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to this statement, many people in New Mexico had deserted to Nueva Vizcaya for over a decade.

<sup>2</sup> The request is that those who recently left as well as those who left years ago return to New Mexico.

<sup>3</sup> No doubt that this letter is in the handwriting of Antonio de Otermin himself, judging by the similarity of features observed in the penstrokes of this letter with Otermin's signature.

general]./ [rúbrica]/

**[El Paso, 20 de octubre de 1680. Carta de Otermín al Virrey]**

Exçelentísimo Señor/ Aunque escribo a Vuestra Exçelencia junto con el cavildo/ y vera por los autos el infeliz y lamentable/ suceso acaecido en este miserable y desgraçado/5 reyno, que tan a costa del desvelo y socorros de/ Vuestra Exçelencia se via ya, si no en la opulencia de lo/ que fue, en la mayor paz y tranquilidad que/ de muchos años a esta parte avia experimentado, y en visperas de ser mas del que tuvo, con las/10 esperanças de la reduçion a nuestra santa fee de la inu-/merable y velicosa nazione de los yutas (de la/ qual tengo ya notiçado en otra a Vuestra Exçelencia) afi-/anzadas en la estrecha amistad y union que/ hemos experimentado en el tiempo de tres años/15 que los tratamos por la preçisa obligaçion que me/ corre lo hago por darle parte a Vuestra Exçelencia y ente-/rarle de algunos puntos que me an parecido/ los mas esenciales para el mayor serviçio/ de Su Magestad en el bien y conservaçiones de estos/20 reynos fiado en las pocas esperiençias que he/ podido adquirir en ocho años que he tratado/ en estas partes aviendola corrido por todas./ Y antes de entrar en el discurso de ellos digo,/ Señor (como lo advierto arriva), que este la-/25mentable fracaso a suzedido en el tiempo/ de mayor paz asi dentro como fuera del/ reyno con los enemigos, pues avia muchos/ meses que no nos avian hecho daño de consi-/derazion,/ [fol. 408v] ostigados de los muchos castigos que experimentar[on]/ en virtud del liberal socorro de ombres armas y/ cavallos que hizo Vuestra Exçelencia en visperas y a vista de su/ mayor ruina mereziendolo asi mis pecados. Que/ 5 si

**El Paso, October 20, 1680. Letter of Otermin to the Viceroy**

Most Excellent Lord. Although I write to Your Excellency together with the council, and you will see by means of the writs the unhappy and deplorable occurrence that took place in this miserable and disgraced kingdom, that at the cost of such concern and aid of Your Excellency was already, if not in its prior opulence, in the greatest peace and tranquility that had been experienced in these parts. And on the eve of being more than what it had, with hopes of bringing to our Holy Faith the numerous and bellicose nation of the Utes (of which I already gave news to Your Excellency in another letter) bound in the strong friendship and union that we have experienced throughout three years in which we dealt with them. For the precise obligation that urges me, I do so in order to report to Your Excellency and inform you of some points that have seemed to me to be the most essential for the greatest service to His Majesty for the good and protection of these kingdoms, trusting in the little experience that I have been able to acquire in eight years that I operated in these parts, having traveled all throughout them. And before entering into the subject of them, I say, Sir (as I note above), that this deplorable catastrophe has taken place in the time of greatest peace, both within as outside the kingdom, with our enemies, since it had been many months since they had done us any harm of note, [fol. 408v] harassed by the many punishments they experienced in virtue of the generous aid of men, weapons and horses that Your Excellency made on the eve of and in view of its greatest ruin, as thus my sins

cupiera consuelo en el hecho lo fuera el no aver/ nazido esta ruyna ni por repartimientos ni otr[as]/ pensiones que agravasen estos indios. Y siendo el may[or]/ y el unico que tenian el de ayudar a cultivar [las]/ tierras para cojer el forzoso alimento. Aun en e[so],/10 para que no se excediese de lo forzoso, puedo asegu[rar]/ a Vuestra Exçelencia con toda verdad que en ningun otro tiem[po]/ fueron defendidos tanto como en el mio. Suppose/ la convocacion y alzamiento en la vispera del [dia]/ de la execuçion y, segun la situacion del reyn[o],/15 ha sido providencia divina el que escapase per[sona],/ porque para juntarse veynte ombres era m[enes]-/ter el término de ocho dias, aviendome alla[do]/ apenas con tres que llevasen las primeras noti[çias]/ a las jurisdiciones mas çercanas y nezarias. [No]/20 aviendo podido conseguir el que la tuviese el th[eniente]/ general del rio Abajo, por aver muerto en el cam[ino]/ al que la llevaba. Y aunque despachadas est[as]/ primeras notiçias, traté de procurar obiar la r[uina]/ que amenazava enbiando algunos ombres que [pude]/25 juntar de presto a la parte donde se deçia se f[ra]-/goava dicho alzamiento. No tuvo mas efecto que [el de]/ asegurar algunas familias y un religioso, por av[er]/ executado ya las muertes de los religiosos y ve[çinos]/ de las estancias mas apartadas alzando al mi[smo]/30 tiempo los ganados y cavalladas a las cumbres de [las sie]-/rras. Y en algunas partes que en virtud de mi pr[imer]/ orden y notiçia se pusieron de escolta para la cust[odia]/ y defensa de los conventos y religiosos algunos om[bres],/ como fueron en el pueblo de Galisteo

deserved. And if there were to be some consolation in the matter, it would be that this ruin did not spring either from forced labor or other hardships that aggravate these Indians.<sup>1</sup> And the greatest and only one they had was that of helping to farm the lands in order to gather the necessary food. Even in that, in order for what was necessary not to be exceeded, I can assure Your Excellency with all truth that in no other time were they as defended as in mine.<sup>2</sup> The convocation and uprising was discovered on the eve of the day of its execution. According to the situation of the kingdom, it has been by divine providence that any person escaped. For in order to gather twenty men, it took eight days, since I had scarcely three who could bring the first news to the nearest and most necessary jurisdictions, not being able to get it to the Lieutenant General of the Rio Abajo, due to the fact the messenger was killed on his way.<sup>3</sup> And even with these first reports dispatched, I attempted to try and head off the destruction that was threatening by sending men I managed to swiftly gather together to the area where it was said that said uprising was being plotted. The only effect it had was to save some families and one religious, because they had already dealt the deaths of the religious and residents of the most distant ranches, while at the same time carrying the livestock and horses high up into the mountains. And in some areas, which in virtue of my first order and report they put themselves on guard for the protection and defense of the convents and some men religious, such as those in the pueblo of Galisteo where the

<sup>1</sup> Otermín claims that the rebellion was not due to exploitation or taxation.

<sup>2</sup> Understood that the Indians were protected from the landowners' exploitation.

<sup>3</sup> Letters sent by Otermín never reached the hands of Alonso García because Indians killed the courier sent by him.

donde esta[va]/35 el custodio y en el pueblo de Santo Domingo dond[e es]-/tavan tres religiosos, la astuçia y malignidad [de]/ los indios fue tal que facilmente se persuadieron [a sus]/ aparentes razones de fidelidad, donde al menor [des]-/cuydo perdieron las vidas los religiosos y escolteros con [los]/ [fol. 409r] alcaldes mayores. A la notiçia de estos estragos,/ considerando que su última resolución avia/ de ser el venir con todas sus fuerzas a concluir con/ la villa, viendome sin esperanzas de socorro de/5 la parte única que podia tener, que era de la de don-/de estava el theniente general, como la mas de que se con-/ponia el reyno, por no aver podido adquirir/ ni saver notiçia alguna, traté de que se juntase to-/da la jente, asi de la villa como la de la jurisdicción de la/10 Cañada que estava recojida y fortalezida en casa/ del alcalde mayor de aquel partido en las casas/ reales y trinchearme y fortificarme lo mejor que/ pudiese para defenderme de las imbasiones de los/ alzados. Y aunque parezca superfluo es bien que/15 sepa Vuestra Exçelencia que estando dichas casas reales arruina-/das y cayendose con muchos portillos abiertos y/ aun sin puertas en la prinçipal pocos meses antes,/ por esta razon me puse a aderezarlas y se acabaron/ ocho dias antes del alzamiento, quedando de cali-/20dad que dentro de ellas cupieron mil y tantas per-/sonas çinco mil cavezas de ganado menor qua-/troçientas bestias cavallares y mulares y treçien-/tas reses bacunas sin enbarazarse. Porque/ al acaso de aliñarlas se devio escapasemos las/25 vidas aviendo experimentado despues el/ imposible de librarlas en otra parte. Y su-/puesto que de los autos consta lo que pasó

guardian was, and in the pueblo of Santo Domingo, where there were three religious, the shrewdness and malignancy of the Indians was such that [the Spaniards] were easily persuaded by their apparent demonstrations of fidelity, where at the smallest slip the religious and guards, along with the [fol. 409r] royal magistrates lost their lives. Upon hearing of these massacres, I considered that their final resolution would have been to come with all their force to destroy the township. I saw myself without hope of aid from the only place that could have it, which was where the Lieutenant General was, as well as the rest of the people that made up the kingdom. Due to not having been able to acquire or discover any news, I tried to gather together all of the people, both of the township and of the jurisdiction of Cañada, who were together and fortified in the house of the magistrate of that area into the governor's palace, and entrench and fortify myself to the best of my ability, in order to defend myself from the invasions of the insurgents. And although it may seem superfluous, it is good for Your Excellency to know that, with said governor's palace ruined and falling apart, with many open cracks, and even without gates on the main entrance just months before, I set about repairing it and it was finished eight days before the uprising. It was of such quality that within it fit around one thousand people, five thousand head of lesser livestock, four hundred horses and mules, and three hundred head of cattle without crowding.<sup>4</sup> For, due to the fact of corralling them, we were able to escape with our lives, having experienced how impossible it was to set them loose

<sup>4</sup> Here Otermín is trying to justify himself before the viceroy by indicating the preventive measures he had carried out shortly before the indigenous uprising.

en la villa/ y su destrucción y el aver sido forzoso el salir de/ ella a procurar incorporar {por} arme con la jente del/ 30 rio Abajo, suponiendo estarian fortalecidos o en el/ pueblo de La Isleta o en algunas de las mejores/ casas de los vecinos. Y el no averlos topado alli,/ si no es en el paraje de Fray Cristobal, y por la/ urgente nezesidad [d]e verme obligado a venir/35 en persona a solicitar algun socorro de bastimento/ a esta nueva conversion con el reverendo padre visitador fray Francisco/ de Ayeta. Y lo demas, asta la última conclusion/ del auto de remision, por no duplicar razones que/ embarazen el tiempo a Vuestra Exçelencia, omito el referirlas./40 Luego que llegué a vista de dicho reverendo padre y refe-/ridole la nezesidad que traya la jente, lo qual seria/ [fol. 409v] causa se fuese saliendo y aun esparramandose, Su/ Paternidad considerando lo que se seguiria de esto y lo que/ importava estuviese junta, asta que informado/ de todo Vuestra Exçelencia ordenase lo mas conveniente con la mag-/5nificencia de su corazon y con el celo del servicio de Dios/ y del Rey y lleno de caridad, despues de aver gastado/ en el socorro de la gente mas de doze mil pesos de ropa/ para conseguirlo, está aziendo por su quenta el gasto/ de diez fanegas de maiz y diez reses facunas al dia/10 para el gasto de esta jente con obligacion de azerlo asta q[ue]/ venga la resolucion de lo que Vuestra Exçelencia tomare. En lo q[ue se]/ le suplica, a lo qual añade Su Paternidad Reverenda el trabajo d[e po]-/nerse en camino tan largo a solicitar dicha súplica a l[os]/ pies de Vuestra Exçelencia. Y aunque el hecho se trae consigo [la]/15 recomendacion de las gracias de Vuestra Exçelencia, todavia por [no]/ faltar a la obligacion de agradecido en tamaño fa[vor],/ viendo que ni el mio ni el de todos puede ser bas[tante]/ (y solo lo a

anywhere else. And given that what happened in the township and its destruction is recorded in the dossiers, along with our forced exit from there in order to try and join up with the people of the Rio Abajo – assuming that they would be fortified either in the pueblo of La Isleta or in some of the better houses of the residents – and our not having found them there, but in the place of Fray Cristobal, and due to the urgent necessity of being obliged to come in person to this new mission with the Reverend Father Visitor Friar Francisco de Ayeta to request some aid of provisions. And the rest, until the final conclusion of the writ transmitted, in order not to duplicate information that takes up Your Excellency's time, I omit recounting. As soon as I arrived in view of said Reverend Father and referred to him the neediness of the people, which would be the cause [fol. 409v] of their leaving and even becoming scattered, His Paternity, considered what would follow from this and the importance of gathering together, until Your Excellency, informed of everything, would order what was most suitable with the magnificence of your heart and with the zeal for the service of God and of the King and full of charity. After having spent more than twelve thousand pesos for the people's aid on securing clothing, he is of his own account covering the expense of ten fanegas of corn and ten head of cattle per day for the use of this people, with the commitment to do so until whatever the arrival of whatever resolution Your Excellency might make. To what is requested, His Reverend Paternity adds the labor of setting off on such a long journey to make said plea at the feet of Your Excellency. And although the fact carries with it the recommendation of Your Excellency's thanks, nevertheless, so



sido el de Dios se lo pague), me veo forzado/ a suplicar a Vuestra Exçelencia nos desenepe en darselas po[r la]/20 que tiene tanto del serviçio de Dios y de Su Mag[estad]./ Tambien a importado mucho para el efecto [de]/ no estraviarse esta jente la diligencia del gov[ernador]/ don Bartolome de Estrada, cuyo tenor de su ma[nda]-/miento remito a Vuestra Exçelencia en los autos. Que aunqu[e]/25 en la fidelidad en el serviçio de Su Magestad son [tan]/ finos estos vasallos, el terror que les a cau[sado]/ el estrago executado de los indios en sus mugeres [ca]-/sas y ganados y el verse por esta causa falto de [las]/ cortas conveniencias que poseyan los pudiera [obli]-/30gar a soliqitarlas a partes que despues fuera [difi]-/çil el juntarlos. Y sin embargo por lo que pued[e su]-/çeder, en caso que Vuestra Exçelencia resuelva (como se esper[a])/ que se entre a conquistar y recuperar de nueb[o es]-/te reyno, sera muy inportante y nezesario ordene y m[ande] /35 Vuestra Exçelencia al dicho governador de la Vizcaya conpela y ap[remie]/ con todo rigor a los que puedan estar huydos en e[l dis]-/trito de su gobierno reconozcan este real quan[do]/ venga la dicha resoluçion de Vuestra Exçelencia./ [fol. 410r] En el punto que toca a suplicar a Vuestra Exçelencia este reyno/ en lo que sera nezesario para bolver a conquistar/ poblar y mantener este reyno se a mirado a que/ ni toque en superfluydad ni baje de lo forzoso/5 y nezesario que se considera conveniente. Y en esta/ atencion se espera de la grandeza del animo/ de Vuestra Exçelencia el favor cumplido y el de dar orden/ cómo sea sustentado esta jente aquel tiempo/ que huviere desde que coste aqui, la conçe-/10sion de la súplica a Vuestra

as not to fall short of the obligation of thanks for such a great favor, seeing that neither mine nor that of all can be (and it has only been “May God reward you”), I find myself forced to beseech that Your Excellency excuse us in thanking him for so much that he has done in the service of God and of His Majesty. The diligence of Governor Don Bartolome de Estrada was also of great importance for these people not being lost, to the tenor of whose order I refer Your Excellency in the writs. And although in fidelity to the service of His Majesty these vassals are so thorough, the terror caused in them by the massacre carried out by the Indians upon their women, homes and livestock, and seeing themselves for this reason without the few comforts they possessed could force them to seek them in places where later it would be difficult to bring them together. And nevertheless, due to what might happen, should Your Excellency resolve (as is hoped) that entry be made to newly conquer and recover this kingdom, it will be very important and necessary for Your Excellency to order and command<sup>5</sup> said governor of Vizcaya to compel and urge with all severity that those who might have fled to the district of his government place themselves under the authority of this army when said resolution of Your Excellency arrives [fol. 410r]. Regarding the request this kingdom must make to Your Excellency for what will be necessary to again conquer, settle and maintain this kingdom, an effort has been made to include nothing superfluous and to exclude nothing obligatory or necessary that is considered suitable. And with this in mind, from Your Excellency’s greatness of heart we await the granting of the favor and

<sup>5</sup> Otermín had already ordered that, without waiting for the viceroy’s approval.

Exçelencia asta el de entrar/ en el reyno. Pues la oferta y obligaçion de/ açerlo de dicho reverendo padre es asta que llegue la no-/tiçia de lo que Vuestra Exçelencia fuere servido ordenarnos,/ Señor, lo preçiso de la restauraçion de este reyno/15 despues de lo piadoso de recuperar tantas milla-/res de almas perdidas y ser la puerta prinçipal/ para las esperanças de la reduçion a nuestra santa fee/ de tan innumerables naçiones. Lo agravan las/ çircunstançias y malas consequençias que se/20 seguirian de quedarse asi y sin el exemplar/ del castigo de semejante maldad el ser la llave/ y seguridad de Zonora y estas partes, pues el no/ arruinarlas los apaches era en virtud de los/ repetidos castigos que experimentavan de la /25 gente de este reyno, que reconociendo esto eran/ tan continuas sus ymbasiones y emboscadas/ en él con animo de consumirlo y baliendose/ de sus engaños y ardidés para traer a su confedera-/çion a los indios christianos que tantas vezes/30 lo intentaron y aun lograron. Añidese, Señor,/ el aver sido la conjuraçion del alçamiento tan/ general que comprende a estas naziones dichas par-/ticularmente a los indios christianos deste/ puesto y pueblo por ser del reyno los mas/35 y parientes de los que en él an executado su/ maldad en los quales se an reconocido algu-/nas señales de mosçion, cosa que a ayudado/ a los imposibles de no poder bolver, el de quedarse/ en buena orden, por asegurar las vidas de tantos/ [fol. 410v] religiosos que aqui se allan y para que las de[mas]/ naziones no executen otra semejante malda[d]./ Por cuyo rezelo el theniente de alcalde mayor de esta [juris]-/diçion que se allava en estas partes con quat[ro o]/5 çinco veçinos de Casas Grandes se fue alla por [aver]/ savido tenia el alcalde mayor presos tres indios [por]/ indičios o evidençia de tratar de alçarse

issuance of the order of how these people are to be sustained during the time that will elapse from Your Excellency's granting of the request to until the entry into the kingdom. For said reverend father's offer and obligation to do so is until the news of what Your Excellency may be pleased to command us shall arrive, Sir, [to do] what is necessary for the restoration of this kingdom after the pious act of rescuing so many thousands of lost souls and for being the main gateway for the hopes of bringing such innumerable nations to our Holy Faith. They are all the more serious because of the circumstances and evil consequences that would follow from staying in place without the example of punishment of such wickedness, since this is the key and protection of Sonora and these parts. For the fact that the Apaches did not destroy it was due to the repeated punishments that they experienced from the people of this kingdom. Because [the Apaches] recognized this, their invasions and ambushes within it were so continuous, with the aim of destroying it and using their trickeries and ruses to bring to their confederation the Christian Indians, which so many times they attempted and even achieved. In addition, Sir, the conspiracy of the uprising is so complete that it takes in these said nations, particularly the Christian Indians of this post and pueblo. For they are the majority of the kingdom and relatives of those who carried out their wickedness within it, in whom some signs of agitation have been recognized. [This is] something that has contributed to the impossibility of being able to return, the necessity of remaining in good order, in order to safeguard the lives of so many [fol. 410 v] religious who are here and so that the rest of the nations may not carry out another similar evil. And suspecting

pa[ra]/ procurar remediar el daño antes que lo sea. Y [yo]/ quedo esperando razon de lo que me avisare [para]/10 embiarle socorro de jente si fuere menester. [Si]-/guese a esto, Señor, que de conoçido se perderia es[ta]/ conversion de este pueblo que pasa de dos mil [al]-/mas y las demas conversiones nuevas de San Françisco [la]/ Toma y de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Janos [que]/15 se ban congregando y ajustando y estan en [buen]/ estado. Y por lo consiguiente la conversion de [Casas]/ Grandes y Carretas y otras que se solicitan en [aque]-/llos alrededores el sentarlos y la mesma [veçin]-/dad de Casas Grandes con las de su comarca [y la]/20 comunicacion del Parral a Zonora. Porque [es]/ çierto, Señor, que perdido el Nuevo Mexico no se [atre]-/veran a quedarse aqui ni en las partes dichas [me]-/nos que quedando de pie de treinta a quarent[a]/ soldados y a lo menos. Y con esta calidad no [sé que]/25 los pueda poner el governador de la Vizcaya. A [esta]/ evidencïa se sigue la consideracion de lo que [pue]-/de suzeder en Zonora y Sinaloa donde no s[on]/ de mejor natural los indios ni tienen me[nos]/ conveniençia por la situaçion y por las fuerzas. [Y que]/30 sin este exemplar oy se alla despoblado el [Valle]/ de los Çedros abiendo obligado a sus morado[res]/ a retirarse a Sinaloa por las muchas muertes y [ro]-/bos que en aquellas estancias executavan los i[ndios]/ christianos çircumbeçinos y con grave daño de[l co]-/35merçio de Zonora por lo arriesgado de las vida[s de los]/ pasajeros por estar el dicho valle en el Camino Real/ y en el

this, the deputy royal magistrate of this jurisdiction, who was in this area with four or five residents of Casas Grandes, went there because of having discovered that the royal magistrate had three Indians captive for signs or evidence of trying to rise up, in order to seek to prevent the harm before it occurs. And I remain in expectation of news that he may send me, in order to send him reinforcements should that be necessary. It follows from this, Lord, that once it is known, this mission in this pueblo, made up of over two thousand souls, will be lost, along with the rest of the new missions of San Francisco,<sup>6</sup> La Toma and of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad of the Janos,<sup>7</sup> who are congregating and preparing and are in good shape. And consequently the mission of Casas Grandes and Carretas and others that are requested to be established and same vicinity of Casas Grandes with those of its area and the route from Parral to Sonora. For it is certain, Lord, that with New Mexico lost, they will not dare remain here, nor in the said areas, with less than a force of thirty to forty soldiers at least. And with this situation, I do not know what the governor of Vizcaya can do. Following upon this evidence is the consideration of what can happen in Sonora and Sinaloa, where the Indians are not of noble character, nor are they disadvantaged in their situation or in strength. And that without this exemplar today the valley of Los Cedros is deserted, having obliged its inhabitants to retreat to Sinaloa due to the many deaths and robberies that in those ranches the

<sup>6</sup> Surely the mission of San Francisco de Borja, in Chihuahua, practically on the border with New Mexico. It was founded in 1642 by the Jesuits, destroyed in 1652 by the cacique Tepórame and rebuilt in 1676 ([www.e\\_local.gob.mx/work/templates/enciclo/chihuahua/Mpios/08057a.htm](http://www.e_local.gob.mx/work/templates/enciclo/chihuahua/Mpios/08057a.htm)).

<sup>7</sup> See the note to fol. 394v3.

riñon o mediania de Sinaloa y Çono[ra]./ Y para que Vuestra Exçelencia vea que en esto ablo con algu[n]/ fundamento lo vera y reconozera por las cartas [que]/ [fol. 411r] {que} remito, que tuve pocos dias ha de dos/ personas que por sus esperiencias y credito se da al/ rezelo que ponen puede suzeder en aquellas par-/tes a la vista de dicho exemplar de alzamiento./5 La una es de Don Françisco de Agramont, que tiene/ tantos años de esperiencias en el puesto de theniente/ general de la Vizcaya y despues en el de governador/ interino y la otra de Juan Baptista Escorza sar-/gento mayor actual de Zonora que ha muchos/10 años que lo es. Para afianzar este discurso/ pudiera traerle a Vuestra Exçelencia otros exemplares como/ son los de los taraumares y nejapa al exemplar de/ los tepeguanes y tegoantepeque y otras partes que/ escuso por no cansarle a Vuestra Exçelencia, pues para que este/15 reyno vea logrado lo que le suplica, quando/ no huviera otras razones, tiene por bastante la de/ considerar la armonia que a de azer en el catho-/lico y piadoso pecho de Vuestra Exçelencia la pérdida de/ tantas almas que quedan apostatas. Quedo/20 rancheado y fortificado en esta rivera del rio/ del Norte mientras me venga la orden de Vuestra Exçelencia/ de lo que he de azer y en interin de todo lo/ que se ofreçiere dare

surrounding Christian Indians were carrying out and with serious harm to the commerce of Sonora due to the danger to the lives of travelers, since the said valley lies on the Royal Highway<sup>8</sup> and midway or halfway between Sinaloa and Sonora. And so that Your Excellency may see that in this I speak with some basis, you will see it and recognize it by the letters that [fol. 411r] I remit, which I received a few days ago from two persons who, because of their experiences and credit the suspicion arises, about which they say can occur in those places, in view of said example of uprising. The one is from Don Francisco de Agramont, who has many years of experience in the position of lieutenant general of Vizcaya and later in that of interim governor, and the other from Juan Bautista Escorza, current sergeant major of Sonora, who has been so for many years. To further support this argument, I could bring to Your Excellency other examples, such as that of the Tarahumaras and Nejapa to the example of the Tepeguanes<sup>9</sup> and Tegoantepeque<sup>10</sup> and other places I leave out so as not to tire Your Excellency. For in order for this kingdom to see the achievement of what it beseeches, even if there were no other reasons, it is enough to consider the sympathy that must be caused in the Catholic and merciful heart of Your

<sup>8</sup> See note to 308v9. The Royal Highway or *Camino Real* between Mexico City and Santa Fe stretched three thousand miles and in the early days of the colony it took wagon trains about six months to complete the route. In general, each wagon required 20 mules, two teams of eight, and four more animals to replace the mules that died along the way. In addition about 30 kilos of tallow or grease were needed for the axles, and each wagon carried two spares. The journey from Mexico City passed through Zacatecas, Durango, Chihuahua and El Paso to Santa Fe. With time, and eventually skirting the Rio Grande, the Camino Real was extended to Taos (Diario ABC, Madrid, 23/6/96, pp. 52-53).

<sup>9</sup> The Tepehuanes or Tepehuanos inhabited the province of Nueva Vizcaya, southern New Mexico and language extended from Chihuahua to Sinaloa. They lived in pueblos in rough and stony places. They were constantly at war with the Acaxaes and Tarahumara (Santamaría 1942, s. v. tepehuanes)

<sup>10</sup> The Tehuantepecs of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the state of Oaxaca. (Santamaría 1942, s. v. tehuantepecas).

quenta a Vuestra Exçelencia, cuya/  
exçelentissima persona guarde Dios los  
muchos y felizes/25 años que esta  
christiandad ha menester para/ su amparo.  
Passo del rio del Norte/ a 20 de octubre de  
1680 años./ Exçelentissimo Señor/ A los  
pies de Vuestra Excelencia, su criado./30  
Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ [fol.  
411v] [una página en blanco]

**[El Paso, 12 de octubre de 1680.  
Certificación del Cabildo]**

[fol. 412r] Los alcaldes y rexidores del  
cavildo/ de la villa de Santa Fee cavesera  
del reyno y provinçiaz/ de la Nueva  
Mexico etçetera./ Çertifica a el Rey  
Nuestro Señor en sus reales conçexos  
tribuna-/5les y majistrados y a todas sus  
reales justiçias y minis-/tros donde la  
presente pareçiere que abiendose alsado y  
perdido/ la obediencia a Su Magestad todos  
los yndios christianos de dicho/ Nuebo  
Mexico sin quedar ninguno que no se  
alsase debajo de traicion/ apostatando de la  
fee santa quemando los santos templos  
ymajenes y/10 cosas del culto divino  
haçiendo trofeo y escarnio de las  
vestiduras/ saçerdotales y otras cosas en  
sus bailes y ydolatrias matando al cus-  
/todio prelado y cavesa de la ygleçia de  
dicho reino a dies y ocho saçerdo-/tes  
ministros y dos relijiosos legos que por  
todos haçen numero de veinte/ y uno, çin  
mas de tresientas y ochenta personas de  
españoles, muje-/15res y niños y otras de  
serviçio, que con ynumano y alevoso  
pecho/ mataron atosmente debajo del

Excellency by the loss of the many souls  
who remain apostate. I remain encamped  
and fortified on this bank of the Rio del  
Norte until the order of Your Excellency  
about what I am to do arrives. And in the  
meantime, I will make an account of  
everything that might present itself, whose  
most excellent person may God keep the  
many and happy years that this  
Christendom has need of your protection.  
El Paso del Rio del Norte, October 20,  
1680. Most Excellent Lord, at the feet of  
Your Excellency, your servant. Don  
Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. [fol. 411v a  
blank page].

**El Paso, October 12, 1680. Certification  
of the Municipal Council**

[fol. 412r] The magistrates and aldermen of  
the Municipal Council of the township of  
Santa Fe, capital of the kingdom and  
provinces of New Mexico etc. certify to the  
King Our Lord in his royal councils,  
tribunals and magistrates and to all his  
royal justices and ministers before whom  
the present letter may appear that all the  
Christian Indians of said New Mexico have  
risen up and lost the obedience to His  
Majesty, without there being left any who  
did not rise up in treachery, apostatizing  
the Holy Faith, burning the holy churches,  
images and objects of divine worship,  
making trophies and mockeries of the  
priestly vestments and other things in their  
dances and idolatries. [They killed] the  
prelate guardian and head of the Church of  
said kingdom, eighteen priest ministers and  
two religious lay brothers, which all told  
number twenty-one, without mentioning  
three hundred and eighty persons:  
Spaniards, women and children and other  
servants whom, with inhuman and  
treacherous hearts, they atrociously killed

dicho seguro de cristianos con/ mas de ochenta años de poblaçion y dotrina reduçidos a nuestra/ santa fee, los quales convocados y aliados a un tiempo y en una ora/ tomaron las armas y executaron dichos delitos y atosidades ro-/20vando todas las haçiendas y ganados, con lo qual se fortaleçie-/ron en lo agrio y ynespunable de las çierrias y mesas sercando la villa/ de Santa Fee cavesera del dicho reino adonde pretendieron matar al/ governador y capitan general a el cavildo y demas personas que le asistian./ a quienes tubieron çitiados por término de nueve días peleando/25 con todos, en cuió término quemaron el santo templo y las casas de bivi-/enda saquearon y hiçieron grandes destrosos. Y abiendo escapado/ de su barbaro arroxo el dicho governador y capitan general, este cavildo y las de-/mas personas que le asistian, que llegó a numero las familias/ de dos mil y quinientas almas, lo mas mujeres niños jente de/30 serviçio viudas y guerfanos, que salieron marchando a pie, desnudo/ dos y muertos de ambre siguiendo a dicho governador mas lonjitud de/ [fol. 412v] çiento y veinte leguas que ai de dicha villa a esta plasa de armas en lo/ mas extremo de nesidad, asi por la desnudes y cansaçion como/ por la suma nesidad de vastimentos, se halló la persona del/ reverendo padre predicador fray Françisco de Ayeta comisario del Santo Ofiçio padre desta/5 Santa Custodia visitador y procurador general de lo eclesiastico y secular del reyno./ quien con selo piadoso en el serviçio de las dos majestades, lleno de cari-/dad relijiosa y como prelado y tan gran vasallo de Su Magestad, mirando/ a las nesidades sobredichas y a que la jente expresada no se divi-/diese y desmantelasse y que siempre se hallasen en un cuerpo/10 hasta dar notiçia a Su

under the said safety of [being] Christians with eighty years of settlement and instruction, brought into our Holy Faith, who, called together and allied all at once, took up arms and carried out said crimes and atrocities. [They robbed] all ranches and livestock, with which they fortified themselves in the harsh and impenetrable areas of the mountains and mesas ringing the township of Santa Fe, capital of the said kingdom, wherein they sought to kill the governor and captain general, the municipal council and all the other persons there present, to whom they laid siege for nine days, battling everyone, at the end of which they burned down the holy church, and they plundered and did great damage to the houses. And after escaping from their barbarous boldness, the said governor and captain general, this council, and the rest of the persons present with him, of which the families numbered two thousand five hundred souls, most of whom were women, children, servants, widows and orphans who left marching on foot, unclad and dying of hunger, followed said governor over a distance of more than [fol. 412v] one hundred and twenty leagues that lie between said township and this encampment. [They did so] in the most extreme need, both for lack of clothing and weariness as well as for the extreme need of supplies, they encountered the person of the Reverend Father Preacher Friar Francisco de Ayeta, commissary of the Holy Office, father of this Holy Custody, visitor and procurator general of the ecclesiastical and secular estates of the kingdom, who, with pious zeal in the service of the two majesties, full of religious charity and as prelate and so great a vassal of His Majesty, looked upon the aforementioned needs. And so that the aforesaid people not be divided and

Magestad, que Dios guarde, en su virrei y reales minis[tros]/ de la çiudad de Mexico, para la determinaçion de lo que se deve a la ma-/theria, comunicando la ynportançia de ella al señor don Antonio de/ Otermin, governador y capitan general de este reyno por Su Magestad, a este cavildo y a las/ personas que se halló ser conveniente, por tener a toda la jente/15 de manifiesto en los lindes del reino incorporados y en una defen-/sa, socorriendo generalmente a todos en su desnudes y nesidades/ como a sitiados, rovados de dichos henemigos, consumo mas/ cantidad de catorse o quinse mil pesos, al pareser, porque no se hi[zo]/ suma entre toda la dicha jente de ropa bestuario y otros jener[os],/20 ademas de aber dispuesto un considerable gasto de reses y m[aiz]/ para todo el exercito por todo el tiempo que durare la determ[i]-/naçion y resoluçion de Su Magestad en si se a de bolver a nueba co[n]-/quista o no, dando para cada dia con expresa obligaçion/ para raçion de sustento dies resez vacunas y dies fanega[s]/ 25 de mais; serviçio grande a Su Magestad, quien debe premiarle a dich[o]/ padre tan gran serviçio, siendo muy digno de toda honra y merçed/ que fuere servido de haçerle y los prelados de su sagra[da]/ relijion, de cuios meritos y para que conste este vien p[úblico]/ se le mandó despachar la presente firmada de los dichos capitulares/30 en esta plasa de armas de Guadalupe del Passo del rio d[el]/ Norte a dose dias de otubre de mil seisçientos y ochenta años. Y ba en [pa]-/pel blanco hordinario sellada con el sello y autorisada del escr[ivano]./ Françisco Xavier [rubricado]/ Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/35 Gregorio de Valdes [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Alonso del Rio [rubricado]/ Por mandado del cavildo justiçia y regim[iento]./

sundered, and that they might always remain together until giving news to His Majesty, may God keep him, in his viceroy and royal ministers of the City of Mexico, for the determination of what must be done about the matter, communicated its importance to Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this kingdom by His Majesty, to this council, and to the persons found to be suitable, with all the people manifestly on the frontiers of the kingdom gathered together and in a defensive posture. He gave general aid to all in their nakedness and necessity after having been besieged and robbed by said enemies, spending more than fourteen or fifteen thousand pesos, it seems, because there was no tally made among all the said people of clothing and other articles, in addition to having made a considerable purchase of livestock and corn for the whole army for the entire time that the determination and resolution of His Majesty might make in whether or not there should be a new conquest. For each day he committed himself to a maintenance ration of ten cattle and ten fanegas of corn, a great service to His Majesty, who should reward said father for such a great service. He is very worthy of all honors and graces that [His Majesty] might be pleased to grant to him and the prelates of his sacred order, about whose merits and that this public good may be placed in the record, the present document was ordered to be dispatched, signed by the said council members in this encampment of Guadalupe del Paso del Rio del Norte on October 12, 1680. And it is to go on ordinary white paper sealed with the seal and authorized by the scribe. Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Juan Lucero de Godoy [rubric]. Gregorio de Valdes [rubric]. Luis Granillo [rubric]. Alonso del Rio [rubric]. By order of the

Bachiller Francisco de Belasco  
[rubricado]/40 Escrivano de cavildo./ [hay  
un sello en el margen inferior izquierdo]  
[fol. 413r] [una hoja en blanco] [fol. 413v]  
[una hoja en blanco]

**[El Paso, 12 de octubre de 1680. Petición  
de material para la reconquista]**

[fol. 414r] Ynstruçion y norma de todas  
las cossas que se an determinado en junta/  
con asistencia del governador y capitan  
general los capitulares del cavildo y otras/  
personas para que se pida por cuenta de Su  
Magestad para nueva conquis-/ta del reyno  
del Nuevo Mexico en casso que Su  
Magestad lo mande./ 5 [al margen  
izquierdo: 450] Primeramente lo mui  
menos doçientos pobladores pagados./  
Yten çinquenta honbres de presidio con  
sueldo corriente./ Yten dos mil fanegas de  
vastimento./ Yten dos mil reses vacunas./  
Yten seis mil cavesas de ganado  
obejuno./10 [al margen izquierdo: 450]  
Yten dosientas rejas de arar marca mayor./  
[al margen izquierdo: 600] Yten mil y  
seiscientas coas para venefiço de  
sementeras y otras fã-/bricas de casas./ [al  
margen izquierdo: 450] Yten doçientas  
achas viscaynas./ [al margen izquierdo:  
[0]42] Yten doçientas asuelas y dosientos  
escoplos para labrar ma-/  
15 [al margen izquierdo: de cada cosa]  
deras arados y otras cossas nesesarias./ [al  
margen izquierdo: [0]42] Yten doçientos  
candados grandes con sus armellas para las  
puertas./ Yten otros doçientos mas  
medianos para puertas de adentro./ Esto  
para los pobladores./ Yten para el presidio  
veinte y quatro asadones./20 Yten veinte y  
quatro palas de fierro y seis barras./ Yten  
dose pares de grillos y dose colleras con  
sus cadenas/ y candados dos pernos gonz

Council, Justice and Government Bachelor  
Francisco de Velasco [rubric]. Scribe of  
the Council. There is a seal on the left  
lower margin [fol. 413r a blank sheet], [fol.  
413v a blank sheet].

**El Paso, October 12, 1680. Request of  
Materials for the Reconquest**

[fol. 414r] Instruction and regulation for all  
the things that have been determined in the  
council with the presence of the governor  
and captain general, the members of the  
council and other persons, so that a request  
be made by account of His Majesty for a  
new conquest of the kingdom of New  
Mexico in the case His Majesty should  
order it. [On the left margin: 450]. Firstly,  
at the very least two hundred paid settlers.  
Item: fifty men from the garrison with  
current pay. Item: two thousand fanegas of  
provisions. Item: two thousand cattle.  
Item: six thousand sheep. [At the left  
margin: 450] Item: two hundred  
plowshares of top quality. [On the left  
margin: 600] Item: one thousand six  
hundred hoes for sowing and other  
housework. [On the left margin: 450] Item:  
two hundred Biscayan axes. [On the left  
margin: [0]42] Item: two hundred adzes  
and two hundred chisels for woodworking,  
[On the left margin: of each thing] making  
plows and other necessary things. [On the  
left margin: [0]42] Item: two hundred large  
padlocks with their bolts for gates. Item:  
another two hundred medium-sized ones  
for the inner doors. This for the settlers.  
Item: for the presidio twenty-four  
mattocks. Item: twenty-four iron shovels  
and six crowbars. Item: twelve pairs of  
shackles and twelve collars with their  
chains and padlocks, two hinges and  
padlocks for the stocks. Item: twelve



y candados para sepo./ Yten dose piasas de ocho a dose livras de calibre y artillero/ para ellas del numero del presidio./ 25 Yten un molde de bala para las piasas y seis para arcabuses/ algun socorro para fabrica de las de cavildo y çarsel./ Armero pagado con sueldo y que tenga obligaçion, mientras/ se asienta la tierra, de aderesar de valde las armas que se/ nesositare. Y reduçidos los yndios que se le pague su trabajo./30 Yten quatro resmas de papel para los autos y abisos que se le ofres-/can al cavildo./ Yten que por quanto se an quemado y consumido los archivos se sirva/ [fol. 414v] Su Magestad de mandar que de los libros reales de gobierno se copie tes-/timonio de todos los honores que tiene consedidos a este reyno./ Yten que {que} se nos dé reales hordenansas para el mejor/ gobierno de la republica/5 y lo que se a de observar con los yndios en el trabajo personal,/ que es ynescusable./ Yten que en todos los pueblos agan los yndios casas de comunidad p[ara]/ que se alojen las personas pasajeros y vesinos y que tengan portero o [fis]/-cal que les asista. Y no se le seguira daño a los dichos naturales ni [per]-/10juicio de que persona ninguna pare en sus casas, sin permitir que mes[tisos]/ ni yndios ladinos pare con ellos en sus viviendas. Porque de s[eme]-/xantes comunicaciones se siguen grabez daños./ Yten que ningun yndio mestiso ni mulato pueda traer arcabus es[pa]-/da daga ni lansa ni otra arma de español ni que tengan besti[as]/15 ni anden a cavallo y tan solamente anden a cavallo los sirbien[tes]/ de los soldados en las campañas y

artillery pieces from eight to twelve pounds in caliber and a gunner for each of them from among the members of the presidio. Item: one shot mold for the artillery pieces and six for the harquebuses, some aid for the workshop of the council and of the jail. A salaried gunsmith, who has the duty, while the land is being settled, of freely repairing all the weapons that may be needed. And once the Indians are subdued, let him be paid for his work. Item: four reams<sup>1</sup> of paper for the writs and announcements that will be made to the council. Item: given that the archives have been burned and destroyed, may it please [fol. 414v] His Majesty to order that testimony of all the honors that he has conceded to this kingdom from the royal books be copied down. Item: that we may be given royal ordinances for the better government of the republic and what must be observed with the Indians in personal labor, from which they may not be excused. Item: that in all the pueblos the Indians shall make community houses so that those passing through and residents be given lodging, and that they have a gatekeeper or policeman who shall watch over them. And no harm shall come to the said natives, or any injury from any person staying in their houses, by forbidding that either mixed-bloods or Spanish-speaking Indians stay with them in their dwellings. For out of such interactions comes great harm.<sup>2</sup> Item: that no Indian, mixed-blood or mulatto may bear harquebus, sword, dagger, lance or other weapon of a Spaniard, or have livestock or ride

<sup>1</sup> Each ream was made up of twenty quires of paper (each quire is 24 or 25 sheets).

<sup>2</sup> The idea was to implement a restrictive policy that would have prohibited Indians, mestizos and mulattos from owning or using Spanish weapons or possessing horses. At the same time a type of “apartheid” was proposed, which would forbid Indians from living in Spanish communities and which would also prohibit mestizos and “ladino” (Spanish-speaking) Indians from living in Indian dwellings.

caminos./ Yten que todo natural ladino o que no lo sea se aga que se co[ngre]-/guen en sus pueblos de donde son naturales y agan vesind[ad]/ y esten debajo de campana y administracion sin que use d[e las]/20 armas dichas./ Yten que lo primero que el reverendo padre nuestro procurador general a de sol[isitar]/ y ajustar es que si el tiempo se dilatare por algun agcidente [pida]/ seamos socorridos de bastimento para el sustento. Porque de [fal]-/tar podra ser se vaia disminuyendo la jente./25 Todo lo qual se le encarga y suplica a Su Paternidad Reverenda con poder y autor[idad]/ general sin limitacion quanta puede y deber darle este cavildo en n[ombre]/ de Su Magestad con confirmacion y revalidacion de los poderes q[ue tienen]/ dados por los cavildos antedentes para que, represen[tando]/ este cavildo y todo el reino, alegue pida ynste reclame y [repreue]-/30be sin permitir se disminuya nada de lo pedido por ser[lo muy]/ corto. Yten isso para lo que se pretende atendiendo a no haçer [gasto]/ a Su Magestad y serbirle con nuestras vidas que es lo con que oy [nos]/ hallamos abiendo consumido mujeres hijos y deu[dos]/ [al margen superior izquierdo: La entrada al reino/ a de ser por agosto/ que es el tiempo/ oportuno y el/ mexor]./ [fol. 415r] y las haçiendas en su real serviçio. Y asi lo pida en birtud/ de este ynstrumento y los mas que conbengan que para todo nos/ sometemos a lo que obrare. Antes sí, se le suplica y pide que/ con su acostumbrada relijion y caridad, tomando por Dios/ 5 este trabaxo, nos solicite entre las personas ylustres y/ caritativas de la çiudad y corte de Mexico una limosna para vez-/tuario y nesidades nuestras y de tanta familia y don-/sellas pobrez y guerfanos que se lo pagará la Magestad Divina/ para cuio efegto de todo lo que se contiene se le

horseback, and that only the servants of the soldiers may go on horseback in open fields and roadways. Item: that all Spanish-speaking or other natives be made to gather in their native pueblos and to form communities and be organized and under administration, without the use of the said weapons. Item: that the first thing our reverend father procurator general must request and arrange is that, if there should be a delay due to some accident, he shall request we be aided with provisions for our sustenance. Because if there is a lack, the number of people could be diminished. All of which His Reverend Paternity is charged with and requested with power and overall authority without limit, insofar as this council can. And in the name of His Majesty, with confirmation and revalidation of the powers that preceding councils have given so that, in representing this council and the whole kingdom, he may plead, request, urge, demand and condemn, without allowing any of what has been requested be reduced, since it is already very little. Item: this is what is anticipated, taking care to not incur expenses for His Majesty and serve him with our lives, which is what we find ourselves with today, having lost wives, children and relatives [At the upper left margin: The entrance into the kingdom must be in August, which is the best and most opportune time.][fol. 415r] and homes in his royal service. And thus may he request it by virtue of this document, along with the other suitable things, for we submit ourselves to whatever he may accomplish. Furthermore, it is asked and requested of him that, with his customary religion and charity, taking this work on God's behalf, may he solicit for us, from among the illustrious and charitable persons of the city and court of Mexico, a

despachó es-/10ta relación por este cavildo y rejimiento firmado de dichos/ capitulares sellado con el sello del y autorizado del/ escrivano de cavildo. Y ba en papel blanco, por no correr/ ni pasar sellado, presidiendo el señor don Antonio de Oter-/min gobernador y capitán general deste reino y presidente deste cavildo./15 Fecho en esta plaza de armas de Guadalupe del Passo/ del río del Norte a dose días de octubre de mil seissientos/ [y] ochenta años./ Don Antonio de Otermin [rubricado]/ Francisco Xavier [rubricado]/20 Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubricado]/ Gregorio de Valdes [rubricado]/ Luis Granillo [rubricado]/ Alonso del Río [rubricado]/ Ante mí, de que doy fe./25 Bachiller Francisco de Belasco [rubricado]/ Escrivano de cavildo/ [hay un sello en el margen inferior izquierdo] [fol. 415v] [una hoja en blanco]

**[México, 9 de enero de 1681. Informe de Ayeta a petición de la Junta]**

[fol. 416r] Excelentísimo Señor/ fray Francisco de Ayeta comissario general del Sancto/ Offizio de la Inquisición vissitador y procurador/ general de la sagrada religion de mi padre San/5 Francisco en las misiones y provincias de la/ Nueva Mexico, digo que habiendo tenido/ noticia que el día siete del corriente se sirvió/ Vuestra Excelencia de combocar a junta general para el reco-/noçimiento y vista de los autos cerca de la suble-/10bación de los indios cristianos de aquellas provin-/çias. Y en ella presenté escrito en que supliqué/ a Vuestra Excelencia se sirviese de suspender la determinacion/ por tener que representar cerca de la materia./ Y tambien hiçe presentacion de una real zedula/15

donation for clothing and our needs and those of so many families and poor girls and orphans. For the Divine Majesty will repay him, to which end, all of what is contained within this report was dispatched to him by this council and government, signed by said councilmembers, sealed with its seal and authorized by the council scribe. And it is on blank paper, since we have no official sealed paper, Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain general of this kingdom and president of this council presiding. Made in this encampment of Guadalupe del Paso del Río del Norte, October 12, 1680. Don Antonio de Otermin [rubric]. Francisco Xavier [rubric]. Juan Luzero de Godoy [rubric]. Gregorio de Valdes [rubric]. Luis Granillo [rubric]. Alonso del Río [rubric]. Before me, of which I attest, Bachelor Francisco de Velasco [rubric], council scribe. There is a seal on the lower left margin [fol. 415v a blank sheet].

**Mexico, January 9, 1681. Report of Ayeta at the Council's Behest**

[fol. 416r] Most Excellent Lord, I, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, commissary general of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, visitor and procurator general of the Sacred Order of my Father St. Francis in the missions and provinces of New Mexico, say that, I have had news that on the seventh day of this month Your Excellency was pleased to convoke a general council for the examination and viewing of the writs relating to the uprising of the Christian Indians of those provinces. And in it I presented a document in which I pleaded that Your Excellency be pleased to suspend the decision in order to be able to speak in person about the matter. And I also presented a royal decree addressed to

dirigida a Vuestra Exçelencia conçerniente a este negoçio. Y havi-/endose visto en dicha junta se me dio orden a boca/ para que informase por escrito asignandome/ de término hasta el dia viernes diez del corriente./ Y cumpliendo con el thenor de lo que Vuestra Exçelencia se sirve/20 de mandarme digo (Señor Exçelentissimo) que oy se halla/ aquel miserable reyno totalmente destruydo/ y arruynado por las execrables tiranias que/ aquellos varbaros executaron en los leales vassa-/llos y fieles ministros ebangelicos. Tanto que mila-/25grosamente han podido mantenerse los que han/ quedado, como todo consta de los autos originales/ [fol. 416v] que puse en manos de Vuestra Exçelencia. Para cuya r[ecu]-/peracion el cavildo y regimiento de la villa/ de Santa Fee, cabeçera que fue de aquel reino./ me entregó la instruccion poder, que con la dev[ida]/5 solemnidad presento, en que expressa los gene[ros]/ que seran precisamente neçessarios para form[ar]/ exerçito y haçer nueva conquista y reduc[çion]/ de los barbaros. Donde se reconoze el zelo [en]/ el serviçio de ambas magestades, pues no se d[ubda]/10 que como tan leales vassallos la executará[n con]/ todo esfuerço./ En dicha instruccion faltan algunos per[tre]-/chos muy utiles y neçessarios para la guerra [co]-/mo son arcabuzes polvora y valas. Y assi s[e a]/15 de servir Vuestra Exçelencia de mandar se remitan doçien[tos]/ arcabuzes de chispa de los que hubiere en e[sta]/ real armeria, assi para los pobladores qu[e an]/ de entrar a esta conquista y soldados de ca[mpa]-/ña que han de asistir de pie en el presidio [que]/20 se formare, como para que el governador [y]/ capitan general de aquellas provinçias los te[nga]/ de reserva en sus cassas reales y 6000 piedras [de arcabuz]./ Asimismo son neçessarias doçientas y çin[quenta es]-/padas con sus ojas

Your Excellency concerning this business. And once it had been seen in said council I was given a verbal order to prepare a written report by the tenth day of this month. And in complying with the tenor of what Your Excellency is pleased to order me, I say (Most Excellent Sir): that miserable kingdom today finds itself totally destroyed and ruined thanks to the abominable tyrannies which those barbarians carried out upon the loyal vassals and faithful ministers of the gospel. So much so that it is miraculous that those who have remained have been able to maintain themselves, as is recorded in the original writs [fol. 416v] that I placed in Your Excellency's hands. For its restoration, the council and government of the Township of Santa Fe, which was the capital of that kingdom, handed over to me the brief, which I present with due solemnity, wherein it shows the materials which will be precisely necessary so as to form an army and make a new conquest and subjection of the barbarians. Wherein the zeal in the service of both Majesties is recognized, since there is no doubt about that, as such loyal vassals, they will carry out with all efforts. In said brief some equipment that is very useful and necessary for war is missing, such as harquebuses, powder and bullets. And may it please Your Excellency to order the delivery of 200 flintlock harquebuses from whatever there may be in this royal armory, both for the settlers who will enter on this conquest and the campaign soldiers that will be stationed at whatever garrison may be formed, as well as for the governor and captain general of those provinces to keep in reserve the governor's palace and 6,000 harquebus flints. Two hundred and fifty swords with their blades for the soldiers on horseback

cortadoras para los solda[dos]/25 de a cavallo, assi del presidio como de los p[obla]-/dores que entraren la tierra adentro./ Treinta quintales de polvora y los mas [que]/ Vuestra Exçelencia fuere servido de remitir, para que e[sten]/ de reserva y no falte este pertrecho tan [nesario]/30 en la guerra y las valas que les correspon[den]./ Y considerando los creçidos gastos que ca[usará]/ a la real hazienda la nueva reduccion y [con]-/quista de estos barbaros me ha parecido [repre]-/sentar a Vuestra Exçelencia que mi sagrada religion (por [hacer]/35 serviçio a Su Magestad) ha tenido a su c[argo]/ [fol. 417r] {carga} la administracion de los carros en que/ se conduçen las lymosnas que en su catholico y/ real pecho haçe cada trienio a los religiosos mi-/ssioneros que en dichas provinçias han asistido,/5 cuio monto es de sesenta y un mil quatrocientos/ y quarenta pessos. Y oy preçisamente han de ser/ neçessarios ministros evangelicos para esta nue-/va conbersion. Y deseando continuar con el zelo/ sancto que le assiste en el serviçio de ambas magestades/10 parece que, siendo Vuestra Exçelencia servido, se pudiera admi-/tir el medio que en su nombre ofrezco, qual es/ que el terçio de dicha cantidad asignada de ly-/mosnas, que ymporta veinte mil quatrocientos/ y ochenta pessos, se dé a los religiosos que han/15 quedado y hubieren de asistir a esta faccion pa-/ra su synodo y congrua sustentacion. Y los qua-/renta mil nobeçientos y sesenta pessos de las dos/ terçias partes restantes sirva para ayuda a/ los preçisos y creçidos gastos que se consideran cau-/20sará esta nueva conquista. Pues ajustada y con-/cluyda (mediante el favor divino) ha de volver/ mi sagrada religion a conduçir en dichos/

are also necessary, both for the presidio, as well as for the settlers who will go into the interior. Thirty quintals<sup>1</sup> of powder and any more Your Excellency might be pleased to send, so they will be on reserve and that this equipment so necessary in war and their corresponding bullets might not be lacking. And considering the increased expenses that a new subdual and conquest of these barbarians will cause the Royal Treasury, it has occurred to me to inform Your Excellency that my sacred order (in service to His Majesty) has been responsible for [fol. 417r] the administration of the wagons that bear the alms which, in his Catholic and royal heart, he makes every three years to the religious missionaries who have been present in said provinces, the amount of which is 61,440 pesos. And precisely today ministers of the gospel will be necessary for this new conversion. And in desiring to continue with the holy zeal that assists it in the service of both Majesties it seems that, if it please Your Excellency, the proposal that on its behalf I offer could be admitted, which is that one third of said assigned quantity of alms, which amounts to 20,480 pesos, be given to the religious who have remained and who may be involved in this service for their **synod** and ecclesiastical stipend. And the 40,970 pesos of the remaining two thirds go to help with the needed and growing expenditures that this new conquest is considered to cause. Since once it is completed and concluded (through divine favor), my sacred order will need to again carry in said wagons the alms to the religious who may be added for administering the holy sacraments in such distant and isolated provinces. And for

<sup>1</sup> Quintal, a weight measure equivalent to 46 kilos or, roughly 101 lbs.

carros las lymosnas a los religiosos que se acre-çentaren para la administraçion de los santos/25 sacramentos en tan dilatadas provinçias. Y para/ eso es necessaria la conserbazion de dichos carros,/ sus mulas y sirvientes y tambien para que/ en el interin se conduzgan las lymosnas y vas-/timentos a los religiosos que en ellas han que-/30dado. En que es muy digno de adbertir que si/ una vez se desbaratan los carros, hechandolos/ al traves, despidiendose las quadrillas de los/ sirvientes y vendiendose las mulas, le será/ de muy grande costa a mi sagrada religion/35 el volverlos a poner en forma, entendiendose/ [fol. 417v] que, conforme se fuere adelantando la conquis[ta]/ y nueva reduccion, será preciso aumentar los [mi]-/nistros evangelicos para que puedan dar sufi[çien]-/te pasto espiritual. Y consequentemente como es[tos]/5 se fueren aumentando será neçessario acrecentar-/les los estipendios./ Tambien pongo en los ojos y altissima compr[e]-/hension de Vuestra Exçelencia el serviçio que procuré hazer a/ Su Magestad en el socorro que neçessitava aquella/ 10 miserable gente que se hallava mas peligrad[a]/ a morir a manos de la hambre y desconsuelo qu[e]/ la afligia que al rigor de los barbaros que [la]/ inziadiaba. En cuiu atençion, hallandome en El/ Passo del rio del Norte con los carros de mi [ad]-/15ministraçion, atropellando los riesgos que [me]/ amenaçaban sus creçientes, me arrojé con u[no]/ en que llevaba vastimentos y generos pa[ra]/ aliviar su desnudez y neçessidades. Y como co[nsta]/ del testimonio que asi mismo presento, da[do]/20 por el dicho cavildo, justiçia y regimiento e[n el]/ real y plaça de armas que tiene formad[a pa]-/ra defensa y custodia de las mugeres y niño[s que]/ conduçe y pudieron escaparse de la tirania [del]/ enemigo, llebava en dicho carro

this, the protection of said wagons is necessary, along with their mules and servants, and also that in the meantime the alms and supplies be brought to the religious who have remained in them. Indeed, it is very worth noting that if the wagons are broken down, taking them apart, dismissing the teams of servants and selling the mules, it will be of great cost to my sacred order to put them back in order, given that [fol. 417v], as the conquest and new subdual goes forward, it will be necessary to increase the ministers of the gospel so that they can give sufficient spiritual nourishment. And consequently should these be increased, it will be necessary to increase their stipends. I also place before the eyes and most elevated comprehension of Your Excellency the service that I made sure to make to His Majesty in the aid needed by those miserable people who found themselves more dangerously close to dying at the hands of the hunger and grief that afflicted them, than from the rigor of the barbarians who were ensnaring them. Attending to which, when I was in El Paso del Rio del Norte with the wagons I administered, disregarding the risks its rising waters posed to me, I threw myself in with one which carried supplies and food to alleviate their nakedness and need. And as is recorded in the testimony that I am now presenting, given by the said council, justice and government in the force and encampment that it has formed for the defense and safekeeping of the women and children that it is leading and who were able to escape the tyranny of the enemy, I carried in said above-mentioned wagon [superscript:and another ]14,000 pesos in goods and clothing, 8,000 belonging to Captain Joseph de Retes for some residents of that kingdom on credit

[superpuesto: y otros] catorçe m[il]/25  
pessos en generos y ropa. Los ocho mil  
perte[nesçi]-/entes al capitan Joseph de  
Retes para alg[unos]/ veçinos de aquel  
reyno a credito de su gov[ernador]/ y  
capitan general, de que se otorgó  
escriptu[ra en]/ esta ciudad en virtud de su  
poder y los seis[mil]/30 pessos restantes de  
generos en espeçie que y[o ha]-/via pedido  
y llebava para los religiosos [de]/ aquellas  
provinçias, que no los reçivieron y [se]/ me  
deven pagar para satisfaçerlos a las  
per[so]-/nas que me los prestaron./ [fol.  
418r] Quatroçientos pessos que pagué al  
sargento/ mayor Valerio Cortés del Rey,  
veçino del real/ de San Joseph del Parral,  
por doçientas arro-/bas de lana que le  
compré, a dos pessos cada una/ 5 para que  
las mugeres hiçiesen algunos texi-/dos de  
sus manos para tapar su desnudez y la/ de  
sus hijos./ Mil seisçientas y çinquenta reses  
vacunas,/ que consta de los autos, dejé  
compradas para/10 el sustento de dicha  
gente, de çiento y sesenta y/ çinco dias a  
razon de diez reses en cada uno/ que  
corrieron desde diez y siete de septiembre/  
del año proximo passado y cumpliran en  
fin/ de febrero del presente. Y se  
compraron dichas/15 reses a raçon de  
quatro pessos cada una, que/ importan seis  
mil y seisçientos pessos./ Ocho mil  
doçientos y çinquenta pessos, que/ los  
montaron mil seisçientas y çinquenta fa-  
/negas de maiz a raçon de çinco pessos cada  
una/20 para dichas raçiones en el tiempo  
referido/ a diez fanegas en cada un dia  
cuyo costo tubo/ dicho genero por la  
distançia de donde se condu-/jo hasta a

from of its governor and captain general,  
of which the deed was provided in this  
city in virtue of his power and the  
remaining 6,000 pesos of merchandise in  
kind that I had requested and was carrying  
for the religious of those provinces, who  
did not receive it and which must be paid  
to me in order to repay the people who  
loaned them to me. [fol. 418r] 400 pesos  
which I paid to Sergeant Major Valerio  
Cortes del Rey,<sup>2</sup> resident of the mining  
camp of San Joseph del Parral,<sup>3</sup> for 200  
*arrobas* of wool I bought from him, at two  
pesos each, so that the women would  
make with their own hands some cloth to  
cover their nakedness and that of their  
children. 1,650 head of cattle, which is  
recorded in the writs, which I left, having  
bought them for the maintenance of said  
people, for 165 days at a rate of ten cattle  
for each day since September 17 of the  
last year and ending at the end of February  
of this year. And said cattle were bought  
at a rate of four pesos each, which amount  
to 6,600 pesos. 8,250 pesos, which  
amounted to 1,650 fanegas of corn at a  
rate of five pesos each, for said rations  
during the time mentioned, at ten fanegas  
per day. And the cost of said merchandise  
was due to the distance whence it was  
brought to that encampment, the  
shipments of which (as is recorded in the  
writs and the afore cited testimony)  
amount to 29, 250 pesos. And regarding  
that which in the sworn account and report  
I have presented before royal officials of  
this court of the *reals* given to me from  
the Royal Treasury on its behalf to bring,

<sup>2</sup> He came to New Spain from Zaragoza in 1632 and was one of the first settlers of San Jose del Parral. Through his mining and cattle businesses he became one of the richest landowners in Nueva Vizcaya ([www.somosprimos.com/spjul02.htm](http://www.somosprimos.com/spjul02.htm)).

<sup>3</sup> Currently known as Hidalgo del Parral, its full name was Real de Minas de San José del Parral. (See note to fol. 316v4).

aquel real, cuyas partidas de lo/ assi gastado (como todo consta de los autos y testi-/25monio çitado) importan veinte y nueve mil/ doçientos y çinquenta pessos. Y respecto de/ que en la quenta y relaçion jurada que ten-/go exhibida ante ofiziales reales de esta corte de/ los reales que se me entregaron de la real caja/ 30 de su cargo para llevarlos al mio a las provin-/çias de la Nueva Mexico me hago de alcan-/çe líquido nueve mil seisçientos y veinte y çinco pessos, que rescontrados de el monto prin-/çipal de estos gastos, restan diez y nueve mil/ 35 seisçientos y veinte y çinco pessos, los quales se/ [fol. 418v] ha de servir Vuestra Exçelencia de mandar se me libren/ y paguen por dichos ofiziales reales, assi para sa-/tisfaçer al dicho capitán Joseph de Retes/ mediante la escriptura otorgada a su favor,/5 como para pagar a otras perssonas diferentes/ cantidades que a mi credito suplieron para la/ compra de los granos y generos referidos. En/ que es muy digno de considerar que en estos gastos/ de socorro ha consistido el conserbar y mante-/10ner aquel pequeño exerçito para refrenar/ en parte las continuadas ostilidades de aquellos/ barbaros. Y en que no se incluyen los que se/ hiçieron desde el dia veinte y çinco de agosto/ del año [p]roximo passado que hiçe el primer/ 15 socorro embiando la gente con la primera notiçia/ a librar la que havia quedado viva y procurar/ saber de el gobernador y capitán general por/ haver corrido le havia muerto el enemigo; sin/ haverseme buuelto las mulas arcabuzes armas/20 de cavallos y otras cossas neçessarias con que/ avié a los soldados, cuios pertrechos pertenezen/ a la defensa de los carros. Ni menos dejaron/ de

under my care, to the provinces of New Mexico, I assume the liquid balance of 9,625 pesos, which, when deducted from the principal amount of these expenditures, 19,625 pesos remain, which [fol. 418v] Your Excellency shall be pleased to order I be relieved of and be paid by said royal officials, so as to satisfy said Captain Joseph de Retes through the deed acquired on his behalf, as well as to pay other persons different quantities which, on my credit, were supplied for the purchase of the grains and merchandise mentioned. In which it is very worthy of consideration that the preservation and maintenance that small army has been founded on these expenditures of aid, in order to partially hold in check the continuing hostilities of those barbarians. And in which are not included those made since the 25th of August of the this last year, when I made the first relief shipment to the people with the first reports, in order to free those who had remained alive and to make an effort to learn of the governor and captain general, since word had spread that the enemy had killed him; without the mules, harquebuses, horseback weapons and other necessary things with which I equipped the soldiers, whose armaments belong to the defense of the wagons.<sup>4</sup> What were also very considerable were the expenses for ten mailings that I dispatched to this city of Mexico, as well as to the provinces of Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya, all for procedures leading to the needed relief that the afflicted of New Mexico required. In these the Royal Revenues have not been burdened, since they were made and

<sup>4</sup> The wagons in which Ayeta carried provisions for the friars of New Mexico. Ayeta had left Mexico City with twenty wagons of provisions on September 30, 1679. However, on August 25 of the following year the expedition had not yet been able to cross beyond El Paso, because of how much the river had grown.



ser mui considerables los gastos de diez correos/ que despaché assi a esta ciudad de Mexico co-/25mo a las provincias de Sonora y la Nueva/ Vizcaya, todos a diligencias conduçentes al pre-/çiso reparo que neçessitavan las afligidas de/ la Nueva Mexico. En que no ha sido gravada/ la real hazienda por haverse hecho y suplido de pres-/30tamos que a mi disposiçion y agenciã hiçieron/ algunas perssonas, celosas del serviçio de am[bas]/ magestades, cuiõ monto me han perdonado./ Y se deve adbertir que el socorro que está/ hecho de los vastimentos que van expresados/ [fol. 419r] [una hoja en blanco] [fol. 419v] [una hoja en blanco] [fol. 420r] llegará solo hasta fin de febrero de este/ presente año. Y aquella miserable gente/ es neçessario que tenga con qué alimentarse pa-/ra lo qual es menester en lo de adelante pre-/5bençion de viveres y mantenimientos y que/ se encargue a perssona de toda satisfaçion para/ que los compre y conduzga hasta el río del/ Norte con la brebedad y preçission que el caso/ pide. Pues mientras llega el mes de agosto (que/10 es quando han de salir a esta empresa para cu-/yo tiempo se han de entender las dos mil fane-/gas de maiz y el ganado que se pide en la ins-/truccion) es forçosso fomentarlos con el alimento/ natural para la conservaçion de la vida./15 Por cuias raçones y por otras que se dejan/ considerar y pongo con todo rendimiento en/ nombre y voz lastimera de aquel miserable/ reino en la piadosa comprehension de Vuestra Exçelencia/ para que con vista de esta representaçion y de/20 los autos remitidos se sirva de mirar esta cau-/sa por unica en el mayor serviçio de Dios/ Nuestro Señor y exaltazion de su santa fee que ha/ ultrajado con tan alebosas muertes de sus mi-/nistros y vassallos de Su Magestad que la procura-/25ban

covered by loans that on my behalf and through my action some persons who were zealous to serve both Majesties provided, the amount of which they have forgiven me. And it should be clear that the aid made up of the supplies that are herein reported [fol. 419r a blank sheet], [fol. 419v a blank sheet], [fol. 420r] will only arrive until the end of February of this present year. And it is necessary that those miserable people have something with which to feed themselves. Therefore it is essential from now on to maintain provisions and supplies and that a person of total integrity be put in charge of buying and bringing them to Rio del Norte with the speed and precision that the case demands. For while the month of August is arriving (which is when they are to leave for this endeavor, for which time the 2,000 fanegas of corn and the livestock that is requested in the instruction are to be understood) there is no choice but to support them with the natural food for the preservation of life. For such reasons and for others that are considerable, and which I set down with all humility in the name and plaintive voice of that miserable kingdom in the merciful comprehension of Your Excellency so that, having seen this presentation and the writs sent, you may be pleased to see this cause as unique in the greatest service of God Our Lord and exaltation of his Holy Faith. [This is a cause] which the impudence and insolence of the barbarous apostates has outraged with such treacherous killings of its ministers and vassals of His Majesty who sought to uphold it [superscript: carrying off many women and children]. For there is no need for me to speak of the pernicious consequences which threaten the provinces of Parral and Sonora and which you must favor as the most urgent

mantener [superescrito: llebandose muchas mugeres y niños] la insolencia y abilantez del/ barbaro apostata. Que no será razon que/ pase a las perniciosas consecuencias que ame-/naza a las provincias del Parral y Sonora/ y que deve preferir a la mas urgente y públi-/30ca neçessidad que pueda ofrèçerse, pues ningu-/na llega a la presente. Vuestra Exçelencia, como tan gran prin-/çipe y zeloso del mayor serviçio de ambas/ magestades, dará la providencia que tubiere/ por mas combeniente para la conserbazion y/ 35 aumento de aquellas provincias que se espe-/ran reducir a la obediencia de Su Magestad/ [fol. 420v] y propagacion de la santa fee catholica,/ que es el fin prinçipalissimo de esta repre-/sentacion. Y suplico a Vuestra Exçelencia que de la deter-/minacion que se tomare con la vista de este/5 escripto y de todos los autos de esta materia/ se me dé testimonio para en guarda de mi [de]-/recho y de mi sagrada religion y se dec[lare]/ haver cumplido con lo que ha sido de mi ca[rgo]/ y obligacion. Vuestra Exçelencia sobre todo resolvera [lo]/10 que fuere servido. Mexico y henero 9 de 1[681]./ Entre renglones: y otros/ llebandosse much[as]/ mugeres y niños./ Fray Françisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/

**[México, 10 de enero de 1680. Auto de la Junta General de Hacienda]**

[fol. 421r] En la Junta General de Hazienda de diez/ de henero de mil y seisçientos y ochenta y un años/ que el exçelentissimo señor Marques de la Laguna Virrey/ de esta Nueva España tubo con los señores liçencia-/5do don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo cavallero/ de la orden de Alcantara y liçenciado don Gonsalo Sua-/rez de San Martin oydores de esta Real Audiencia;

and public need that may present itself, since there is none that that reaches this one. Your Excellency, being the great prince that you are, and so full of zeal for the greatest service to both Majesties, you will provide for what you might deem most conducive to the preservation and increase of those provinces we hope to bring under the obedience to His Majesty [fol. 420v] and the propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith, which is the utmost aim of this presentation. And I beseech Your Excellency that, regarding whatever decision you may make in view of this report and of all the writs on this matter, testimony may be given to, so as to safeguard my rights and those of my sacred order and it may be declared that I have discharged what was my obligation. Your Excellency will above all decide what is best. Mexico, January 9, 1681. [Between lines: and others, carrying off many women and children.] Fray Francisco de Ayeta [rubric].

**Mexico, January 10, 1681. Writ of the General Council of the Treasury**

[fol. 421r] In the general council of the Treasury of January 10, 1681, that the Most Excellent Lord Marquis of La Laguna, viceroy of this New Spain, held with the Lords Licentiate Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, Knight of the Order of Alcantara and Licentiate Don Gonzalo Suarez de San Martin, judges of this Royal Commission; Licentiate Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano and Licentiate Don

lizençiado/ don Jasinto de Vargas Campussano y lizençiado don/ Agustin Felix Maldonado alcaldes del crimen de ella./10 Presentes los señores fiscales de Su Magestad don Françisco de/ Prado y Castro contador del Tribunal de Quantas deste/ reyno; factor don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa; thessorero don/ Antonio del Rossal y contador Don Sebastian de Gusman./ ofiçiales reales de esta corte. Haviendo visto el nuevo pe-/15dimiento del reverendo padre fray Françisco de Ayeta custodio y/ procurador general de las provinçias de la Nueva Mexico/ y las ynstruçiones y recaudos que con él presentó de los/ que componen el cavildo justiçia y regimiento de la villa/ de Santa Fee de ellas. Considerando la gravedad de la materia/20 y que es pressisso poner en ella todo el esfuerço y calor nesesa-/rio, sin perder una ora de tiempo, se resolvio ser/ conveniente y pressisso socorrer con todo lo que cupiere en/ la umana providençia dicho reyno de la Nueva Mexico./ Assi para mantener la gente que a quedado en el puesto y/25 paraje del Passo, como para la restauraçion de dicho/ reyno. Y para que se haga con la deliberaçion y maduro/ acuerdo que conviene y se reconosca lo que es pressisso y/ nessesario para las cossas que se proponen con liquida-/çion distinçion y claridad se cometa a los señores/30 ministros que pareçiere a Su Exçelencia para que juntos, con yn-/terbençion y asistencia del dicho padre fray Françisco/ de Ayeta, informen por escripto con toda yndividualidad/ de lo que será nessesario para los efectos referidos y/ que se consiga el fin que se desea de que se mantenga [la]/35 gente que a quedado de dicho reyno y su restaurazion. [Y]/ Su Exçelencia desde luego nombró y cometió esta materi[a]/ a los señores lizençiado

Agustin Felix Maldonado, Criminal Magistrates thereof. Also present were the Lords Crown Attorneys of His Majesty, Don Francisco del Prado y Castro, auditor of the Tribunal of Accounts of this kingdom; Viceregal Tax Collector Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa; Treasurer Don Antonio del Rosal and Auditor Don Sebastian de Guzman, royal officers of this court. Having seen the new petition of the Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, custodian and procurator general of the provinces of New Mexico, and the instructions and justifications that with it he presented on behalf of those who make up the council, justice and government of the township of Santa Fe of them. Considering the gravity of the matter and that it is necessary to put into it all the effort and fervor necessary, without losing an hour of time, it was resolved to be worthy and necessary to send relief along with all that may enter into human providence to said kingdom of New Mexico, both to support the people who have remained at the outpost and place of El Paso, and for the restoration of said kingdom. And so that it may be done with the suitable deliberation and mature agreement, and what is indispensable and necessary for the things proposed be recognized with fullness, distinction and clarity, may it be committed to the lord ministers whom His Lordship so shall judge. Thus together, with intervention and assistance of the said Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, they shall inform in writing with complete individuality about what will be necessary for the aforementioned effects and for achieving the desired end of sustaining the people of said kingdom who have remained and its restoration. And His Lordship immediately named and committed this matter to the

don Gonsalo Suarez de San Ma[rt]in/ [fol. 421v] del Consejo de Su Magestad y su oydor en esta Real/ Audiencia y liçençiado don Martin de Solis Miranda/ cavallero del orden de Santiago del Conssejo de Su Mag[estad]/ y su fiscal en ella. Y para lo que mirare a quent[as]/ 5 liquidacion y calculacion de partidas a don Fernan-/do de Deza y Ulloa factor juez ofiçial de la real/ caja desta corte. Y hechas estas diligençias y informe se tray-/ga para la primera junta. Y assi lo resolvieron y/ rubricaron con su Exçelencia. Enmendado “quen”; vale./ [al pie de página: Su Exçelencia/ Señores Agurto, San Martin, Vargas, Maldonado. Pressen[\*tes]/ los señores fiscales: Prado, Dessa, Rossal, Gusman]./ [fol. 422r] [una hoja en blanco] [fol. 422v] [una hoja en blanco]

### **[Relación de gastos propuestos para la restauración de Nuevo Mexico]**

[fol. 423r] Memoria de la regulacion y ajustamiento que/ hemos hecho en conformidad del auto proveido/ por la junta general de diez del corriente de la xente/ para la reduccion de el Nuevo Mexico presidios sustento/ 5 peltrechos y muniziones y demas cosas nezesarias/ y del gasto que puede tener la real hazienda./ Los ciento y cinquenta soldados pobla-/dores a duzientos y cinquenta pesos por/ [al margen derecho: Pesos]/ una vez ymportan treinta y/10 siete mil y quinientos pesos./ [al margen derecho: 37@500<sup>1</sup>]/ Los zinquenta soldados de presidio a/ trecientos y quinze pesos como ganen/ loss de Sinaloa en que se yncluye/ un armero ymporta en un año/15 quinze

Lords Licentiate Don Gonzalo Suarez de San Martin [fo1. 421v] of the Council of His Majesty and his judge in this Royal Commission and Licentiate Don Martin de Solis Miranda, knight of the Order of Santiago, of the Council of His Majesty and his crown attorney therein. And for whatever may regard accounts, liquidation and calculation of entries, to Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, viceregal tax collector, official judge of Royal Treasury of this court. And once these procedures have been carried out and the report made, let it be brought to the first meeting. And they thus resolved and signed it with His Lordship. Emended “quen”; *stet*. At the bottom of the page: His Lordship, Lords Agurto, San Martin, Vargas, Maldonado. Present were the Lords Crown Attorney: Prado, Desa, Rosal, Guzman. [fo1. 422r a blank sheet], fo1. 422v a blank sheet].

### **Report of Proposed Expenditures for the Restoration of New Mexico**

[fo1. 423r] Statement of the regulation and settlement we have made in conformity with the writ furnished by the general council of January 10, of the people for the subjection of New Mexico, garrisons, provisions, equipment and munitions and other things necessary and of the expenditure that the Royal Treasury may have. The 150 soldier settlers at 250 pesos for [at the right margin: Pesos] one time amount to 37,500 pesos. [at the right margin: 37@500] the fifty garrison soldiers at 315 pesos as those of Sinaloa earn, which includes a gunsmith, in one year amount to 15,750 pesos. [at

<sup>1</sup> 37@500. The graphic sign that most resembles the abbreviation for “one thousand” in the document is @.

mil setezientos y cinquenta pesos./ [al margen derecho: 15@750]/ Para diez fanegas de maiz cada dia desde/ primero de marzo deste año hasta primero/ de octubre del que son ducientos y ca-/torze dias, dos mil ciento y quarenta fanegas,/20 que regulandolas al prezio como las/ pone en su cuenta el padre custodio, que/ es a cinco pesos, ymportan diez mil y setezientos pesos./ [al margen derecho: 10@700]/ Dos mil ziento y quarenta resses/ a razon de diez reses cada dia/25 y por dicho tiempo y a prezio de quatro/ cada una que es a lo que las pone dicho/ padre custodio ymportan ocho mil quinientos/ y sesenta pesos./ [al margen derecho: 8@560]/ Ziento y zinquenta rexas/ [al margen derecho: 72@510]/ [fol. 423v] [al margen derecho: 72@510]/ a tres pesos, quatrocientos y zinquenta./ [al margen derecho: 0450]/ Seiscientas coas grandes, a seis reales,/ quatrozientos y zinquenta pesos./ [al margen derecho: 0450]/ Ziento y zinquenta achas vizcainas,/5 a veinte reales trecientos y setenta/ y cinco pesos./ [al margen derecho: 0375]/ Doze azuelas y doze escoplos,/ sesenta pesos./ [al margen derecho: 0060]/ Doze candados grandes con sus/10 armellas, zinquenta pesos./ [al margen derecho: 0050]/ Veinte y quatro picas azadones/ que se podran dar de la armeria./ [al margen derecho: 0]/ Veinte y quatro palas de/ fierro, a veinte reales, sesenta pesos./ [al margen derecho: 0060]/15 Una dozena de paress de grillos,/ zien pesos./ [al margen derecho: 0100]/ Seis colleras de a dos arrovas/ con sus argollas y candados/ que se supone costarán zien pesos./ [al margen derecho: 010[0]]/20 Dos pernos gonzes y candados/ para un zepo, diez y seys pesos./ [al margen derecho: 001[6]]/ Quatro resmas de papel comun,/ diez pesos./ [al margen derecho: 00[10]]/ Seis barras de yerro de

the right margin: 15@750] For ten fanegas of corn per day from March 1 of this year to October 1 of the same, which is 214 days, 2,140 fanegas, which, regulating their price as the father custodian places them in his account, which is at five pesos, they amount to 10,700 pesos. [at the right margin: 10@700] 2,140 cattle at a rate of ten cattle each day and for said time period and at a price of four each, which is what said father custodian places them at, amount to 8,570 pesos. [at the right margin: 8@560] 150 plowshares [at the right margin: 72@510] [fo1. 423v] [at the right margin: 72@510] at three pesos, 450. [at the right margin: 0450] 600 large spades, at six reals, 450 pesos. [at the right margin: 0450] 150 Biscayan axes, at 20 reals, 375 pesos. [at the right margin: 0375] 12 adzes and 12 chisels, 60 pesos. [at the right margin: 0060] 12 large padlocks with their bolts, 50 pesos. [at the right margin: 0050] 24 pickaxes that could be provided by the amory. [at the right margin: 0] 24 iron shovels, at 20 reals, 60 pesos. [at the right margin: 0060] One dozen pairs of shackles, 100 pesos. [at the right margin: 0100] Six collars at two arrobas with their chains and locks, which are assumed to cost 100 pesos. [at the right margin: 0100] two hinge bolts and padlocks for a clamp, 16 pesos. [at the right margin: 0016] four reams of common paper, 10 pesos. [at the right margin: 0010] Six iron bars of one arroba, 40 pesos. [at the right margin: 0040] Of the relief that the father procurator says he provided in

arrova, qua-/25renta pesos./ [al margen derecho: 004[0]]/ De los socorros que dize el padre/ procurador hizo en ropa resses/ maiz y lana hasta fin de/29 febrero deste año veinte y nueve mil/ [al margen derecho: 74@2[21]]/ [fol. 424r] [al margen derecho: 74@221]/ duzientos y cinquenta pesos, de/ los quales se an de revaxar/ nueve mil seiscientos y veinte/ y cinco pesos de que se haze alcanze/5 en su cuenta y devia volber/ a la real caja por los relixiosos/ misioneros difuntos. Y restan/ liquidos que deve perzivir para pagar/ las ditas contraydas diez y/10 nueve mil seiscientos y veinte y/ cinco pesos./ [al margen derecho: 19@625]/ Cien caravinas largas de la armeria/ para que se repartan entre los/ pobladores de a cavallo./ [al margen derecho: 0]/15 Veinte quintales de polbora de la fina/ y de a quatro reales monta mil pesos./ [al margen derecho: 1@]/ Duzientos pesos para que se compre/ plomo en El Parral para balas./ [al margen derecho: 0200]/ Quatrocientos pesos para fletes/20 asta El Parral de las caravinas/ polbora rexas achas cadenas/ grillos y varras que parece/ segun el computo seran du-/cientas arrovas./ [al margen derecho: 0400]/ [al margen derecho: 95@446 pesos]/25 Que los dichos gastos/ ymportan noventa y/ cinco mil quatrocientos/ y quarenta y seis pesos,/ en que no se yncluyen las caravinas y picos/30 azadones que se supone abrá en la dicha/ [fol. 424v] armeria ni tampoco se yncluye/ el alcance que se hace el dicho padre pro-/curador en la cuenta que tiene presen-/tada del socorro de la mission an[te]zedente./5 Y revaxados de/ los dichos noventa y/ cinco mil quatrocientos/ y quarenta y seis pesos/ los quarenta mil no-/10vecientos y sesenta pesos/ de las dos tercias partes con/ que avia de socorrer la real/ hazienda la mission proxima/ de los relixiosos y

clothing, cattle, corn and wool until the end of February 29 of this year 29,000 [at the right margin: 74@221] [fol. 424r] [at the right margin: 74@221] 250 pesos, of which 9,625 pesos must be discounted, which is the balance in his account and had to be returned to the Royal Treasury on behalf of the deceased religious missionaries. And there remain liquidities that he must receive in order to pay the bonds contracted 19,625 pesos. [at the right margin: 19@625] 100 long carbines from the armory to be distributed among the mounted settlers. [at the right margin: 0] Twenty quintals of fine powder and at four reals each amount to 1,000 pesos. [at the right margin: 1@] 200 pesos to buy lead in Parral for bullets. [at the right margin: 0200] 400 pesos for shipments to Parral of the carbines, powder, plowshares, axes, chains, shackles and bars, which, it seems, according to the calculation will make 200 arrobas. [at the right margin: 0400] [at the right margin: 95@446 pesos] The said expenditures amount to 95,446 pesos, in which are not included the carbines and pickaxes are assumed to be in the said [fol. 424v] armory, nor does it include the balance that the said father procurador has in the account that he has presented of the aid to the previous mission. And the discounts of the said 95,446 pesos, the 40,960 pesos of the two thirds with which the Royal Treasury was to aid the next mission of the religious and outfitting of the wagons that is written above from the Royal Treasury will amount to

havio/15 de los carros ymportará/ el gasto que se sobrepone de la/ real hazienda zinquenta y/ quatro mil quatrocientos y/ ochenta y seis pesos./20 Licenciado don Gonçalo Suarez de San Martin [rubricado]/ Licenciado don Martin de Solis Miranda [rubricado]/ Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa [rubricado]/ [encasillado, al margen derecho: Montan los gastos/ 95@446 pesos/ Las dos tercias partes/ del gasto de la/ mission 40@960 pesos/ Suplemento 54@486 pesos]./

**[México, 17 de enero de 1681. Junta general de Hacienda]**

[fol. 425r] En la Junta General de Hacienda de/ dies y siete de henero de mil y seisçientos y ochenta/ y un años que el exçelentissimo señor Conde de Paredes Marques de/ la Laguna del Consejo de Su Magestad Camara y Junta de Guerra/5 de Yndias Virrey gobernador y capitan general de esta/ Nueva España y presidente de la Real Audiencia/ de ella tubo con los señores liçenciado Don Juan Miguel/ de Agurto y Salçedo cavallero del orden de Alcantara./ Liçenciado don Gonsalo Suarez de San Martin. Doctor/10 don Fructus Delgado y liçenciado don Juan Saenz/ Moreno oydores de esta Real Audiencia. Liçenciado don/ Jasinto de Vargas Campuzano y liçenciado don Agustin/ Felix Maldonado alcaldes del crimen de ella. Presentes/ los señores fiscales de Su Magestad don Françisco de/15 Prado y Castro y don Juan Baptista Mendriçe contadores/ del Tribunal de Quentas de este reyno. Factor don Fer-/nando de Deza y Ulloa, thessorero don Antonio del Rossal/ y contador don Sebastian de Gusman, ofiçiales reales/ de esta corte. Haviendo visto los autos del alsamiento/20 de los indios de la provincia del Nuevo

54,486 pesos. Licentiate Don Gonzalo Suarez de San Martin [rubric]. Licentiate Don Martin de Solis Miranda [rubric]. Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa [rubric]. [In brackets, at the right margin: The expenditures amount to 95@446 pesos] The two thirds of the mission 40@960 pesos. Supplement 54@486 pesos.

**Mexico, January 17, 1681. General Council of the Treasury**

[fol. 425r] In the general council of the Treasury, January 17, 1681, that the most Excellent Lord Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna of the Council of His Majesty, Chamber and Council of War of the Indies, viceroy, governor and captain general of this New Spain and president of the Royal Commission thereof, held, with the Lords Licentiate Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, Knight of the Order of Alcantara; Licentiate Don Gonzalo Suarez de San Martin; Doctor Don Fructus Delgado and Licentiate Don Juan Saenz Moreno, judges of this Royal Commission; Licentiate Don Jacinto de Vargas Campuzano and Licentiate Don Agustin Felix Maldonado, criminal magistrates thereof. Present were the Lords Crown Attorney of His Majesty, Don Francisco de Prado y Castro and Don Juan Baptista Mendrice, auditors of the Tribunal of Accounts of this kingdom, Viceregal Tax Collector Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Treasurer Don Antonio del Rosal and Auditor Don Sebastian de Guzman, royal officers of this Court. Having seen the writs of the uprising of the Indians of the province of New

Mexico y de/ la forma que salieron el  
governador don Antonio de/ Otermin y  
vezinos que se hallaron en la villa de  
Sancta/ Fee. Y que estan retirados desta  
vanda del Passo del/ rio del Norte donde se  
an mantenido con el sustento/ 25 y  
socorros que les a hecho el padre  
procurador general/ y custodio fray  
Francisco de Ayeta hasta tanto que por/ el  
exçelentissimo señor Virrey se tome  
resoluçion. Y lo que sobre/ los dichos  
governador y vezinos piden y proponen/  
para volver a la reduçion de dicha  
provinçia y rebe-/30lados en ella. Y lo que  
el señor fiscal de Su Magestad tiene/  
alegado sobre todo dixeron que haviendo  
confe-/rido largamente en dos juntas  
generales anteçedentes/ y considerado la  
grabedad e ymportançia de la materia/ en  
que deve atenderse a que es muy del  
serviçio de Dios/35 y de Su Magestad  
acudir prompta mente a poner los/ medios  
proporçionados y eficaçes para la  
reduçion/ por quedar en aquella tierra mas  
de dies y seis mil yndios/ [fol. 425v]  
baptissados expuestos a juntarse con las  
naçiones barba-/ras confinantes  
apostatando de la fee catholica y/ sin  
ministros evangelicos por haver ellos  
muerto los/ que constan de los autos. Y que  
los demas se vinieron con/5 la gente que se  
escapó de su crueldad y tirania. Y que de/  
no acudirse luego al remedio a de ser mas  
dificultoso/ o cassi ymposible dejandoles  
algun tiempo en la liber-/tad de conçiencia  
que tanto apeteçen y an soliçitado/  
uniendose con los barbaros e ynfieles. Y  
que de no em-/10plear a los que salieron de  
la dicha villa en la dicha re-/duçion para  
que les está instimulando la pérdida de/ sus  
mugeres hijos parientes y haçiendas  
obligan-/doles esta esperança a detenerse  
en el dicho Passo del rio/ del Norte con  
tantas yncomodidades ambres y des-

Mexico and of the manner that the  
governor Don Antonio of the Otermin and  
residents that were present in the township  
of Santa Fe departed, and that they have  
retreated to this side of El Paso del Rio del  
Norte, where they have maintained  
themselves with the sustenance and relief  
that the father procurator general and  
custodian Friar Francisco de Ayeta  
provided them, until such time as by the  
the Most Excellent Lord viceroy a  
resolution is made. And what, regarding  
the said governor and residents, they  
request and propose so as to again subdue  
said province and those who have rebelled  
within it. And what the Lord Crown  
Attorney of His Majesty has claimed, they  
above all said that, having conferred at  
length in two previous general councils,  
and having considered the gravity and  
importance of the matter in which that  
which is very much of the service of God  
and of His Majesty must be taken care of,  
to go promptly to set in place the  
proportionate and effective means for  
bringing them back to obedience, since in  
that land there remain more than 16,000  
baptized Indians, [fol. 425v] vulnerable to  
joining with the neighboring barbarian  
nations, abandoning the Catholic faith and  
without ministers of the gospel, due to  
their death, as is recorded in the writs.  
And the others left with the people who  
escaped their cruelty and tyranny. And by  
not going immediately to remedy the  
situation it will be more difficult or almost  
impossible, leaving them for some time in  
the freedom of conscience that they so  
hunger for and have sought by joining  
with the barbarians and infidels. And by  
not employing those who set forth from  
the said township in the said subdual to  
which they are being impelled by the loss  
of their wives, children, kin and ranches,



/15nudes, lo desanpararán. De que se seguiran dos graves/ ynconvenientes: el uno que si se quisiesse despues tratar/ de la dicha reduccion no siendo con aquella gente experta/ y disciplinada en la guerra de los dichos yndios y práctica/ de la tierra no se pueden ejecutar con mucha mas y essa/20 se havia de conducir de quatrocientas y quinientas le-/guas con el costo que se deja considerar. El otro inconveniente es porque dejandose los dichos yndios sin re-/duccion y sugetos como estaban y poniendo maior cuy-/dado y defensa para que no puedan volver a executar/25 las atrosidades experimentadas se deja en/ evidente riesgo la provincia de Sonora y El/ Parral de la Nueva Viscaya que, estando rodeadas/ de naciones barbaras çercanas que cada dia las/ ynfestan, tenian a maior distancia las del Nuev[o]/30 Mexico y les servia de freno la dicha villa de Santa Fee./ Y aora podran fácilmente haçer entradas en Sonora y/ El Parral. Y teniendo presentes las çedulas gener[ales]/ de Su Magestad y la espeçial para el Nuevo Mexic[o]/ presentada en estos autos en que permite los gastos/35 para conservar lo conquistado y adquirido y recupe-/rar lo que se perdiere y que ambas cossas concurren en/ el casso presente y que esto se deve haçer con la mayor/ [fol. 426r] economia y ahorro de la real haçienda/ que se pueda porque no se falte a los embios/ del thessoro en las flotas por lo que nessessita/ la Monarchia de que los socorros sean quan-/5tiossos. Y haviendose cometido a los señores/ ministros de esta junta que consta de los autos el/ examen y ajustamiento y tanteo de lo que/ podria importar el costo de lo que se pide por dicho/ governador y vezinos, reduçiondolo a lo presisso,/10 quitando todo lo que pareçiere no era nessesario por/ aora y ynformado que costeados çiento y

with this hope forcing them to tarry in the said El Paso del Rio del Norte with so much discomfort, hunger and nakedness, they will abandon it. From which two grave difficulties will follow: the first, that if, one wished later to carry out said subdual, without those people who are experienced and disciplined in the war against the said Indians and practiced with the terrain, it cannot be carried out with much more, and they would have to be led for 450 leagues with the considerable cost involved. The other difficulty is that by leaving the said Indians without returning them to obedience and subjected as they were nor placing greater attention and defense so that they might not again commit the atrocities experienced, the province of Sonora and Parral of Nueva Viscaya is left at evident risk since, being surrounded by nearby barbarian nations that infest them each day, they had those of New Mexico at greater distance and the said township of Santa Fe served as a buffer to them. And now they will be able to easily make entries into Sonora and Parral. And [we must keep] in mind the general decrees of His Majesty and the one especially for New Mexico that is presented in these writs, in which he permits the expenditures for safeguarding what has been conquered and acquired and for recovering what might be lost, and that both things coincide in the present case, and this must be done with the greatest [fol. 426r] economy and savings possible to the Royal Treasury so that the shipments of the Treasury in the fleets not be lacking, since the monarchy requires that the relief amounts be of large quantity. And the lord ministers of this council have been notified that within the writs is registered the examination, balancing and estimate of the possible

çinquenta/ hombres en la forma que se contiene en su memoria pa-/ra la entrada y dejando çinquenta hombres de presidio/ pagados por un año con todo lo demas que a paresido presisso/15 de lo que piden de que se a revajado mucho, importa no-/venta y çinco mil quatroçientos y quarenta y seis pessos./ Y considerandose que de la real haçienda se pagavan/ cada tres años adelantada mente sessenta y un mil qua-/troçientos y quarenta pessos para el sustento de los re-/20ligiosos misioneros y avio de los carros. Y que mien-/tras no se hace la dicha reduçion no es nessesario suplir/ el numero de los muertos. Y que aunque a los que an/ quedado les tocava mas de la mitad del dicho socorro/ segun la liquidacion que está hecha para el estipendio/25 de cada misionero, conçiente el padre procurador/ y custodio que se revajen las dos terçias partes del dicho/ socorro, mientras no ubiere nessesidad de ymbiar/ mas religiosos. Conque aunque la dicha revaja sea/ solo en el proximo ymbio, ymporta quarenta mil/30 noveçientos y sessenta pessos que, revajados de los dichos/ noventa y çinco mil quatroçientos y quarenta y/ seis pessos, será el gasto que se sobrepone de la real/ haçienda de çinquenta y quatro mil quatroçien-/tos y ochenta y seis pessos. Y que la maior parte del/35 se podra haçer despues que ayan venido las platas/ para el ynvio de la pressente flota y sin tocar a ella./ Y conviniendo como todos los dichos señores an conbenido/ [fol. 426v] ser inescussable la dicha funçion y gasto que par[a]/ ella se considera, resolvian y resolvieron/ que la memoria y tanteo hecho por los señores oy-/dor don Gonsalo Suarez de San Martin y don/5 Martin de Solis Miranda, fiscal, y don Fernando/ de Deza y Ulloa, factor de la real haçienda, con/ conferençia del padre procurador y custodio fray/ Françisco de

amount of the cost of what is requested by said governor and residents, reducing it to what is essential, with everything which might seem unnecessary for now eliminated. And [they have been] informed that with 150 men funded in the way that is contained in his statement for the entry, and leaving fifty garrisoned men paid for one year with everything else that seemed indispensable of what they request, which has been greatly reduced, amounts to 95,446 pesos. And considering that every three years 71,440 pesos were paid from the Royal Treasury in advance for the maintenance of the religious missionaries and equipment of the wagons. And until the said subdual is carried out, it is not necessary to substitute the number of those killed. And although those who have remained were owed more than half of the said aid according to the liquidation made for the stipend of each missionary, the father procurator and custodian consents to reducing the said aid by two thirds, as long as there is no need to send more religious. Therefore, if the aforementioned reduction will take effect on the next shipment, amounting to 40,960 pesos, which deducted from the aforesaid 95,446 pesos, it will be 54,486 pesos owed by the Royal Treasury. And most of it can be done after the arrival of the silver for the shipment for the present fleet and without touching it. And agreeing as all the said gentlemen have agreed [fol. 426v] that said purpose is indispensable together with the expenditure that is being considered for it, they resolved that the statement and estimate made by the Lords Judge Don Gonzalo Suarez de San Martin and Don Martin de Solis Miranda, Crown Attorney, and Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Tax Collector of the Royal Treasury, in

Ayeta, se ponga con estos autos. Y en su conformidad se les de a çiento y çinquenta hombres/10 de tomar armas de los que salieron de la dicha villa/ de Sancta Fee y estan poblados en el Passo del rio/ del Norte y distará çiento y quarenta leguas de/ la dicha villa, a dosçientos y çinquenta pessos a ca-/da uno por una vez, para ir a la dicha funçion. De que/15 se an de sustentar y comprar cavallos çien caravi-/nas de las mas largas que ubiere en la armeria pa-/ra repartir entre los pobladores de a cavallo que an/ de yr a dicha reduçion; veinte quintales de pol-/bora de la fina y de a quatro reales que deve dar/20 a Su Magestad el asentista, no haviendola de la/ que deve dar a Su Magestad de graçia; dosçientos/ pessos para que se compre plomo en El Parral para ha-/çer balas, que para resguardo de la gente y chus-/ma que quedare y está en el Passo del rio del Norte./25 Y que no pueda passar el enemigo a Sonora y El Parra[l]/ se forme un pressidio mientras se da quenta a Su/ Magestad con çinquenta hombres pagados con el sue[l]/-do de tresçientos y quinze pessos al año que es lo qu[e]/ ganan los del pressidio de Sinaloa. Y que de ellos sea u[no]/30 armero y que solo con su sueldo tenga obligaçion de/ adersar las armas. Y que ninguno de los dichos soldados/ del pressidio aya de ser de los que volvieron del dich[o]/ reyno del Nuevo Mexico y estan congregados en el dich[o]/ Passo del rio del Norte, sino de los que estan en El Parral/ 35 Sonora y aquellos contornos que en años antedçedentes se/ an salido del Nuevo Mexico. Y en defecto de estos otro[s]/ qualesquiera de dichos parajes que alistare el gobernador/ [al margen izquierdo, línea 24: Presidio]/ [fol. 427r] a quien se comete formar dicho presidio, el qual despues/ de reduçida dicha provinçia y aprobado por Su Magestad/ se

consultation with the father procurator and custodian Friar Francisco de Ayeta, be placed with these writs. And in conformity therewith, let there be given to 150 men at arms, from among those who left the said township of Santa Fe and who have settled in El Paso del Rio del Norte and which lies at a distance of 140 leagues from the the said township, 250 pesos each for one time, in order to go to said endeavor, with which they have to support themselves and buy horses, 100 of the longest carbines there may be in the armory, to distribute among the mounted settlers who are to go to said subdual; twenty quintals of fine powder and at four reals, that the supplier must give to His Majesty, there being none owed to His Majesty free of charge; 200 pesos to buy lead in Parral in order to make bullets, for the safety of the people and Indians who may remain and who are in El Paso del Rio del Norte. And so that the enemy may not pass into Sonora and Parral let a garrison be formed while an account is rendered to His Majesty, with fifty men paid with the salary of 315 pesos per year, which is what those of the Sinaloa garrison earn. And let one of them be a gunsmith, and that with his salary he have the obligation to maintain the weapons. And that none of the said soldiers of the garrison shall be from among those that returned from the said kingdom of New Mexico and who are congregated in El Paso del Rio del Norte, but rather from those who are at Parral, Sonora and the surrounding areas, who in previous years have left New Mexico. And should these not be available, any others from said places whom the governor might enlist [On the left margin, line 24: Garrison] [fol. 427r] who might decide to form said garrison, which, after said

passará a la parte que mas convenga y pareçiere al/ exçelentissimo señor Virrey. Que respecto de la ymposivilidad con/5 que se hallan las mil y noveçientas perssonas que salieron/ de la dicha villa para poderse sustentar y mantener en/ el paraje del Passo del dicho rio por no haver podido ha-/ser sementeras ni haver tenido con qué labrar la tierra/ y que con la dispossission y providençia del dicho padre procurador/10 y custodio an quedado socorridos con dies fanegas de maiz/ y dies reças vacunas hasta fin de febrero deste año. Y que/ pareçe pressisso continuar en el dicho socorro porque no/ desanparen la tierra desde primero de marzo hasta primero/ de octubre deste dicho año que es quando pareçe que podra haver/15 havido alguna cosecha y que abrán de salir dichos çiento y/ çinquenta hombres pobladores a haçer la reduçion se les/ acuda con las mismas diez fanegas de maiz y diez reses cada/ dia desde el dicho primero de março hasta primero de octubre/ distribuiendolo el dicho governador y el dicho padre procurador estan-/20do en aquel paraje. Y no estando, con la de los padres misioneros/ y con inteligençia que no se a [testado: podido] de proseguir en el dicho/ socorro desde el dicho dia primero de octubre para que se pre-/vengan de sementeras. Y para que se pueda prebenir el dicho/ mais y ganado se ymbie credito de los ofiçiales reales/25 a los del Parral asegurando la satisfaçion; que/ se remitan çiento y çinquenta rejas de arado, seis/ çientas coas grandes, çiento y çinquenta hachas viscay-/nas, doçe asuelas y doçe escoplos, doçe candados grandes/ con sus armellas, veinte y quatro picos asadones de los/30 que estan en el armeria, veinte y quatro palas de fierro/ para el pressidio, doçe pares de grillos y seis cadenas/ de a dos arrovas con sus colleras y candados,

province is subdued and approved by His Majesty, will be moved to the area that may be most suitable and to the most excellent lord viceroy's liking. For, with respect to the impossibility with which the 1,900 persons who left said township find themselves for being able to support and maintain themselves in the place of said El Paso del Rio, for not having been able to plant seeds nor having had anything with which to work the land and that with the willingness and providence of the said Father Procurator and Custodian, they have been aided with 10 fanegas of corn and 10 head of cattle until the end of February of this year. And it seems necessary to continue in the said relief so that they might not abandon the land from March 1 to October 1 of this said year, which is when it seems that some harvest may be had, and that the 150 settlers will have to leave to carry out the subdual, let them be given that same 10 fanegas of corn and 10 cattle each day, from the said March 1 until October 1, with the said governor and the said Father Procurator distributing it if they are at that place. And if they are not there, with that of the missionary Fathers and with reports that [crossed out: able to] the said aid is not meant to continue from the first day of October so that they are provided with seeds. And so that the said corn and livestock can be provided, let credit be sent from the royal officials to those of Parral assuring their satisfaction; let the following be sent: 150 plowshares, 600 large spades, 150 Biscayan axes, 12 adses and 12 chisels, 12 large padlocks with their bolts, 24 pickaxes from those that are in the armory, 24 iron shovels for the garrison, 12 pairs of shackles and six chains at two arrobas with their collars and padlocks, two hinges and padlocks for the stocks, six iron crowbars at 25 pounds and

dos pernos/ gonçes y candados para un çepo, seis barras de fierro de/ a veinte y çinco libras y quatro resmas de papel comun,/ 35 quatroçientos pesos para fletes hasta El Parral de mas de dos-/çientas arrovas que se regula pessarán las caravinas, pol-/bora rejas hachas cadenas grillos y candados. De todo lo qual/ se haga entrego al governador para que lo distribuya con cuenta y/ razon y en la mejor forma que le pareçiere conbeniente/40 para que sirva a la utilidad comun y dé a entender a los dichos/ pobladores que despues de hecha la dicha reduccion se les/[fol. 427v] ymbiará copia de los privilegios conçedidos a los pobla-/dores que se hallaren en las reales çedulas y ordenan-/sas para su buen gobierno. Y respecto de que el dicho pa-/dre procurador y custodio gastó en los socorros que hiço/5 a la dicha gente y en el sustento de ella hasta el dicho dia/ fin de febrero deste año veinte y nueve mil dosçientos/ y çinquenta pessos se le satisfagan rebajandose el al-/cançe que se le haçe o se le hissiere en la cuenta que/ tiene presentada del socorro adelantado de los tres/10 años que se le entregó para la mission del dicho Nuevo/ Mexico. Y se le den las graçias de la finessa y promptitud con/ que a obrado para mantener y conservar la dicha gente. Y/ respecto de que el paraje donde a hecho pie la dicha gente segun la/ demarcaçion está en el territorio del gobierno de la Nueva Viscaya/15 podra Su Exçelencia siendo servido mandar que, por aora y mientras/ toma forma la dicha reduccion, usse y exersa el governador/ del Nuevo Mexico donde se halla, de jurisdicçion, como si/ estuviera en la villa de Santa Fee. Y assi mismo quedando/ la parte de la religion de San Françisco obligada como lo ofrezte a/20 mantener los carros mulas y gente que los compone en la for-/ma que se

four reams of common paper, 400 pesos for shipments to Parral of more than two hundred arrobas, which will be the adjusted weight of the carbines, powder, plowshares, axes, chains, shackles and padlocks. Delivery of all of this will be made to the governor so that he will distribute it with accountability and in the best way that seems to him advisable, in order to serve the common good and inform the said settlers that, after the said subdual is made, a copy will be sent to them [fol. 427v] of the privileges awarded to the settlers that may be found in the royal decrees and ordinances for their good governance. And regarding what the said Father Procurator and Custodian spent on the relief he made for the said people and on their support until the said last day of February of this year 29,250 pesos, let them be made up to him by lowering the balance expected of him or that might be expected of him in the account he has presented of the relief of the three years that was given to him in advance for the mission of the said New Mexico. And may he be thanked for the kindness and promptness with which he labored to maintain and safeguard said people. And regarding the fact that the place where the said people have established themselves according to the demarcation lies in the territory of the government of Nueva Viscaya, His Lordship, if he so pleases, shall order that, for now and while said subdual takes shape, the governor of New Mexico may use and exercise jurisdiction where he is, as if he were in the township of Santa Fe. And likewise the party of the Order of St. Francis remains under obligation as it offers, to maintain the wagons mules and people that manage them in the way expressed in its petition and that an account be given to His

expresa en su pedimiento y que se dé cuenta a Su Magestad de estos autos a la letra. Y assi lo resolvieron y ru-/bricaron con Su Exçelencia. Testado =podido= no valga./ [rúbrica]/ [al pie de página: Su Exçelencia./ Señores: Agurto, San Martin, Delgado, Moreno, Vargas, Maldonado. Presente[\*s los]/ señores fiscales Prado, Mendriçe, Deza, Rosal i Gusman]./[al margen izquierdo, línea 14: demarcacion de la tierra]/

**[Petición de Ayeta para que se nombre al encargado de los suministros]**

[fol. 428r] Exçelentissimo Señor/ Mexico y henero 24 de 1681 años/ a Junta General de Hazienda./ Fray Françisco de Ayeta religioso procurador de la/5 orden serafica del señor San Françisco procurador general en lo espiritual y temporal de las provinçias/ de la Nueva Mexico y custodio vissitador en ellas/ y comissario general del Santo Ofizio diçe que/ en junta general de diez y siete del corriente en que/10 se trató del socorro de dichas provinçias se dize./ Que havindose comferido sobre ello en dos juntas ge-/nerales antecedentes y consideradose la gravedad y/ importançia de la materia y ser del serviçio de Dios/ y de Su Magestad y que se devia acudir promptamente/15 a poner los remedios proporcionados y eficazes para/ la reduccion por quedar en aquella tierra mas de diez/ y seis mil yndios baupçiados expuestos a juntar-/se con las naçiones barbaras confinantes. Y que de/ no acudirse luego al remedio havia de ser mas difi-/20cultoso o casi imposible dejandoles algun tiempo en li-/bertad de conçiencia que tanto apeteçian soliciitando/ unirse con dichos yndios barbaros, demas de peli-/grar mucho en sus ymbasiones las provinçias de So-/nora y El Parral de la Nueva Vizcaya,

Majesty of these writs to the letter. And they so resolved and signed with His Excellency. [Crossed out =able to= erase]. Rubric. [At the bottom of the page: His Excellency. Lords: Agurto, San Martin, Delgado, Moreno, Vargas, Maldonado. The Lords Crown Attorney present: Prado, Mendrice, Deza, Rosal and Guzman. [On the left margin, line 14: demarcation of the land]

**Ayeta's Petition for Naming the Head of Supplies**

[fo1. 428r] Most Excellent Sir. Mexico, January 24, 1681. General Council of the Treasury. I, Friar Francisco de Ayeta, religious, procurator of the Seraphic Order of St. Francis, procurator general in the spiritual and temporal realms of the provinces of New Mexico and custodian visitor in them and commissary general of the Holy Office, say that in the general council of the 17th of this month, which dealt with the aid to said provinces, it is stated: that having conferred about it in two preceding general councils, and having considered the gravity and importance of the matter and being of service to God and to His Majesty, it was important to act promptly to apply proportionate and effective remedies for the subdual, given that there remain in that land more than 16,000 baptized Indians exposed to joining up with the neighboring barbarian nations. And if the remedy were not applied quickly, it would become more difficult or almost impossible, leaving them for some time in the freedom of conscience that they so craved in trying to join with said Indians barbarians, in addition to placing the provinces of Sonora and Parral in Nueva Vizcaya in danger by their invasions,

rodeadas/25 de dichas naçiones barbaras./  
Cuyas consideraçiones (Señor  
Exçelentísimo) y otras de grandes/ [fol.  
428v] consequençias de dicha junta general  
le ocasionan/ al suplicante a representar a  
Vuestra Exçelencia que para que/ su sancto  
celo en el serviçio de Dios y de Su  
Magestad vaya/ teniendo corriente es  
neçessario que luego (porque/5 llegue a  
tiempo el socorro y no se pierda el trabajo  
y el/ dinero) se sirva Vuestra Exçelencia se  
dé despacho declarando qué/ persona ha de  
ser el del credito que han de hacer  
ofizi[ales]/ reales desta corte a los del  
Parral asegurando la sa-/tisfaçion de la  
conduçion del sustento de los que  
esta[n]/10 en el Paso del rio del Norte.  
Pues esto se omiti[o]/ en dicha junta y  
aunque es visto que se reduce a [ve]-  
/nefiçio de los soldados, estos se hallan  
imposibilita[dos]/ de todos medios y el  
vastimento neçesita esté en una/ persona de  
toda confianza./15 Otro despacho (Señor  
Exçelentísimo) nombrando la persona/ a  
quien se aya de librar en esta real caxa el  
dine[ro]/ para la compra recaudaçion y  
entregado de los gen[e]-/ros mençionados en  
dicha junta general que s[e]/ han de llevar  
al dicho Paso del rio del Nort[e]/20 para  
que lo haga con toda preçision y todo lo  
toca[n]-/te y conçerniente a ello y en  
particular los fletam[en]-/tos de requas que  
lleben dichos generos./ Y los veinte  
quintales de polvora que ha de [en]-/tregar  
el asentista embasados en sus lienços y  
ca[jo]-/25nes en la forma acostumbrada  
para cuiro efecto t[an]-/bien se ha de  
despachar mandamiento para que p[rom]-  
/ptamente lo execute el dicho asentista. Por  
[to]-/do lo qual y porque no se pierda ora  
de tiemp[o]/ en este despacho en que  
consiste su logro o malogro/30 a Vuestra  
Exçelencia pide y suplica sea servido de  
mandar que [lue]-/go se hagan los dichos

surrounded by said barbarian nations. The  
consideration of which (Most Excellent  
Sir) and others of great [fo1. 428v]  
consequence of said general council  
provoke the petitioner to inform Your  
Excellency that in order for your holy zeal  
in service to God and to His Majesty may  
have effect, it is necessary that in short  
order (so that the aid arrive on time and  
that the labor and the money not be  
wasted) it may please Your Excellency to  
provide a dispatch, declaring which person  
is to receive the credit that the royal  
officials of this court will make to those of  
Parral, assuring the satisfaction of the  
shipment of the relief for those that are in  
El Paso del Rio del Norte. For this was  
omitted in said council and although this  
expedition is seen to be for the benefit of  
the soldiers, they find themselves bereft of  
all means and it is necessary that the  
provisioning be in the hands of a person of  
complete trust. Another dispatch (Most  
Excellent Sir) naming the person to whom  
will be made available the money in this  
Royal Treasury for the purchase, collection  
and delivery of the materials mentioned in  
said general council that will need to be  
brought to said El Paso del Rio del Norte  
so that it may be done with all precision  
and everything touching upon and  
concerning it and in particular the mule  
trains that will carry said materials. And  
the twenty quintals of powder that the  
supplier must deliver packed in their  
wrappings and crates in the customary  
way, to which end an order will have to  
also be dispatched so that the said supplier  
will promptly do so. For all of the above  
and so that not even an hour of time be  
wasted in this dispatch in which lies its  
success or failure he asks and pleads that  
Your Excellency be pleased to order the  
said dispatches be made immediately, in

despachos en que el suplican[te]/ por lo que le toca como afectuoso vassallo de S[u]/ Magestad reçivira consuelo y alivio que espera [de]/ [fol. 429r] la grandeça de Vuestra Exçelencia y pide testimonio de todos/ los autos de esta materia a la letra por duplicado/ para ocurrir con ellos a Su Magestad./ Fray Françisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/

**[México, 24 de enero de 1681. La Junta nombra a Ayeta]**

5 En la Junta General de Hazienda de veinte y quatro de/ henero de mil seiscientos y ochenta y un años en que con Su/ Exçelencia asistieron los señores licenciado don Juan Miguel/ de Agurto y Salcedo cavallero del orden de Alcantara li-/cenciado Don Gonçalo Suares de San Martin oydores de/10 esta Real Audiencia; lizençiado don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano/ alcalde del crimen de ella. Presentes los señores fiscales/ de Su Magestad don Francisco de Prado y Castro don/ Juan Bautista Mendriçe contadores del Tribunal/ de Quantas de este reyno; factor Don Fernando de Deza/15 y Ulloa y contador don Sebastian de Gusman y Cordova/ jueçes oficiales reales de esta corte. Haviendo visto la con-/sulta y pedimiento del padre visitador y procurador general/ fray Françisco de Ayeta se resolvió de comun acuerdo/ que Su Exçelencia se sirva de nombrarle a dicho padre procurador para/20 que vuelva a aquellas provinçias y lleve el socorro que está/ conçedido para la restauraçion de ellas. Y señale y asigne/ personas de satisfaçion y experiencia en quienes puedan/ los jueçes oficiales reales de esta corte dar credito y librar las/ cantidades que fueren neçessarias para dar entero cumpli-/25miento a lo resuelto. Pues de

which the petitioner, inasmuch as he is an affectionate vassal of His Majesty, will receive the consolation and relief that he hopes for from [fo1. 429r] the greatness of Your Excellency and requests testimony of all of the writs regarding this matter to the letter and in duplicate in order to go with them to His Majesty. Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric].

**Mexico, January 24, 1681. The Council Names Ayeta**

In the general council of the Treasury, January 24, 1681 in which, together with His Excellency were present the Lords Licentiate Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, Knight of the Order of Alcantara, Licentiate Don Gonzalo Suarez de San Martin, judges of this Royal Commission; Licentiate Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano, criminal magistrate thereof. Present also were the Lords Crown Attorney of His Majesty Don Francisco de Prado y Castro, Don Juan Bautista Mendrice, auditors of the Tribunal of Accounts of this kingdom; Royal Tax Collector Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa and Auditor Don Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova, royal judge officers of this Court. Having seen the inquiry and petition of the father visitor and procurator general Friar Francisco de Ayeta, it was resolved unanimously that His Lordship be pleased to name said father procurator so that he may return to those provinces and bring the relief that is granted for their restoration. And let him indicate and assign persons of satisfaction and experience to whom the royal judge officers of this court may give credit and provide the quantities that may be necessary to effect complete fulfillment of what has been decided. For to hand over the administration of this aid to another



entregar la administracion/ de este socorro a otra persona que no sea el padre procurador/ general es aventurar negocio de tanta consecuencia/ y mas hallandose tan acreditada la persona de dicho padre/ procurador y las experiencias que se tienen de su obrar./ [fol. 429v] Motivos que han obligado a esta junta a que/ se haga este socorro que no se puede lograr/ por otra mano. Y que los generos que huvi-/eren de yr de aqui salgan a la real almo-/5neda y no habiendo ponedores los compre/ y entregue el factor por fatoria con inter-/vençion de dicho padre procurador general fray/ Francisco de Ayeta. Y assi lo resolvieron y/ rubricaron con Su Exçelencia./ [al pie de página: Su Exçelencia./ Señores Agurto, San Martin, Vargas. Presentes los señores fisca[\*les]/ de Su Magestad Prado, Mendrice, Deza, Gusman]./ [fol. 430r] [una hoja en blanco] [fol. 430v] [una hoja en blanco]

**[Madrid, 14 de febrero de 1680. Licencia del Rey para que Ayeta viaje a Madrid]**

[fol. 431r] El Rey/ Por quanto por parte de fray Francisco de Ayeta de la orden de San Francisco se me a representado que es/ custodio y procurador general en las provinçias de la Nueva Mexico y que por la carta y autos que me havia remitido/ se reconoceria el serviçio tan particular que en virtud de orden del maestro don fray Payo de Rivera arçobispo de la iglesia/5 de Mexico, mi Virrey y capitán general de la Nueva España, havia hecho en las dichas provinçias de la Nueva Mexico suplicandome que por tener/ que informarme personalmente en materias de mi serviçio fuese servido de conzederle lizençia para venir a estos/ reynos. Y habiendose visto en mi Consejo Real de las

person who is not the father procurator general is to risk an endeavor of such consequence, and even more so with the person of said father procurator being so renowned and the experience we have of what he has done. [fol. 429v] [These are the] motives that have obliged this council to provide this relief, which cannot be achieved by other hands. And the materials that shall go from here shall be from the Royal Auction House and should there be no bidders, the purchasing agent shall buy and deliver them through an agency with the intervention of father procurator general Friar Francisco de Ayeta. And they so resolved and signed with His Lordship. At the foot of the page: His Lordship. Lords Agurto, San Martin, Vargas. Present: the Lords Crown Attorney of His Majesty Prado, Mendrice, Deza, Guzman. [fol. 430r A blank sheet], [fol. 430v A blank sheet].

**Madrid, February 14, 1680. Permission of the King for Ayeta to Travel to Madrid**

[fol. 431r] The King. Whereas from Friar Francisco de Ayeta of the order of Saint Francis, I have been informed that he is custodian and procurator general in the provinces of New Mexico and that by the letter and writs that he had sent me, one can recognize the quite singular service which, in thanks to the order of Master Don Friar Payo de Rivera Archbishop of the Church of Mexico, my viceroy and Captain General of New Spain, he had carried out in the said provinces of New Mexico, beseeching me that, since he must personally inform me of matters of service to me, that I might be pleased to grant him license to come to these kingdoms. And having seen in my Royal Council of the

Indias con lo que sobre ello ynformó el comisario general de ellas/ de la orden de San Françisco que reside en esta corte, he tenido por bien de conçeder al dicho fray Françisco de Ayeta/ la lizençia que pide, en cuiu conformidad por la presente mando a mi Virrey de la Nueva España y a mi Audiencia Real de Mexico/10 y a los demas juezes y justizias de todas aquellas provinçias que constandoles que tiene lizençia de su superior/ para venir a estos reynos le dejen hazer su viaje a ellos en la primera ocasion que se ofrezca a el efecto re-/ferido sin ponerle en él embarazo ni ympedimento alguno con calidad que le haga a su costa y no se le/ dé para ello cosa alguna de mi real hazienda, que asi es mi voluntad./ Fecha en Madrid a catorçe de/15 febrero de mil y seisçientos y ochenta años./ Yo el Rey [rubricado]./ Por mandado del Rey Nuestro Señor./ Don Joseph de Veitia Linage [rubricado]/ [rúbrica]/ [al margen izquierdo: Duplicado]/ [al pie de página: Lizençia a fray Françisco de Ayeta de la orden de San Françisco residente en las provinçias de la Nueva Mexico/ para venir a su costa a estos reynos./ Corregido [rúbrica]]./ [fol. 431v] [hay cuatro rúbricas en la parte superior de la página. El resto está en blanco]/ [fol. 432r] [página en blanco] [fol. 432v] [página en blanco]

**[Madrid, 25 de enero de 1680.  
Nombramiento de Ayeta como  
Procurador General de Nueva España]**

[fol. 433r] [al margen inferior izquierdo: Padre fray Françisco/ Ayeta custodio/ [\*de]l Nuevo Mexi-/ [\*co] y procurador general de/ [\*la] Santa Provinçia/ [\*del] Santo Evangelio/ [\*de] las demas de/ [\*la]

Indies what the comissary general of them of the Order of St. Francis who resides in this court reported about it, I have decided to grant said Friar Francisco de Ayeta the license he requests, in conformity with which, for the present I order my viceroy of New Spain and my Royal Commission of Mexico and the other judges and justices of all those provinces that, with the knowledge that he has the permission of his superior to come to these kingdoms, that they allow him to make his voyage to them on the first occasion that presents itself for the aforementioned purpose, without placing any hinderance or obstacle in his path, with the condition that he do so at his own expense and that nothing be given to him from my Royal Treasury, which is according to my will. Made in Madrid, February 14, 1680. I, the King [rubric]. By order of the King, Our Lord. Don Joseph de Veitia Linage [rubric]. [On the left margin: Duplicate] [At the foot of the page: License to Friar Francisco de Ayeta of the Order of St. Francis, residing in the provinces of New Mexico to come at his own expense to these kingdoms. Corrected [rubric.] [fol. 431v There are four rubrics in the upper part of the page. The rest is blank]; [fol. 432r Blank page], [fol. 432v Blank page].

**Madrid, January 25, 1680. Ayeta Named  
Procurator General of New Spain**

[fol. 433r: at the lower left margin: Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, custodian of New Mexico and procurator general of the Holy Province of the Holy Gospel of the others of New

Nu]eva España]./ Fray Joan Luengo, lector de theologia, padre perpetuo de la Santa Provinçia/ de los Angeles y comisario general de todas las provinçias de las Indias Occidentales./ de la regular observançia y orden de Nuestro Sancto Padre San Françisco con plenitud de potestad etcetera. Al/ reverendo padre fray Françisco de Ayeta custodio del Nuevo Mexico y procurador general de aquella Custodia,/5 salud y paz en Nuestro Señor Jesucristo./ Por quanto está essa nuestra Santa Provinçia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico cargada/ de negoçios graves que se deven tratar en esta corte de Madrid, sin aver procurador/ que soliçite el darles la devida expedición, para lo qual emos deseado mucho tiempo/ a tener por procurador algun religiosso que sea hijo de la mesma provinçia para que/ 10 la mire con afecto de madre doliendose de sus pérdidas y mirando por sus con-/veniençias y no lo emos podido conseguir por varios accidentes deviendo todos los/ que la gobiernan mirar ante todas cossas por sus aumentos. Por ser la mas/ principal de Nueva España antes la an dado procuradores estraños, de donde se an/ originado muchas pérdidas. Y viendo aora, como vemos en Vuestra Paternidad, todas las calida-/15des necesarias para este ministerio de su procurador por ser hijo suio y aver solicitado mas que/ otros sus conveniençias, padeciendo muchos trabajos y fatigas, como se a visto en la/ procuraçion del Nuevo Mexico. Y está versado en los negoçios desta corte por aver esta-/do en ella en otros tiempos y

Spain.] Friar Juan Luengo,<sup>1</sup> reader of theology, perpetual father of the Holy Province of the Angels and commissary general of all the provinces of the West Indies, of the Regular Observance and Order of Our Holy Father St. Francis, with plenary powers, etc. To the Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, custodian of New Mexico and procurator general of that Custody, health and peace in Our Lord Jesus Christ. Given that our Holy Province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico is charged with very grave matters that must be dealt with in this court of Madrid, without there being a procurator who tries to expedite them, for which we have desired for a long time to have as procurator a religious who is a son of the same province so that he may look upon it with a mother's affection, sorrowing at its losses and looking to its benefits. And we have not been able to achieve it due to various occurrences, with all those who govern it having to seek its increase above all things. Since it is the main province of New Spain, they previously have given it procurators from elsewhere, which has been the cause of many losses. And now, we see as we do in Your Paternity all the qualities necessary for this ministry of its procurator, because you are its son<sup>2</sup> and have more than others sought its benefits, suffering many toils and struggles, as you did in the office of Procurator of New Mexico. And you are versed in the affairs of this court due to

<sup>1</sup> Native of Talarrubias (Badajoz). Author of *Vida del Reverendissimo Padre Andrés de Guadalupe...* in 1668 ([www.juanfri.com/Madoz.htm](http://www.juanfri.com/Madoz.htm)).

<sup>2</sup> According to Chipman (see note to 319v2-3) Ayeta was born in Pamplona, by which Fray Juan Luengo's comment about Ayeta being a son of the "Holy Province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico" would be metaphorical, referring to his spiritual affiliation with Mexico.

averlos manejado y tratado con toda prudencia y a $\acute$ ierto./ Y confiando aora como confiamos de Vuestra Paternidad los mesmos a $\acute$ iertos, por las presentes/20 letras firmadas de nuestra mano selladas con el sello maior de nuestro oficio y refren-/dadas de nuestro secretario (usando de toda nuestra authoridad privativa deste conmissa-/riato que tenemos sobre todas essas provin $\acute$ ias de las Yndias y sobre todos sus frailes y/ nego $\acute$ ios, de manera que no puede aver ningun prelado que nos lo pueda impedir)/ nombramos e instituimos a Vuestra Paternidad en procurador general de essa nuestra provin $\acute$ ia del Santo Evangelio/25 y de la misma manera y con la misma authoridad nombramos y criamos a Vuestra Paternidad/ en procurador general de todas las provin $\acute$ ias de Nueva Espa $\acute$ na para que atienda y asista a/ sus nego $\acute$ ios. Para lo qual le daran dichas provin $\acute$ ias los medios necesarios, porque aquello de/ embiar cada provin $\acute$ ia su procurador, como se ha usado, es multiplicar gastos y vagea $\acute$ iones/ de frailes y las mas veces sin utilidad. Y parece es cosa mostruosa que vaste en Roma un/30 procurador general para toda la orden que est $\acute$ a estendida por todo el mundo y en Madrid un/ comisario de corte para toda Espa $\acute$ na, teniendo tantas provin $\acute$ ias, y que no vaste un procurador/ general para essa Nueva Espa $\acute$ na, teniendo tantas provin $\acute$ ias menos. Si se acabase de/ [fol. 433v] {de} ajustar este modo de gobierno se escusarian muchos gastos y muchos desp[er]dicios/ de frailes. Y para que Vuestra Paternidad no carezca de merecimiento le mandamos por santa ob[ediencia]/ y en virtud del Spiritu Santo que azete dicho ofi $\acute$ io de procurador

having been in it at other times and having managed and dealt with them with all prudence and skill. And trusting as we do in the same good decisions of Your Paternity, by the present letters signed by our hand and sealed with the great seal of our office and endorsed by our secretary (using all our authority proper to this Commisariate, which we hold over all those provinces of the Indies and over all their friars and affairs, such that there may be no prelate who may impede us) we name and institute Your Paternity as procurator general of that province of ours of the Holy Gospel. And in the same way and with the same authority we name and establish Your Paternity as procurator general of all the provinces of New Spain, so that you may attend to and assist in its affairs. To which end said provinces will give you the necessary means, because the practice of each province sending its procurator, as has been the custom, results in multiplying friars' expenses and travel uselessly in most cases. And it seems outrageous that in Rome one procurator general is enough for the whole order that extends throughout the world, and in Madrid a Court Commissary for all of Spain, which has so many provinces, and that one procurator general is not sufficient for New Spain, which has many fewer provinces.<sup>3</sup> If [fol. 433v] this way of governing could be arranged many expenditures and many losses of friars would be saved. And so that Your Paternity might not lack merit, we order you, by holy obedience and in virtue of the Holy Spirit, to accept said office of

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<sup>3</sup> Obviously, they did not realize that the size of the territory of New Spain exceeded by far those of the provinces of Spain.

general de Nueva Esp[aña]/ y debaxo de la misma obediencia y en virtud del Spiritu Santo mandamos a todos [los]/5 inferiores que ninguno le haga estorvo ni le ponga impedimento debaxo de algun p[retesto]/ para que no venga en la flota que a de partir de España a essas partes este año [de mil]/ seisçientos y ochenta. Antes todos aiuden a conducirle y aviarle con todos los m[edios]/ necesarios para el viaje y para conservarse en esta corte y para exercer convenientemente [el ofiçio]/ de procurador general de la provinçia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico y de las demas de Nueva [Espa]-/10ña. Dada en este convento de San Françisco de Madrid en veinte y cinco de enero del/ año de 1680./ Fray Joan Luengo [rubricado]/ Comisario general de Yndias./ Por mandado de Su Reverendisima/15 Fray Alonso Luengo [rubricado]/ Secretario general de Indias./ [al pie de página: Queda copiada esta patente en el registro 14 que el de nuestro ofiçio a folio 21/ plana segunda]/ [en medio de la página ay un sello con el monograma de la Compañía de Jesús (IHS)]

**[México, 28 de enero de 1681. Petición de Ayeta para saber si debe ir a España o a Nuevo México]**

[fol. 434r] Mexico y henero 28 de 1681 años./ Exçelentissimo Señor/ Al señor fiscal [rúbrica]/ Fray Françisco de Ayeta del orden del serafico/5 padre San Françisco, custodio abitual de las provinçias/ de la Nueva Mexico y comisario general de el/ Santo Ofiçio, diçe que se le ha hecho notorio el/ auto de junta general que Vuestra Exçelencia presidió en veinte/ y quatro del corriente en que es servido de honrar/10 su pequeñez mandando buelva a

procurator general of New Spain. And under the same obedience and in virtue of the Holy Spirit, we order all subordinates that none cause him hindrance nor impede him under any pretext from coming in the fleet that will depart Spain for these parts this year of 1680. Rather let all aid in bringing him and equipping with all the means necessary for the voyage and for his support in this court and to suitably exercise the Office of procurator general of the province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico and of the others of New Spain. Given in this convent of St. Francis of Madrid on January 25, 1680. Friar Joan Luengo [rubric]. commissary general of the Indies. By order of the Most Reverend Friar Alonso Luengo [rubric]. Secretary General of the Indies. At the foot of the page: This patent is copied in register 14 to that of our office at folio 21, side two [at the middle of the page there is a seal with the monogram of the Society of Jesus (IHS)].

**Mexico, January 28, 1681. Ayeta's Request to Know Whether He Must Go to Spain or to New Mexico**

[fol. 434r] Mexico, January 28, 1681. Most Excellent Sir. To the Lord Crown Attorney [rubric], Friar Francisco de Ayeta of the order of the seraphic Father St. Francis, Habitual Custodian of the Provinces of New Mexico and commissary general of the Holy Office, says that the writ of the general council that Your Excellency presided over on the 24th of this month has been made known to him, in which you are pleased to honor his

dichas provinçias/ y lleve el socorro que está determinado para su res-/tauraçion paçificaçion y sosiego; favor y confian-/ça porque vessa los pies de Vuestra Exçelencia a quien represen-/ta no se halla con libertad para executar promp-/15tamente el mandato de Vuestra Exçelencia respecto de hallarse con/ la real cedula liçencia para pasar a los reynos/ de Castilla. Y la patente de que haçe demostrazi-/on con este escripto en que es llamado de su comi-/sario general de todas las Indias para exerzer/20 el ministerio de procurador general de todas las/ provinçias de esta Nueva España a que han da-/do entero cumplimiento sus prelados superiores/ que asisten en estas partes leyendole en tabla/ capitular. Respecto de lo qual pareçe (Señor Exçelentissimo)/25 que a sus prelados por ser en punto de obediencia/ y religion no les queda medio que discurrir/ [fol. 434v] contra su thenor ni al suplicante mas que el re-/presentarlo a Vuestra Exçelencia deseando dar entera satisfacçion/ de que no es su ánimo, aunque ha perdido la/ salud en estas peregrinaçiones, escusar el trabajo/5 y perder si fuera neçessario una y mil vidas que/ tubiere en servicio de su Rey y señor natural, que/ Dios guarde y prospere como a coluna firme de la/ iglesia, sino solo haçer manifestaçion del impe[dimento]/ con que se halla padeçiendo el desconsuelo de no [poder]/10 acudir a entrambas cosas tan de su obligaçion, si[n]/ poder elegir medio, deseando con todo su coraçon, por un lado obedecer a sus superiores como religioso/ y por otro no solo a las ordenes, sino a las insinua-/çiones de Vuestra Exçelencia como leal vassallo y mas vene-/15fiçiado capellan de Su Magestad, que Dios guarde. En/ cuia atençion/ a Vuestra Exçelencia pide y suplica que vista dicha patente sea ser-/vido de resolver con su

smallness by ordering that he return to said provinces and bring the aid that is determined for its restoration, pacification and calm; favor and confidence for which he kisses the feet of Your Excellency, whom he informs that he finds himself without freedom to promptly execute the order of Your Excellency due to finding himself with a royal decree granting license to pass over to the kingdoms of Castile. And the patent of which he gives evidence with this writing, in which he is summoned by his commissary general of all the Indies to exercise the ministry of procurator general of all the Provinces of this New Spain, to which his prelate superiors present in these territories have given complete fulfillment, reading it in the General Chapter. Regarding which, it seems (Most Excellent Sir) that his prelates, because it is a point of obedience and religion, have no means to argue [fol. 434v] against its content, nor does the petitioner other than to represent it to Your Excellency, desiring to give entire satisfaction, that it is not his wish, although he has lost his health on these peregrinations, to avoid the labor. And if necessary he would lose a thousand lives that he might have in the in service of his King and natural Lord -- may God keep and prosper as a firm pillar of the Church -- but merely a manifestation of the impediment through which he finds himself suffering the grief at not being able to attend to both things that equally oblige him, without being able to choose a middle ground. He desires with all his heart, on the one hand, to obey his superiors as a religious, and on the other hand not only the orders, but the insinuations of Your Excellency, as a loyal vassal and most favored chaplain of His Majesty, may God keep him. Attending to which, he asks

soberana providençia [lo]/ que fuere servido teniendo por çierto solo desea/20 el suplicante acudir con çiega obediencia al se[r]-viçio de entrambas magestades sin mas volunta[d]/ deseo ni inclinacion a la combeniençia tempor[al]/ y honra que le haçe su religion que a las fatiga[s]/ ni penali[da]des que es preçiso traiga consigo el volber/25 al empeño de dichas provinçias. Pues no se/ puede dubdar que Vuestra Exçelencia obrará en todo con el açie[r]-to que acostumbra su gran christiandad y zelo/ etçetera./ Fray Françisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/

**[México, 28 de enero de 1681. Respuesta que el Fiscal dio con respecto a la solicitud de Ayeta]**

[fol. 434r] [columna al margen izquierdo: Exçelentísimo Señor/ El fiscal de Su Magestad/ dice que ha visto este/ pedimiento y los recaudos/5 que con él se presentan por/ el padre fray Francisco de/ Ayeta procurador general/ de la provincia de la Nueva/ Mexico por el qual repre- /10senta que haviendosele/ hecho notorio el auto que/ Vuestra Exçelencia se sirvio de proveer/ a los veinte y quatro del/ corriente con acuerdo de/15 junta general en que se resol-/vio que el suplicante/ vuelva a aquellas/ provincias y lleve el/ [so]corro que está concedido/20 [p]ara la restauracion/ [de] dichas provincias de la Nueva [fol. 434v] [continúa la columna al margen izquierdo: Mexico se halla imposibi-/litado de poder executar/ dicha orden y viage/ respecto de que, por la/5 patente que presenta del/ reverendisimo padre comissario general/ de Yndias, se le manda/ en virtud de sancta/ obediencia que passe a los/10 reynos de Castilla en la/

Your Excellency and beseechs that, having seen said patent, you may be pleased to decide with your sovereign providence, whatever you may deem best, in the certainty that the supplicant only desires to attend in blind obedience to the service of both Majesties, with no other will, desire or inclination toward the temporal benefit and honor that his order bestows on him toward the toils and hardships that necessarily accompany the return to the struggle for said Provinces. For there can be no doubt but that Your Excellency will work in all things with the skillfulness of your customary great Christianity and zeal, etc. Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric].

**Mexico, January 28, 1681. Response of the Crown Attorney Regarding Ayeta's Request**

[fol. 434r column On the left margin:] The Most Excellent Lord Crown Attorney of His Majesty says that he has seen this petition and the messages presented with it by Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, procurator general of the province of New Mexico, by which he represents that, with the writ that Your Excellency was pleased to provide on the twenty-fourth of this month with the agreement of the general council, in which it was resolved that the supplicant return to those provinces and bring the aid that is granted for the restoration of said provinces of New [fol. 434v the column on the left margin continues:] Mexico. Having become aware of this, he finds himself incapable of carrying out said order and voyage, given that, by the patent that he presents from the Most Reverend Father comissary general of the Indies, he is ordered in virtue of holy obedience to go to the kingdoms of Castile in the present fleet to exercise the ministry

presente flota a exercer/ el ministerio de procurador/ general de todas las provincias/ de esta Nueva España./15 Para cuyo viage ha/ conseguido licencia de Su/ Magestad, como/ consta de la real cedula,/ que assi mismo exhibe/20 su data de catorce de febrero/ del año passado de 1680/ representando que aunque/ venera con todo rendimiento/ las honras que le hace Vuestra Exçelencia/ 25 se halla impossibilitado/ como hijo de obediencia/ de dejar de dar cumplimiento/ al precepto de su superior/ sin que le muevan las/30 honras y conveniencias/ que le hace su religion ni tener mas voluntad que dessear el servicio de/ ambas magestades ni mas inclinacion a las comodidades y descanso que/ puede esperar en dicho ministerio, para que ya le leyeron en tabla capitular,/ que a las fatigas y penalidades que es preciso se le ocasionen con volver/ 35 al empeño de la restauracion de dicha provincia. Porque suplica/ [fol. 435r] a Vuestra Exçelencia se sirva, con vista de dichos recaudos, tomar la resolucio/ mas conveniente. Que está llano (por lo que le toca) a executar con ciega/ obediencia los ordenes que se le dieren./ Y lo que se ofrece sobre esta materia (Señor Exçelentissimo) es deberse/5 considerar que de entregar [testado: el socorr] la administracion del socorro que/ está concedido a otra persona que no sea dicho padre procurador general,/ demas de abenturarse negocio de tanto empeño como la restauracion/ de aquella provincia y la reduccion de diez y seis mil almas/ apostatas que han quedado en ella, se arrezgará de conocido/10 todo el caudal que se librare de la real hazienda para este efecto./ Pues a qualquiera persona que se encomiende dicha administracion/ ora sea secular o religiosa (demas de no tenerla experimentada/ con los creditos de

of Procurator General of all the provinces of this New Spain. For such journey he has obtained the license of His Majesty, as is recorded in the Royal decree, that shows the date of February 14 of the last year, 1680, representing that, although he venerates with complete humility the honors that Your Excellency gives him, he finds himself incapable, as a child of obedience, of not fulfilling the precept of his superior, without being moved by the honors and conveniences that his religious status gives him, or having any other wish than that of desiring to serve both Majesties, or any more inclination toward the comforts and rest he can hope for in said ministry, since it was already read to him in the General Chapter, than to the toils and hardships that he must of necessity suffer upon returning to the task of the restoration of said province. Thus he beseeches [fol. 435r] that Your Excellency be pleased, in view of said messages, to make the most suitable resolution. He is free (in what regards him) to carry out with blind obedience any orders that may be given. And what is given regarding this matter (Most Excellent Sir) is the duty to consider that [struck: the aid] the administration of the aid handed over to any person other than the father procurator general, in addition to jeopardizing a matter of such importance as the restoration of that province and the return of 16,000 apostate souls who have remained within it, it will clearly place all the wealth that might be drawn from the Royal Treasury for this end at risk. For any person who may be encharged with said administration now, whether secular or religious (beyond not being experienced and accredited with the faithfulness, work and activity manifested on so many occasions by the father procurator general)



fidelidad trabajo y actividad que se han/ manifestado en tan repetidas ocasiones en el dicho padre procurador/ 15 general) siendo vyzoña en aquellas provincias y sin/ experiencias se arriesga todo y el buen sucesso que se espera/ corriendo a cuenta de la vigilancia y cuidado de dicho padre/ procurador general. Debiendose assi mesmo considerar que en la/ recuperacion de dicha provincia es ygualmente interesada la religion por los/20 muchos misioneros que tenia ocupados en ella, malograndose en lo/ contrario el trabajo y fructo que han puesto y conseguido tantos/ varones apostolicos, como han asistido en dicha provincia, derramando/ su sangre y perdiendo las vidas por adelantar la sancta fee/ catholica y extender la predicacion evangelica. No siendo despre-/25ciable la consideracion de que quedando oy la administracion de los/ treinta carros en otra persona no experimentada le sera muy/ dificultoso el regimen y abiamiento de ellos. Y no parecera justo que/ al tiempo de mas arduo y precisso empeño retire la religion/ a dicho padre procurador general, en cuya disposicion y actividad, junto/30 con las experiencias, se confiaba el logro del buen sucesso./ Y aunque es assi que dicho padre procurador general fray Francisco de/ Ayeta no pudiera por sola su voluntad faltar al precepto que se le/ [fol. 435v] impone en dicha patente ni impedirle el uso de ella/ los superiores de este reyno, por quanto se les ordena/ tambien en virtud de sancta obediencia que ninguno/ le ponga estorbo ni impedimento debajo de qualquier/5 pretexto para que no passe a Castilla en la presente flota./ Sin embargo, atendidos y considerados los motivos que/ van representados y que cederá en servicio de ambas/ Magestades el que suspenda el viage por aora y que se le/ cometa la administracion del referido socorro. Parece

by being unfamiliar with those provinces and without experience, imperils everything, along with the good outcome hoped for owing to the vigilance and care of father procurator general. Having to thus take into consideration the fact that, in the recovery of said province, the Order is equally interested, due to the many missionaries that it had occupied in it. Otherwise the labor and achievements gained by such apostolic men as have been present in said province would be demolished, shedding their blood and losing their lives for the advancement of the holy Catholic faith and to extend the preaching of the Gospel. And one should not overlook the consideration that, if the administration of the thirty wagons is to be entrusted to another, inexperienced person, it will be difficult for him to manage and outfit them. And it will not seem just, at the time of the most arduous and necessary effort, for the Order to withdraw the father procurator general, to whose disposition and activity, together with his experience, the attainment of the positive outcome was entrusted. And although it is true that Father Procurator General Friar Francisco de Ayeta might not of his own volition renounce the precept imposed upon him [fol. 435v] in said patent, neither may the superiors of this kingdom hinder him from using it. For they are also ordered, by virtue of holy obedience, that no one place any obstacle or hinderence under any pretext whatsoever in order that he might not pass over to Castile in the present fleet. Nevertheless, in attention to and considering the reasons that are presented here, it will be to the service of both Majesties that he suspend his voyage for now and that he be encharged with the administration of the aforementioned aid. It seems that, if Your Excellency so pleases,

que/ 10 siendo Vuestra Excelencia servido se debe despachar mandamiento de ruego/ y encargo para que dicho padre procurador general fray Francisco de Ayeta/ suspenda el viage en esta presente flota; el qual se intime assi/ mesmo al reverendisimo padre comissario general de estas provincias para que, en considerazion/ de las nuevas circunstancias que sobrevinieron despues de la data de la referida/15 patente, le encargue, [testado: que p] debajo de precepto de obediencia, que por aora no use de ella y acepte la administracion del socorro que se le encarga por/ Vuestra Excelencia; lo qual sea sin perjuicio del derecho que tiene adquirido a dicha/ procuracion general y con la calidad de que haviendose recuperado y reduciendose/ dicha provincia de la Nueva Mexico aya de quedar en facultad y libertad/20 de dicho padre procurador general de poder usar de dicha patente y nominacion de procurador/ general de todas las provincias de Nueva España. Siendo muy proprio de la grandeza de Vuestra Excelencia tomar a su cargo el que por esta causa no malogre dicho padre procurador/ las honras y conveniencias en que le ha puesto su religion y el informar al/ consejo y al reverendisimo padre comissario general de Yndias quan necessaria fue su persona/25 para esta operacion para que le sirva de adelantamiento y mayores creditos la suspen-/sion del viage a que parece puede proceder Vuestra Excelencia respecto de la urgentissima necesidad y a [que]/ residiendo en Vuestra Excelencia facultad para expeler a qualquiera religioso e enviarlo a los/ reinos de Castilla quando huviere justas causas para ello con mayor razon/ parece la debe tener Vuestra Excelencia y tiene para detener a un religioso/30 cuya asistencia en estas provincias es tan necessaria por aora como

that an order of petition and assignment should be dispatched, so that Father Procurator General Friar Francisco de Ayeta may suspend the voyage in this present fleet; which shall also require of the Most Reverend Father commissary general of these provinces that, in consideration of the new circumstances that arose after the date of aforementioned patent, he be charged, [crossed out: that p] under precept of obedience, not to use it for now and to accept the administration of the aid assigned to him by Your Excellency. [This] shall not harm the right he has acquired to said general procuratorship and with the stipulation that, once said province of New Mexico is recovered and subdued, the father procurator general shall have the faculty and freedom of using said patent and nomination as procurator general of all the provinces of New Spain. It is very fitting to the greatness of Your Excellency that you take it upon yourself that for this reason said father procurator may not jeopardize the honors and benefits his order has bestowed on him, and to inform the Council and the most reverend father commissary general of the Indies how necessary his person was for this operation, so that the suspension of the voyage may serve to his advancement and greater credit. To which it seems Your Excellency may proceed, given the most urgent necessity and that Your Excellency bears the faculty to expel any religious and send him to the kingdoms of Castile whenever there may be a just cause. With all the more reason it appears that Your Excellency has the faculty to detain a religious whose presence in these provinces is as necessary for now as [fol. 436r] is now considered. In consideration of which, Your Excellency shall decide and order what you consider to be the best

va/ [fol. 436r] {como va} ponderado. En cuya atencion Vuestra Excelencia resolverá/ y mandará lo que tuviere por de mayor providencia/ y fuere de mayor servicio de Su Magestad. Mexico/ veinte y ocho de henero de mil seiscientos y ochenta y/5 un años. Testado “el socorr”, “que p”, no valga./ Licenciado don Martin de Solis Miranda [rubricado]/ Mexico y henero 30 de 1681 años./ A Junta General./

**[México, 1 de febrero de 1681. La Junta concuerda con el Fiscal]**

En la Junta General de Hazienda de primero [de febrero]/ 10 de mil seisçientos y ochenta y un años en que con Su Exçelencia/ asistieron los señores licenciado don Juan Miguel de/ Agurto y Salçedo cavallero del orden de Alcantara. Doctor/ don Fructus Delgado, oydores de esta Real Audiencia/ licenciado don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano, alcalde/15 del crimen de ella. Presentes los señores fiscales de Su/ Magestad, don Juan Baptista Mendrice contador del/ Tribunal de Quantas de este reino. Factor Don Fernando/ de Deza y Ulloa, thesorero Don Antonio del Rosal/ [fol. 436v] y contador Don Sebastian de Gusman y Cordova jueçes/ oficiales reales de esta corte. Haviendo visto el pe[di]-/miento del padre procurador general fray Francisco de Aieta/ y la respuesta del señor fiscal de Su Magestad se resolvió se[haga]/5 como lo pide el señor fiscal. Y assi lo resolvieron y rubri[caron]/ con Su Excelencia [rúbrica]./

**[México, 7 de febrero de 1681.]**

En la ciudad de Mexico a siete dias del mes de febrero de mil seisientos y ochenta y un años./ Yo el scrivano hise notorio el auto

measure and of greatest service to His Majesty. Mexico, January 28, 1681. [Crossed out "the aid", "that p", erase]. Licentiate Don Martin de Solis Miranda [rubric]. Mexico, January, 1681. A general council.

**Mexico, February 1, 1681. The Council Concurr with the Crown Attorney**

In the general council of the Treasury of February 1, 1680, in which together with His Lordship were present Licentiate Don Juan Miguel de Agurto y Salcedo, Knight of the Order of Alcantara, Doctor Don Fructus Delgado judges of this Royal Commission, Licentiate Don Jacinto de Vargas Campusano, criminal magistrate thereof. Also present were the Lords Crown Attorney of His Majesty, Don Juan Baptista Mendrice, accountant of the Tribunal of Accounts of this kingdom; Viceregal Tax Collector Don Fernando de Deza y Ulloa, Treasurer Don Antonio del Rosal [fol. 436v] and Accountant Don Sebastian de Guzman y Cordova, royal judge officers of this court. Having seen the petition of the father procurator general Friar Francisco de Ayeta and the answer of the Lord Crown Attorney of His Majesty, it was resolved to do what the Lord Crown Attorney requests. And they so resolved and signed with His Lordship [rubric].

**Mexico, February 7, 1681**

Mexico City, February 7, 1681. I, the scribe, made known the above writ of the council and reply of the Lords Crown

de arriba de junta y respuesta del señor fiscal de Su Magestad de la/ foxa antes desta al reverendisimo padre f[ray Domingo] de Noriega, relixioso del hord[en]/10 del serafico San Francisco y co[misario general de estas p]rovincias de la Nueva España, el qual,/ haviendolo oido y e[ntendido, en su obedeçimiento h]iso llamar a el reverendo padre frai Francisco [de Aieta],/ [religioso de dicha horden, comisario visitador] y procurador general del Nuevo Mex[ico]/ [y de todas las provincias de Nueva [E]spaña en la corte de Su Magestad y le mandó por santa obediensia, sin perjuicio/ [del ofiçio que [a el] presente tiene de procurador general de toda la Nuev]a [E]spaña, admitiesse y obedesiese las hordenes/ 15 [que Su Magestad le da y suspendiesse] por el presente el viaxe a España. Y haviendolo oido, postrado en tierra/ dicho reverendo padre fray Francisco de Aieta respondió: “Obedesco con entera voluntad” lo que se le manda[ba con]/ orden a el servicio de Su Magestad. No solo con la retension del ofiçio que le dava la orden, pero si convi[niera]/ sin retension del, como leal vasallo de Su Magestad. Y esto respondieron y pasó ante mí y lo fir[maron],/ de que doi fee y de conoser a los susodichos./20 Fray Domingo de Noriega,/ comisario general de Nueva España [rubricado]/ Fray Francisco de Ayeta [rubricado]/ Ante my, Joseph del Castillo [rubricado]/ Scriuano publico./25 Su Excelencia./ Presentes Agurto, Delgado, Vargas. Presentes los señores fiscales de Su Magestad Me[\*ndrice],/ Deza, Rosal, Gusman./ [hay una rúbrica en el margen izquierdo, después de la línea 6]./

Attorney of His Majesty on the preceding page to the Most Reverend Father Friar Domingo de Noriega, religous of the order of the seraphic St. Francis and comissary general of these provinces of New Spain, who, having heard and understood it, in his obedience called for the Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta, religious of said order, commissary visitor and procurator general of New Mexico and of all the provinces of New Spain in the court of His Majesty, and he ordered him by holy obedience, without prejudice to the office of procurator general of all New Spain which he presently holds, to accept and obey the orders that His Majesty gives him and to suspend for the present time his voyage to Spain. And having heard it while prostrate on the ground, said Reverend Father Friar Francisco de Ayeta responded, “I obey with complete willingness,” to what he was being ordered in the service of His Majesty, not only retaining the office which the order granted him, but if advisable, without retaining it, as a loyal vassal of His Majesty. And they replied and he passed before me and they signed it, to which I attest and to knowing the aforementioned. Friar Domingo de Noriega, comissary general of New Spain [rubric]. Friar Francisco de Ayeta [rubric]. Before me, Joseph del Castillo [rubric]. Public Scribe. His Lordship. Present: Agurto, Delgado, Vargas. Present were the Lord Crown Attorneys of His Majesty Mendrice, Deza, Rosal, Guzman. There is a rubric on the left margin, after line 6.

## Apéndice en T1

[fol. 468v] Concuerta con los originales que quedan en la secretaría de la governaçion y guerra de esta Nueva [España]/5 del cargo de don Pedro Velasques de la Cadenacavallero del orden de Santiago de don[de]/ yo, Manuel Sariñana, scrivano del Rey Nuestro Señor, ofiçal mayor y theniente de ella lo hice/ sacar y saqué por mandado del exçelentissimo señor Conde de Paredes Marques de la [La]-/guna, en la ciudad de Mexico a siete dias del mes de febrero de mil s[eis]-/cientos y ochenta y un años. Siendo testigos a lo veer sacar corregir y con[çer]-/10tar don Lorenço Carrasco de Vetancurt, don Diego Cortes de Puebla y Augusto/ Sariñana, vezinos de esta dicha ciudad. Enmendado = nce = o =llarse = me = illo = ase = C [=]/ ch = gnd = xpto = uam = stta = M = ria = y = feli = entre renglones = i celo = de los [=]/ ellos = valga = testado = correo = que dado = ha = nacion = es = que = cinaloa = ya = como/ lo han hecho = yndios = de = español = carros = las jurisdicciones del Reyno =/15 ys = dias = evangelio = uerssion = de = grandes = no valga = [rubricado]. Manuel Sariñana./ Scrivano real y ofiçal maior del reino [rubricado]./ De ofiçio [rubricado]./ Damos fee que Manuel Sariñana, de quien parece/20 está firmado este testimonio, es scrivano del Rey Nuestro Señor,/ oficial mayor y theniente de la Secretaría de la Governazion/ y Guerra de esta Nueva España del cargo de don Pedro Velas-/quez de la Cadena cavallero del orden de Santiago/ y como tal usa y exerçe dichos

## Appendix in T1

[fol. 468v] It conforms to the originals that are in the Secretariat of Government and War of this New Spain under the authority of Don Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena,<sup>1</sup> Knight of the Order of Santiago whereof I, Manuel Sariñana, scribe of the King Our Lord, chief clerk and lieutenant thereof, had it made and I made it by order of of the Most Excellent Lord Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, in the city of Mexico, on the seventh day of February of 1681. The witnesses to the vision, drafting, correction and collation of it were Don Lorenzo Carrasco de Betancurt, Don Diego Cortes de Puebla and Augusto Sariñana, residents of this said city. Enmended = nce = o =llarse = me = illo = ase = C [=]/ ch = gnd = xpto = uam = stta = M = ria = y = feli = entre renglones = i celo = de los [=]/ ellos = valga = testado = correo = que dado = ha = nacion = es = que = cinaloa = ya = como/ lo han hecho = yndios = de = español = carros = las jurisdicciones del Reyno =/15 ys = dias = evangelio = uerssion = de = grandes = no valga = [rubric]. Manuel Sariñana. Royal Scribe and Chief Clerk of the kingdom [rubric]. Office [rubric]. We attest that Manuel Sariñana, by whom this testimony is seemingly signed, is a scribe of the King Our Lord, chief clerk and lieutenant of the Secretariat of Governance and War of this New Spain under the authority of Don Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena, knight of the Order of Santiago, and as such uses and exercises said offices and the writs, deeds, orders, powers, testimonies and other

<sup>1</sup> He was the godfather of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, who refers to him in a letter, with reference to the dowry of 3,000 that Don Pedro gave her so that she could enter the convent of San Jerónimo ([www.identidades.org/literatura/sor\\_juana\\_autodefensa.htm](http://www.identidades.org/literatura/sor_juana_autodefensa.htm)).

ofícios y a los autos scriptu-/25ras mandamientos poderes testimonios y demas instrumentos/ que ante el susodicho han passado y pasan se les ha dado/ y da entera fee y credito judicial y extrajudicialmente./ [fol. 469r] Y para que de ello conste damos la presente en la ciudad de/ Mexico a siete dias del mes de febrero de mill seiscientos y/ ochenta y un años./ Gabriel de la Cuadra/5 scrivano real y Receptor [rubricado]/ Miguel Leonardo de Saya/ Scrivano Real [rubricado]/ Carlos de Sigüenza/ scrivano de Su Magestad [rubricado]./10 De oficio [rubricado]./

## Apéndice en T2

[fol. 827v] 20 Concuerta con los originales que quedan en la Secretaría de la Governacion y Guerra de esta Nueva España del cargo de don Pedro Velas-/quez de la Cadena, cavallero del horden de Santiago, de donde yo, Ma-/nuel Sariñana, escrivano del Rey Nuestro Señor, ofiçial maior y/ [fol. 828r] theniente de ella, lo hise sacar y saqué a pedimiento de la part[\*e]/ y por mandado del exçelentissimo señor Conde de Paderes Marques de la La-/guna Virrey de esta Nueva España, en la ciudad de Mexico, a veinte/ y dos dias del mes de febrero de mil y seisçientos y ochenta y un/5 años. Siendo testigos a lo ber sacar corregir y consertar don Lorenzo Car-/rasco de Vetancurt, Juan de Abarca y don Diego Cortes de Puebla ve-/sinos de esta dicha ciudad. Enmendado = mandato de arriua del = este testigo = a un yndio =/ no saber su = pocas bestias = t = entre renglones = de sinaloa = llogo = lo dulce = gomes = Va = tta =/ todos los tre = vnos en

instruments which have passed and pass before the aforementioned, have been and are completely certified and given judicial and extrajudicial credit. [fol. 469r] And so that it be entered into the record, we provide the present in the City of Mexico on the seventh day of the month of February of 1680. Gabriel de la Cuadra, Royal Scribe and Receptor [rubric]. Miguel Leonardo de Saya, Royal Scribe [rubric]. Carlos de Sigüenza,<sup>2</sup> Scribe of His Majesty [rubric]. Office [rubric].

## Appendix in T2

[fol. 827v] It conforms to the originals that are in the Secretariat of Governance and War of this New Spain under the charge of Don Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena, knight of the Order of Santiago, whereof I, Manuel Sariñana, scribe of the King Our Lord, distinguished officer and [fol. 828r] lieutenant thereof, had it drafted and drafted it on behalf of and by order of the Most Excellent Lord Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, viceroy of this New Spain, in the City of Mexico, on the twenty-second day of the month of February of 1681. The witnesses to the vision, drafting, correction and collation of it were Don Lorenzo Carrasco de Betancurt, Juan de Abarca and Don Diego Cortes de Puebla, residents of this said city. Emended = mandato de arriua del = este testigo = a un yndio = no saber su = pocas bestias = t = entre renglones = de sinaloa = llogo = lo dulce = gomes = Va = tta = todos los tre = vnos en otros = do = supo =

<sup>2</sup> This could be Mexican author Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700).

otros = do = supo = socorro = sugetos =  
 sebastian = y = ximenez = edad =  
 P[resent\*es] =/10 lopez sambrano =  
 caminado = su Magestad = o que ni lo que  
 = pagados = familias = pessos adelan-  
 /tados = la vida = nove =./ Manuel  
 Sariñana,/ scrivano real y ofiçial maior del  
 reino [rubricado]./ Damos fee que Manuel  
 Sariñana, de quien este testimonio parece  
 estar firmad[\*o],/15 es escrivano del Rey  
 Nuestro Señor, oficial mayor y theniente de  
 la Secretaría de la Governazion [\*i]/  
 Guerra desta Nueva España, del cargo de  
 don Pedro Velasques de la Cadena  
 cavallero del/ orden de Santiago y como tal  
 ussa y exerse dichos ofiçios. Y a los autos  
 testimonio[\*s]/ escripturas poderes  
 mandamientos y demas ynstrumentos que  
 ante el suso dicho/ an passado y passan se  
 les a dado y da entera fee y credito judicial  
 y extrajudi-/20çialmente. Y para que de  
 ello conste, damos la pressente en la ciudad  
 de Mexico a/ veinte y dos dias del mes de  
 febrero de mill seiscientos y ochenta y un  
 años./ Antonio F[\*ernandez] de Gusman,/  
 scrivano real [rubricado]/ Antonio  
 Ximenez de Gusman,/25 scrivano real y  
 receptor [rubricado]/ Carlos de Siguenza,/  
 scrivano de Su Magestad  
 [rubricado]./ [hay una rúbrica al margen  
 inferior derecho]./

socorro = sugetos = sebastian = y =  
 ximenez = edad = Present\*es = lopez  
 sambrano = caminado = su Magestad = o  
 que ni lo que = pagados = familias = pessos  
 adelantados = la vida = nove =. Manuel  
 Sariñana, Royal Scribe and Chief Clerk of  
 the kingdom [rubric]. We attest that  
 Manuel Sariñana, by whom this testimony  
 is seemingly signed, is a scribe of the King  
 Our Lord, chief clerk and lieutenant of the  
 Secretariat of Governance and War of this  
 New Spain, under the authority of Don  
 Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena, knight of  
 the Order of Santiago and as such uses and  
 exercises said offices. And the writs, deeds,  
 orders, powers, testimonies and other  
 instruments which have passed and pass  
 before the aforementioned, have been and  
 are completely certified and given judicial  
 and extrajudicial credit. And so that it may  
 be entered into the record, we provide the  
 present in the City of Mexico, February 22,  
 1680. Antonio F\*ernandez de Guzman,  
 Royal Scribe [rubric]. Antonio Ximenez  
 de Guzman, royal scribe and Receptor  
 [rubric]. Carlos de Siguenza, Scribe of His  
 Majesty [rubric]. [There is a rubric at the  
 lower right margin.]

## Variants

Here only the variants from T1, T2, AF or D differing from the original (PI) are included. D, written 112 years after PI, starts its copy from PI 307v19 and it is only a compilation of selected passages from the original, not a whole transcription. We therefore indicate the differences between the original and D, but not the omitted portions of text, since D was not a copy intended as a thorough and detailed transcription, like T1, T2 and AF were. Nevertheless, when omissions in D are either syntactic, due to the scribe's preference or to idiomatic changes in Spanish, they are indicated. (e. g. PI 309v16 *determino de aser confiansa*: D23r19-20 *determinó hacer confianza*). D consistently leaves out all the notes

contained on the margins of PI. The transcription for the variants is literal and unedited. It therefore reproduces the original writing in the manuscripts. Abbreviations, however, are resolved and marked with italics.

D page unnumbered (a) *in the middle*: Tabla | de las piezas de este tomo | 2. Documentos sacados de los autos | existentes en el oficio del Superior Go | bierno de esta Córte que, sobre el levan | tamiento del año de 1680. formó Don | Antonio de Otermín, Gobernador y | Capitan General del reyno de nuevo | México 1680; D page unnumbered (b) *above*: Escalante, y Fray Francisco Atanacio | Dominguez. | Certifico que todas las piezas de este tomo son | fieles copias de sus originales. Mexico veinte y | siete de Diziembre de mil setecientos noventa y dos | Fray Francisco Garcia Figueroa [*rubric*]; D 20r1-9 Documentos para la Historia del Nuevo México sacados de los autos existentes en el Oficio del Superior Gobierno de esta Corte, que sobre el levantamiento del año de 1680, formó D. Antonio de Otermín, Gobernador y Capitan General del Reyno de nuevo Mexico; T2 558v13 *left margin*: Caeza de pro | sesso por alsamiento | de los yndios chris | tianos; PI 305r1 deste: T1 265r18, AF 1r1 de este; PI 305r2 dias del mes: AF 1r2 *omitted*; PI 305r4 deste: T1 265r22, AF 1r3 de este; PI 305r4 dixo: T1 265r24, AF 1r4 digo; PI 305r5 acava: T1 265r25 acabo; PI 305r5 resivir: T1 265r25 receuir; PI 305r6 Fernando: AF 1r5 Francisco; PI 305r7 de Heras: T1 265v2 *omitted*: de, AF 1r7 Susa; PI 305r9 jurisdición: AF 1r6 jurisdicción; PI 305r11 fe: AF 1r9 fee; PI 305r11-12 ministros: AF 1r10 mismos; PI 305r13: T2 559r14 deste: T1 265v13, AF 1r11 de este; PI 305r16 tagnos: AF 1r14 tasnos; PI 305r17 *quenta*: AF 1r15 estta notticia; PI 305r21 tagnos: T1 266r2-3, AF 1r19 tasnos; PI 305r23 ya: AF 1r21 la; PI 305r24 deste: T1 266r8, T2 559v12, AF 1r21 de este; PI 305r26 ygnobediencia: T2 559v16 ynobediencia, AF 1r23 inobediencia; PI 305r27 prisa: T2 559v19 presision, AF 1r24-25 precision; PI 305r28 Maestro: T1 266r15 Maestre; PI 305r29 dichos dos yndios: T2 560r1 *omitted*: dichos dos; PI 305r32 juridiciones: AF 1r29 jurisdicciones; PI 305r32 deste: T1266r24, T2560r6, AF 1r29 de este; PI 305v1 *dichas*: AF 1r31 dichos;



PI 305v3 quien: AF 1v1 quienes;  
 PI 305v6 del: T1 266v9, AF 1v4 de el;  
 PI 305v6 yntrepetaçion: T1 266v10 interpretaçion, T2 560r18-19  
 ynterpretacion, AF 1v4 interprettacion;  
 PI 305v7 abiendoles: AF 1v5 haviendole;  
 PI 305v9 y a los pecos: AF 1v7 y a los pocos; T2 560v2 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 305v9-10 demas: AF 1v8 mas;  
 PI 305v12 ellos: AF 1v11 esttos;  
 PI 305v 13 Pedro Situ: AF 1v12 Pedro y Ycitta;  
 PI 305v13-14 Diego M[ode] los quales: T1 266v25, T2 560v13 Diego  
 Mode los quales, AF 1v12 Diego Omittua de los quales;  
 T1 266v23 *left margin*: Declaraziones de los | dos yndios de the |  
 suque;  
 PI 305v17 que que: AF 1v15 que;  
 PI 305v17 alsarse: T1 267r5 aliarse;  
 PI 305v18 respetto: T2 561r1 respecto;  
 PI 305v17-18 perder a D[ios] el respetto y a su magestad: AF 1v16  
 perder el respetto y a su Magestad;  
 PI 305v19 abian echo: T2 561r4 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v20 santa Clara: AF 1v18 y Santta clara;  
 PI 305v20 Poxuaque: T1 267r11 Poxurate, T2 561r6 puxuaque, AF  
 1v19 loxuaq;  
 PI 305v20 Emex: T2 561r6 hemes, AF 1v19 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v20-21 y otras naçiones: T2 561r6 *omitted*;  
 T2 561r8 *crossed out*: vnos en otros;  
 PI 305v20-21 naçiones: T1 267r12 nasçiones;  
 PI 305v21 destes: T1 267r11, AF 1v19 de estos;  
 PI 305v21-22 se deçi[a] de general vos: AF 1v20 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v23-24 po he Yemu: T2 561r12 ponximu, AF 1v22  
 Deposiximo;  
 PI 305v24 en ello: AF 1v23 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v25 a todo: AF 1v23 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v25 matando a todo: T2 561r14-15 *omitted*: a;  
 PI 305v26 de Po he Yemu: AF 1v24 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v26 y con: AF 1v24 *omitted* y;  
 PI 305v27-28 [lle]gado: AF 1v25-26 alcanzado;  
 PI 305v29-30 se d[i]o abiso dello: T1 267v3-4 se dieron aviso de  
 ello, T2 561v2 se dio auisso de ello, AF 1v28 se dio aviso de  
 ello;  
 PI 305v30 a llegado: AF 1v29 *omitted* a;  
 PI 305v31-32 [so] cargo: AF 1v30 *omitted* so;  
 PI 305v32 siendoles: AF 1v31 siendole;  
 PI 305v32 leid[os]: T1 267v10, T2 561v9 leydos, AF 1v32 leydo;  
 PI 305v33: dado: AF 1v32 dadoles;

PI 305v33 ni firmar: AF 2r1 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v34 Maestro: T1 267v14, AF 2r2 Maestre;  
 PI 305v34 Robledo: AF 2r2 *omitted*;  
 PI 305v36 prosiga: AF 2r3 ponga;  
 PI 305v36 al: AF 2r4 el;  
 PI 305v36 de las: AF 2r4 a las;  
 PI 306r1 convienen al: T1 267v19-20 contienen el;  
 PI 306r2 gouernaçon: AF 2r6 Gobierno;  
 PI 306r6 Luis: AF 2r8 Ruiz;  
 PI 306r8 gouernaçon: AF 2r9 Gobierno;  
 PI 306r9 en dies dias del mes: AF 2r10 en 10 de;  
 PI 306r12 della: T1 268r5, T2 562r8-9 AF 2r12 de ella;  
 PI 306r12 judia: T1 268r6 huyda, AF 2r12 huida;  
 PI 306r18 se llame: AF 2r18 se llama;  
 PI 306r20 and 23 secretario de gouernaçon: AF 2r20 y 21 Escribano de gobierno;  
 PI 306v2 destos: T1 268r26, T2 562v9, AF2r23 de estos;  
 PI 306v3 desta: T1 268v1 De esta, AF 2r24 deesta;  
 PI 306v5 de lo que supiere: T1 268v5-6, T2 562v15 de todo lo que supiere;  
 PI 306v6 le paso: T1 268v8 and T2 562v17 *omitted* le;  
 PI 306v6 a el y al Padre: T1 268v8 and T2 562v18 a el y a el Padre;  
 PI 306v7 passó: T1 268v11 and T2 562v20 pasa, AF 2r29 *omitted*;  
 PI 306v8 desta: T1 268v11-12, AF 2r29 de esta;  
 PI 306v9 hallar[on]: AF 2v1 hallando;  
 PI 306v10 ganadillos que tenian: AF 2v1 ganados *que* tenian;  
 PI 306v11 y el dicho: T2 563r7 *omitted*: el;  
 PI 306v11-12 la jente: AF 2v2-3 las gentes;  
 PI 306v12 como un: T2 563r10 como a un;  
 PI 306v13-14 enbijados: AF 2v5 enbigados;  
 PI 306v13 allaron: T2 563r11, AF 2v4 hallaron;  
 PI 306v14 arcos flechas: T2 563r13 arcos y flechas;  
 PI 306v15 diçiendoles: T1 269r8, diciendo, T2 563v4 Disiendo;  
 PI 306v21 salir a un: T2 563v6 salir vn;  
 PI 306v23 enbijado: AF 2v14 emvigado;  
 PI 306v25-26 conque ra[n]co: T1 269r20, T2 563v16 conque arrancó, AF 2v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 306v27 conque: T2 563v19 con quien;  
 PI 306v28 dellos: T2 564r1, AF 2v18-19 de ellos;  
 PI 306v30-31 le j[u]sgo: AF 21 le tubo;  
 PI 307r2 este su dicho declaro: AF 2v25-26 estta su dicha declaracion dijo;  
 PI 307r4 secretario de gouernacion: AF 2v28 scribano de gobierno;  
 PI 307r8 secretario de gouernacion: AF 2v29 Esscribano de

gobierno; PI 307r9 yncontinente: T1 269v17, T2 564v3, AF 3r1 incontinenti;  
 PI 307r12 santos: T1 269v23 sanctos;  
 PI 307r12 del: T1 269v24 de el;  
 PI 307r15 mismo: T1 270r2, T2 564v16 mesmo;  
 PI 307r15 a el: T2 564v17 al;  
 T1 269v17 Autto | Para rrecoger | a las casas de | cauildo | toda la | gente;  
 PI 307r16 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 3r7-8 *Esscribano* de *gobierno*;  
 PI 307r17 desta: AF 9 de esta;  
 PI 307r17 *juridiccion*: T2 564v20-21, AF 3r9 *jurisdiccio*n;  
 PI 307r18 al henemigo: AF 3r10 a el enemigo;  
 PI 307r20 el armeria: T1 270r11, T2 565r6, AF 3r12 la armeria;  
 PI 307r24 mesma suerte: AF 3r15 misma dicha suerte;  
 PI 307v1 ymajenes: T2 565r16 ymaginaciones;  
 PI 307v1-2 execute el *secretario*: AF 3r17 executó el *Escrivano*;  
 PI 307v2 desta: T1 270r24, AF 3r18 de esta;  
 PI 307v2-3 lo probey mande y firme: AF 3r18 lo probeyo, mandó y firmó;  
 PI 307v3 *Secretario*: T2 565v2 Señor, AF 3r19 *Esscrivano*;  
 PI 307v7 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 3r20 *esscribano* de *gobierno*;  
 PI 307v8 *secretario*: AF 3r21 *esscribano*;  
 PI 307v8 destas: T1 270v1, AF 3r21 de estas;  
 PI 307v9 desta: T1 270v3, AF 3r22 de esta;  
 PI 307v16 En testimonio de verdad hago mi firma: T2 566r1, AF 3r28 *omitted*;  
 PI 307v16 firma y *rubrica*: T1 270v16 signo y Rúbrica;  
 T1 270v18 *left margin*: Dilixençia y | declaraçion | de nicolas luçero | [*crossed out*: en que dice] y Antonio | Gomez en que | dicen como los co | rrieron los Yndios | Por los Montes | Para Matarlos | y como lo hicieron | con otras perso | nas que no pudieron | huir;  
 PI 307v18 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 3r29 *Esscribano* de *gobierno*;  
 AF 3r30 *left margin*: Diligencia/y Autto pro/beydo por el/Señor Governador;  
 PI 307v20 soldados: AF 3r32 soldado;  
 PI 307v21 juiendo: T1 270v22, T2 566r9, D 20r5 huyendo, AF 3r32 huyendo;  
 PI 308r2 tirandole: D 20r8 tirandoles;  
 PI 308r3 despachados: D 20r9 despachos;  
 PI 308r4 alsamiento: D 20r10-11, AF 3v3 allanamiento;  
 PI 308r5 pecuries: D 20r11 Picuries;  
 PI 308r5 *juridiccion*: T2, AF 3v4 566r20 *jurisdiccio*n, D 20r12

jurisdiccion;  
 PI 308r6 me dio abiso: D 20r14 avisó;  
 PI 308r7 viernes digo sabado: AF 3v6 savado;  
 PI 308r14 jurisdiccion: AF 3v13 jurisdiccion,  
 PI 308r16 hemes: D 20v13, AF 3v15 Jumes;  
 PI 308r17 dichos indios: T2 567r4 *omitted*: dichos;  
 PI 308r17 y van: D 20v14 iban, AF 3v16 y yban;  
 PI 308r19 maldades atosidades: T2 567r9 maldades y atosidades; PI  
 308r20 mandé: D 20v18, AF 3v19 mandó;  
 PI 308r20 mando: D 20v18, AF 3v19 mandó;  
 PI 308r20 Maestro: D 20v19 Maestre;  
 PI 308r22 lo susedido: D 20v21 lo suso dicho, digo. lo sucedido, AF  
 3v21 lo suso dicho digo sucedido;  
 PI 308r23 Cuia Mungue: D 20v23 Cuyanvinque;  
 PI 308r23 Posuaque: T1 271v14 Pesuaque, T2 567r18 Pesuque, D  
 20v23 Percaque, AF 3v23 Peniaque;  
 PI 308r24 dichos: AF 3v24 dicho;  
 PI 308r26 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 3v26 *Esscribano* de  
*Gobierno*;  
 PI 308r31 *Secretario* de *Gouernacion* y *Guerra*: D 21r3, AF 3v28  
*Escrivano* de *Gobierno*;  
 PI 308v1 dias del mes: AF 3v29 *omitted*;  
 PI 308v2 Maestro: D 21r6 Maestre;  
 PI 308v2 Robledo: AF 3v30 *omitted*;  
 PI 308v3 juridiccion: T2 567v19 jurisdiccion, AF 4r1 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 308v4 jurisdiccion: AF 4r2 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 308v5 rexistrado: D 21r10, AF 4r2 reconocido;  
 PI 308v5 de soldados: T2 568r1 de los soldados;  
 PI 308v7 dellos: T1 272r11, T2 568r6, D 21r14, AF 4r5 de ellos;  
 T1 271v25 *left margin*: Auto y | declaracion | del *Maestro* de | Campo  
*francisco* | Gomez | en que dice como bio | a los yndios alçados | en  
 los Pueblos de los | theguas y cañada;  
 PI 308v8 en la çiera del arroyo: T1 272r13, T2 568r7 en la cima del  
 arroyo, D 21r15, AF 4r5-6 en el arroyo;  
 PI 308v9-10 persona ninguna: D 21r16, AF 4r7 persona alguna;  
 PI 308v12 Posuaque: T1 272r22, T2 568r16-17 Poxuaque;  
 PI 308v13 Joseph de Goitia: D 21r21-22 José Goytia, AF 4r11 Joseph  
 Goytia;  
 PI 308v14 pretonila: T1 272r26, T2 568r20, D 21r23, AF 4r 12  
 Petronila;  
 PI 308v15 que tiene: D 21r24, AF 4r12 que tienen;  
 PI 308v15 yjas: T2 568v4 hijas;  
 PI 308v16 mismo: T2 568v4 mesmo;  
 PI 308v16 esta: T1 272v3, T2 568v4-5 estaba;

PI 308v19 santos: T1 272v9 sanctos;  
 PI 308v21 Cristoval de Herrera: D 21v9, AF 4r20 Christoval Valdeherrera;  
 PI 308v23 cautivas: AF 4r21 caupttivas;  
 PI 308v25 al qual: T2 569r2 a el qual;  
 PI 308v25 y requirieron: D 21v14-15, AF 4r23 y le requirieron;  
 PI 308v26 se diese: T2 569r4 se le diese;  
 PI 308v27 y yrse al: D 21v17, AF 4r25 é irse a el;  
 PI 308v27-28 a declarado: T2 569r7 an declarado;  
 T1 273r6 *right margin*: Para que se con | suma el *sanctissimo* en | atencion a las no | tiçias que se tenian | de las hostialidades | del enemigo; PI 308v28-29 y en caso nesasario lo jura a Dios y a la Cruz y lo firmó con su Señoria ante mi el *Secretario de Governacion y Guerra*: D 21v18-21 en que juró á Dios, y á una señal de la cruz, y se afirmó y ratificó, en ello doy fé ... Ante mí, ... Escribano de Gobierno, AF 4r26-27 en que juró á Dios, y á una señal de la cruz, y se afirmó y ratificó, en ello;  
 PI 308v29 *secretario de governaçion*: AF 4r28 Esscribano de Gobierno;  
 PI 308v33 *secretario de governaçion*: AF 4r29 Esscribano de Gobierno;  
 PI 309r1 dias del mes: AF 4r30 *omitted*;  
 PI 309r1 de mill y seiscientos: T2 569r17 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 309r3 be: T1 273r11 vee;  
 PI 309r3 con la jente: AF 4v1 como la gentte;  
 PI 309r3 desta: T1 273r13, D 22r2, AF 4v1 de esta;  
 PI 309r8 ynbio: T2 569v12 embio, D 22r9 envió, AF 4v6 emvio;  
 PI 309r11 propios: T1 273v1, T2 569v18, D 22r13, AF 4v9 propios;  
 PI 309r12 tagnos pecos: D 22r14 Tanos y Pecos, AF 4v10 Tasnos, Pacos;  
 PI 309r15 Juan de Leiva: D 22r19 Juan de Lisva, AF 4v13 Juan de Lisba;  
 PI 309r15 Nicolas de Leiva: D 22r19-20, AF 4v14 Nicolas de Lisva;  
 PI 309r16 y a todas: T1 273v11, T2 570r9 y todas;  
 PI 309r19 jurisdicçiones: T2 570r16, AF 4v18 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 309r24 Santisimo: T1 274r1 Sanctissimo;  
 PI 309r24 ymajenes: T1 274r2 ymagines;  
 D 22v11 *repeated*: Francisco;  
 PI 309r27-28 de la: D 22v13, AF 4v27-28 á la;  
 PI 309r30 ynbie: T2 571r2, AF 4v30 embie, D 22v17 envie;  
 PI 309r31 troneen: D 22v18, AF 5r1 troneren;  
 PI 309r32 esmeriles: D 22v20 de esmeriles, AF 5r3 esmiriles;  
 PI 309r32 se pongan: T2 571r7 y se pongan;

PI 309r33 en las puertas: D 22v21 en la punta, AF 5r3 en las puntas;  
 PI 309r33-34 cargadas y encabalgadas en sus cureñas asestadas: T1  
 274r21-23, T2 571r8-10 cargadas y encabalgadas con sus cureñas  
 ajustadas, D 22v21-22, AF 5r3-4 cargados y bien prevenidos en sus  
 cureñas asentadas;  
 PI 309r34-35 para que se puedan aseztar a la parte donde acometiere  
 el henemigo: D 22v23-24 and 23r1, AF 5r4-5 para que se puedan  
 alcanzar los tiros que perjudiquen a la parte donde acometiere el  
 enemigo;  
 PI 309v1-2 y lo firmó ante mí, el *Secretario* [de] *Governacion* y  
*Guerra*: D 23r5 doy fe;  
 PI 309v1 *secretario* [de] *gouernacion*: AF 5r8-9 *esscribano* de  
*gobierno*;  
 PI 309v6 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 5r10 *Esscribano* de  
*Gobierno*; PI 309v6 *Secretario*: D 23r6 *Escribano*;  
 PI 309v7 *fee*: D 23r7 *Fé*;  
 T1 274v9 *left margin*: Auto | y *dilixençia* | en 13 en *que* | el  
*gouernador* ymbio dos | yndios theguas | a el campo de los al | çados  
 para que su | piesen su disignio | y como se quedaron com | los demas  
 al | çados y el uno fue ca| pytaneandolos | *conver* | çar a santa fe | y el  
 coloquio | que hubo con el | *gouernador* sobre las | + Blancas y |  
 coloradas y en | este auto se Re | fiere las dos Ba | tallas que les | dio y  
 como los | derroto;  
 PI 309v7 *dichos*: AF 5r11 *omitted*;  
 PI 309v7 *Gouernador* y *Capitan*: T2 571v6 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 309v10 *mesmo*: T1 274v17 *mesmo*;  
 PI 309v10 *tagnos* y *pecos*: T1 274v18, T2 571v14 *tagnos* y *theguas*, D  
 23r13 *Tanos* y *Pecos*, AF 5r16 *Tasnos* y *pecas*;  
 PI 309v11 *por quien*: T2 571v14 y *por quien*;  
 PI 309v11 y *alsamiento*: T2 571v16 y el *alsamiento*;  
 AF 5r18 *omitted lines 12-14 de PI*;  
 PI 309v14 *mesmo*: T1 274v28 *mesmo*;  
 PI 309v16 *juridiçiones*: T2 572r8, AF 5r20 *jurisdicçiones*;  
 PI 309v16-17 *de aser*: D 23r19-20 *hacer*, AF 5r21 *há hacer*;  
 PI 309v17 *dellos*: T2 572r11, D 23r20-21, AF 5r22 *de ellos*;  
 PI 309v17 *desta*: D 23r21, AF 5r22 *de esta*;  
 PI 309v18 *la dicha*: D 23r23, AF 5r24 *dicha*;  
 PI 309v20 *jurisdicçiones*: T2 572r18-19, AF 5r25 *jurisdicciones*;  
 PI 309v20 *tagnos* y *queres*: D 23v1-2 *Tanos* y *Qüeres*, AF 5r25  
*Tasnos* y *Queres*;  
 PI 309v21 *trujesen*: D 23v1-2, AF 5r26 *trageran*;  
 PI 309v22 *todos agasaxos*: T2 572v3 *todos los agasajos*;  
 PI 309v22 *lo que*: T2 572v4 *lo qual*;

PI 309v25 dichas cartas: T1 275r22, T2 572v9, D 23v8, AF 5r30 otras cartas;  
 PI 309v26 u otras personas susedio: D 23v10 y otras personas; sucediendo, AF 5r31-32 y otras Personas, subcedio;  
 PI 309v26 se juieron: T1 275r25, T2 572v13, D 23v11 se huyeron, AF 5r32 se huieron;  
 PI 309v27 carta: T1 275v1, T2 572v15 cartas;  
 PI 309v29-30 [Galis]teo: AF 5v4, D23v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 309v31 desta: T1 275v8, D 23v17, AF 5v5 de esta;  
 PI 309v31 *governador*: D 23v18 gobierno, AF 5v5 gobierno;  
 PI 310r1-2 aprovecharse de las españolas: T2 573r6 aprovecharse de los españoles;  
 PI 310r4 moria: AF 5v9 muria;  
 PI 310r6 alsado: D 24r2, AF 5v11 alzada;  
 PI 310r6 con: D 24r2, AF 5v11 como;  
 PI 310r7: pecuries: AF 5v12 Pecuires;  
 PI 310r7-8 apaches ynfieles: T1 275v23, T2 573r17 apaches yndiales;  
 PI 310r8 *para* entre todos dar çaco: D 24r5, AF 5v13 para dar entre todos cerco;  
 PI 310r8 della: T1 275v25, T2 573r19, D 24r6, AF 5v14 de ella;  
 PI 310r9 y a todos: T2 573r20 *omitted*: a;  
 PI 310r9 Y otro dia: D 24r7-8 y a otro dia;  
 PI 310r11 de los: T2 573v3 del;  
 PI 310r11 tanta: T1 276r5, T2 573v4 toda;  
 PI 310r12 se aloxaron: T2 573v5 se arrojaron;  
 PI 310r12 ellas: D 24r11 ellos;  
 PI 310r15 era almaisal: T2 573v12 ora al maisal, D 24r16 era Fiscal, AF 5v20 *omitted and left a blank space*;  
 PI 310r16 arcabus: D 24r17, AF 5v20 arcabuces;  
 PI 310r16 espada: AF v520 espadas;  
 PI 310r16 todas: D 24r17-18 toda;  
 PI 310r16 al qual: D 24r18 el qual;  
 PI 310r17 a hablar con el Señor: T1 276r17, T2 573v17, D 24r20, AF 5v22 a hablar con su señoria el señor;  
 PI 310r18 haçia: D 24r21 haria;  
 PI 310r19 se habia fiado del: D 24r22, AF 5v23 le habia fiado de él;  
 T1 276r20 *right margin*: Respuesta | del yndio;  
 PI 310r24 significava: D 24v6 significa;  
 PI 310r26 delitos: T1 276v8-9, T2 574r17 delictos;  
 PI 310r27 ni a perder: T1 276v10, T2 574r18 *omitted*: a;  
 PI 310r27-28 conque con esta respuesta: D 24v11, AF 5v32 *omitted*: conque;  
 PI 310r32 su abilantes: D 24v15 sus habitantes, AF 6r3 sus avittantes;  
 PI 310v4 mas: D 24v24, AF 6r8 demás;

PI 310v5 casi: D 25r1, AF 6r9 quasi;  
 PI 310v7 a relijiosos: D 25r4, AF 6r11 á los Religiosos;  
 PI 310v9 casi: D 25r7, AF 6r13 quasi;  
 PI 310v10 quitadoles: T2 575r13 quitandoles;  
 PI 310v13 tagnos: D 25r13 Tanos;  
 PI 310v15 y ser ya casi a puestas del sol: D 25r15-16 y su Iglesia  
 quasi a puestas del sol, AF 6r18 y su Iglesia quasi a puertas del sol;  
 PI 310v16 juida: T1 277r26, T2 575v7 huyda, D 25r16, AF 6r19 fuga;  
 PI 310v16 tagnos: D 25r16 Tanos, AF 6r19 Tasnos;  
 PI 310v18 puçieron: D 25r20, AF 6r21 hicieron;  
 PI 310v19 asistia: T2 575v15 Asistieron;  
 PI 310v20 dellas: T1 277v7, T2 575v16, D 25r22, AF 6r23 de ellas;  
 PI 310v20 antes si enpidiendosela: T1 277v8-9, T2 575v17 antes  
 impidiendosela, D 25r23, AF 6r23 antes si impidiendosela;  
 PI 310v21-22 del campo: T2 576r1 *omitted*;  
 PI 310v22 casas: D 25v1, AF 6r25 cosas;  
 PI 310v23 abrasandola: T2 576r3-4 y quemandola;  
 D 25v7-8 *repeated*: quitado el agua;  
 PI 310v26-27 yn totun: T1 277r20, T2 576r11 in totum, D 25v8, AF  
 6r29 *omitted*;  
 PI 310v27 que no la tubimos: D 25v8, AF 6r29 *omitted*: la;  
 PI 310v28 pereser: T2 576r14 Pareser;  
 PI 310v30 fe: AF 6r32 fee;  
 PI 310v30 della: T1 277v26, T2 576r18, D 25v12, AF 6r32 de ella,  
 PI 310v30 alojado: D 25v13 arrojado;  
 PI 310v31 bigtoria: T1 278r3 vitoria, T2 576v2, D 25v14, AF 6r33  
 victoria;  
 PI 310v32 moririamos: D 25v15 moriamos;  
 PI 310v32-33 de [mas] experienciã: T1 278r5-6, T2 576v5 de mas  
 experiencia, D 25v16, AF 6v1 de mejor experiencia;  
 PI 310v33 otro dia: T2 576v6 y otro dia;  
 PI 310v33-34 en guerra rota: D 25v17-18, AF 6v2 en su bravura;  
 PI 310v34 peleando: AF 6v2 pelando;  
 PI 311r1 dentro de: T2 576v10 en;  
 PI 311r7 de juida: T1 278r22, T2 577r3 de huyda, D 26r4, AF 6v9  
 fugitivos;  
 PI 311r8 reyno: T1 278r24, T2 577r5 Rio;  
 PI 311r10-11 dispuesto de mucho tiempo antes: D 26r7-8, AF 6v11-  
 12 dispuesta de mucho tiempo antes; T1 278v1, T2 57739-10  
 dispuesta de mucho antes;  
 PI 311r12 executarla: D 26r9 egecutarlo;  
 PI 311r13-14 Po He Yemu: D 26r12 Pedro Luzemu, AF 6v15 Pedro  
 Lusemu;



PI 311r14 Montesuma: D 26r12 Moctezuma, AF 6v15 Montecsuma;  
 PI 311r18-19 con las mujeres y niños: T1 278v15-16 con las mugeres  
 [*crossed out*: como lo han hecho] y niños, D 26r18-19, AF 6v20 con  
 las mugeres y niñas;  
 PI 311r19 Que todo lo demas: D 26r19, AF 6v20 que todos los demas;  
 PI 311r19 abian: T1 278v17 hauia, T2 577v7 auia;  
 PI 311r19 de pecho: D 26r20, AF 6v21 de pechos;  
 PI 311r21 an durado: T2 577v11 a durado;  
 PI 311r22 costado: AF 6v24 contado;  
 PI 311r23 Maestro: T1 278v24, T2 577v16-17 Maestre;  
 PI 311r26 de los: T1 279r2-3, T2 578r3 de dichos;  
 PI 311r28 serenissima: D 26v8 Santissima;  
 PI 311r31 dias del mes: AF 7r2 *omitted*;  
 PI 311r31 ochenta años: AF 7r2 680 años;  
 PI 311v8 Blas Griego: T1 279r22, T2 578v4 Blas Griegos;  
 T1 279r25 *right margin*: Auto para sa | lir en 21 y | dicho dia salie |  
 ron;  
 PI 311v13 *Secretario*: D 26v12 Escribano;  
 PI 311v13 *Secretario de gouernacion*: AF 7r7 *esscribano* de  
 gouerno; D 26v13 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 311v14 deste: T1 279r26, D 26v13, AF 7r8 de este;  
 PI 311v14-15 dias del mes de agosto: D 26v14, AF 7r9 *omitted*: dias  
 del mes;  
 PI 311v16 deste: T1 279v4, D 26v16, AF 7r10 de este;  
 PI 311v18 rebelados: D 26v19 reveldes;  
 PI 311v19 fe: AF 7r13 fee;  
 PI 311v19 de juida: T1 279v12-13, T2 579r4 de huyda, D 26v21, AF  
 7r13 fugitivos;  
 PI 311v20 en el contorno: D 26v22, AF 7r14 *omitted*;  
 PI 311v21 desta: T1 279v15, D 26v22, AF 7r14 de esta;  
 PI 311v26 y todos: D 27r6, AF 7r19 á todos;  
 PI 311v28 juridicçiones: T1 280r3, T2 579v3, AF 7r20 juridicçiones,  
 D 27r8-9 juridicçiones;  
 PI 311v28 y saberse: D 27r9 y saber;  
 PI 311v29 taos: T2 579v5 thos;  
 PI 311v29 ay cantidad de: D 27r10, AF 7r22 *omitted*;  
 PI 311v31 que las que: D 27r12 *omitted*: las que;  
 PI 311v31 sitiadas: D 27r12 sitiados, AF 7r23 cittiados;  
 PI 311v36 de estar: D 27r19-20, AF 7r28 de esta villa;  
 PI 312r1 enserrado: T1 280r22, T2 580r4-5 encerrados;  
 PI 312r1 de noche: D 27r20, AF 7r29 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 312r4 guardia: T2 580r12-13, D 27r24, AF 7r32 guarda;  
 PI 312r6 santa: T1 280v6 Sancta;

PI 312r9 abigtual: T1 280v13, D 27v7 habitual, T2 580v5 abitual, AF 7v2 avitual;  
 PI 312r11 *mayor*: D 27v10 *omitted*;  
 PI 312r13-14 de esta: T2 580v15 desta;  
 PI 312r16 jurisdicciones: AF 7v9 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 312r19 de todas ellas: T1 281r8, T2 581r10 *omitted*: ellas;  
 PI 312r19 çiento: D 27v22, AF 7v13 cien;  
 PI 312r20 forzosamente an de marchar: D 27v24, AF 7v14 por solamente ser forzoso marchen;  
 PI 312r25 desta: T1 281r20, D 28r6, AF 7v18 de esta;  
 PI 312r26 ajustandose: D 28r8, AF 7v20 allanandose;  
 PI 312r28 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 7v22 *Esscribano de gouerno*;  
 PI 312r29 *secretario*: AF 7v22 *Esscribano*;  
 PI 312r29 socorra: T2 581v14 socorria;  
 T2 581v13 *omitted*: Y su *Señoria*;  
 PI 312r31 peltrechos: T2 582r1, AF 7v25 Pertrechos;  
 T1 281v13, T2 582r7 *omitted*: Pasan las firmas;  
 PI 312v1 Robledo: AF 7v28 *omitted*;  
 PI 312v3 Sais: AF 7v29 Sainz;  
 PI 312v9 Passo: AF 7v31 *omitted*;  
 PI 312v11 *Secretario*: D 28r11 *Escribano*;  
 PI 312v11 *Secretario de gouernacion*: AF 7v32 *Esscribano de gouerno*;  
 PI 312v12 *Maestro*: D 28r12 *Maestre*;  
 PI 312v13 *Secretario*: D 28r13, AF 8r1 *Escribano*;  
 PI 312v13 destas: T1 281v24, D 28r14, AF 8r1 de estas;  
 PI 312v14 deste: T1 281v27, D 28r16, AF 8r3 de este;  
 PI 312v14 fee: D 28r17 fê;  
 PI 312v16 de dicho *Señor*: D 28r18-19 del *Señor*;  
 PI 312v17 a todas sus familias: T2 582v8 *omitted*: a todas;  
 PI 312v18 todo jenero de jente: D 28r22 *omitted*: jenero de;  
 PI 312v19 se hallan: T1 282r8-9, T2 582v12 se hallaron;  
 T1 282r9 *right margin*: salieron de | santa fe mil | y mas almas | para hacer biaje | a quien para su | abio de todo Repar | tio el gobernador | 80 pesos;  
 PI 312v23 desta: D 28v4, AF 8r10-11 de esta;  
 PI 312v25 juridicciones: D 28v7 jurisdicciones, AF 8r13 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 312v26 Rio Abaxo: T1 282r21-22, T2 583r6 Pueblo abajo;  
 PI 312v26 *para que*: AF 8r13 *porque*;  
 PI 312v29 importaria la dadiva: D 28v12, AF 8r16 importarian las dadivas;  
 PI 313r2 pedimiento: D 28v15 pedimento;

PI 313r4 firmandodolo: T1 282v8-9, T2 583r19, D 28v17, AF 8r19  
 firmandolo;  
 T1 282v20 *left margin*: en que dice como | Bio que despues | de salido  
 el gouernador | de santa fe | la saquearon | yndios;  
 PI 313r9 *Secretario*: D 28v19 Escribano;  
 PI 313r9 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 8r22 de gouierno;  
 PI 313r10-11 dias del mes de agosto: D 28v21, AF 8r23 *omitted*: dias  
 del mes;  
 PI 313r17 se juio: T1 283r7, T2 584r6, D 29r6, AF 8r29-30 se huyó;  
 PI 313r19 Capitan: T2 584r11 Capitan General, D 29r9 *omitted*: y  
 Capitan;  
 PI 313r22 de decir: D 29r13 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 313r23 causa: AF 8v3 causó;  
 PI 313r23 confederarse: D 29r15 y confedarse;  
 PI 313r24 a el lo coxio: D 29r16, AF 8v4 á ello cogio;  
 PI 313r26 avian de pereser: T1 283r26, T2 584v6-7 *omitted*;  
 PI 313r28 desta: T1 283v5, D 29r22, AF 8v8 de esta;  
 PI 312r30 Señor Governador: T1 283v8, T2 584v13 *omitted*: Señor;  
 PI 313v1-2 mucha cantidad: D 29v3-4, AF 8v11 mucho numero;  
 PI 313v3 sacando: T2 585r1 saqueando;  
 PI 313v4 saco: D 29v7, AF 8v14 caso;  
 PI 313v5 poquete: AF 8v15 Roquette, D 29v9 Roque;  
 PI 313v6-7 plasa: T1 283v21 Casa, T2 585r10 cassa;  
 PI 313v8-9 con lo que los: T2 585r14 Comboquemos;  
 PI 313v9-10 los españoles nos an matado no ynporta que se vaian que  
 aora biviremos: T1 283v26, T2 585r14 *omitted*;  
 PI 313v14 yba marchando: D 29v22-23 habia marchado (digo) que  
 iva marchando;  
 PI 313v14 podian: AF 8v24 podrian;  
 PI 313v15 la plasa: AF 8v24 las Casas;  
 PI 313v16 jonva: D 30r2, AF 8v25 Tonva;  
 PI 313v16 en el saco: D 30r3, AF 8v26 en ella;  
 PI 313v17 saco: D 30r3, AF 8v26 caso;  
 PI 313v18-19 no supo ni vido: D 30r6, AF 8v28 no suponiendo;  
 PI 313v20-21 este su dicho y declaracion: D 30r8-9, AF 8v29-30 esta  
 su declaracion;  
 PI 313v23-24 y por ante mi el *Secretario de Governacion*: D 30r12-  
 13, AF 8v32-9r1 por ante mi el Escribano de Gobierno;  
 PI 313v23-24 el *Secretario*: T2 586r5-6 el presente *secretario*;  
 D 30r16 *left margin*: Auto;  
 PI 313v29 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 9r3 Esscribano de  
 gouierno; AF 9r3 *left margin*: Auto;  
 PI 313v30 deste: D 30r16, AF 9r4 de este;  
 PI 314r3 Joseph: D 30v1 José;

PI 314r3-4 de Montes de Oca: T1 284v19-20, T2 586v7 de montes  
 doca;  
 PI 314r5 se vido: T2 586v9 se halla;  
 PI 314r5 sepultura: T1 284v22, T2 586v10, AF 9r12 sepultura, D  
 30v4 sepultura;  
 PI 314r5-6 y que la yglesia estava serrada: D 30v4-5, AF 9r12-13 y  
 que estava la Iglesia cerrada;  
 PI 314r8 calis: D 30v9, AF 9r15 calices;  
 PI 314r9 una custodia: D 30v9 un custódia;  
 PI 314r9 siete vinajeras un ynsensario: T1 285r5-6, T2 586v18-19  
 siete vinageras y vn insensario, D 30v10 siete vinageras, un  
 incienzario;  
 PI 314r9 y nabeta: D 30v10, AF 9r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 314r16 a ellos: D 30v19, AF 9r23 á ellas;  
 PI 314r18 queran: T1 285r25, T2 587r20, D 30v23-24, AF 9r26 que  
 eran;  
 PI 314r20 oculto: T1 285v1, T2 587v2 ocultos;  
 PI 314r22 demostraciones: AF 9r30 demonstraciones;  
 PI 314r26-27 a alcansarnos: T2 587v16-17 *omitted*: a;  
 PI 314r29 juiendo: T1 285v19, T2 587v21 huyendo, D 31r14, AF 9v5  
 huyendo;  
 PI 314r29-30 soldados de los nuestros: T2 588r2 *omitted*: de los  
 nuestros;  
 PI 314r34 y otro dia: D 31r22 y á otro dia;  
 PI 314r36 ber: T1 286r9, T2 588r16 veer;  
 PI 314r38 se marchó: T1 286r12, T2 588r18-19 se mando;  
 PI 314v2-3 arroxar: D 31v7, AF 9v17 alojar;  
 PI 314v5 resevir: D 31v10, AF 9v20 recibir;  
 PI 314v5 al: AF 9v20 á el;  
 PI 314v8 açion: T1 286v1, T2 588v14 açion, D 31v14, AF 9v23  
 accion;  
 T2 589r3 *repeated*: robada;  
 PI 314v10 saqueada: D 31v18 saqueda;  
 PI 314v11 mas trecho: D 31v18-19 mas de trecho;  
 PI 314v13 muerto al dicho Capitan: D 31v22 muerto al capitan, T2  
 589r5 *omitted*: el dicho Capitan;  
 PI 314v14 a una hija: D 31v24 había una hija;  
 PI 314v17 a donde: T1 286v20, T2 589r12, D 32r3, AF 10r2 donde;  
 PI 314v20 dies leguas: D 32r7-8 tres legüas, AF 10r6 tres leguas;  
 PI 314v21 a incorporar: T1 287r2 ain corpar;  
 PI 314v22 declare: D 32r10 declarase;  
 PI 314v23 diçignios: D 32r11, AF 10r8 designios;  
 PI 314v27 *Secretario de Governacion*: D 32r17, AF 10r12 Escribano  
 de Gobierno;

PI 314v31 *Secretario de Governacion*: AF 10r14 *Esscribano de Gobierno*;  
 PI 314v33 dias del mes: D 32r21, AF 10r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 314v33 años: D 32r22 *omitted*;  
 PI 314v34 desta: T1 287r23, D 32r22, AF 10r17 de esta;  
 T1 287r23 en que declara | algunas muer | tes que hicieron | los yndios  
 al | çados y como | se fueron aui |sa[n]do vnos a otros | Para el  
 alçamiento;  
 PI 315r2 Fee: D 32v2 Fé;  
 PI 315r4 devaxo de cuio: D 32v4 bajo cuyo;  
 PI 315r4 de deçir: D 32v4-5 decir;  
 PI 315r8 digçinios: T1 287v12, T2 590v1 disignios, D 32v10  
 designos, AF 10r26 designios;  
 PI 315r8 dellos: T1 287v12, T2 590v1, D 32v10, AF 10r26 de ellos;  
 PI 315r9 Joseph: D 32v12 José;  
 PI 315r10 *repeated*: y que;  
 PI 315r16 deste: T1 288r4, D 32v23, AF 10v6 de este;  
 PI 315r18 escardando: D 33r1-2 escalando;  
 PI 315r22 asez: D 33r7 aceis, AF 10v12 haceis;  
 PI 315r24 cojera una india: D 33r9-10 cogera á una India;  
 PI 315r26 respeto: T1 288r21-22, T2 591r19, D 33r12, AF 10v16  
 respecto;  
 PI 315r28 les quiten: T2 591v5 se los quiten;  
 PI 315r29 tendras: T2 591v7 tendra;  
 PI 315r30 te escaparas: D 33r18 tu escapases, AF 10v20 tus capazes;  
 PI 315r30-31 guerfana: T2 591v10, D 33r18, AF 10v21 huerfana;  
 PI 315r32 traición y alsamiento: T2 591v12 *omitted*: y alsamiento;  
 PI 315r33 con españoles: T1 288v9-10, T2 591v15 con los españoles;  
 PI 315r36 suio: D 33v1, AF 10v26 hizo;  
 PI 315v4 mesmo: T1 288v25, T2 592r11, D 33v8, AF 11r3 mismo;  
 PI 315v4-5 Joseph Nieto, a Juan de Leiva y Nicolas de Leiva: D  
 33v9-10 José Nieto, a Juan de Lesba, y Nicolás de Ley;  
 PI 315v5 Juan de Leiva: AF 11r4 Juan de Lesba;  
 PI 315v5 les robaron: T2 592r14 le rouaron;  
 PI 315v7 desto: T1 289r5, D 33v12, AF 11r6 de esto;  
 PI 315v12 deste: T2 592v7-8, D 33v19, AF 11r10 de este;  
 PI 315v13 mesmo: T2 592v9, D 33v20, AF 11r11 mismo;  
 PI 315v14 *maestro*: D 33v21-22, AF 11r12 Maestre;  
 PI 315v16 dellos: T1 289r21, T2 592v16, D 33v24, AF 11r14 de  
 ellos;  
 PI 315v18 cristiano: D 34r3, AF 11r16 christianos;  
 PI 315v20 Y a la bista del real le salieron: T2 593r7 *omitted*: Y a la  
 bista del real;  
 T1 289v26 *left margin*: marcha;

PI 315v26-27 de treinta años poco mas o menos: D 34r14 poco mas ó  
 menos de 30 años;  
 D 34r15 doy fê;  
 PI 315v29 ante mi: AF 11r26 por ante mi;  
 PI 315v29 *secretario*: AF 11r26 *Esscribano*;  
 PI 315v34 *Secretario de Governacion*: D 34r16, AF 11r28 *Escribano*  
 de Gobierno;  
 PI 316r1 De este: T2 593v11 *Deste*;  
 PI 316r2-3 troneada: T1 290r4, T2 593v15, D 34r19, AF 11v1  
 trancada;  
 PI 316r3 y las que entran al convento: D 34r20 *omitted*;  
 PI 316r4 entramos dentro: D 34r20-21 y entramos adentro del  
 convento;  
 PI 316r4 y se hallo solo el convento: D 34r21 *omitted*: el convento;  
 PI 316r4-5 en las seldas: D 34r22 *omitted* en;  
 PI 316r5 ymajenes: T1 290r10 ymagines;  
 PI 316r6 echura: T2 594r4 hechura;  
 PI 316r7 jachasos: T1 290r14, T2 594r6-7 hachassos, D 34r1, AF  
 11v6 achazos;  
 PI 316r10 echuras: T2 594r13-14 hechuras;  
 PI 316r12 ymajenes: T1 290r25 ymagines;  
 PI 316r18 con un arcabus: T1 290v11, T2 594v11 *omitted*: un;  
 PI 316r18 de la çierra: D 34v18 *omitted*, AF 11v17 de la tierra;  
 PI 316r21 juieron: T1 290v18, T2 594v18-19 huyeron, AF 11v20  
 huieron, D 34v22 hicieron;  
 PI 316r21 çierra: D 34v22, AF 11v20 tierra;  
 PI 316r22 juida: T1 290v21, T2 595r2 huyda, D 34v24, AF 11v21  
 huída;  
 PI 316r23 fuego al pueblo: T2 595r4 *omitted*: al pueblo;  
 PI 316r28 estaban: T2 595r15 estan;  
 PI 316r28 de la otra: D 35r8 enla otra;  
 PI 316r30 recojio: T2 595r19 cojio;  
 PI 316r30 deste: T1 291r12, D 35r11, AF 11v29 de este;  
 PI 316r31 ver: T1 291r14 veer;  
 PI 316r31 enemigo: D 35r13, AF 11v30 enemigos;  
 PI 316r33-34 de casa: T2 595v8 de la casa;  
 PI 316r37 juridicçiones: T2 595v16, AF 12r4 juridicçiones;  
 PI 316v1 Çia: D 35r24 *omitted*;  
 PI 316v1 emes çia: AF 12r5 Em [*blank*];  
 PI 316v1 del: T1 291v4 de el;  
 PI 316v4 prosiguió: T2 596r8-9 se prosigio;  
 PI 316v6 ninguna: T1 291v15, T2 596r13 alguna;  
 PI 316v6 relijiosa: D 35v8, AF 12r10 Religioso;  
 PI 316v8 aber: D 35v11 había;

PI 316v11-12 *Françisco de Balençia*: D 35v15-16 san Francisco de Valencia;  
 PI 316v12 ya fuera: D 35v17, AF 12r16 y á fuerza;  
 PI 316v13 seis leguas: T2 596v8 y seis leguas;  
 PI 316v14 les mando: D 35v19, AF 12r17 le mandó;  
 PI 316v14 y le vino el aviso: T2 596v12 *omitted*;  
 PI 316v18 disinios: T1 292r12, T2 596v19 disignios, D 36r1, AF 12r21 designios;  
 D 36r2 doy fé;  
 PI 316v19 and 23 *Secretario de Governacion*: D 36r3-4, AF 12r22 and 23 *Escribano de Gobierno*;  
 PI 316v24 del Alamillo: T1 292r18, T2 597r7, dela lamilla, D 36r5, AF 12r25 de la Lamilla;  
 PI 316v24 juridiçion: T2 597r8, AF 12r25 jurisdicción;  
 PI 316v24 dias del mes: D 36r6, AF 12r25 *omitted*;  
 PI 316v25 mill y seisçientos: T2 597r9-10, de mill seisçientos, D 36r6, AF 12r26 de 16...;  
 PI 316v25 desta: T1 292r21, D 36r6, AF 12r26 de esta;  
 T1 292r22 en que dice *que* | acia mucho | tiempo que los | yndios se querian | alçar porque | los españoles | les castigaban | por hechiçerias;  
 PI 316v27 digçinios: T1 292r24-25, T2 597r14 disignios, D 36r9, AF 12r27 designios;  
 PI 316v30 devajo de: D 36r14 bajo;  
 PI 316v30 de deçir: D 36r14-15 decir;  
 PI 316v31-32 natural: D 36r17, AF 12r33 originario;  
 PI 316v32 tiene: D 36r17, AF 12r33 tenía;  
 PI 316v32 nanboa: D 36r18 Gamboa ó Namboa, AF 12r34 Gamboa o Nanboa;  
 PI 317r1 del Alameda: T2 597v10 de la Alameda, D 36r19-20, AF 12r34 de Alameda;  
 PI 317r3 de este: T2 597v14 deste;  
 PI 317r5 y ydolatras: T2 597v19 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 317r5 taos: T2 598r2 thos;  
 PI 317r6 emes: T2 598r3 hemes;  
 PI 317r6 y pecos y emes: D 36v2 y Pecos Xemes;  
 PI 317r8 dello: T1 292v25-26, T2 598r7, D 36v5, AF 12v7 de ello;  
 PI 317r10 ymajenes: T1 293r4-5 ymagines;  
 PI 317r12 naide: T1 293r8, T2 598r15 nadie;  
 PI 317r11-12 ni a echo mal a naide que lo que a oydo deçir: D 36v11-12, AF 12v11 ni ha hecho, ni sabe mas que ha hoído decir;  
 PI 317r14 yndios alsados: T2 598v1 yndios supo alsados;  
 PI 317r14 çierra: D 36v15, AF 12v14 tierra;  
 PI 317r15 juridiçion: T2 598v4, AF 12v14 jurisdicción;

PI 317r15 dellos: T1 293r16, T2 598v5, D 36v17, AF 12v15 de ellos;  
 PI 317r18 los relijiosos de sandia emex çia y con los del dicho pueblo  
 de la isleta: AF 12v18 and D36v21 *omitted*;  
 PI 317r20 se fueron saliendo: D 36v22-23 se fueron saliendo;  
 PI 317r21-22 la jente abian ydo con las demas naçiones: D 37r1 la  
 gente había ido con los demás, AF 12v20 la gente había ydo con los  
 demas naciones;  
 PI 317r22 y acavar: T2 599r1 y cabar;  
 PI 317r26 se va eredando: T1 293rv14, T2 599r11 se varre dando; PI  
 317r27 antiguallas: D 37r9 antiguayas;  
 T1 294r26-294v8 estos autos no | conducen nada | Porque solo se Re |  
 ducen a haçerle car | go el *gouernador* a este | theniente general | de no  
 hauerle soco | rrido en santa fe y | Por el descargo que dio | consto no  
 ser culpado | Por lo que por auto | del *gouernador* que esta | al fin de  
 estas | diligencias le dio | Por libre de *dicho* | cargo y *dicho* | auto esta  
 a *folio* | 121 B y hasta alla | corren *dichas* dili | gençias;  
 PI 317r31 por lengua: D 37r14 por la lengüa;  
 PI 317r30-31 sebastian montaña: AF 12v32 sebastian de Montaña; PI  
 317r31-32 y por ante mi: D 37r16 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 317r32, 39 and PI 317v13 *Secretario*: D 37r16-17, 18-19 and D  
 37v7, AF 12v31, AF 13r10 *Esscribano*;  
 PI 317r39, PI 317v13 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 13r2, AF 13r12  
*Esscribano* de gobierno;  
 PI 317v3 tagnos: D 37r24 Tanos;  
 D 37v6 doy fé;  
 PI 317v9 Juan Luzero de godoy: AF 13r11 Juan de Lucero Godoy;  
 PI 317v14 yncontinente: T2 600r16 Yncontinenti, D 37v9, AF 13r13  
 incontinenti;  
 PI 317v15 a su presençia: D 37v11 en su presencia;  
 PI 317v15 *Maestro*: T2 600v1, D 37v11-12 *Maestre*;  
 PI 317v16 jurisdicçiones: T2 600v3-4, AF 13r15 jurisdicçiones;  
 PI 317v16 del: T1 294v4 de el;  
 PI 317v18 jurisdicçion: AF 13r17 *jurisdiccion*;  
 PI 317v18 deste: T1 294v9, D 37v16, AF 13r18 de este;  
 PI 317v19 Adonde: T2 600v12 donde;  
 PI 317v21 Senecu: T1 294v15, T2 600v16 *thesuque*;  
 PI 317v21 postrero: D 37v21 *potrero*;  
 PI 317v21: AF 13r21 *jurisdiccion*;  
 PI 317v22 socorries[e]: D 37v21, AF 13r21 *socorriera*;  
 PI 317v22 carretas y vestias: D 37v22, AF 13r22 cabezas de bestias;  
 PI 317v22 el ayuda: D 37v22 la ayuda, AF 13r22 la aiuda;  
 PI 317v23 incorporando: T2 601r4 yncorporado, D 37v24  
 incorporado;  
 PI 317v24 del *dicho*: T2 601r6 de *dicho*;



PI 317v25 deste: T1 294v25, D 38r3, AF 13r25 de este;  
 PI 317v27 detenidos: D 38r5, AF 13r27 atendidos;  
 PI 317v27 y ajuste: D 38r6, AF 13r27 ajustté;  
 PI 317v28 o con que: T2 601r16 y con que;  
 PI 317v29 mando: D 38r9, AF 13r29 mandó;  
 PI 317v30 deste: T1 295r8, T2 601v1, D 38r10, AF 13r30 de este;  
 PI 317v30 para que: T2 601v3 por que, D 38r11, AF 13r31 porque; PI  
 317v32 se lo notifique: D 38r12, se le notifique, AF 13r32 sele  
 notifique;  
 PI 317v32 en su persona: T2 601v6 *omitted*: su;  
 PI 317v32 *secretario*: D 38r13, AF 13r32 Escribano;  
 PI 318r1 repuesta: T1 295r14, T2 601v8 respuesta;  
 PI 318r1 su repuesta al pie del: D 38r14, AF 13v1 su respuesta al pie  
 de él;  
 PI 318r2 *governacion*: T2 601v11 gouierno;  
 PI 318r2, 6 and 7 *secretario de governacion*: D 38r15-16, 17 and 19-  
 20, AF 13v2, 3 and 4; Escribano de Gobierno;  
 PI 318r7 *dichos*: D 38r19, AF 13v4 *omitted*,  
 PI 318r9-10 *maestro de Campo*: D 38r24 Maestre de Campo *Don*;  
 PI 318r10 *abiendolo oydo*: D 38v1, AF 13v7-8 *habiendole leido*;  
 PI 318r12 *ynbio*: T1 295v4, T2 602r11 *embio*, D 38v3, AF 13v9  
*envió*;  
 PI 318r13 *el Capitan Luis Granillo*: T2 602r13 *omitted*: *el Capitan*;  
 PI 318r14 *emes*: T2 602r15 *hemes*, D 38v6 *Xemes*, AF 13v11 *Emis*;  
 PI 318r15 *Joachin*: AF 13v12 *Juaquin*;  
 PI 318r19 *como mataron al uno dichos yndios*: D 38v13-14 *como  
 mataron al uno de dichos Indios*;  
 PI 318r21 *de Çia*: D 38v16, AF 13v18 *omitted*;  
 PI 318r22 *jurisdicçion*: AF 13v19 *jurisdiccion*;  
 PI 318r23 *juida*: D 38v18, AF 13v20 *huida*;  
 PI 318r24 *del*: T1 295v27 *de el*;  
 PI 318r27-28 *jurisdicçion*: T1 296r7, T2 602v14, AF 13v24  
*jurisdiccion*;  
 PI 318v1 *susedido*: AF 13v28 *sucedido*;  
 PI 318v1 *su jurisdicçion*: T1 296r15, T2 603r14 *la jurisdiccion*, D 39r 5  
*su juridicion*, AF 13v28 *su jurisdiccion*;  
 PI 318v2 *alsados*: T2 603r15 *soldados*;  
 PI 318v5 *dose*: AF 14r1 and D39r10 *dos*;  
 PI 318v9 *juridicçiones*: D 39r15, *jurisdicciones*, AF 14r4 *jurisdicciones*;  
 PI 318v15 *gargo*: T1 296v12, T2 603v19 *largo*, D 39r22, AF 14r8  
*blank*;  
 PI 318v15 *naide*: T1 296v13, T2 603v20, D 39r22, AF 14r8 *nadie*;  
 PI 318v18 *jurisdicçion*: T1 296v16-17, T2 604r4, AF 14r10  
*jurisdiccion*;

PI 318v19 jurisdicciones: T1 296v16-17, T2 604r7, AF 14r11  
 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 318v20 desanparar su cassa: D 39v4 *omitted*: su cassa;  
 PI 318v21 ber: T1 296v24 veer;  
 PI 318v23 del: T1 296v25 de el;  
 PI 318v25 a relijiosos: D 39v10-11 á los Religiosos;  
 PI 318v27 casas: T2 604v3 cassa;  
 PI 318v29 costa: T1 297r10, T2 604v7, D 39v15, AF 14r18 consta;  
 PI 318v30 escritas: T2 604v9, AF 14r19 escritas;  
 PI 318v31 las vea: T2 604v11 la vea, D 39v17 las lea;  
 PI 318v31 con[s]te: T1 297r14, T2 604v12, D 39v18, AF 14r20  
 conste;  
 PI 318v32 de su justia y que a la bos: D 39v18 de justicia; y que la  
 voz, AF 14r20-21 de justicia y que a la voz;  
 PI 318v33 encontrarle: D 39v20, AF 14r21-22 encontrarlo;  
 PI 319r2 conflitos deste: T1 297r21, D 39v22-23, AF 14r23 conflictos  
 de este, T2 604v18-19 conflictos deste;  
 PI 319r6 pronto: T1 297r27, AF 14r26 prompto, T2 605r5 prompto; T2  
 605v1-2 *repeated*: con los autos;  
 PI 319r6 sea servido: AF 14r27 se há servido;  
 PI 319r8 se le ara: D 40r6 le hará;  
 PI 319r9 dio por su respuesta: D 40r7 *omitted*: su;  
 PI 319r16, 20 and 24 *secretario de governacion*: D 40r10 and 16-17,  
 AF 14r31, AF 14v1 and 14v2 Escribano de Gobierno;  
 PI 319r19 dellos: T1 297v14, T2 605v3, D 40r15, AF 14r34 de ellos;  
 PI 319r21 Antonio de Otermin [*rubricado*]: T1 297v17 *omitted*;  
 PI 319r25 yncontinente: T1 297v19, T2 605v9, D 40r18, AF 14v3  
 incontinenti;  
 PI 319r25 dichos: D 40r18, AF 14v3 *omitted*;  
 T1 297v21 *left margin*: en 6 de | e;  
 PI 319r26 del: T1 297v22 de el;  
 PI 319r26-27 del Alamillo se descubrio a trecho: D 40r20-21, AF  
 14v4-5 de la Lamillo se descubrió;  
 PI 319r27 polvadera: T2 605v14 Poluareda;  
 PI 319r29 Maestro de Campo Pedro de Leiva: D 40r24 Maestre de  
 Campo de Riva, AF 14v7 maestro de Campo de Riva;  
 PI 319r30 convoiar: D 40v2, AF 14v8 convocar;  
 PI 319v1-2 destas provinçias que se conduse: T2 606r5-6 de esta  
 Prouinçia que se conducen, D 40v4, AF 14v9-10 de estas provincias,  
 que se conduce;  
 PI 319v2 carros: D 40v4, AF 14v10 Cabos;  
 PI 319v2 Predicador: T1 298r9 Procurador;  
 PI 319v3 del: T1 298r10 de el;  
 PI 319v3 della: T1 298r12, T2 606r11, D 40v7, AF 14v12 de ella;

PI 319v4 deste: T1 298r14, D 40v8, AF 14v12 de este;  
 PI 319v4, 13, 23 and 27 *Maestro*: D 40v9, 21 and D 41r13 and 18  
 Maestre; PI 319v5 *Pedro de leiu*: AF 14v13 *Reverendo Padre* de  
 Leyba;  
 PI 319v7 del Señor: T2 606r17-18 de el señor;  
 PI 319v9 al: T1 298r24 a el;  
 PI 319v10 fe: T1 298r26, T2 606v6, AF 14v18 fee;  
 PI 319v12 and 13 escrita: AF 14v20 and 20 escrita;  
 PI 319v13 *dicho Maestro*: T2 606v12 *omitted*: *dicho*;  
 PI 319v13 dan: T1 298v7 dando;  
 PI 319v15 jurisdicciones: T1 298v11-12, T2 606v18-19 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 319v17-18 pudiesen: AF 14v25 podiesen;  
 PI 319v18 socorrido: AF 14v26 reconocido digo socorrido;  
 PI 319v20 digçinio: T1 298v21, T2 607r9 disignio, D 41 r7, AF  
 14v28 designio;  
 PI 319v24 destas: T1 299r4, D 41r14, AF 14v32 de estas;  
 PI 319v24 agcion: T1 299r5, T2 607r19 açion, D 41r14, AF 14v33  
 accion;  
 PI 319v26 los sussodichos: D 41r16, AF 15r1 las suso dichas;  
 D 41r18 doy fê;  
 PI 319v28 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 15r3 *Esscribano* de  
 gouerno;  
 PI 319v35 Paredes: T2 607v12 paderes;  
 PI 319v39 *Secretario de Governacion*: D 41r20, AF 15r6 *Escribano*  
 de Gouerno;  
 T1 299r20 *left margin*: [R]açon que | [e]staba (T2 607v16, *left*  
*margin*, esta) al | [m]argen | [d]e *dichos* autos;  
 T1 299r24 *right margin*: Autos sobre ha | uerse salido del | Pueblo  
 dela Ysle | ta el theniente | general por la | notiçia del alçamiento | de  
 los yndios;  
 PI 321r *margin*: 6 de agosto, [digo] de septiembre: T1 299r20  
*omitted*: de agosto digo;  
 PI 321r1 diaz del mes: D 41r21, AF 15r7 *omitted*;  
 PI 321r1-2 agosto del año de: T1 299r25, D 41r22 *omitted*: del año;  
 PI 321r2 mill seisçientoz: T2 608r2 mill y seisçienttos;  
 PI 321r2 y ochenta: D 41r22 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 321r3 Maestre: T2 608r3 Maestro;  
 PI 321r4-5 jurisdicçionez: T1 299v2, T2 608r5, AF 15r8 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 321r5 Rio del Norte Abajo: T2 608r6 *omitted*: Abajo;  
 PI 321r7 destaz: T1 299v5-6, D 41v3, AF 15r10 de estas;  
 PI 321r8 de *dichaz*: D 41v4 de las;  
 PI 321r8-9 jurisdicçionez: T1 299v8, T2 608r10-11, AF 15r11  
 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 321r10 del *dicho* mez: D 41v6, AF 15r12 de *dicho* mes;

PI 321r10 bos comun: AF 15r12 and D41v6 como uno;  
 PI 321r10-11 jurizdiçion: T1 299v11, T2 608r13, AF 15r12  
 jurisdicçion;  
 PI 321r11 zuz: D 41v7, AF 15r13 seis;  
 PI 321r11-12 biniendoze: T2 608r15 biendose, D 41v8 viendose;  
 PI 321r13 yndioz christianoz: T2 608r16-17 *superscript*: yndios  
*cristianos*, *crossed out*: vezinos;  
 PI 321r13-14 hecha: T1 299v16 fecha;  
 PI 321r15 dellaz: T1 299v18, T2 608r19, D 41v11, AF 15r15 de ellas;  
 PI 321r19 Joan: T1 299v23, T2 608v6, D 41v15, AF 15r17 Juan;  
 PI 321r20 desta: T1 299v25-300r1, D 41v17, AF 15r18 de esta;  
 T1 300r2, T2 608v9, D 41v18, AF 15r19 de dicho Conuento: PI  
 321r21 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 321r21 mesmo: T2 608v9, D 41v18, AF 15r19 mismo;  
 PI 321r22 Joseph: D 41v19 José;  
 PI 321r22 de oca: T1 300r5, T2 608v11 doca;  
 PI 321r24 assi mezmo a el: T1 300r8 assi mismo al, T2 608v14 assi  
 mismo a el, D 41v21-22, AF 15r21 asimismo á el;  
 PI 321r25 barçia: T1 300r9 Barrua, T2 608v15 barua, D 41v22  
 Barcea, AF 15r22 Varcea;  
 PI 321r26 ynterpete: T1 300r11, T2 608v17, D 41v24, AF 15r23  
 interprete;  
 PI 321r27 Joseph: D 42r1 José;  
 PI 321r30 su espoza y toda su familia: T2 609r2 *omitted*: su espoza;  
 PI 321r30 mezmo: T2 609r3, D 42r4, AF 15r25 mismo;  
 PI 321r33 mezmaz: D 42r6, AF 15r27 mismas;  
 PI 321r33 trayçion: D 42r7 *omitted*;  
 PI 321v1 xemez: T1 300r23 hemes;  
 PI 321v1 se le[s]: T1 300r24 *omitted*: les;  
 PI 321v6 Zia: D 42r14, AF 15r32 Ria;  
 PI 321v7 cuento: T1 300v8, D 42r14, AF 15r32 encuentro;  
 PI 321v12 al Reberendo: T2 609v5-6 al dicho Reberendo;  
 PI 321v12 Zia: D 42r22, AF 15v1 Ria;  
 PI 321v20 loz doz dicho: D 42v6-7 los dichos dos;  
 PI 321v23-24 con los religiosoz: T2 610r8 *omitted*: los;  
 PI 321v24 que[e eran]: T1 301r13-14 *que eran*, T2 610r9-10, D  
 42v12, AF 15v11 *que era*;  
 PI 321v25-26 [Reberendo Padre Predicador] fray Joan Pio: T1  
 301r16 Padre Padre Predicador fray Juan Pio, T2 610r12-13 Padre  
 Predicador fray Juan Pio, D 42v14, AF 15v12 *omitted* Predicador;  
 PI 321v26 Joan: AF 15v12 Juan;  
 PI 321v28 o[y que]: D 42v17, AF 15r14 ó porque;  
 PI 321v29 del dicho mez: D 42v18, AF 15v14-15 de dicho mes;  
 PI 321v29-30 [en este] pueblo: T2 610v2 en el Pueblo;

PI 321v31 Joan: T1 301r26, T2 610v4, D 42v20, AF 15v16 Juan;  
 PI 321v32 desta: T1 301v3 de esta;  
 PI 321v32 Vezitador desta: D 42v22, AF 15r17 visitador de esta;  
 PI 321v33 Padre fray francisco muñoz y dicho Padre hurtado y El Padre [Difinidor]: T1 301v3 *omitted that line*;  
 PI 321v35 Joseph: D 43r2 José;  
 PI 321v35-36 [Boni]llo: T1 301v7 bonilla;  
 PI 321v36 ya por muertos: T2 610v14-15 y de por Muertos;  
 T1 302r14 *left margin*: Parecer;  
 T1 302r21 *left margin*: Parecer;  
 T1 302r25 *left margin*: Parecer;  
 PI 322r1 mando: D 43r7-8, AF 15v24 mandó;  
 PI 322r5 digan: D 43r11 *omitted*;  
 PI 322r14 a entrar: D 43r21 *omitted*;  
 D 43r23 *omitted lines* PI 322r16 a 32, PI 322v and PI 323r1-16;  
 D 43r23-43v11 por lo que estando presentes el sargento mayor Don Pedro Duran, el sargento mayor Antonio de salazar, el Sargento mayor Luis Granillo, el Sargento mayor Christoval Henriquez, el Capitan Juan Luis, el Capitan Don Fernando de Chaves, el Capitan Felipe Romero, el Capitan Ignacio Vala, y todos los demás capitanes y soldados se conformaron con el dictamen del mencionado Maestre de Campo Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, por convenir así, antes que se junten las naciones infieles Apaches, que son los que nos dan guerra, y esto dieron uniformemente por parecer, y lo firmaron;  
 PI 322r21 Maestre: T1 302r17 Maestro;  
 PI 322r25 y Chabez: AF 16r7 *omitted y*;  
 PI 322r26 Zalaz: AF 16r8 Salazar;  
 PI 322r26 Salas: AF 16r9 Salazar;  
 PI 322r31 jurisdiccion: T1 302v1, T2 612r3, AF 16r11 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 322v3 [deste]: T1 302v7 de este;  
 PI 322v4 h[azian]: AF 16r15 hacia;  
 PI 322v7 picuriez: T1 302v14, AF 16r17 Pecuries;  
 PI 322v7 jurisdiccion: T1 302v15, T2 612r17, AF 16r17 jurisdiccion;  
 T1 302v23 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 322v8 domin[go y]: AF 16r18 *omitted y*;  
 PI 322v13 anRiqes: T1 302v23-24, T2 612v7 enriques, AF 16r22 enriquez;  
 PI 322v14-15 [pa]reser: T1 303r1 respuesta;  
 PI 322v16 mi pareSer es: T1 303r3, T2 612v11-12 mi pan Peres;  
 T1 303r3 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 322v17-18 d[estos] naturales: T1 303r4 de estos [*crossed out*: Yndios] naturales;  
 PI 322v18 onde: AF 16r26 donde;

PI 322v19 peltrechados: T1 303r7, T2 612v15-16, AF 16r27  
 pertrechados;  
 PI 322v19 cu[eras]: AF 16r27 cuera;  
 PI 322v21 y que me conformo: T1 303r11 *omitted*: y;  
 T1 303r15 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 322v24 digo *que* me conformo: AF 16r31 dijo que se conforma;  
 T1 303r19 and 23 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 322v25 de arriba: AF 16r32 en dicho dia mes y año y lo firmo;  
 PI 322v26-27 [di]chos me conformo y agrego: AF 16v2 insinuados  
 dijo *que* se conformava en ellos;  
 PI 322v27 de su nombre: AF 16v3 *omitted*;  
 PI 322v29 ynasio: T1 303r26 Ygnaçio;  
 PI 322v29 ynasio baCa: AF 16v4 Ygnacio Vala;  
 PI 322v30 referidos y por pareser lo firmó: AF 16v5 referido y lo  
 firmó;  
 PI 322v31 [baca]: AF 16v5 Vala;  
 PI 322v31-32 Conbienenen: T1 303v1, T2 613r18 conuienen, AF  
 16v6 convienen;  
 PI 323r1 apachas: T2 613v2, AF 16v8 Apaches;  
 PI 323r1 son los: T1 303v5, T2 613v2-3 son las;  
 PI 323r2 esto: T1 303v5 este;  
 PI 323r5 domingos: AF 16v10 Domingo;  
 PI 323r8 de Grazia: AF 16v11 Garcia;  
 PI 323r11 juan de santiago: AF 16v12 Juan Santthiago;  
 PI 323r13 Barela: T2 613v11 Baroca;  
 PI 323r15 albisu: T1 303v15, T2 613v13 Arbizu;  
 PI 323r16 Albizu: T1 303v16, T2 613v14, AF 16v13 Arbizu;  
 PI 323r17 maestro: AF 16v14 *Maestro*;  
 PI 323r17 tiniente: T1 303v18, T2 613v16-17, AF 16v15 theniente, D  
 43v13 Teniente;  
 PI 323r18 los pareseres: D 43v14 *omitted* los;  
 PI 323r19 y capitanes: D 43v15 *omitted* y;  
 PI 323r21 les an *quedado*: D 43v19, AF 16v18 le han *quedado*;  
 PI 323r22-23 estan apoderados: D 43v21, AF 16v20 eran apoderados;  
 PI 323r25 armas y caballos: T2 614r11-12 familias y Cauillos;  
 PI 323r25 cantia: D43v24 quantía;  
 PI 323r25-26 ganados: T2 614r13 Cauillos;  
 PI 323r26 sustentar: AF 16v22 substtentar;  
 PI 323r26 apachas: T2 614r14 Apaches;  
 PI 323r27 *que* podran: D 44r2, AF 16v23 *omitted* *que*;  
 PI 323r29 *Que* en materia: T2 614v2, D 44r5 *omitted*: *Que*;  
 PI 323r30 por los pareseres referidos: D 44r6-7 por la uniformidad de  
 pareceres dichos yá;

PI 323r31-32 and PI 323v1-3 los reverendos padres difinidores *que* an quedado *que* son el *Padre Predicador* Frai Nicolas Urtado y el *Padre Predicador* Frai Francisco Muñoz y el *Padre Predicador* Frai Tomas de Tobalina y ansi mesmo [el] *Padre Guardian* Frai Juan de Sabaleta y el *Padre Predicador* Fra[i Diego] de Parraga y el *Padre Predicador* Frai Antonio de Sierra: D 44r7-8 los dos Reverendos Padres Difinidores, y el Padre Procurador Fray Francisco Muñoz, Fray Nicolas Hurtado, el *Padre Predicador* Fray Tomás de Tobalina, y así mismo el *Padre Guardian* Fray Tomás de Zavaleta, el *Padre Predicador* Fray Diego Parraga, el *Padre Predicador* Fray Antonio de Giera;

PI 323r32 *Predicador*: AF 16v28 Procurador;

PI 323v1 ansi mesmo: T1 304r23, T2 614v10-11, AF 16v29 assi mismo;

PI 323v3 de paRaga: AF 16v31 *omitted* de;

PI 323v3 SieRa: AF 16v31 Giera;

PI 323v4 Jose: T2 614v15, AF 16v32 Joseph;

PI 323v4 doctas: T1 304v3, T2 614v17, D 44r14, AF 17r1 doctas;

PI 323v4-5 [de sien]sia y santo selo: D 44r15 y de santo zélo, AF 17r1 y de santto celo;

PI 323v5 se deben: T1 304v5 se debe, T2 614v18 se deue;

PI 323v6 coste: T1 304v6, T2 615r1-2, D 44r16, AF 17r2 conste;

PI 323v7 y Chabes: D 44r17 *omitted*;

PI 323v8 se lo intimen: D 44r19 se lo intimen hoy, AF 17r3-4 se lo inttimen oy;

PI 323v8 y lo firmaron: AF 17r4 *omitted* y;

PI 323v8-9 [y lo] firmen de su nombre: D 44r20 *omitted*;

PI 323v11 *Don pedro*: AF 17r5 *omitted* Don;

PI 323v11 y Chab[es]: D 44r21 *omitted*;

PI 323v12 *Pedro Marque[z]*: T2 615r8 *omitted*;

PI 323v13 *dichos reverendos*: D 44r22 *omitted* dichos;

PI 323v14 los pareseres de: D 44r23 *omitted*;

PI 323v14 canpos: T1 304v18, T2 615r12, AF 17r7 campo;

PI 323v15 de el: T2 615r13, D 44r24, AF 17r7 del;

PI 323v15 *General*: D 44r24, AF 17r7 *omitted*;

PI 323v24 Joan: T1 304v27, T2 615v3, D 44v6, AF 17r12 Juan;

T1 305r4, T2 615v6 *left margin*: Autto;

PI 323v26 Joseph de Bonillo: D 44v8 José Bonilla;

PI 325r2 diaz del mez: D 44v9, AF 17r14 *omitted*;

PI 325r5 jurisdicionez: T1 305r8-9, T2 615v11, AF 17r15 jurisdicciones;

PI 325r5 and 12 deste: D 44v12 and 20, AF 17r16 and 22 de este;

PI 325r13 llevandolo: D 44v21, AF 17r22 llevando;

PI 325r15 se hallaron: D 44v24, AF 17r24 se avecindaron;

PI 325r18 jurisdicción: T1 305v6, T2 616r15, AF 17r27 jurisdicción;  
 PI 325r19-20 que halle yrme retirando: D 45r5 que hallandome  
 retirado, AF 17r28 que hallandome retirando;  
 PI 325r21 abiendo: D 45r7, AF 17r30 habiendome;  
 PI 325r21 a el: T1 305v12, T2 616v2, D 45r8, AF 17r30 al;  
 T2 617r14 *repeated*: cargo;  
 PI 325r26-27 salirse a la tierra afuera: D 45r13-14 salir á tierra fuera,  
 AF 17v3 salirse a ttierra fuera;  
 PI 325r31 matando a españolez: D 45r18, AF 17v6 *omitted* a;  
 PI 325v1 determino: D 45r20-21 determiné, AF 17v8 dettermine;  
 PI 325v5 ynbia: D 45v1, AF 17v11 envia;  
 PI 325v6 administran: D 45v2 administraron;  
 PI 325v11 deste: T1 306r20, T2 617r17-18, D 45v7, AF 17v16 de  
 este;  
 PI 325v12 del señor: T2 617r19-20 de señor;  
 PI 325v16 que se halla: D 45v14 en que se halla;  
 PI 325v20-21 [de los] españolez: D 45v18-19, AF 17v24 de  
 Españoles;  
 PI 325v23 protesto: T2 617v18 protexto;  
 PI 325v25 deste: T1 306v17, D 45v24, AF 17v28 de este;  
 PI 325v29 estado que: T2 618r7 estado en que;  
 PI 326r9 defendiendoze: T2 618v10 defindiendose;  
 PI 326r10 tiene: T1 307r21, T2 618v11 tienen;  
 PI 326r10 assi mesmo: D 46r22, AF 18r14 asimismo;  
 PI 326r11-12 la dicha villa: D 46r23 *omitted* dicha;  
 PI 326r12 multitu: T1 307r24, T2 618v14, D 46r24, AF 18r15  
 multitud;  
 T1 307v21 *left margin*: notificación;  
 PI 326r16 mando: D 46v4, AF 18r18 mandó;  
 PI 326r21 fee: D 46v9 Fé;  
 PI 326r26 theniente general: D 46v14, AF 18r24 *omitted*;  
 PI 326r33 destaz: T1 308r1, D 46v20, AF 18r28 de estas;  
 PI 326v2 thome do[mingues]: D 46v23 Tomás Domingo, AF 18r29-  
 30 thomas Domingo;  
 PI 326v11 aqui: D 47r8 á que;  
 PI 326v11 uña: AF 18v4 vna;  
 PI 326v11 de caballo: D 47r9 de acaballo;  
 PI 326v13 Joseph: D 47r12 José;  
 PI 326v15 priessa: D 47r14, AF 18v8 prisa;  
 PI 326v16 tiguaz: T1 308v1, T2 620r13 theguas, D 47r15 Tegüas, AF  
 18v8 teguas;  
 PI 326v20 delloz: T1 308v7, T2 620r18-19, D 47r19, AF 18v11 de  
 ellos;  
 PI 326v20 pazando: D 47r19, AF 18v11 parando;



PI 326v21 mesma: D 47r20, AF 18v12 misma;  
 PI 326v21 del Alame[da]: D 47r20, AF 18v12 de Alameda;  
 PI 326v24 mezmo: D 47r23, AF 18v14 mismo;  
 PI 326v26 ynbiando: D 47v1-2, AF 18v16 enviando;  
 PI 326v27 demostraçionez: AF 18v17 demonsttraciones;  
 PI 326v32 b[ienen]: D 47v9 llegan;  
 PI 326v33 destaz: T1 309r1, AF 18v22 de estas, D 47v10 de ellas;  
 PI 326v33 provinçiaz: D 47v10 *omitted*;  
 PI 326v34 ynbiar: T1 309r3-4 embiar, D 47v11-12 enviar, AF 18v23  
 emviar;  
 PI 327r3 deste puesto: T1 309r11, T2 621r12 de este pueblo, D 47v17,  
 AF 18v26-27 de este puesto;  
 PI 327r13 y siguiendo su bia allegaron: D 48r4-5, AF 18v3 y  
 siguiendo á llegar;  
 PI 327r13 allegaron: T1 309v1-2, T2 621v11 allegar;  
 PI 327r23 delloz: T1 309v18, T2 622r9, D 48r16, AF 19r11 de ellos;  
 T1 309v25 los [*crossed out*: español] enemigos;  
 PI 327r24 alguna jente que no distinguieron: D 48r16-18 *repeated the  
 sentence*;  
 PI 327r25 mezmoz: D 48r18, AF 19r12 mismos;  
 PI 327v2 escoltear: D 48v5, AF 19r20 escoltar;  
 PI 327v3 yremoz: AF 19r21 y remos hiremos;  
 PI 327v6 porque estamo: D 48v10, AF 19r23 y que estamos;  
 PI 327v9 desto: T1 310r21, D 48v14, AF 19r26 de esto;  
 PI 327v14 tengo: D 48v20 tiene;  
 PI 327v17-18 ser serbiçio [de] Dioz: D 48v24-49r1 ser cierto de  
 servicio de Dios;  
 PI 327v19 sustentarloz: AF 19v1 substtentarlos;  
 PI 327v23-24 pere[sere]mos: D 49r8 perecemos;  
 PI 327v24 fir[mo]: D 49r9 firmé, AF 19v5 firmó;  
 PI 327v26 Entre renglonez | con | va[\*]le: T1 310v24, T2 623v11, D  
 49r11, AF 19v6 *omitted*;  
 PI 327v27 Alonso Garsia: T1 310v24 Alonso Garçia theniente;  
 T1 310v27 *left margin*: Otro parecer;  
 T1 311r12 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 327v28 and 33 thome: D 49r11-12 and 17 Tomas, AF 19v7 and 11  
 Thomas;  
 PI 328r5 Antonio: AF 19v14 Ambrosio;  
 PI 328r6 en dicho dia: D 49r23 *omitted* en;  
 PI 328r9 desabiadoz: D 49v3 desavilitados;  
 PI 328r19-10 ni municiónz caballoz ni bastimentoz: T2 624r14-15 y  
 Municiónes Cauillos y bastimentos, D 49v4 y municiones, caballos,  
 ni bastimentos;

PI 328r17 desde este puesto: T1 311v3 de este Pueblo, T2 328r17 desde este puerto;  
 PI 328r17 fee: D 49v13 Fé;  
 PI 328r20 Thome: D 49v15 Tomás, AF 19v27 Thomas;  
 PI 328r21 conste ser berdad: T2 624v13 *omitted*: ser berdad;  
 PI 328r25 lijitimaz: T2 625r1 lexitimas, AF 20r1 legittimas;  
 PI 328r29 testigoz: D 50r3 testicos;  
 PI 328r31 *Don pedro*: AF 20r5 *omitted* Don;  
 PI 328r31 y Chabez: T1 311v23-24 de chaez, D 50r4, AF 20r5 *omitted* y;  
 PI 328r33 Antonio jorje: D 50r4-5, AF 20r5 Ambrosio Jorge;  
 T1 311v25 *left margin*: Otro;  
 T1 312v2 *left margin*: Otro;  
 T1 312v14 *left margin*: Otro;  
 T1 312v26 *left margin*: Otro;  
 D *omitted fol. 328v-330r*;  
 PI 328v19 Antonio: AF 20r19 Ambrosio;  
 PI 328v21 deste: T2 626r5, AF 20r21 de este;  
 PI 328v23 [*general*]: AF 20r23 *omitted*;  
 PI 328v26 Don fernando duran y chabes: AF 20r24 Pedro Duran Chabes;  
 PI 328v28 Anton[io]: AF 20r24-25 Ambrosio;  
 PI 328v29 digo: AF 20r26 dijo;  
 PI 328v32 dioz: T2 626r19 droz;  
 PI 329r2 apachez y que assi: T2 627r2 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 329r5 Antonio jorje: AF 20r31-32 Anttonio de Jorge;  
 AF 20v1 *omitted the lines from*: PI 329r6-22;  
 PI 329r14 acordadoz: T1 313r14 acordado, T2 627r3 acuerdo;  
 PI 329r14 al: T1 313r15 a el;  
 T1 313r24 *left margin*: [\*Ot]ro;  
 PI 329r23 be: T1 313r25 vee;  
 PI 329r25 jumo: T1 313v3, AF 20v3 humo;  
 T1 313v17 *left margin*: Otro;  
 T1 313v26 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 329v1-2 [con]siençia: AF 20v7 entender;  
 PI 329v10 lo firmo [con el]: T2 627v16 y lo firmo con dicho;  
 PI 329v7 Antoñio: AF 20v9 Anttonio;  
 PI 329v15 Antoñio: T2 628r1, AF 20v14 Antonio;  
 PI 329v18 siertoz: T1 314r3 çiertas;  
 T1 314r7 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 329v25 maestre: AF 20v20 Maestro;  
 PI 329v25 theme: T1 314r10 thomé, T2 628r12-13 thome, AF 20v20 thomas;  
 PI 329v28 sercadoz: T2 628r17 sercado;

T1 314r22 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 330r6 dijo: T2 628v6 *omitted*;  
 PI 330r11-12 delloz: T1 314v6, AF 20v31 de ellos;  
 PI 330r15 ynbiaron: AF 21r3 enviaron;  
 PI 330r17 destas: T1 314v15, AF 21r5 de estas; PI 330r23 destas: T1 314v25, AF 21r10 de estas;  
 PI 330r26 loz puebloz: T2 629v3 *omitted*: loz;  
 PI 330r29 su pareser: T2 629v8 *omitted*: su;  
 PI 330r29 retifico: T1 315r8, T2 629v9, AF 21r14 ratifico;  
 PI 330r30 *General*: AF 21r15 *omitted*;  
 PI 330r32 Jose: T1 315r10 Joseph;  
 T1 315r13 *left margin*: [\*O]tro;  
 T1 315r21 *left margin*: [\*O]tro;  
 PI 330v8 Antoño: T2 630r4, AF 21r20 Antonio;  
 PI 330v9 pronta: T1 315r22, T2 630r6, AF 21r21 prompta;  
 T1 315v5 *left margin*: Otro;  
 T1 315v20 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 330v17 Antoño: T2 630r16, AF 21r26 Antonio;  
 T2 630v7-8 *repeated*: esto es lo que;  
 PI 331r1 los Enemicos: T1 315v24-25, T2 630v19, AF 21v5 los enemigos;  
 PI 331r2 lo fim: T1 315v26 lo firmo, T2 631r1 lo firme, AF 21v6 y lo firmó;  
 PI 331r2 *General*: AF 21v6 *omitted*;  
 PI 331r3 asitençia: T1 315v27 asitençia;  
 T1 316r3 *left margin*: Otro;  
 T1 316r11 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 331r9 dichos maestros: AF 21v10 dicho *Maestre*;  
 PI 331r17 asigurado: T1 316r14 asegurado;  
 PI 331r18 boluel: T1 316r14 voluer, AF 21v16 volber;  
 PI 331r18 fe: AF 21v16 fee;  
 PI 331r17-18 en dexando este pequeño *real* asigurado combiene bolvel: T2 631r17-19 en dejando asegurado este pequeño *Real* combiene boluer;  
 T1 316r21 *left margin*: [\*O]tro;  
 PI 331r22 *Don* fernando Duran i chabes: AF 21v19 Fernando Duran Chabes;  
 PI 331r25 se arrimaba: T1 316r22, T2 631v9 se arrima, AF 21v20 se afirmava;  
 T1 316r27 *left margin*: [\*Otr]o | [\*U]ltimo | [\*par]ecer;  
 PI 331r26 *General*: AF 21v21 *omitted*;  
 PI 331r30 Luis granillo: AF 21v22-23 Luis de Granillo;  
 PI 331v1 est[ando]: T2 632r1 y estando;  
 PI 331v3 *presente*: D 50r19, AF 21v27 presentes;

PI 331v4 jurisdiccion: T2 632r4, AF 21v28 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 331v4-5 [de yndios] de xemez y querez: D 50r22 de xemes y  
 queres, AF 21v29 de Xemes y Queres;  
 PI 331v5 querez: T2 632r5 quires;  
 PI 331v5 destaz: D 50r23, AF 21v29 de estas;  
 PI 331v6 Fee: D 50r24 Fé;  
 PI 331v10 de naçion xemez: T1 316v17-18 de naçion de xemes;  
 PI 331v19 mata estoz españoléz: T1 317r8 mata a estos españoles;  
 PI 331v21 el religiozo y io dicho alcalde: D 50v17-18, AF 22r12 el  
 Religioso; dicho Alcalde;  
 PI 331v22 en mi compañía montam[os]: D 50v18-19 en compañía  
 montonamos;  
 PI 331v25-26 elloz peleando con elloz como nosotros[z resis]tiendo: D  
 50v22, AF 22r15-16 ellos peleando como nosotros resistiendo; PI  
 331v26 serbido que: T2 633r5 serbido de que;  
 PI 331v29 bisto: T2 633r10 vistos;  
 PI 331v29-30 [sesa]ron: AF 22r19 sesalieron;  
 PI 331v30 seguimiento: T1 317r26, T2 633r 11-12, D 51r4, AF 22r19  
 seguimiento;  
 PI 331v30 pelea: D 51r4 pea;  
 PI 331v31 Sia: D 51r5 Zandia, AF 22r20;  
 PI 331v33 del: T1 317v5 de el;  
 PI 332r7-8 comensaron en el pueblo a repicar laz campanas: D 51r16-  
 17 repicaron las campanas en el pueblo;  
 PI 332r10 mesma: D 51r18, AF 22v1 misma;  
 PI 332r10 no hallando yndioz ningunos: D 51r18-19 no hallandolos á  
 éstos;  
 PI 332r16-17 comensaron: D 51v3 empezaron;  
 PI 332r19 del: T2 634r11-12 de el;  
 PI 332r20 priessa: D 51v7, AF 22v9 prisa;  
 PI 332r21 loz doz: D 51v8 dos;  
 PI 332r21 fimos: T1 318r16, T2 634r15-16, D 51v8, AF 22v10  
 fuimos;  
 PI 332r21-22 todoz loz pocoz españoléz: D 51v9 todos los Españoles;  
 PI 332r23 ellaz: AF 22v12 ella;  
 PI 332r26 lo hallamoz tan ynquietoz: T1 318r24-25 lo hallamos tan  
 inquieto, D 51v14 los hallamos tan inquietos;  
 PI 332v2 destaz: D 51v21, AF 22v20 de estas;  
 PI 332v3 ynbio: T1 318v9, T2 634v17 embio, D 51v21 envió, AF  
 22v20 envio;  
 PI 332v4 juntoz: D 51v23 júnto;  
 PI 332v6-7 y seguridad de dozientas [espa]ñolaz: D 52r1-2 y  
 seguridad de los Españoles;  
 PI 332v9 da grima y horror: D 53r5, AF 22v25-26 dá lastima y horror;

PI 332v10 en la forma: D 52r6 á la forma;  
 PI 332v14 es sierto: T2 635r17 *omitted*;  
 PI 332v16 deste: T1 319r6-7, T2 635v2, D 52r13, AF 23r3 de este; T1 319r18 *left margin*: Auto;  
 PI 332v20 del mez: D 52r17, AF 23r6 *omitted*;  
 PI 332v20 a[ñoz]: D 52r17, AF 23r6 *omitted*;  
 PI 332v22 Granillo: D 52 r18, AF 23r6 Granadillo;  
 PI 332v23 *Don Juan Severino*: T2 635v11, D 52r18, AF 23r7 *omitted*:  
*Don*;  
 PI 332v23 Zuballeta: D 52r19, AF 23r7 Zevallos;  
 PI 332v25 *maestro*: AF 23r8 *Maestre*;  
 PI 332v26 destaz: T1 319r20, D 52r21, AF 23r9 de estas;  
 PI 332v27 atender: T2 635v18 entender;  
 PI 332v28 conserbaçion: T2 635v20 consideracion;  
 PI 333r2 Fee: D 52v7 Fé;  
 PI 333r4 peltrechoz: D 52v9-10, AF 23r18 pertrechos;  
 PI 333r5-6 y hallandome en un caos: D 52v11 en casos;  
 PI 333r8 maz: D 52v13 demás;  
 PI 333r8 esperiençia: D 52v14, AF 23r21 experiencia;  
 PI 333r10 por: AF 23r23 y;  
 PI 333r11 y consultando y el: T2 636v8 consultando en el, D 52v17, AF 23r23-24 y consultando el;  
 PI 333r16 se resolbieron: T2 636v16 *omitted*: se;  
 PI 333r14 consultado: D 52v20 consultando;  
 PI 333r19 a que: T2 637r2 aqui;  
 PI 333r25 ocho: T1 320r16 otros;  
 PI 333r26 yndifensos: T2 637r13-14 yndefenssos, D 53r9, AF 23v5 indefensos;  
 PI 333r28 resestir a el Enemigo: T1 320r20-21 resistir al enemigo, T2 637r16, D 53r10-11, AF 23v7 resistir a el enemigo;  
 PI 333v2 deste: T1 320r27, T2 637v4, D 53r15, AF 23v10 de este;  
 PI 333v2 ynbio: D 53 r15, AF 23v10 envió;  
 PI 333v4 me tienen: T2 637v7 me tiene;  
 PI 333v4 cuidadozo por correr: D 53r17, AF 23v11 en cuidados, ó por correr;  
 PI 333v5 el passo: T2 637v10 *omitted*: passo;  
 PI 333v6 gusga: T1 320v7, T2 637v11 jusga, D 53r20, AF 23v13 juzga;  
 T1 320v18 *left margin*: *Pressentaçion y | Autto | en que el gouernador | da por libre a su | theniente general | del cargo que le | hizo de no hauer | le socorrido en | santa fe*;  
 PI 333v9-10 ynfra[escrip]toz: D 53r24 infrascriptos;  
 PI 333v11 diaz del mez: D 53v1, AF 23v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 333v11 del año: D 53v1, AF 23v16 *omitted*;

PI 333v15 las dilijencias juridicas echas: T2 638r5 los Disignios  
 Juridicos hechos;  
 PI 333v15 echas: D 53v4, AF 23v19 hechos;  
 PI 333v16 a su justia: D 53v5, AF 23v19 *omitted* su;  
 PI 333v16 conbinieron: T2 638r8 combienen;  
 PI 333v17 espresan de los grandes temores: D 53v6-7, AF 23v20  
 expreso si de los grandes temores;  
 PI 333v17 hallauan: T1 320v24 hallaron;  
 PI 333v20 todos: T1 321r4 todas, AF 23v23 ttodas;  
 PI 333v23 nunca: T2 638v3 nuca;  
 PI 333v23 del: T1 321r9, T2 638v4, D 53v16, AF 23v26 de el;  
 PI 333v23-24 de su execucion co[mo] consta: D 53v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 333v23 de su execucion: AF 23v26-27 de la execucion;  
 PI 333v24 atosidadez: AF 23v27 atrocidades;  
 PI 333v28 calugnia: T1 321r20, T2 638v15, D 53v23 calumnia;  
 PI 333v28 delito: T2 638v15 delicto;  
 PI 333v28 y que quede libre: D 53v23-24, AF 24r1 y para que quede  
 libre;  
 PI 333v30 *secretari[o]*: D 54r3, AF 24r3 Escribano;  
 PI 333v31 con testigos: T1 321r26 *omitted*;  
 PI 333v31, 36 and 334r1 *secretario* de Governacion: D 54r4-5, 6 and  
 8, AF 24r4, 5 and 6 Escribano de gobierno;  
 PI 333v33 *crossed out*: Francisco Xavier: T2 639r5-6 *did not cross  
 out*;  
 PI 334r2 lei notifique: T1 321v9 ley y notifique, D 54r10 lei y  
 notifiqué, AF 24r7 ley y notifique;  
 PI 334r2 Maestro: T2 639r13, D 54r11 Maestre;  
 T1 321v6 *left margin*: Nottificacion;  
 T2 639r8 *left margin*: notificacion;  
 PI 334r3 de governador: AF 24r8 *omitted* de;  
 PI 334r3 jurisdicçiones: T1 321v13 Prouinçias, T2 639r16, AF 24r9  
 jurisdicçiones;  
 PI 334r9 obedeciendo y executando: T1 321v25 *omitted*: y  
 executando; PI 334r9 las hordenes: D 54r22 los órdenes;  
 PI 334r10 repuesta: T1 321v26, AF 24v15 respuesta;  
 T1 321v27 *omitted*: ante mi y los testigos de que doy fee;  
 PI 334r10 fee: D 54r24 fê;  
 PI 334r12 *secretario* de governacion: D 54v1, AF 24r16 Escribano de  
 Gobierno;  
 D *omitted* fols. 334v-336r;  
 PI 334r15 testigo: T1 322r1, T2 639v16, AF 24r17 *omitted*;  
 T1 322r3 *left margin*: Auto;  
 T1 322r3 *right margin*: Auto para que | Pedro de leiba bu | elua a el  
 Rio | del norte por | Bastimentos adon | de se hallau[\*a] | ayeta;

PI 335r1 çiete: T2 640r2 veinte;  
 PI 335r1-2 dias del mes: AF 18 *omitted*;  
 PI 335r6 mayor: T2 640r15 mejor;  
 PI 335r7 dias: T2 640r17 yndios;  
 PI 335r9 maestro: T1 322r22, AF 24r25 *Maestre*;  
 PI 335r10 mando: AF 24r26 mandó;  
 PI 335r10 luego y: T2 640v5 *omitted*;  
 PI 335r10 de este: T2 640v6, AF 24r27 deste;  
 PI 335r12-13 tierra desierta: T1 322v4, AF 24r29 tierra desierta;  
 PI 335r16 desta: T1 322v12, AF 24r33 de esta;  
 PI 335r16 della: T1 322v13, T2 640v20, AF 24r33 de ella;  
 PI 335r18 sea: AF 24v2 ser;  
 PI 335r19 mando: AF 24v3 mandó;  
 PI 335r19 ante mi: T2 641r8 *omitted*;  
 PI 335r23 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 24v5 *esscribano* de *gobierno*;  
 PI 335r24 *dichos*: AF 24v6 *omitted*;  
 PI 335r25 de las *matherias*: T2 641r15 *omitted*;  
 PI 335r31 conveniente: T1 323r14-15 *conuenientes*;  
 PI 335r31 *nesidades*: T1 323r15-16, AF 24v14 *neçesidades*, T2 641v9-10 *nesesidades*;  
 PI 335r33 al: T1 323r19 a el;  
 PI 335v1 *praticos*: T1 323r25, T2 641v18-19, AF 24v18 *praticos*;  
 PI 335v4 *ynsignuar*: T1 323v3, AF 24v20 *insinuar*;  
 T2 642r3 *omitted line 4 from* PI 335v;  
 PI 335v5 *aquel territorio marchando*: T2 642r3-4 a que territorio mas ancho;  
 PI 335v5 de lo poblado: T2 642r5 del apoblado;  
 PI 335v6 *ayga*: T2 642r5 *aya*;  
 PI 335v6 *maestro*: T1 323v8, AF 24v22 *Maestre*;  
 T2 642r14 *omitted line 10 from* PI 335v;  
 PI 335v11 deste: T1 323v17 de este;  
 PI 335v6 *th[ome]*: AF 24v22 *thomas*;  
 PI 335v10 *ynserte el presente secretario*: AF 24v26 el presente *esscribano*;  
 PI 335v11 deste: AF 24v27 de este;  
 PI 335v11 asi: T2 642r16 y *assi*;  
 PI 335v12 ante mi: T2 642r18 *omitted*: mi;  
 T1 323v23 *left margin*: Carta |; que escriuio el | *gouernador* a fray Diego | de Parraga | en *que* | le auisa no puede | Remitirle el | Socorro que le pide | *por* hallarse sin gente y padeçiendo muchos trauajos;  
 PI 335v12 *secretario*: AF 24v28 *Esscribano*;  
 PI 335v16 *secretario* de *gouernacion* y *guerra*: AF 24v30 *esscribano* de *guerra* y *gobierno*;

PI 335v17 repuesta: T1 323v23, T2 642v2, AF 24v31 respuesta;  
 PI 335v18 digo: T1 323v26, T2 642v5, AF 24v32 Diego;  
 PI 335v18 reçivo: AF 25r1 recivio;  
 PI 335v19 *Vuestra Paternidad*: T1 324r1 *Vuestra Reverençia*, T2 642v8 buesa Paternidad;  
 PI 335v20 su: AF 25r3 ese;  
 PI 335v20 ynsignua: T1 324r6AF 25r3 insinua;  
 PI 335v23 o los: AF 25r5 *omitted* o;  
 PI 335v25 thome: AF 25r7 Tomas;  
 PI 335v26 ausençia: T1 324r19 Ausiencia;  
 PI 335v27 berme: T1 324r22 Veerme;  
 PI 335v27 escrito: AF 25r10 escriptto;  
 PI 335v27 ynbiad[o]: T2 643r11 embiado, AF 25r10 enviado;  
 PI 335v28 a[ssi]: AF 25r11 alli;  
 PI 335v33 renquentros: T1 324v8 re encuentros, T2 643v4 Reencuentros;  
 PI 336r1 las canpañas: AF 25r21 los Campos;  
 PI 336r2 a *Vuestra*: AF 25r22 *omitted* a;  
 PI 336r5 retiral: T1 325r2, T2 644r6, AF 25r25 retirar;  
 PI 336r8 aRiua: T1 325r8 a *Vuestra Reverençia*;  
 PI 336r8 era la parte: AF 25r27-28 es a la parte;  
 PI 336r8 por ynfalible estaria toda: AF 25r28 la imbasion y estar sittiada;  
 PI 336r8 ynfalible: T2 644r13 ynbasible;  
 PI 336r9 saver: AF 25r29 ver;  
 PI 336r11 deste: T1 325r17, AF 25r31 de este;  
 PI 336r11 ber: T1 325r18 veer;  
 PI 336r13 y aora: T2 644v5 Ya oia;  
 PI 336r16 ni: T2 644v14 y;  
 PI 336r17 va: AF 25v6 ban;  
 PI 336r20 *maestro*: T1 325v13 *Maestre*;  
 PI 336r24 con ese socorro: T1 325v21 con effecto corro;  
 PI 336r25 y ynterin: AF 25v15 *omitted* y;  
 PI 336r25 poco a poco a poco: T1 325v24, T2 645r15, AF 25v15 poco a poco;  
 PI 336r25 es: T1 325v25, T2 645r16 esse, AF 25v15 este;  
 PI 336r27 deste: T1 326r3-4, T2 645v2 de este;  
 PI 336r27 es deste: AF 25v18 de este;  
 PI 336r28 su *servidor*: T1 326r7 su mayor seruidor;  
 PI 336r30 remitio: T1 326r11 le remitio;  
 PI 336r34 dias del mes: AF 25v25 *omitted*;  
 PI 336r37 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 25v26 *Esscribano* de *gobierno*;



T1 326r26 *right margin*: Auto para hacer | junta y determinar | si seria combeniente | Boluer contra los | yndios y ha-;

T1 326v1 *left margin*: uiendose hecho dicha | junta y dado sus pa | receres las personas | de ella fue acor | dado en atenzion | a la neçesidad de | Armas y Bastimentos | que tenian no se | Boluiese a dicha | conquista sino es | se pasase adelante | a buscar nuebos | socorros;

PI 336v1 dias del m[es]: D 54v4, AF 25v29 *omitted*;

PI 336v2 años: AF 25v29 *omitted*;

PI 336v2, 6 and 13 fee: D 54v5, 11 and 23 Fé;

PI 336v3 destas: T2 646r7, D 54v5, AF 25v30 de estas;

PI 336v4 de la nueva mexico: AF 25v31 del nuevo Mexico;

PI 336v5 de este: T2 646r14 deste;

PI 336v11 jurisdicciones: T1 326v24, T2 646v8, AF 26r8 jurisdicciones;

PI 336v13 destas: T1 327r3, D 54v23, AF 26r10 de estas;

PI 336v17-18 jurisd[icio]nes: T2 647r2 jurisdicciones;

PI 336v20 cueras: D 55r10 cuerras;

PI 336v22 jurisdicciones: AF 26r19 jurisdicciones;

PI 336v22 jurisdicciones del Rio auaxo *prouinçia*: T1 327r24-25 jurisdicciones del Rio abajo puen<sup>a</sup>, T2 647r12 jurisdicciones del Rio auaxo *prouinçia*;

PI 336v24 a los relixiosos: T1 327v1-2 y a los Religiosos;

PI 336v25 de concluir: D 55r18 *omitted*;

PI 336v26 a el: T1 327v8, D 55r20, AF 26r23 al;

PI 336v30 a el: T2 647v9 al;

PI 336v36-37 v[er]nos: D 55v13 veernos;

PI 336v37 tanto enemigo: D 55v13 tantos enemigos;

PI 336v38 em persona: AF 26v2 en persona;

PI 336v38 darles: T2 648r7-8 darle;

PI 336v39 desaloxandolos: D 55v16-17 despojandolos;

PI 337r4 peltrechos: D 55v23, AF 26v7 pertrechos;

PI 337r6-7 de los emex: D 56r2 de xemes;

PI 337r7 emex: T2 648r21 hemes, AF 26v9 Emes;

PI 337r7-8: jurisdicciones: T1 328v2, T2 648v3, AF 26v10 jurisdicciones;

PI 337r10 mesmo: T2 648v9, D 56r8, AF 26v13 mismo;

PI 337r11 se allaron: D 56r8 *omitted* se;

PI 337r13 vastimento: D 56r12 bastimentos;

PI 337r13 los unos: T2 648v16 de los vnos;

PI 337r14 com pareser: T1 328v18, D 56r14 con parecer;

PI 337r15 españolas y niños: D 56r15-16 Españoles, niños;

PI 337r16 eridos: T1 328v22 heridos;

PI 337r17 de jente: T2 649r2-3 de la gente;  
 PI 337r19 mesma: D 56r22, AF 26v23 misma;  
 PI 337r22 a orden: D 56v3, AF 26v26 de orden;  
 PI 337r23 disignio: D 56v4, AF 26v27 designio;  
 PI 337r28 alcansaron: D 56v13, AF 27r1 alcanzasen;  
 PI 337r29 *crossed out*: por verse destroncados: AF 27r1-2, D 56v14  
*included*, T1 329r25, T2 649v12 *omitted*;  
 PI 337r33 a consta: T1 329v7, T2 650r1, D 56v21, AF 27r6 a costa;  
 PI 337r36 practiquen: T1 329v15, T2 650r8-9, D 57r1-2, AF 27r9  
 practiquen;  
 PI 337r39 con pareser: D 57r6 comparecer;  
 PI 337v3 explaiar la fee: D 57r9-10 extender la fé, AF 27r14 extender  
 la fee;  
 PI 337v6-7 [e yn]telexibles: T1 330r9, D 57r15, AF 27r18 e  
 inteligibles, T2 650v8-9 ynteligibles;  
 PI 337v8 autuales: T1 330r13, T2 650v12-13, D 57r17, AF 27r19  
 actuales;  
 PI 337v10 como tan grandes: D 57r19-20, AF 27r21 con tan grandes;  
 PI 337v12, 16, 17, 25 and 338r19 *secretario de governacion*: D  
 57r23, 57v2-3, 4-5, 14-15 and 58r10, AF 27r23, 25-26, 27, AF 27v1  
 and 16 Escribano de gobierno;  
 PI 337v13 asi: T2 651r2 y assi;  
 PI 337v17 *maestro*: T1 330v2, D 57v4 *Maestre*;  
 T1 330v2 *left margin*: Publica | cion del | Autto;  
 PI 337v17 destas: T1 330v4, D 57v7, AF 27r27-28 de estas;  
 PI 337v18 des[tas]: T1 330v7, D 57v7, AF 27r29 de estas;  
 PI 337v20 deste: T1 330v10, D 57v9, AF 27r30 de este;  
 T1 330v12 *a cross is added above the word* cruz;  
 PI 337v21, 338r5 fee: D 57v11, 23 fé;  
 PI 338r1-2 constaran: D 57v18 constaron;  
 PI 338r6 a naturaleza: D 57v23-24, AF 27v7 a los naturales;  
 PI 338r8 de determinaçion: T2 651v20, D 58r2, AF 27v9 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 338r9 repuesta: T1 331r11, D 58r4, AF 27v11 respuesta;  
 PI 338r14 difinidor subrogado: D 58r7-8 AF 27v14 *omitted*;  
 PI 338r17 Joan: T1 331r19, D 58r9 Juan;  
 PI 338r20 *maestros*: T1 331r22, D 58r12 AF 27v17 *Maestres*;  
 T1 331v3 *left margin*: Pareceres;  
 PI 338r20 Gomes Robledo thome domingez: D 58r12-13, AF 27v17  
 Gomez, Tomás Dominguez;  
 PI 338r23 le han: T1 331v4 *omitted*: le;  
 PI 338r25 and 27 fee: D 58r20 and 22 Fé;  
 PI 338r25 a su costa y mençion: D 58r20 *omitted*;  
 PI 338r25-26 gaxe ni sueldo de su magestad ni mas del selo de  
 vasallos de su magestad: D 58r20-21 gages, ni sueldo, que solo por el

zelo de sus fieles vallos, AF 27v24-25 gages ni sueldo de *Su Magestad* que solo por el celo de sus fieles vasallos;  
 PI 338r28 susedido: AF 27v27 subcedido;  
 PI 338r29 y alevosia: D 58v1 *omitted*;  
 PI 338r29 apostatas cristianos: T2 652v15 christianos Apostatas;  
 PI 338r30 pagto: T2 652v16, D 58v2, AF 27v29 pacto;  
 PI 338r33 demoliendo otras: T1 331v27 demoliendo *nuestras*; T2 653r4 *omitted*: demoliendo;  
 PI 338r33 otras casas: D 58v7-8, AF 28r2 otras cosas;  
 PI 339r1 o de sus: T2 653r10, D 58v11, AF 28r5 *omitted*: o;  
 PI 339r8 ver: T1 332r16 veer;  
 PI 339r8 el reino: D 58v19 *omitted* el;  
 D 58v19-20 *repeated* de *nuestras*;  
 PI 339r10 le sirue: T1 332r21 les sirue;  
 PI 339r14 españolas: T2 653v13-14 españoles;  
 PI 339r16 lo mas: D 59r5 demás;  
 PI 339r17 creditos: D 59r6, AF 28r17 credito;  
 PI 339r17 ver: T1 332v6 veer;  
 PI 339r17 *generales*: D 59r7, AF 28r17 grandes;  
 PI 339r17 dibulgadas: T2 654r1-2 dibulgados;  
 PI 339r18 notiçias: D 59r8, AF 28r18 motivos;  
 PI 339r18, 21, 22 and 25 *Vuestra*: D 59r9, 13, 15 y19, AF 28r18, 22 and 25 su;  
 PI 339r26 affixidos: T2 654r19 affixidas;  
 PI 339r29 autualmente: T2 654v7 Actual mente, D 59r24, AF 28r28 actualmente;  
 PI 339r31 prontitud: T1 333r6, AF 28r30 promptitud;  
 PI 339v1 y10 *Vuestra*: D 59v3 y16, AF 28r31 AF 28v1 and 8 su;  
 PI 339v1 de las familias: T1 333r9 de todas las familias;  
 PI 339v2 y su altessa: D 59v5, AF 28v1 *omitted*;  
 PI 339v4 y abilantes: T2 654v19 *omitted*;  
 PI 339v4 tanto enemigo: T1 333r15 tantos enemigos;  
 PI 339v5 ajiles: D 59v8, AF 28v3 habiles;  
 PI 339v5 como en: T1 333r16-17 como con;  
 PI 339v7-8 condolido: D 59v12, AF 28v6 condolorido;  
 PI 339v10 destruision: D 59v15 destruccion, AF 28v8 destrruccion;  
 PI 339v11 repu[es]tas: T1 333v1, T2 655r13-14, D 59v17-18, AF 28v10 respuestas;  
 PI 339v12 fee: D 59v18 fé;  
 PI 340r14 thome: D 59v19 Tomás, AF 28v11 Thomas;  
 PI 339v17 y Chabez: AF 28v12 *omitted* y;  
 PI 339v21 *Secretario* de *governacion*: D 59v23-24, AF 28v14  
 Escribano de gobierno;  
 PI 340r1 dado: D 60r3 dados;

D 60r4-5 *repeated* autos;  
 PI 340r6 enriques: D 60r8-9 de Henriquez, AF 28v20-21 de Enriquez;  
 PI 340r8 *Diego* luzero de godoy: AF 28v21 Juan Lucero de Godoy;  
 PI 340r12 zuballeta: D 60r12, AF 28v23 Zavaleta;  
 PI 340r13 Nicolas luzero: T1 333v26-27, T2 655v20 Nicolas Vasquez, D 60r12, AF 28v24 Nicolás Herg;  
 PI 340r18 Sais: T1 334r3, T2 656r3 Sai, D 60r14 Saenz, AF 28v25 Sainz;  
 PI 340r19 ocanto: D 60r15 Ocampo;  
 PI 340r21 Alonso de m[o]raga: T1 334r4-5 Alonso de niragas, D 60r15-16, AF 28v27 Alonso de Mirago;  
 PI 340r28 de Belasco: D 60r18, AF 28v29 Velasco;  
 PI 340r29 Martin: D 60r19, AF 28v30 Martinez;  
 PI 340r33 en todo: T1 334r11 a todo;  
 D 60r19 and AF 28v30 *omitted lines 30-34 from PI 340r*;  
 PI 340r34 *Señor* Cavildo: T2 656r12 *omitted: Señor*;  
 PI 340r37 a el: T1 334r15, T2 656r16 al;  
 AF 29r2 *omitted lines 39-41 from PI 340r*;  
 PI 340r41, 340v10 *Secretario de Governacion*: D 60r20, 60v8 Escribano de gobierno;  
 PI 340v4 sin dilacion: T1 334r25 y sin dilacion;  
 PI 340v5 se reconosca a los: T2 656v8-9 se reconoscan los;  
 PI 340v5 y se vea el estado: AF 29r7 and D 60v5 *omitted and left blank*;  
 PI 340v6 y conforme a eso se obre: D 60v6, AF 29r7 y en forma se obre;  
 PI 340v7 y Chabes: D 60v7, AF 29r8 *omitted* y;  
 PI 340v8 Ante mi: T2 656v13-14 Ate mi;  
 PI 340v10 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 29r9 *esscribano de govierno*;  
 PI 341r *upper left margin*: Pareser del cavildo: T2 656v15 *omitted*;  
 PI 341r *left margin*: [\*C]on los autos]: T2 656v20 *omitted*;  
 PI 341r2 fee: D 60v11 Fé;  
 PI 341r4 de este: T2 656v19 deste;  
 PI 341r14 a un fin: D 60v22 á fin;  
 PI 341r17 del: T2 657r18-19 de el;  
 PI 341v5 i hijos: D 61r9, AF 29r28 é hijos;  
 PI 341v9 el zelo: T2 658r1 el y elo, D 61r13, AF 29r30 en el célo;  
 PI 341v12 este: T1 335r25 esse;  
 PI 341v18 des[te]: T1 335v8, T2 658r14-15, D 61r21, AF 29v6 de este;  
 PI 341v19 and 26 *Vuestra Señoria*: D 61r22, 61v4-5, AF 29v7 and 11-12 su Señoría;

PI 341v19 trop[as]: T2 658r16 tropa;  
 PI 341v20 jurisdision: T1 335v10-11, T2 658r17, AF 29v8  
 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 341v20 jurisdision de los in[dios]: D 61r23 jurisdicion de Indios,  
 AF 29v8 jurisdiccio de Yndios;  
 PI 341v24 canpañã: T2 658v4 compaña;  
 PI 341v26 se sirua: T1 335v19 se seruirã;  
 PI 341v28 se ban: T2 658v10 lleban;  
 PI 341v28 esos: D 61v7, AF 28v13 estos;  
 PI 342r2 i interin: T2 658v17 e ynterin;  
 PI 342r6 personas: AF 29v18 Persona;  
 PI 342r7-8 tubieren nececidad: D 61v15-16 se hallase precisado;  
 PI 342r9 i licencia: T1 336r12 *omitted*: i;  
 PI 342r9 *Vuestra Señoria* i licencia se le de: D 61v17 su Señoría se le  
 dé;  
 PI 342r15, 17 *Vuestra Señoria*: D 61v23, 62r1 su Señoría;  
 PI 342r19 fee: D 62r3 fê; D *omitted fols. 342v-346v*;  
 PI 343r1 dicho trese: AF 29v31 dicho dia 13;  
 PI 343r2 destas: T1 336v9, T2 659v14, AF 30r1 de estas;  
 T1 336v10 *left margin*: en que se con | forma el *gouernador* | con los  
 pareceres | antecedentes | de que no se | Buelua a la | conquista;  
 PI 343r3 destos: T1 336v11, AF 30r2 de estos, T2 659v16 de los;  
 PI 343r4 reduccion: T1 336v14, T2 659v19 reduccion;  
 PI 343r6 se an: AF 30r4 *omitted* se;  
 PI 343r6 ygnormes delitos: T1 336v17, T2 660r3 inormes delictos,  
 AF 30r4 enormes delittos;  
 PI 343r7 echando del a sus moradores: T1 336v20 hechando de sus  
 moradas;  
 PI 343r8 latrosignios: T1 336v21, AF 30r6 latroçinios;  
 PI 343r12 reduccion: T1 337r3-4, T2 660r15 reduccion;  
 PI 343r13-14 christianismo: T2 660r18 christianissimo;  
 PI 343r15 siçaña: AF 30r11 tirania;  
 PI 343r17-18 y mirando: T1 337r14 o mirando;  
 PI 343r18 se podran: T1 337r15 se pueden, AF 30r14 podrian;  
 PI 343r25 bia: AF 30r19 beya;  
 PI 343r26 terrestre: T1 337v5, AF 30r21 terrestre;  
 PI 343v1 *vastimento*: T1 337v13 vastimentos;  
 PI 343v3 desta: T1 337v19, AF 30r27 de esta;  
 PI 343v3 della: T1 337v20, T2 661v3, AF 30r27 de ella;  
 PI 343v6 [para]: AF 30r30 a;  
 PI 343v8 sumas: T1 338r3 jumas;  
 PI 343v8 deste: T1 338r5, T2 661v15, AF 30r32 de este;  
 PI 343v10 *actualmente*: T1 338r9, T2 661v19 *actualmente*, AF 30v1  
*actualmentte*;

PI 343v11 Muy: AF 30v2 *omitted*,  
 PI 343v12 [car]tas: T2 662r5 *omitted*;  
 PI 343v13 ver: T1 338r16 veer;  
 PI 343v17 se procure: AF 30v8 *omitted* se;  
 PI 343v17 conduçion: T1 338r25, T2 662r17 conduçion;  
 PI 343v18 e[ste]: T2 662v1 *omitted*;  
 PI 343v19 para: AF 30v10 por;  
 PI 343v19-20 exeder la ju[riski]çion: T1 338v2, AF 30v10 exeder la  
 jurisdiccion, T2 662v3 exeder la jurisdiccion;  
 PI 343v20 a su: AF 30v11 *omitted*;  
 PI 343v20 aprej[ençion]: T1 338v2, T2 662v5-6 Aprehençion, AF  
 30v11 aprehension;  
 PI 343v23-24 s[atis]façion: T1 338v12, AF 30v15 satisfacçion;  
 PI 343v25 del norte: T1 338v14-15 de el Norte;  
 PI 343v26 asi mesmo me ynsignue: T1 338v18-19, AF 30v17-18  
 assimismo me insinue;  
 PI 343v28 escrita: AF 30v19 escripta;  
 PI 343v31 se vera: T1 339r2 se veera;  
 T1 339r8 *left margin*: Carta | de Aieta a el | *Gouernador* en que |  
 [*crossed out*: le alienta | a los] le auisa | de como se ha | alegrado de |  
 su Bida; y | como procura | quanto antes | Berse con el | *para* tener que  
 | comunicar cosas | del seruicio de | ambas *Magestades*;  
 PI 343v32 and 36 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 30v24 and 25  
*Esscribano* de gouerno;  
 PI 345r *upper left margin*: Pongase con los autos: T2 663r17 *omitted*;  
 PI 345r1 *Señor Gouernador* dueño y muy *señor* Don Anttonio de  
 Otermin: AF 30v26 *Señor Governador* don Anttonio de Ottermin.  
 Dueño y mui *Señor* mio;  
 PI 345r2 y penas: T2 663r19 *omitted*;  
 PI 345r9 de la vida: T2 663v9 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 345r9 quando: T1 339r24, AF 31r2 quanto;  
 PI 345r *left margin*: para: T2 664r10 par;  
 PI 345r29 prudensia: T2 664r19-20 prouidensia;  
 PI 345r31 temos: T1 340r5-6, T2 664v1-2, AF 31r17 tenemos;  
 PI 345r31 sancto: T1 340r6, T2 664v2 santo;  
 PI 345r41 ber: T1 340r22 veer;  
 PI 345v1 essa: AF 31r24 estta;  
 PI 345v9 asi mesmo: T1 340v9, AF 31r29 assimismo;  
 PI 345v12 susedido: AF 31r31 subcedido;  
 PI 345v14 escripto: T1 340v16, T2 665r15 escrito;  
 PI 345v16 satisfasion: T1 340v20, AF 31v1 satisfacçion;  
 PI 345v19 mesmas: AF 31v4 mismas;  
 PI 345v21 ber: T1 341r2 veer;  
 PI 345v23 en espesial: T1 341r5 em particular;

PI 345v25 *guarde* Dios: AF 31v8 Dios *guarde*;  
 PI 345v26 8 de 1680: T1 341r9-10 ocho de mil seiscientos y ochenta;  
 PI 345v28 ni se: T1 341r12 no se;  
 PI 345v30 ver: T1 341r14 veer; T1 341v7 *left margin*: Aqui encontro  
 el | *Gouernador* con Aieta | pasando los carros | *por* el Rio y adonde |  
 estubo en peligro | de muerte;  
 PI 345v32 *nueva*: AF 31v12 *notticia*;  
 PI 345v33 *erida*: AF 31v12 en ida;  
 PI 345v34 *testimonio* de las cart[as]: AF 31v13 *testtimonios* de la  
 cartta;  
 PI 345v40 *ganado*: T2 666r9 *gando*;  
 PI 345v41 como [lo vera]: T1 341r27 como la Uida: T2 666r11 como  
 lo bera, AF 31v17 como lo vera;  
 T2 666r13 *left margin*: Razon del | Margen;  
 PI 347r2 dias del mes: D 62r9, AF 31v19 *omitted*;  
 PI 347r4 de la nueva mexico: D 62r11, AF 31v21 del nuevo México;  
 PI 347r7 *desta*: T1 341v19, T2 666v10, D 62r15, AF 31v24 de esta;  
 PI 347r10 *nuebo* mexico: T1 341v28 *Nueba* Mexico;  
 PI 347r11 *cansadas*: T2 667r2 *cansados*;  
 PI 347r15 *suma*: T2 667r8 *Mucha*;  
 PI 347r13 *abiendo* dado parte de todo ello al: D 62r24 *omitted*;  
 D 62r24 *omitted line* 14 from PI 347r;  
 PI 347r15 la *suma* *nesesidad*: D 62r15 *omitted*;  
 PI 347r17 en lugar a los *maestros*: T1 342r14-15, D 62v3-4 en su  
 lugar a los *Maestres*, T2 667r13-14, AF 32r2 en su lugar a los  
*maestros*;  
 PI 347r22 *para* que: AF 32r6 *porque*;  
 PI 347r25 *fray francisco*: D 62v14 *omitted* *fray*;  
 PI 347r27 *vestuario*: D 62v16 *vestuarios*;  
 PI 347r27 las *nesesidades*: T2 667v17 la *nesesidad*;  
 PI 347r30 *derramadose*: T1 342v17-18, D 62v20, AF 32r14  
*derramandose*;  
 PI 347r30 ver: T1 342v19 *veer*;  
 PI 347r30-31 se p[o]dia: T2 668r4-5 se podian;  
 PI 347r35 dos oras: D 63r3, AF 32r20 *omitted* *horas*;  
 PI 347v2 y nado: D 63r8, AF 32r23 y á nado;  
 PI 347v3 en alto: D 63r9 en el alto;  
 PI 347v4 *Muy Reverendo*: D 63r11, AF 32r25 *omitted* *Muy*;  
 PI 347v7 y sacarle: D 63r14 *omitted*;  
 PI 347v7 en palmas: D 63r15, AF 32r28 en paz;  
 PI 347v16 *para* qu[e] se *conduxese* dichos: D 63v3, AF 32v4 *porque*  
*se condugese* dicho;  
 D 63v6-7 *repeated* *mas*;  
 PI 347v21 *cargadas*: D 63v10, AF 32v7 *cargados*;

PI 347v23 thenientes *Generales*: T1 344r4 *omitted*: *Generales*;  
 T1 344r8-9 dichos [*crossed out*: carros] veinte y quatro carros;  
 PI 347v29 dichos vastimentos: D 63v20 *omitted* dichos;  
 PI 347v32 desta: T1 344r21-22, D 63v24, AF 32v19 de esta;  
 PI 347v32 y que a ojos vea: D 63v24 *omitted* a ojos;  
 PI 348r6 las dos majestades: D 64r10-11, AF 32v27 ambas  
 Magestades;  
 PI 348r6 *Muy Reverendo*: D 64r11, AF 32v28 *omitted* *Muy*;  
 PI 348r9 praticas: T1 344v17, T2 670v14, D 64r15, AF 32v30  
 practicas;  
 PI 348r10 mesma suerte: D 64r17, AF 33r1 misma forma;  
 T2 671r4 *omitted line 13 from PI 348r*;  
 PI 348r17 y por ante mi: D 64v3 *omitted* y;  
 PI 348r17 and 21, 348v15, 21 *secretario de governacion*: D 64v3-4,  
 6, 65r10, 14, AF 33r8, 10, 30 and 33 *Escribano de gobierno*;  
 PI 348r22 jurisdiccion: T1 345r15, T2 671r17, AF 33r11 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 348r23 dias del mes: D 64v8, AF 33r12 *omitted*;  
 PI 348r24 deste: T1 345r20, D 64v10, AF 33r13 de este;  
 PI 348r26 *general*: T2 671v7 *omitted*;  
 PI 348r26 ber: T1 345r25 veer;  
 PI 348v1 que se hallavan: D 64v15 *omitted*;  
 PI 348v5 hasta cantidad: D 64v21, AF 33r21 hasta la cantidad;  
 PI 348v8-9 jente que viene marchando a horden: D 65r1-2 Junta que  
 viene marchanta que viene marchando de orden, AF 33r24 Junta que  
 viene marchando de orden;  
 PI 348v9 *Muy Reverendo*: D 65r3, AF 33r25 *omitted* *Muy*;  
 PI 348v11-12 carne nesesarias: D 65r5 carnicerias;  
 PI 348v12 al sustento: D 65r6, AF 33r27 el sustento;  
 PI 348v14 y *Muy Reverendo*: D 65r9, AF 33r30 y el *Reverendo*;  
 PI 348v16 determina: T1 346r8 ordena;  
 PI 349r1 jurisdiccion: T1 346r15, T2 672v11-12, AF 33v2 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 349r1-2 and 3 de la nueva mexico: D 65r17 and 20, AF 33v2 and 4  
 del nuevo México;  
 PI 349r2 dias del mes: D 65r18, AF 33v2 *omitted*;  
 PI 349r2 mill seis sientos: T2 672v14 Mill y seisçientos;  
 PI 349r3 de este: T2 672v17 deste;  
 PI 349r5 delixencias: T1 346r25, T2 673r1-2 diligenciãas, D 65r22, AF  
 33v6 diligencias;  
 PI 349r7 en la reducion: T1 346v6 de la reduccion, T2 673r8 en la  
 Reduccion, D 65v3 en la reduccion;  
 PI 349r8 a el estado: T1 346v7, T2 673r9 al estado;  
 PI 349r10 jurisdicciones: T1 346v12-13, T2 673r13-14, AF 33v12  
 jurisdicciones;  
 T2 673r20-673v1 *repeated*: al conosimiento;



PI 349r11 latrosignios: T1 346v15, D 65v8, AF 33v13 latrocinios;  
 PI 349r13, 21 fee: D 65v12, 66r1 Fé;  
 PI 349r17 enemigo: D 65v17 número;  
 PI 349r18 pueblos: D 65v20, AF 33v23 públicos;  
 PI 349r23 de que era: T2 674r5 de de era;  
 PI 349r23 muerta: D 66r4, AF 33v29 muerto;  
 PI 349r24 fee: D 66r6 Fé, fué;  
 PI 349r26 del reino y vernos: T1 347r27-347v1 de el Reyno y  
 veernos;  
 PI 349r27 faltos: D 66r10 y faltos;  
 PI 349r31 de aonde: T1 347v13, de adonde, T2 674v2-3, D 66r17, AF  
 34r8 de donde;  
 PI 349r35 del r[eino]: T1 347v25-26 de el Reyno;  
 PI 349r33 lo uno y lo otro: T2 674v8 lo uno y otro;  
 PI 349r34-35 paraje: T2 674v12 Puesto;  
 PI 349r37 mesma: D 66v4, AF 34r16 misma;  
 PI 349r38 espiriencia: T1 348r6, AF 34r17 experiència;  
 PI 349r40 pronto: T1 348r11 prompto, T2 675r5 prompto;  
 PI 349r41 prontitud: T1 348r13, AF 34r21 promptitud, T2 675r6  
 prontitud;  
 T1 348v11 *left margin*: Publicazion;  
 T2 675r16 *omitted*: asiendo reseña de las armas cavallos cueras y lo  
 nesario para el real servicio;  
 PI 349v3-4 y lo nesario para el real servicio: D 66v18-19, AF  
 34r27-28 lanzas, y lo mas nesario al Real servicio;  
 PI 349v5, 11 *secretario* de governa[cion]: D 66v22, 67r3, AF 34r30,  
 AF 34v3 Escribano de gobierno;  
 PI 349v5 Governacion: T2 675r20 gouierno;  
 PI 349v7 *Secretario et cetera*: D 67r1 *omitted*, AF 34v1 Esscribano;  
 D 67r4 *omitted PI 349v11-28 and 350r-376v*;  
 PI 349v12 *secretario*: AF 34v4 Esscribano;  
 PI 349v12 incontinente: T2 675v7 incontinenti;  
 PI 349v17 yncontinente: T1 348v18, T2 675v14, AF 34v8-9  
 incontinenti;  
 PI 349v19 daga: T2 675v19 Dada;  
 PI 349v19 espada y daga: AF 34v11 *omitted y*;  
 PI 350r1 Alguasil: T1 349r13 Alguacil, T2 676r11 Alguasil, AF 34v20  
 Alguacil;  
 PI 350r2 espada y daga: AF 34v22 *omitted y*;  
 PI 350r5 de Valdes: AF 34v23 *omitted de*;  
 PI 350r12-13 espada y daga: AF 35r1 *omitted y*;  
 PI 350r14 Alonso del Rio: T1 349r12 Alonso de el Rio;  
 PI 350r15 *Secretario*: T2 676v14-15, AF 35r3 escrivano;  
 PI 350r19 flacas: AF 35r8 y flacas;

PI 350r20-21 una ermana donsella una cuñada con siete criaturas  
 veinte personas: T2 677r5-6 y una hermana donsella y vna cuñada con  
 siete criaturas y veinte personas;  
 PI 350r24 jurisdicciones: T1 350r8, T2 677r11, AF 35r14  
 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 350r25 sinco: T2 677r13 esinco;  
 PI 350r26 and 28 guernos: T1 350r13 y17, T2 677r16 and 19, AF  
 35r16 and 18 yernos;  
 PI 350r28 famillia: T2 677r20 familia;  
 PI 350r29 trai: T1 350r21, T2 677r22 trae, AF 35r19 traer;  
 PI 350v1 thome: AF 35r21 Thomas;  
 PI 350v2 trienta: T1 350r28, T2 677v7 treinta;  
 PI 350v5 del enemigo: T1 350v7 de el enemigo;  
 PI 350v5-6 su hijo: T1 350v8, T2 677v14, AF 35r26 sus hijos;  
 PI 350v6 de ganado: T2 677v14 *omitted*;  
 PI 350v6 simenteras: T1 350v9, T2 677v15 sementerar, AF 35r27  
 cementeras;  
 PI 350v6 conflito: T1 350v10, T2 677v15, AF 35r27 conflicto;  
 PI 350v7 hijas nietos: T2 677v18 hijas y nietos;  
 PI 350v7-8 gu[er]nos: T1 350v13 y yernos, T2 677v18, AF 35r28-29  
 yernos;  
 PI 350v8 hermanas y sobrinos y sobrinas: T2 677v18-19 hermanas y  
 sobrinas;  
 PI 350v9 thome: AF 35r30 Thomas;  
 PI 350v13 guerfanar: T1 350v25, T2 678r7, AF 35v1 huerfanar;  
 PI 350v17-18 [con] por tres hijos: T1 351r5, T2 678r14 con por tres  
 hijos, AF 35v7 *omitted* con;  
 PI 350v18-19 su p[er]sona: AF 35v7 la Persona;  
 PI 350v19 les siruen: T1 351r8 le siruen;  
 PI 350v20 a el contenido: T2 678r18-19 al contenido;  
 PI 350v23 su hacienda: T1 351r17 la hacienda;  
 PI 350v25 Ygnacio: T1 351r19, T2 678v5; AF 35v13 Ygnacio;  
 PI 350v29 un cavallo: AF 35v18 en cavallo;  
 PI 351r14 Josephe: T1 351v24, AF 35r30 Joseph;  
 PI 351r18 Paderes: T1 352r2, T2 679r19, AF 36r3 Paredes;  
 PI 351r23 dies personas: AF 36r8 *omitted* personas;  
 PI 351r25 *don* Joseph: AF 36r9 *omitted don*;  
 PI 351v2 pequeñitos: T2 679v13 pequeños;  
 PI 351v6-7 dos niñas digo tres: AF 36r16 tres niñas;  
 PI 351v14 que no sirve: T2 680r9 que no tiene;  
 PI 351v18 *madre*: AF 36r25 *omitted*;  
 PI 351v18-19 rogado del: T2 680r15 y Robado de el;  
 PI 351v23 montoya: AF 36r30 de Montoya;  
 PI 352r4 todas: AF 36v3 y todas;

PI 352r6 y le robó todas sus haciendas: T1 353r7 *omitted*;  
 PI 352r9 Saes: T1 353r10 Sai, AF 36v7 Sainz;  
 PI 352r10-11 sin abio mujer y otroz ocho hijos: T1 353r12-13 sin  
 Abio, y [*blank*] hijos;  
 PI 352r13 sais: AF 36v10 Sainz;  
 PI 352r19 y cavallo casado y con seis: AF 36v15 y casado con seis;  
 PI 352r20 de serviçio: T2 681r8 de su seruiçio;  
 PI 352r21 y lo firmo: T2 681r9 *omitted*;  
 PI 352v4 arvisu: AF 36v20 Albizu;  
 PI 352v4 muestra con a pi[e]: T2 681r17, AF 36v20 muestra a pie;  
 PI 352v5 arcabus: AF 36v21 con arcabuz;  
 PI 352v5 casado y con dos hijos: T2 681r18 cassado con dos hijos;  
 PI 352v6 varones y henbras: T2 681r19 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 352v23-24 y sum[a]mente: T1 354r16 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 353r2 y con ocho: AF 37r7 *omitted* y;  
 PI 353r2 del enemigo: T1 354r22-23 de el enemigo;  
 PI 353r3 Serrano: T1 354r24 Pedraza, AF 37r8 terrado;  
 PI 353r4 y Chaves: AF 37r9 *omitted* y;  
 PI 353r5-6 servia su mersed y un hijo suio a su magestad: AF 37r11-  
 12 se servia y un hijo suio a *Su Magestad*;  
 PI 353r6 y hijas: T2 682r20 y has;  
 PI 353r7 del enemigo: T1 354v7, T2 682r21-682v1 de el enemigo;  
 PI 353r7 simenteras: T1 354v7-8 sementeras, AF 37r13 cementeras;  
 PI 353r9 *Don Pedro* duran y Chabez: AF 37r13 Pedro Duran Chaves;  
 PI 353r20 propio: T1 355r2-3, AF 37r23 propio;  
 PI 353r20 y otro: AF 37r24 y el otro;  
 PI 353r21 y espada: T2 683r2 espada y Daga;  
 PI 353r24 de su magestad: AF 37r24 tambien;  
 PI 353r25 es sola: T2 683r9 y es sola;  
 PI 353v4-5 [le] rovo: T2 683v5 y le rouo, AF 37v1 y le robó;  
 PI 353v15-16 [y] tres criadas: T1 355v3 y tres criadas, T2 683v21-  
 684r1 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 353v12 y sumamente: AF 37v8 *omitted* y;  
 PI 353v18-19 espada suia [de esta]do casado: AF 37v15 y espada  
 suia, casado;  
 PI 353v21 del Castillo: T1 356r6-7 de el Castillo;  
 PI 353v26 casado: T2 684r17 y cassado;  
 PI 353v30-31 los [va]rones dos de ellos que pueden servir: AF 37v25  
 dos de los varones pueden servir;  
 PI 353v32 del enemigo: T1 356r26-27 de el enemigo;  
 PI 353v32 y sinco: T2 684v8 cinco, AF 37v27 con cinco;  
 PI 354r3-5 arcabus del rei echado a perder espada y daga suia casado  
 y con tres hijos chiquitos y una criada: AF 37v28-29 arcabus, espada  
 y daga propios, casado con tres hijos chicos y una sirvienta;

PI 354r6 Jocephe: T1 356v8, T2 684v14-15, AF 37v30 Joseph;  
 PI 354r7 flacos: AF 37v31-32 blancos flacos;  
 PI 354r8 pequeños: AF 37v32 chicos;  
 PI 354r9 personas de servicio: AF 37v33 siervientes;  
 PI 354r12 una espada y un coletto casado y con quatro hijos: T2 685r2  
 y una espada coletto cassado y con tres hijos;  
 PI 354r13 y tres personas de servicio: AF 38r2 *omitted*;  
 PI 354r19 cavallos suios: T2 685r12 *omitted*: suios;  
 PI 354r20 madre y: T2 685r14 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 354r24 and 354v2 hijitos: T2 685r18 and 685v1 hijos;  
 PI 354v2 hijitos: AF 38r13 hijos;  
 PI 354v3 Diego: AF 38r13 Joseph;  
 PI 354v3 Montoya: T2 685v2 de Montoya;  
 PI 354v5 y con cinco hijos y ocho personas d[e] servicio: AF 38r15  
 con cinco hijos y ocho sirvientes;  
 PI 354v16 [madre]: AF 38r24 *omitted*;  
 PI 354v17 rouada su povresa del henemigo: AF 38r25 robado del  
 enemigo;  
 PI 354v21 criadas: T1 357v17 criados, T2 686r8 and AF 38r28  
 criadas;  
 PI 354v21 rouole: T1 357v17 roboles;  
 PI 355r2 chiquitos: AF 38r32 chicos;  
 PI 355r2-3 y rovada su casa del henemigo: AF 38r32 y robado del  
 enemigo;  
 PI 355r6 probe: T1 358r2-3 pobres, T2 686r20, AF 38r35 pobre;  
 PI 355r10 sumamente pobre: T1 358r8 *omitted*: pobre;  
 PI 355r11 Martin: AF 38v4 *omitted*;  
 PI 355r16 las Mariñas: AF 38v8 los Marinos;  
 PI 355r17 asen: T1 358r18 son;  
 PI 355r17-18 asen *numero* de nuebe mui pobrez todos: AF 38v10 son  
 por todos nueve cabezas mui pobres;  
 PI 355r19 Juan de las Mariñaz: AF 38v10-11 Juan de los Marinos;  
 PI 355r21 adarga: AF 38v13 daga;  
 PI 355r25 criadas: AF 38v16 criados;  
 PI 355v1 solegnidad rovado del henemigo: T1 358v3-4 solemnidad  
 (T2 687r7 solemnidad), robado de el enemigo;  
 PI 355v1 de solegnidad: AF 38v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 355v4 dos hermanas una cuñada: T1 358v10 dos hermanas y una  
 cuñada;  
 PI 355v5 el enemigo: AF 38v22 *omitted*;  
 PI 355v5-6 y el con mas quatro yndias de servicio: AF 38v22-23 y  
 quatro Yndias sirvientas;  
 PI 355v8 flacos: AF 38v25 flaco;  
 PI 355v8-9 y todas armas: T1 358v17 *omitted*: y;

PI 355v9-10 hijos chicos y treinta personas de servicio chico y grande: AF 38v26 hijas chicas y 30 sirvientes entre grandes y chicos;  
 PI 355v12-13 d[e] estado viudo: AF 38v29 viudo;  
 PI 355v13 cuñada: AF 38v30 criada digo cuñada;  
 PI 355v14 criados suos sumamente pobres: AF 38v31 sirvientes suos y pobre;  
 PI 355v17 hijitos: T2 687v13 hijos;  
 PI 355v17 hijitos sumamente pobres: AF 39r2 hijos pobre;  
 PI 355v18 Nicolas Luzero: T1 359r6-7, AF 39r2 Nicolas Lucero de Godoy;  
 PI 355v20 de estado casado: AF 39r4 casado;  
 PI 355v23 y dos: T2 688r4 y a dos;  
 PI 355v24 su pobresa y casa: AF 39r9 su casa;  
 PI 355v27 mui biejo y pobrisimo: AF 39r11-12 y pobre;  
 PI 356r2 y sumamente pobre: AF 39r15 pobre;  
 PI 356r5-6 y jente de servicio: AF 39r18 y sirvientes;  
 PI 356r8-9 de estado casado con un hijo chico y sumamente pobre: AF 39r20 casado con un hijo chico, pobre;  
 PI 356r11 and 14 Tivurcio: AF 39r21 and 23 Tibrerio;  
 PI 356r16 de estado casado: AF 39r26 casado;  
 PI 356r16-17 sumamente pobres: AF 39r27 pobre;  
 PI 356r17 desnudo de todo: AF 39r27 *omitted*;  
 PI 356r21 pequeños y nueve personas de servicio: AF 39r31 chicos y nueve sirvientes;  
 PI 356r23 a pi: T1 360r1, T2 689r8, AF 39r33 a pie;  
 PI 356r23-24 y no mas de estado casado: AF 39r34 casado;  
 PI 356r24 sumamente pobres: AF 39v1 pobre;  
 PI 356r28 hijo uno y quatro personas de servicio: AF 39v3 con un hijo y quatro sirvientes;  
 PI 356v2 holgin: AF 39v6 Olguin;  
 PI 356v3 luzero: AF 39v7 Lucero de Godoy;  
 PI 356v16 yegua: T2 690r2 llegua;  
 PI 356v17 y no mas armas: AF 39v21 sin armas;  
 PI 356v17 hermanas: AF 39v22 y hermanas;  
 PI 356v20-21 con siete digo nueve: AF 39v24 con nueve;  
 PI 356v23 agcinados: T1 3601r12, T2 690r13 asignados;  
 PI 356v23 de los agcinados por su magestad: AF 39v26 *omitted*;  
 PI 357r1 yegua: T2 690r16 llegua;  
 PI 357r1-2 y sumamente pobre: AF 39v28 pobre;  
 PI 357r2 yjos: T1 361r17 y hijos;  
 PI 357r2 yjos y nietos: AF 39v28-29 y dos nietos;  
 PI 357r5 hermanas: T2 690v2 hermanos;  
 PI 357r9 personas: AF 40r3-4 personas de familia;

PI 357r11 hermanas tias y sobrinas: AF 40r6-7 hermanos thios y sobrinos;  
 PI 357r12 agçinado: T1 361v6, T2 690v13 asignado, AF 40r8 Agirnado;  
 PI 357r16 ocho: T2 690v20 oho;  
 PI 357r19 de su magestad solo y mui pobre: AF 40r15 del Rey, pobre;  
 PI 357r20 flacos: AF 40r16 blancos;  
 PI 357r21 de su magestad casado y con çiete: AF 40r17 del Rey, casado con siete;  
 PI 357r22 cangas: AF 40r18 Cangos;  
 PI 357v1-2 de su seruiçio: T1 361v27 de seruiçio, AF 40r20 de servicio;  
 PI 357v2 lo rovo: T2 691r14 le rouo;  
 PI 357v3 cangas: AF 40r20 Cangos;  
 PI 357v7 grego: T1 362r6, T2 691r20 Griego;  
 PI 357v7 agustin grego: AF 40r24 Augusttin Griego;  
 PI 357v10 declaro: T1 362r12 del dicho, AF 40r27 suios;  
 PI 357v11 los otros: AF 40r28 y los otros;  
 PI 357v14 agçinado: T1 362r18, T2 691v9 asignado, AF 40r30 Arginado;  
 PI 357v18-19 y hermanos: T1 362r26-27 y seis hermanos;  
 PI 357v21 grego: T1 362r28, T2 691v18, AF 40v4 Griego;  
 PI 358r1-2 y matados: AF 40v9 *omitted*;  
 PI 358r2 y tres hermanas: AF 40v10 tres hermanas;  
 PI 358r4 Anberosyo: T1 362v14, T2 692r10-11, AF 40v11 Ambrosio;  
 PI 358r5 diego: AF 40v12 maior;  
 PI 358r8-9 las que le dieron: AF 40v16 los que le fueron;  
 PI 358r10 y no supo firmar: T1 362v25 no supo firmar;  
 PI 358r13-14 El Capitan Francisco Lopez pasó muestra a pie espada y daga y arcabus casado y con tres personas de su servicio no firmó por no saver: T1 363r3 *omitted*;  
 PI 358r16 del henemigo: T1 363r5 de el enemigo;  
 PI 358r16 su esposa: AF 40v25 su muger;  
 PI 358r19 mui enfermo: AF 40v29 *omitted* mui;  
 PI 358r20 cargado con sinco personas: T2 692v18 *omitted*: cargado;  
 PI 358r20-22 cargado con sinco personas de familia sumamente pobre y sin nada y lo firmo por el el capitan francisco de anaia. francisco de anaia: AF 40v29-30 casado y con cinco de familia pobre sin nada y lo firmo por el Francisco de Anaya. Francisco Anaya;  
 PI 358r21 por el el capitan: T1 363r14 por el capitan;  
 PI 358r23 Josephe: T1 363r17, T2 693r2, AF 40v31 Joseph;  
 PI 358r23 con solo su persona: AF 40v31 solo;  
 PI 358r24 ni familia: AF 40v31 *omitted*;

PI 358v1-2 sumamente pobre soltero con familia: AF 41r2 pobre y soltero y con familia;  
 PI 358v2 hermanas y sobrinas: T2 693r9-10 hermanos y sobrinos, AF 41r2 hermanas y sobrinos;  
 PI 358v5 pobres: AF 41r5 pobre;  
 PI 358v5 todos: AF 41r5 *omitted*;  
 PI 358v7 sumamente pobrez y çinco personas de serviçio: AF 41r7 pobre con cinco Personas de su *mantenimiento*;  
 PI 358v10 hijas viudas: AF 41r9-10 hijos viudos;  
 PI 358v11 sus maridos: AF 41r10 su marido;  
 PI 358v11 and 14 sumamente pobrez: AF 41r11 and 13 y pobre;  
 PI 358v13 francisca: AF 41r12 Francisco;  
 PI 358v16 y con un ijo: AF 41r15 y con hijo;  
 PI 358v17 y lo firmo: T1 363v22 *omitted*;  
 PI 358v21 pude: T1 363v28 puede;  
 PI 358v23 Bernave: T1 364r2-3 Bartholome;  
 PI 358v26 hasta quarenta y seis: AF 41r 23 hasta 45;  
 PI 359r1 solegnidad: T1 364r14, T2 694r9-10 solemnidad;  
 PI 359r1-2 pobre de solegnidad de estado casado: AF 41r26 pobre, casado;  
 PI 359r3 [*crossed out*: y] Chaues: T1 364r18, T2 694r13 y chaues;  
 PI 359r6 y un hijo: T2 694r19 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 359r18-19 ocho hijo: T1 364v17-18 ocho hijos;  
 T1 364v28 *left margin*: Auto;  
 PI 359r5 y le llevo o mato el enemigo a su esposa: AF 41r29 y le mató el enemigo a su muger;  
 PI 359r6 suyo: AF 41r30 de esta;  
 PI 359r7 y Chaves: AF 41r30 *omitted*;  
 PI 359r12 a su magestad: AF 41r34 al Rey;  
 PI 359r12 tienen: AF 41r34 tiene;  
 PI 359r15 gordo: AF 41v2 *omitted*;  
 PI 359r19 hijo: T1 364v17-18 and AF 41v7 hijos; T2 694v19 hijo.  
 PI 359r20 goncales: AF 41v7-8 de Gonzalez;  
 PI 359r21 el moço: T2 695r1 *omitted*;  
 PI 359r22 personas: AF 41v10 hijos o personas;  
 PI 359v1 de su magestad: AF 41v13 del Rey;  
 PI 359v4-5 del norte jurisdicçion: T1 365r1-2 de el Norte jurisdiccion (T2 695r10-11 jurisdicçion, AF 41v16 jurisdiccion);  
 PI 359v4 dia del mes: AF 41v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 359v6 deste: T1 365r6, AF 41v17 de este;  
 PI 359v7 deste: T1 365r9-10, T2 695r14, AF 41v19 de este;  
 PI 359v8 la qual: T2 695r19 lo qual;  
 PI 359v8 aberse: T2 695r20 auer;  
 PI 359v9 poblaçon: T2 695r22, AF 41v21 poblacion;

PI 359v10 concluir los autos: T2 695v2 condusirlos a este;  
 PI 359v13 de la jurisdiccion de Cassas Grandes: T1 365r23 *omitted*: de la jurisdiccion (T2 695v7 and AF 41v25 jurisdiccion);  
 PI 359v14 escripto: T1 365r25, T2 695v9 escrito;  
 PI 359v14 jurisdiccion: T1 365r26, T2 695v10, AF 41v27 jurisdiccion;  
 T1 365v15 *left margin*: Manda | miento;  
 PI 359v15-16 so [las] penas: T2 695v12 con penas;  
 PI 359v17 *theniente* de: T2 695v14, AF 41v29 *omitted*;  
 PI 359v24 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 42r1 *esscribano de gouerno*;  
 PI 361r1 deste: T1 365v16, AF 42r2 de este;  
 PI 361r2 de la nueva mexico: AF 42r3 del nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 361r2 *etcetera*: AF 42r3 *omitted*;  
 PI 361r3 deste: T1 365v20, AF 42r4 de este;  
 T1 365v23-24 *crossed out*: con las jurisdicciones del Reyno;  
 PI 361r6 jurisdicciones: T1 365v27, T2 696r11-12, AF 42r6 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 361r6 delitos: T1 366r1, T2 696r13 delitos;  
 PI 361r8 a la Billa: T1 366r6 alla Villa;  
 PI 361r12 jurisdicciones: T1 366r14, T2 696v4, AF 42r13 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 361r17 a su *magestad*: AF 42r17 de *Su Magestad*;  
 PI 361r17 reduccion: T1 366r24-25, T2 696v13-14 reduccion;  
 PI 361r19 se allavan: T2 696v17 estaban;  
 PI 361r20 su caballada: T2 696v18, AF 42r20 la caballada;  
 PI 361r23 dos Majestades: AF 42r23 *omitted* dos;  
 PI 361r23 paraje: AF 42r24 *sittio*;  
 PI 361v3 *peltrechos*: AF 42r29 *pertrechos*;  
 PI 361v5 de jente: T2 697r16-17 de de jente;  
 PI 361v13 *gouernador y capitan General*: AF 42v7 *omitted*;  
 PI 361v14 conseguir: T2 697v11-12 concluir;  
 PI 361v14 jurisdic[i]o[n]: T1 367r15, T2 697v13, AF 42v9 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 361v17 jurisdiccion: T1 367r20, T2 697v17, AF 42v11 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 361v19 *General*: T2 697v22 *gouernador*;  
 PI 361v20 de la horden: T2 698r1 del orden;  
 PI 361v20-21 del señor Santiago Gobernador y *Capitan general*: AF 42v15 de Santiago *Gouernador*;  
 PI 361v24 jurisdiccion: T1 367v8, T2 698r8, AF 42v18 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 361v26 *aberse*: AF 42v20 *haver*;  
 PI 361v26 se aya: T2 698r13 se halla;  
 PI 361v27 deste: T1 367v15, T2 698r15, AF 42v22 de este;  
 PI 361v28 jurisdiccion: T1 367v16, T2 698r16, AF 42v22 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 361v29 escripto: T2 698r18 escrito;



PI 361v31 jurisdicciones: T1 367v23, T2 698r22, AF 42v26  
 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 362r1 *secretario*: AF 42v27 *esscribano*;  
 PI 362r4 porque: T2 698v9 para que;  
 PI 362r4 a pro: AF 43r2 *blank*;  
 PI 362r6 deste: T1 368r10, T2 698v13, AF 43r3 de este;  
 PI 362r6 lo traera: T2 698v13 lo trira;  
 PI 362r8 *secretario*: AF 43r5 *esscribano*;  
 PI 362r8 *maestros*: T1 368r14, T2 698v16, AF 43r5 *maestres*;  
 PI 362r10 jurisdiccion: T1 368r19, T2 698v21, AF 43r7 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 362r11-12 del año de mil y seisçientos y ochenta: T2 698r22  
*omitted*: del año, AF 43r8 de 1680 años;  
 PI 362r15 Pedro de leiba: AF 43r9 *omitted*;  
 PI 362r19 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 43r10-11 *esscribano* de  
 gobierno;  
 PI 362r24 jurisdision: T1 368v10, T2 699r14, AF 43r16 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 362r24 Jose: T2 699r14, AF 43r16 Joseph;  
 PI 362r26 majesta: T1 368v13, T2 699r17, AF 43r17 Magestad;  
 T1 369r24-25 *duplica* passó;  
 PI 362v1 octubre: T2 699v3 octubre;  
 PI 362v3 dar: AF 43r2-3 de;  
 PI 362v4 escrito: AF 43r3 *escriptto*;  
 PI 362v6 Josepe: AF 43r24 Joseph;  
 PI 362v14 de estado casado: AF 43r28 casado;  
 PI 362v17 *sumamente* pobre: AF 43r30 pobre;  
 PI 363r9 y espada: AF 43v11 *omitted* y;  
 PI 363r11 suyo: AF 43v14 *suia*;  
 PI 363r12 de su Magestad: AF 43v14 del Rey;  
 PI 363r12 y que no caça: AF 43v14 *omitted*;  
 PI 363r16 yjos: T1 370r2 y hijos;  
 PI 363r16-17 y nietos y jente de serviçio: AF 43v19 nietos y  
 sirvientes;  
 PI 363r18 Agustin: T1 370r4 Augustin;  
 PI 363r19 y nueras: T2 700v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 363r21 y con siete: AF 43v24 *omitted* y;  
 PI 363r21 y yjos: AF 43v24 e hijos;  
 PI 363v1 yjos: T1 370r20 y hijos;  
 PI 363v2 Cobos: AF 43rv32 *omitted*;  
 PI 363v6 yjo[s]: T1 370v4 y hijos;  
 PI 363v7 cuñados: T2 701r16 criados;  
 PI 363v9 de mujer: AF 44r6 *omitted* de;  
 PI 363v10 solegnidad: T1 370v11, T2 701r23 solemnidad;  
 PI 363v10 de solegnidad: AF 44r7 *omitted*;  
 PI 363v11 no supo [firmar]: T2 701v2 no firmo;

PI 363v13 suyo: AF 44r10 suia;  
 PI 363v13 de su *Magestad*: AF 44r10 del Rey;  
 PI 363v14 hijito: AF 44r11 hijo;  
 PI 363v14 criadas: T2 701v8 criados;  
 PI 363v14 y con dos criadas: AF 44r11 y dos sirvientes;  
 PI 363v19 doçe: T1 371r1 onçe;  
 PI 363v20 archuleta: T1 371r3, T2 701v16, AF 44r17 orchuleta;  
 PI 363v20 le mataron: T2 701v17 lo mataron;  
 PI 363v21 pobre: T2 701v19, AF 44r18 pobres;  
 PI 364r2 y yjos: AF 44r25 e hijos;  
 PI 364r3 españolez: T1 371r18 y españoles;  
 T1 371v14 *right margin*: 0317;  
 T1 371v15 Señalado con una rubrica;  
 PI 364r7 peltrechos: AF 44r31 pertrechos;  
 PI 364r7 que pueden: T2 702r17-18 que puedan;  
 PI 364r9 abierta: AF 44r33 avierto;  
 PI 364r14 secretario de *gouernacion*: AF 44r35 *Esscribano de Gobierno*;  
 PI 364r15 se vinieron: T2 702v3-4 se boluieron;  
 PI 364r16 Socorro: T2 702v5 *omitted*;  
 PI 364r20 Sanhes: T1 371v19 Sañchez, T2 702v17 Sanches, AF 44v7 Sanchez;  
 PI 365r1 jurisdiccion: T2 702v19 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 365r1-2 *provinçias del*: T2 702v19 *omitted*;  
 PI 365r2 Nuevo: T2 702v20 nueua;  
 PI 365r2 dias del mes: AF 44v9 *omitted*;  
 AF 44v9 *left margin*: *Autto de/juntta de/Guerra*;  
 PI 365r2 del mes: T1 371v22-23 de el mes, T2 702v20-21 *repeated*: del mes;  
 PI 365r3 deste: T1 371v25 AF 44v10 de este;  
 T1 371v27 *left margin*: Para si seria com | beniente Bol | uer a la Resta | urazion | o Conseruarse alli;  
 PI 365r10 del culto: T1 372r10 de el culto;  
 PI 365r11 a acabar: T2 703r14 *omitted*: a;  
 PI 365r12 los beçinos: T2 703r16 *omitted*: los;  
 PI 365r12 pudieron: T2 703r16 pudieron;  
 PI 365r16 berredas: T1 372r22, T2 703v2 veredas, AF 44v23 Borredas;  
 PI 365r26 a el estado: T2 704r4 al estado;  
 PI 365r27 españolas: T2 704r6 españoles;  
 PI 365r27-28 calidad: T1 372v20 cantidad;  
 PI 365r28 allarnos: T2 704r8-9 hallarse;  
 PI 365r30 causas: AF45r8 *omitted*;  
 PI 365r31-32 del enemigo: T2 704r15 de enemigo;

PI 365v3 ber: T1 373r9 veer;  
 PI 365v3 a ber: AF 45r13 ha haver;  
 PI 365v3 *Muy*: AF 45r13 *omitted*;  
 PI 365v4-5 desta Santa: T1 373r13 de esta Sancta, AF 45r14 de esta  
 Santta;  
 PI 365v5 del Reyno: T1 373r14 de el Reyno;  
 PI 365v14 Reduçion: T1 373v6, T2 705r5 Reduçion;  
 PI 365v17 deste: T1 373v12-13, T2 705r12, AF 45r27 de este;  
 PI 365v18 peltrechos: AF 45r28 pertrechos;  
 PI 365v19 ver: T1 373v16 veer;  
 T1 373v21 *crossed out*: Ys;  
 T1 373v23 *left margin*: Gente de | tomar Armas;  
 PI 365v20 u en parte: AF 45r30 o en parte;  
 PI 365v20 poblaçon: T2 705r18, AF 45r30 poblaçon;  
 PI 365v26 españolas: T2 705v9, AF 45v5 españoles;  
 PI 365v26 niños: T1 374r4 menos;  
 T1 374r6 *right margin*: Numero de | todo gentio;  
 PI 365v29 jurisdicçon: T1 374r10-11, T2 705v15-16, AF 45v8  
 jurisdicçon;  
 PI 366r9 *Muy*: AF 45v21 *omitted*;  
 PI 366r10 mas: T2 706v3 demas;  
 PI 366r11 qualquiera otro: T2 706v7 otro qualquiera;  
 PI 366r16 escripto: T1 374v26, T2 706v17 escrito;  
 T1 375r15 *left margin*: Pare | cer del *Muy Reverendo Padre* |  
 Custtodio | y Vissitador | *General Fray Françisco* | de Ayeta. | en que  
 ofrece | dar ael exer | çito 10 Reses | y 10 fanegas | de maiz ora | se  
 Resolviese | la Conquista | ora quedarse | alli hasta | dar quenta;  
 PI 366r18 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 46r4 *Esscribano* de  
 gouerno;  
 PI 366r21-22 entre renglones: del cauildo y Reximiento. Vale: T2  
 707r9, AF 46r7 *omitted*;  
 PI 366r27 incontinente en dicho dia: T1 375r15 incontinenti dicho dia,  
 AF 46r10 incontinenti en dicho dia;  
 PI 366r27 dichos: AF 46r10 *omitted*;  
 PI 366v1 sus: AF 46r12 las;  
 PI 366v2 della: T1 375r23, T2 707r20, AF 46r14 de ella;  
 PI 366v3 en lo que: T2 707r21 de lo que;  
 PI 366v3 *Muy*: AF 46r14 *omitted*;  
 PI 366v3 desta: T1 375v1, T2 707v3, AF 46r15 de esta;  
 PI 366v4 *general*: AF 46r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 366v5 deste: T1 375v5, T2 707v7, AF 46r17 de este;  
 PI 366v8 de la *matheria* i *seruiçio*: T2 707v13 del maior *seruiçio*;  
 PI 366v8 que si: T2 707v15 *omitted*: si;  
 PI 366v13 and 15 *Muy*: AF46r26 and 28 *omitted*;

PI 366v14-15 profesion: T1 376r3 profeccion;  
 PI 366v15 prognto: T1 376r5, AF 46r28 prompto, T2 708r9 prompto;  
 PI 366v16 religiosos: T2 708r10-11 bastimentos;  
 PI 366v19 manifiestas: AF 46v1 manifiestos;  
 PI 366v19-20 en manos de los henemigos: AF 46v1-2 y les han  
 rovado los enemigos;  
 PI 366v20 y hijos: AF 46v2 *omitted* y;  
 PI 366v23 deste: T1 376r23, AF 46v6 de este;  
 PI 366v29 al nuevo mexico: AF 46v11-12 a nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 366v29 la socorera luego prontamente: T1 376v8-9, AF 46v12 la  
 socorrerá luego prontamente;  
 PI 366v32 medio lazo: AF 46v15 *omitted*;  
 PI 366v33 vramantes: AF 46v16 bramantte;  
 PI 367r1 floretes: AF 46v17 florette;  
 PI 367r1 prontamente: T1 376v19, AF 46v17 prontamente;  
 PI 367r1 cuidara de que: T2 709r6 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 367r7 suficienres en: AF 46v23 suficientes y en;  
 PI 367r12 ymbien: AF 46v29 emvien;  
 PI 367r21 que en quanto: T2 710r6 *omitted*: que;  
 PI 367r24 destos: T1 377v14, AF 47r10 de estos;  
 PI 367r25 conuiniente: T1 377v16 coueniente, T2 710r14  
 combenientes, AF 47r10-11 combeniente;  
 PI 367r25 o abisandonos: T2 710r15 y auisandonos;  
 PI 367r26 deste: T1 377v17-18, AF 47r11 de este;  
 T1 377v26 *left margin*: Pare | cer de los | *Padres* difinidores; PI  
 367r28 *secretario*: AF 47r13 Esscribano;  
 PI 367r33 *secretario* de gouernacion: AF 47r15 Esscribano de  
 gouerno;  
 PI 367v2 se conforman: T2 710v9 se conformaban;  
 PI 367v3 de nuestro mui Reverendo: AF 47r18 del Reverendo;  
 PI 367v5 *secretario*: AF 47r20 Esscribano;  
 PI 367v5 “que convenga” vale: T2 710v16 *omitted*;  
 PI 367v9 SubRogado: T1 378r14 subdelegado;  
 T1 378r17 *left margin*: Otro Parezer;  
 PI 367v12 *secretario* de gouernacion: AF 47r22 Esscribano de  
 gouerno;  
 PI 367v13 Predicador: AF 47r24 *omitted*;  
 PI 367v13 desta: T1 378r19, T2 711r4, AF 47r24 de esta;  
 PI 367v15 propio: AF 47r26 propio;  
 PI 367v16 del Reverendo: T2 711r10-11 del Muy Reberendo;  
 PI 367v18 y siendo: AF 47r29 *omitted* y;  
 PI 367v19 al: AF 47r30 á el;  
 PI 367v22-23 sentiende: T1 378v12, T2 711v4-5, AF 47r34 se  
 entiende;

PI 367v24 reduçion: T1 378v16, T2 711v8 reduçion;  
 T1 378v27 *left margin*: Otro parezer;  
 PI 367v27 *secretario*: AF47v4 Esscribano;  
 PI 367v32 *secretario* de gouernacion: AF 47v6 Esscribano de  
 gouerno;  
 PI 367v33 *Predicador*: AF 47v7 *omitted*;  
 PI 368r6 muy: AF 47v13 *omitted*;  
 PI 368r7-8 asi la entrada: T2 712r14 assi en la entrada;  
 PI 368r8 dichos: AF 47v14 dicho;  
 PI 368r11 entrar a lo poblado: T2 712r20-712v1 entrar en A lo  
 Poblado;  
 PI 368r12 *secretario*: AF 47v18 Esscribano;  
 PI 368r13 a que quedo: T1 379v3-4 a quedo;  
 T1 379v11 *left margin*: Parecer;  
 PI 368r20 *secretario* de gouernacion: AF 47v22 Esscribano de  
 gouerno;  
 PI 368r21 *Maestro*: T2 712v13 Maestre;  
 PI 368r22 del: AF 47v24 de el;  
 PI 368r23 dello: T1 379v15, T2 712v17, AF 47v25 de ello;  
 PI 368r26 yvierno: AF 47v28 Ymbierno;  
 PI 368v1-2 Sonora estan: T2 713r12 Samora esta, AF 48r1 *omitted*;  
 PI 368v1-2 estan: AF 48r1 tan;  
 PI 368v2 sumas: T2 713r13 Jumas;  
 PI 368v2-3 asegurados dellos: T2 713r14 *omitted*: dellos;  
 PI 368v3 dellos: T1 380r5, AF 48r3 de ellos;  
 PI 368v5 que es de lo *que*: T2 713r19 pues de lo *que*;  
 PI 368v6 yn totun: T2 713r20, AF 48r5 ynterin;  
 PI 368v7 de su Magestad: T2 713v1 *omitted*;  
 PI 368v8 intirin: T1 380r16 interin;  
 PI 368v8-9 p[er]juicio: T1 380r17-18, T2 713v4 perjuicio;  
 PI 368v9 jurisdiccion: T1 380r18, T2 713v4-5, AF 48r7 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 368v9-10 qu[e]de de reten: T2 713v6 que deue Retener;  
 PI 368v10 comodo: T1 380r21 com modo, AF 48r9 commodo;  
 T1 380v2 *left margin*: Otro parezer;  
 PI 368v12 *secretario*: AF 48r10 Esscribano;  
 PI 368v17 gouernacion: AF 48r12 gouerno;  
 PI 368v18 *Maestro*: T2 713v15 Maestre;  
 PI 368v18 thome: AF 48r13 Thomas;  
 PI 368v18 atendid[o]: AF 48r13 *omitted*;  
 PI 368v19 dese[osso]: T2 713v20 desuso, AF 48r15 de celo;  
 PI 368v20 habla: AF 48r15 halla;  
 PI 368v21 *Muy*: AF 48r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 368v21 *Predicador*: AF 48r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 368v22 deste: T1 380v12-13, T2 714r5, AF 48r17 de este;

PI 368v24 *maestros*: T2 714r12, AF 48r20 *maestres*;  
 PI 369r3 *Repuesta*: T1 381r15, T2 714v12, AF 48r29 *respuesta*;  
 PI 369r9 *ynbien*: AF 48v3 *emvien*;  
 PI 369r15 *jallandolos*: T1 381v14, T2 715r16, AF 48v9 *hallandolos*;  
 T2 715v1 *omitted line 19 from PI 369r*;  
 PI 369r19 *jurisdiccion*: T1 381v21, AF 48v12 *jurisdiccion*;  
 PI 369r23 *sera servido de ynbiar*: T2 715v8-9 *se seruira de embiar*; PI  
 369r23 *ynbiar*: AF 48v16 *emviar*;  
 PI 369r26 *asi a*: AF 48v19 *acia*;  
 PI 369r27 *ynbiar*: AF 48v20 *emviar*;  
 PI 369r29 *sea*: AF 48v22 *se ha*;  
 T1 382v1 *left margin*: Otro *parezer*;  
 T1 382v14 *left margin*: Otro *parezer*;  
 PI 369v3 *secretario*: AF 48v27 *Esscribano*;  
 PI 369v5 *thome*: AF 48v27 *Thomas*;  
 PI 369v8: *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 48v28 *esscribano de*  
*gobierno*;  
 PI 369v10 *thome domingez*: AF 49r1 *thomas Dominguez*;  
 PI 369v13 *secretario*: AF 49r3 *Esscribano*;  
 PI 369v15 *dominges*: AF 49r4 *Dominguez*;  
 PI 369v18 *Secretario*: T1 382v13 *Secretario de Gouernacion y*  
*guerra*, AF 49r5 *Secretario de gouerno y guerra*; T2 716v9  
*Secretario*.  
 PI 369v19 *honbre*: AF 49r6 *de edad*;  
 PI 369v23 *deste*: T1 382v23 *de este*;  
 PI 369v23 *deste real a las provincias*: AF 49r9-10 *de este Real a la*  
*Provincia*;  
 PI 369v25 *servicio*: AF 49r11 *del servicio*;  
 PI 369v26 *le an*: AF 49r12 *se han*;  
 PI 369v28 *sin peltrechos*: T2 717r9-10 *y sin peltrechos*, AF 49r13 *sin*  
*peltrechos*;  
 PI 369v29 *enprender*: T2 717r11 *comprender*;  
 PI 369v32 *muchos años*: AF 49r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 369v32 *duçientos*: T1 383r12, AF 49r17 *dosçientos*, T2 717r17  
*Docientos*;  
 PI 369v32-370r1 *repeated*: *corrientes*;  
 PI 370r2 *reedificacion de el*: T2 717v1 *Redificacion del*;  
 PI 370r3 *congrua*: T1 383r19 *congua*;  
 PI 370r5 *asta este puesto*: T2 717v8 *a este puesto*;  
 PI 370r7 *exido*: AF 49r23 *egidio*;  
 PI 370r8 *Vuestra*: AF 49r24 *su*;  
 PI 370r9 *ynsignuandole*: T1 383v6, AF 49r25 *insinuandole*;  
 PI 370r10 *y los muchos años*: T2 717v18 *blank*;  
 PI 370r10 *muchos años*: AF 49r26 *blank*;

PI 370r10-11 que a que los basallos: AF 49r26 que aquellos basallos;  
 PI 370r12 estas partes: AF 49r27 estta partte;  
 PI 370r12 se alla: AF 49r28 se hallan;  
 PI 370r13 emprender: T2 718r4 enpreender;  
 PI 370r15 sy el Muy: AF 49r30 y el;  
 PI 370r21 su alteça: AF 49v3 la alteza;  
 PI 370r21 *repeated*: y real;  
 PI 370r22 maestros: T1 384r7, T2 718v2-3, AF 49v4 Maestres;  
 PI 370r25 deste: T1 384r12, T2 718v8, AF 49v7 de este;  
 PI 370r26 dello: T1 384r15, T2 718v11, AF 49v8 de ello;  
 T1 384r19 *left margin*: Otro parezer;  
 PI 370r29 don pedro duran y Chabes: AF 49v10 Pedro Duran de Chaves;  
 PI 370r31 Maestro: T2 718v17-18, AF 49v12 Maestre;  
 PI 370r31 thome: AF 49v12 thomas;  
 PI 370r33 prompto: T1 384r27, AF 49v14 prompto;  
 PI 370r33 *secretario*: AF 49v15 Esscribano;  
 PI 370r35 don fernando duran y chabes: AF 49v16 Fernando Duran Chaves;  
 T1 384v5 *left margin*: Otro parezer;  
 T1 384v14 *left margin*: Otro parezer;  
 PI 370v3 *secretario*: AF 49v21 Esscribano;  
 PI 370v5 Madrid: AF 49v21 de Madrid;  
 PI 370v8 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 49v22 esscribano de gouerno;  
 PI 370v9 mi pareser: T1 384v15 su pareçer;  
 PI 370v10 accepte: T1 384v16 accepte;  
 PI 370v10 Muy Reverendo: AF 49v24 *omitted* Muy;  
 PI 370v11 da: T2 719v2 *omitted*;  
 PI 370v11 pronto: T1 384v20, AF 49v26 prompto, T2 719v3 prompto;  
 PI 370v12 caballos: T1 384v21 caballo;  
 PI 370v15 deste: T1 384v26, T2 719v9, AF 49v29 de este;  
 PI 370v15 destas jurisdicciones: T1 384v27, T2 719v10, AF 49v29 de estas jurisdicciones;  
 PI 370v19 ante el presente: T1 385r7-8 ante mi el presente;  
 T1 385r12 *left margin*: Otro;  
 PI 370v19, 28 and 37 *secretario*: AF 50r3, 8 and 14 Esscribano;  
 PI 370v24, 33 and 42 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 50r4, 9-10 and 42 esscribano de gouerno;  
 PI 370v26 maestro: T1 385r14, T2 720r4 Maestre;  
 PI 370v26 thome: AF 50r6 Thomas;  
 PI 370v26 pronto: T1 385r16, AF 50r7 prompto, T2 720r6 Prompto; T1 385r23 *left margin*: Otro parezer;  
 T1 385v8 *left margin*: Otro parezer;

PI 370v34-35 al nuevo mexico: AF 50r12 a nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 371r *upper left margin*: Con los autos | y lo firmo su Señoria;  
 PI 371r3 and 9-10 de la nueva mexico: AF 50r18 and 24 del nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 371r5 an dado: T2 720v8 se an dado;  
 PI 371r6 el dicho: AF 50r 21 *omitted* el;  
 PI 371r7 diese en: T1 385v20 diessen, AF 50r22 diesen; T2 720v12 Dice en.  
 PI 371r17 siguridad del: T1 386r8, AF 50r29 seguridad de el, T2 721r6-7 seguridad del;  
 PI 371r19 del: T1 386r11 de el;  
 PI 371r20 sin: T2 721r11 y sin;  
 PI 371r20 peltrecho: AF 50v1 pertrechos;  
 PI 371r21-22 y niñ[os] sin bastimentos: AF 50v2 y sin ningunos bastimentos;  
 PI 371r22 enprender: T2 721r15 enprender;  
 PI 371r23 congrua: T1 386r18 congra;  
 PI 371r24 poderse probeer de los dichos: AF 50v4 poder se provea de dichos;  
 PI 371r25 en guarda: T1 386r21 en guardia;  
 PI 371r27 en caso contingente: T1 386r24 *omitted*;  
 PI 371r27 ylllo: T1 386r24, T2 721v1 yrlo, AF 50v6 ír;  
 PI 371r28 la taramara: AF 50v6-7 *omitted* la;  
 PI 371v2 de este: T2 721v10 deste;  
 PI 371v2 en guarda: AF 50v11 reguardo;  
 PI 371v2 *repeated*: de mi;  
 T1 386v11-12 *left margin*: Raçon del | Margen,  
 T2 721v14 *left margin*: Razon del | Margen;  
 T1 386v13 *left margin*: Otro parezer;  
 AF 50v12 *added* esscribano gobierno y de guerra;  
 PI 372r1 deste: T1 386v13, T2 721v16 de este;  
 PI 372r1 y Chabes: AF 50v13 *omitted* y;  
 PI 372r1 deste: AF 50v14 de este;  
 PI 372r6 buelbal: T1 386v26, T2 722r7, AF 50v20 buelban;  
 PI 372r6-7 del nuevo mexico: AF 50v20-21 de nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 372r9 atendiendo *que*: T1 387r5, T2 722r14-15 atendiendo a *que*;  
 PI 372r10 dejando: T2 722r15 de gando;  
 PI 372r12 este es mi pareser: AF 50v26 *omitted*;  
 PI 372r14 Hernando: T1 387r11, T2 722v2 Fernando;  
 T1 387r14 *left margin*: Raçon del margen;  
 T1 387r16 *left margin*: Otro parecer;  
 PI 372r14 *don* Hernando duran y chaues: AF 50v27 Fernando Duran Chaves;



PI 372r17, PI 373r9,17 and 34, PI 373v15 and 25, PI 374r30  
*secretario de gouernacion*: AF 50v28, AF 51r3, 7-8, 13, 25-26 and  
 32, AF 52r4 *Esscribano de gouerno*;  
 PI 373r4, 12, 29 PI 373v10: AF 374r26 *secretario*: AF 51r2, 6, 12 and  
 24, AF 52r3 *Esscribano*;  
 PI 373r6 *josep telles y jiron*: AF 51r2-3 *Joseph de telles xiron*;  
 PI 373r6 y *Jiron*; T1 387r23, T2 722v14 *omitted*: y;  
 T1 387r25 *left margin*: *Otro parecer*;  
 PI 373r10 *dijo*: T2 722v16 *dice*;  
 PI 373r14 *Josepe gallegos*: AF 51r7 *Joseph de Gallegos*;  
 T1 387v5 *left margin*: *Otro parecer*;  
 AF 51r9 *omitted lines 18-25 from PI 373r*;  
 PI 373r18 *se conforma*: T1 387v5-6 *se conformaba*;  
 T1 387v12 *left margin*: *Otro*;  
 T1 387v22 *left margin*: *Otro parecer*;  
 PI 373r27, PI 373v16 *thome*: AF 51r10 and 28 *thomas*;  
 PI 373v2 *Muy*: AF 51r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 373v4 *pronto*: T1 388r5, AF 51r18 *prompto*, T2 723v13 *prompto*;  
 T1 388r22 *left margin*: *Otro parecer*;  
 PI 373v6 *para los que ubieren*: AF 51r20 *por los que huviesen*;  
 PI 373v6 *quedaren*: T2 723v18 *quedan*;  
 PI 373v16 *maestro*: T1 388r23, AF 51r28 *maestre*;  
 T1 388v8 *left margin*: *Otro parecer*;  
 PI 373v26 *herera*: T1 388v9, AF 51r33 *herrera*;  
 PI 373v27 *contenimiento*: AF 51r34 *contenido*;  
 PI 373v27 *propuesta*: AF 51r34 *propuesto*;  
 PI 373v27 *Muy*: AF 51r34 *omitted*;  
 PI 373v30 *podia*: T1 388v19 *podria*;  
 PI 373v32 *se pueda*: T2 724v19 *se podia*;  
 PI 373v33 *jurisdiccion*: T1 388v24, T2 724v20, AF 51v6 *jurisdiccion*;  
 PI 374r1 *oy se hallan*: T2 725r2-3 *omitted*: *oy*;  
 PI 374r2 *desta*: T1 388v28, T2 725r4-5, AF 51v8 *de esta*;  
 PI 374r3 *acerlas*: T1 389r3 *hacerse*;  
 PI 374r3-4 *ynconvinientes*: T1 389r4-5 *inconuenientes*, T2 725r8-9  
*yncombenientes*;  
 PI 374r4 *respeto*: T1 389r5, T2 725r9 AF 51v11 *respecto*;  
 PI 374r7 *aqui quedaren*: T2 725r14-15 *omitted*: *aqui*;  
 PI 374r10 *mesmo*: T2 725v3, AF 51v18 *mismo*;  
 PI 374r12 *de un ybierno*: T1 389r24 *de un invierno*, T2 725v8 *de*  
*Yuierno*;  
 PI 374r14 *quenta*: AF 51v22 *omitted*;  
 PI 374r19 *para defender*: T2 726r2 *de defender*;  
 PI 374r20 *tos*: T1 389v15 *taos*;  
 PI 374r21 *españoles*: AF 51v30 *los Españoles*;

PI 374r23 en un cavallo: T2 726r11 *omitted*: en, AF 51v31 con un  
 cavallo;  
 PI 374r24 compania: T1 389v22, T2 726r13, AF 52r1 compañía;  
 T1 390r1 *left margin*: Otro parecer;  
 PI 375r1 deste: T1 390r3, T2 726v1, AF 52r6 de este;  
 PI 375r1 jurisdicciones del: T1 390r4 jurisdicciones de el, T2 726v2,  
 AF 52r6 jurisdicciones del;  
 PI 375r6 acauamos: T1 390r17 acabemos;  
 PI 375r7 ynvierno: AF 52r12 Ybierno;  
 PI 375r11 del: T1 390v1 de el;  
 PI 375r11 propio: T2 727r6 propio;  
 PI 375r12 y real acuerdo: AF 52r18 *omitted*;  
 PI 375r14 ladignos: T1 390v9, T2 727r13, AF 52r20 ladinos;  
 PI 375r15 lansas: T2 727r15 y lansas;  
 PI 375r18 asi mesmo: AF 52r25 assimismo;  
 PI 375r21 Muy: AF 52r28 *omitted*;  
 PI 375r22 deste: T1 391r1, T2 727v8, AF 52r29 de este;  
 PI 375r22 aseto: T1 391r3, AF 52r30 acepto, T2 727v9 asepto;  
 PI 375r30 de el mismo pareser de el Maestro: T2 727v19 del mismo  
 Pareser del Maestre, AF 52v6 del mismo parecer que el Maestre;  
 PI 375r33 de herrera: AF 52v9 *omitted* de;  
 PI 375r36 Juan del Rio: T1 391r21, T2 728r4-5 Juan Rey, AF 52v11  
 Juan del Río.  
 PI 375r37 Juan Luis: T2 728r5 Juan lusero, AF 52v10 Juan Lucero;  
 T1 391r21-22 Juan Luis.  
 PI 375v7 Pedro Martin Serrano: T1 391r28 *omitted*: Serrano, T2  
 728r11 Pedro Martinon, AF 52v14 Pedro Marttin Ocanto;  
 PI 375v9 y Chabes: AF 52v14 *omitted* y;  
 PI 375v11 Tomas de Mestaz: T1 391v3-4, T2 728r14 thomas de  
 Mesta;  
 PI 375v12 nebares: T1 391v3 narbaes;  
 PI 375v15 Don francisco Rascon: AF 52v16 *omitted* Don;  
 PI 375v16 Jose de la serna: T1 391v5-6 Joseph (T2 728r15 Joseph) de  
 Laçerna, AF 52v16 Joseph de Faserna;  
 PI 375v17 porque no [save]: T2 728r18 por no saber;  
 PI 375v17 el Capitan francisco lopez bien con este pareser y no  
 firmo Porque no [save]: AF 52v17 *omitted*;  
 PI 375v18 juan de yllescas: AF 52v17 Juan de Telles;  
 PI 375v20 Joseph de Padilla: AF 52v17 *omitted* de;  
 PI 375v21 Don Pedro: T1 391v12, T2 728v1 *omitted*: Don, AF 52v18  
 Diego;  
 PI 375v26 Anberosyo: T1 391v14, T2 728v3 Ambrosio;  
 T1 391v16 *left margin*: Parte | del cauildo y | Regimiento;  
 T2 728v4 *omitted note on the upper left margin of* PI 377r;

PI 377r2 del cavildo: T2 728v6 *omitted*;  
 PI 377r2 fee: D 67r5 fe;  
 PI 377r2-3 de la nueva mexico: D 67r6, AF 52v23 del nuevo México;  
 PI 377r5 del paraje: D 67r10-11 de el parage;  
 PI 377r6 como *nuestro*: T2 728v15 con nuestro;  
 PI 377r11 del servicio: T2 729r5 *omitted*;  
 PI 377r13-14 y conjuración: T2 729r11 *omitted*;  
 PI 377r15 jurisdicciones: T1 392r19, T2 729r14, AF 53r7  
 jurisdicciones;  
 PI 377r18 ignoçiençia: T1 392r25 inoçiençia, D 67v6 inocencia, T2  
 729r20 ygnorancia;  
 PI 377r19 santos: T1 392v1 sanctos, D 67v8 *omitted*;  
 PI 377r19 y ymajenes: AF 53r11 *omitted* y;  
 PI 377r24 escrementado: D 67v16 escrementados;  
 PI 377r25 del: D 67v16 de el;  
 PI 377r26 jachassos: T1 392v18, T2 729v17 hachasos, D 67v19  
 hachazos;  
 PI 377r26 por: D 67v19, AF 53r19 *omitted*;  
 PI 377v5 de algunas: D 68r2, AF 53r24 que algunas;  
 PI 377v6 jurisdicciones de: T1 393r5 jurisdicciones y de, T2 730r11,  
 AF 53r25 jurisdicciones de;  
 PI 377v7 *left margin*: 34;  
 PI 377v10 de esta: T2 730r18 desta;  
 PI 377v13 todos: D 68r14 todas;  
 PI 377v14 dichos: T2 730v8 los;  
 PI 377v15 mesmo: T2 730v10, D 68r17, AF 53v5 mismo;  
 PI 377v16 nos pusieron: T2 730v12-13 no pusieron;  
 PI 377v21 agri: T2 731r3 agrio, D 68v1, AF 53v11 encumbrado y  
 intransitable;  
 PI 377v21 dichos: T2 731r4 dicho;  
 PI 377v22 de palabra: D 68v3, AF 53v13 de palabras;  
 PI 377v27 como: T2 731r15 con;  
 PI 377v28 el afliccion: T1 393v25-26 en la afliccion, T2 731r18 el  
 afliccion, D 68v12-13 la afluxion, AF 53v20 la afliccion;  
 PI 377v32 el de oy de tres de otubre: D 68v17 hoy 3. Octubre, AF  
 53v23 hoy 3 de octtubre;  
 PI 377v32 otubre: T1 394r6, T2 731v4 octubre;  
 PI 378r1 y açistiendo: T2 731v6 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 378r5 de la hanvre y falta de sueño: D 69r1, AF 54r1 de hambre y  
 de falta de sueño;  
 PI 378r6 yncomodidades: D 69r3 incomodides;  
 PI 378r7 ue: T1 394r23 vee, T2 731v19 bee;  
 PI 378r12 esas: T1 394v8 estas;  
 PI 378r11 y el que mas: D 69r11 y que mas;

PI 378r12-13 y los mas restantes a çiento: T2 732r11 *omitted*;  
 PI 378r17 y qual y qual: D 69r18, AF 54r13 y qual;  
 PI 378r19 peltrechos: T2 732v3, AF 54r14-15 pertrechos;  
 PI 378r21 poblar en: T2 732v8 Poblacion;  
 PI 378r19 peltrechos: D 69r20 pertrechos;  
 PI 378r22 jurisdiccion: T1 395r2, T2 732v9, AF 54r18 jurisdiccion, D 69v1 Juridiccion;  
 PI 378r23 patrosigne: T1 395r6, T2 732v12, patroçine, D 69v3, AF 54r19 patrocine;  
 PI 378r25 del: T1 395r11 de el;  
 PI 378r26-27 de la matheria: T1 395r14 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 378r27 se deue: T1 395r16 se deuen;  
 PI 378r28 apostatas: T2 733r3 y apostatas;  
 PI 378r30 de a cavallo: D 69v13-14, AF 54r27 á caballo;  
 PI 378r30 un arma: T2 733r7 vna arma;  
 PI 378r30 que mandan un arma de fuego: D 69v14-15 que mandan el manejo de armas de fuego, AF 54r28 que mandan el manejo de arma de fuego;  
 PI 378r31 terezte: T1 395r25, T2 733r9, D 69v16, AF 54r29 terrestre;  
 PI 378r33 de todo jentio naturales: D 69v18-19, AF 54v2-3 de todo el gentío de naturales;  
 PI 378r33 se halla: T1 395v2 se hallan;  
 PI 378v1 pasara: D 69v21, AF 54v4 páse;  
 PI 378v3 no se le puede: T1 395v8, D 69v23, AF 54v6 *omitted*: le;  
 PI 378v5 Santa fee: T2 733v4 san fee, D 70r2 santa Fé;  
 PI 378v5 Por: T1 395v14 para;  
 PI 378v6 alsarse: D 70r4, AF 54v9-10 hallarse;  
 PI 378v8 es cossa evidente: D 70r7 es evidente;  
 PI 378v14 al henemigo: D 70r17 del enemigo;  
 PI 378v16 prontitud: T1 396r13, AF 54v20 promptitud;  
 PI 378v17 otubre: T1 396r15, T2 734r9, D 70r22, AF 54v20 octubre;  
 PI 378v20 alsarse: T1 396r22 aliarse, D 70v3, AF 54v24 hallarse;  
 PI 378v20 repetidas: D 70v5 referidas;  
 PI 378v25 ver: T1 396v5 veer;  
 PI 378v27 queden: T2 734v7 que queden;  
 PI 378v27 jurisdiccion: T1 396v9, T2 734v8, AF 55r1 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 378v29 rigurosos: D 70v16, AF 55r3 rigurosos;  
 PI 378v29 destas: T1 396v13-14, D 70v17, AF 55r3 de estas;  
 PI 378v30 y yncomodidades: T2 734v14 e yncomodidades, D 70v18, AF 55r4 incomodidades;  
 PI 378v35 posivi[lidad]: T2 735r5 posibilitado;  
 PI 379r2 contradiccion: T1 397r2-3, T2 735r8 contradiccion;  
 PI 379r3 en diferentes: D 71r6, AF 55r11 indiferentes;  
 PI 379r6 lleva: D 71r10 llévo;

PI 379r7 aclama: D 71r11, AF 55r15 pide;  
 PI 379r8-9 desobediencia: T1 397r16, T2 735r20 desobediencia, D 71r14, AF 55r16 desobediencia;  
 PI 379r9 del: T1 397r17 de el;  
 PI 379r11 los queres: T2 735v4 los quales, D 71r16-17 los Queres;  
 PI 379r12 obstigados del castigo: T1 397r22 ostigados de el castigo, T2 735v6 obligados del castigo, D 71r18 ostigados del castigo; PI 379r12-13 ouidienca: T1 397r23, T2 735v7 obediencia, D 71r19, AF 55r26 obediencia;  
 PI 379r13 conjuraciones: D 71r19 conjuracion;  
 PI 379r13 emex: T1 397r25 exemes, T2 735v9 hemex, D 71r20 Xemes;  
 PI 379r16 se alsaron: T1 397v4 se hallaron;  
 PI 379r19 peltrechos: D 71v4-5, AF 55r26 pertrechos;  
 PI 379r25 admitir: D 71v13 admirar;  
 PI 379r26 *Muy Reverendo*: D 71v14, AF 55v2 *omitted* *Muy*;  
 PI 379r26 de Ayeta: D 71v15, AF 55v2 *omitted* de;  
 PI 379r26 desta: T1 397v26, T2 736r14, D 71v15, AF 55v3 de esta;  
 PI 379r27 de este: T2 736r17, AF 55v4 deste;  
 PI 379r28 *Reverendo*: D 71v18, AF 55v5 venerable;  
 PI 379r29 de las graçias: D 71v21, AF 55v6-7 darle las grãcias;  
 PI 379r30 ello: T2 736v1 lo qual;  
 PI 379r30 el aloxamiento: AF 55v7 el alzamiento digo alojamiento;  
 PI 379v3 *Muy Reverenda*: D 72r5, AF 55v12 *omitted* *Muy*;  
 PI 379v4 aseptaçion: T1 398r20-21 acceptacion;  
 PI 379v5 que quien ase ese serviçio: D 72r7-8 quien hace servicio, AF 55v14 que quien hace servicio;  
 PI 379v5 ese serviçio: T2 736v15 *omitted*: ese;  
 PI 379v5-6 h[ara] quanto: T2 736v15 hara todo quanto;  
 PI 379v8 admitido: T2 736v19-20 admitida;  
 PI 379v11 y de la Isleta: T2 737r4 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 379v13 de este: T2 737r10 deste;  
 PI 379v15 esto: D 72r22, AF 55v25 este;  
 PI 379v17 dias del mes: D 72v1 AF 55v27 *omitted*;  
 PI 379v17 octubre: T1 398v23, T2 737r18, D 72v1, AF 55v27 octubre;  
 PI 379v18 por ante el escrivano: D 72v1-2 por ante mí el Escribano;  
 PI 379v21 Alguazil Ma[yor]: D 72v4-5 Alcalde mayor;  
 PI 379v22 Procurador *general*: D 72v5, AF 55v30 *omitted* *general*;  
 T1 399r5-6, *left margin*: Raçon | del margen;  
 T2 737v6 Razon del mar|gen;  
 T1 399r8 *left margin*: Presentaçion;  
 T2 737v6-8 Presentado y Mando su señoria que se | ponga con los auttos y pareseres y lo ru|brico señalado con vna rubrica;  
 T2 737v8 *omitted line 1 from* PI 381r;

PI 381r2 dias del mes: D 72v10, AF 56r2 *omitted*;  
 PI 381r3 mill: T1 399r9, T2 738v9 mill y;  
 T1 399r14, T2 737v9 *left margin*: Peticion;  
 PI 381r9 un bando que contenia: D 72v18 *omitted* un bando;  
 PI 381r10 juridizion: T1 399r24, T2 737v17, AF 56r7 juridiccion, D 72v19 juridiccion;  
 PI 381r10-11 juridiction: T1 399r25, T2 737v18, AF 56r7-8 juridiccion, D 72v20 juridiccion;  
 PI 381r11 comodo: D 72v21, AF 56r8 comodidad;  
 PI 381r12-13 el dia de oy: T2 737v21 *omitted*: el dia de;  
 PI 381r14 organos: T2 738r2-3 granos;  
 PI 381r15 iconvenientes: T1 399v4-5 inconuenientes, T2 738r3-4 yncombenientes, D 73r2, inconvenientes, AF 56r11 inconvenientes;  
 T1 400r1, T2 738v13 *left margin*: Autto;  
 PI 381v1 recibiremos: T2 738r20 Reseuiremos;  
 T2 738v7 *left margin*: Pressentacion;  
 PI 381v2 gran bien: D 73r14 gran alivio;  
 D *omitted desde PI 381v8 a 391v10*;  
 PI 381v8 dixo que la a: T2 738v13 *omitted*: que;  
 PI 381v8 a: AF 56r23 da;  
 PI 381v9 thenor: AF 56r24 theniente;  
 PI 381v10 Gouernacion: AF 56r25 gobierno;  
 PI 381v16 secrettario de gouernacion: AF 56r27 esscribano de gouerno;  
 PI 383r *upper left margin*: [Señor Gobernado]r: T2 739r *upper left margin, omitted*: Señor;  
 PI 383r *upper left margin*: Parral: T2 739r *upper left margin*: Real;  
 PI 383r1 del horden: T2 739r2-3 de la orden;  
 PI 383r2 deste: T1 400r14, T2 739r4, AF 56r29 de este;  
 PI 383r3-4 subçedido: T2 739r7 susedido, AF 56r31 sucedido;  
 PI 383r5 rebelados: AF 56v1 rebeldes;  
 PI 383r6 destruieron: T1 400r22, destruyeron, T2 739r12, AF 56v2 destruieron;  
 PI 383r10-11 donde mas le a pareçido y en forma de plaça de armas esta en defenssa: AF 56v6-7 donde mas poder esttar defendido le ha parecido, y en forma de plaza de armas esttá en efectto en defensa;  
 PI 383r11 en forma: T1 400v2-3 en la forma;  
 PI 383r13 a el: AF 56r8 al;  
 PI 383r16 subçedido: T1 400v11 subçedido, T2 739v9 susedido;  
 PI 383r16 con lo subçedido: AF 56v11 en lo succesivo;  
 PI 383r17 juridiccion: T1 400v14, T2 739v12-13, AF 56v13 juridiccion;  
 PI 383r18 Sonora: T2 739v14 Sonoro;  
 PI 383r23-24 ausençia: T1 400v25 absençia, T2 740r5 Ausiençia;

PI 383r25 jurisdiccion: T1 400v25-T1 401r1, T2 740r7-8, AF 56v20  
 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 383r25 Janos: T1 401r1, T2 740r8 Thanos, AF 56v21 Janos.  
 PI 383r26 del: T1 401r3 de el;  
 PI 383r27 jurisdiccion deste: T1 401r4, T2 740r11, AF 56v22  
 jurisdiccion de este;  
 PI 383r29 so color: T2 740r15 socorrer;  
 PI 383r29 o so color: AF 56v24 *omitted*;  
 PI 383r31 del: T1 401r11 de el;  
 PI 383r31 jurisdiccion: T1 401r12, T2 740r20, AF 56v26 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 383v4 ygnobedientes: T1 401r22 inobedientes;  
 PI 383v8 8 transgresores: T2 740v15 transgresores;  
 PI 383v4 en los ygnobedientes: AF 57r1 con los inobedienttes;  
 PI 383v9 asimesmo: T1 401v4 assimismo, AF 57r5;  
 PI 383v13 dellos: T1 401v11, T2 741 r4 AF 57r8 de ellos;  
 PI 383v16 aplico: AF 57r11 suplico;  
 PI 383v17 guerra: AF 57r11 guardia; T1 401v18 and T2 741r11 guerra.  
 PI 383v17 deste: T1 401v19, AF 57r11 de este;  
 PI 383v19 jurisdiccion: T1 401v23, T2 741r15, AF 57r14 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 383v21 o habitadores: AF 57r15 *omitted* o;  
 PI 383v27 del: T1 402r12 de el;  
 T1 402r18 *left margin*: Dilixençia;  
 PI 383v31 jurisdiccion: T1 402r19, T2 741v19, AF 57r24-25  
 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 383v32 dias del mes: AF 57r25 *omitted*;  
 PI 383v34 jurisdiccion: T1 402r24, T2 742r3, AF 57r26 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 384r5 deste: T1 402v6-7, AF 57v1-2 de este;  
 PI 384r6 de la nueva mexico: AF 57v2 del nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 384r7 en al altas: T1 402v10, T2 742r17, AF 57v3 en altas;  
 PI 384r7 yntelexibles: T2 742r18, AF 57v3 intelgibles;  
 PI 384r14 Juez Receptor: AF 57v10 *omitted*;  
 PI 384r17 *gouernacion*: AF 57v12 *Gobierno*;  
 PI 384r18 de alcalde: AF 57v14 *omitted* de;  
 PI 384r19 Josephe: T2 742v20, AF 57v14 Joseph;  
 PI 384r19 paso: T2 743r1 Paro;  
 T1 403r13 *left margin*: Auto;  
 PI 384r23 *gouernacion*: AF 57v18 *gobierno*;  
 PI 384r24 and 25 testigo: AF 57v18 and 19 *omitted*;  
 PI 384v1-2 la salineta en los dichos sinco dias del mes de otubre de  
*dicho* año: AF 57v20-21 Salineta en 9 de *octubre* del mencionado  
 año;  
 PI 384v1-2 otubre de *dicho*: T1 403r15 otubre de *dicho*, T2 743r11-  
 12 otubre del *dicho*;  
 PI 384v3 junta *general*: T2 743r16 *omitted*: *general*;

PI 384v5 Fray: T2 743r19 *omitted*;  
 PI 384v5-6 desta: T1 403r25, AF 57v25 de esta;  
 PI 384v7 *repeated* cartas;  
 PI 384v8 de agramont: T1 403v2 del agramont;  
 PI 384v9 de el: T1 403v4, AF 58r29 del;  
 PI 384v11-12 dicha carta: T2 743v13 dichas cartas;  
 PI 384v12-13 baptista de escorsa: AF 58r3 Baupptistta de Escorla;  
 PI 384v12-13 escorsa: T2 743v16 escorla;  
 PI 384v13 de la matheria: AF 58r4 *blank*;  
 PI 384v17 Resuelba: T1 403v22 se resuelua;  
 PI 384v19 and 23 *secretario de gouernacion*: AF 58r9 and 10-11  
*esscribano de gouerno*;  
 T1 404r4 *left margin*: Carta;  
 T2 744r13, AF 58r11 *omitted note from PI upper left margin*;  
 PI 385r *upper left margin*: jurisdicciones, dellas, virei: T1 405v23-T1  
 406r3 jurisdicciones, de ellas, Virrey;  
 PI 385r1 Baptista: AF 58r12 Baupptistta;  
 PI 385r3 desse: T1 404r8 de esse, AF 58r14 de ese, T2 744r17 deste;  
 PI 385r10 y ya que por: T2 744v9 y que ya que por;  
 PI 385r17 del: T1 404v5 de el;  
 PI 385r20 esse: T2 745r6 este;  
 PI 385r22 successo: AF 58r28 subceso;  
 PI 385r23 Arçobispo: AF 58r30 Tres palacios;  
 PI 385r26-27 trecientos hombres: T2 745r16 *omitted*;  
 PI 385r28 desde: T2 745r18 *omitted*;  
 PI 385v1 yummas: T2 745v3 y aummas, AF 58v8 Summas;  
 PI 385v3-4 mismo especialmente: T2 745v8 mesmo expeçialmente;  
 PI 385v5 missiricordia: T1 405r14-15, T2 745v12, AF 58v12  
 misericordia;  
 PI 385v10 escrito: T2 745v20 Escripto;  
 PI 385v12 desta: T1 405r26, T2 746r1, AF 58v19 de esta;  
 T1 405v9 *omitted*: me auisse de todo el successo y si soy de prouecho  
 en algo (PI 385v17-18);  
 PI 385v17 interim: AF 58v24 interin;  
 PI 385v17 successo: AF 58v25 subceso;  
 PI 385v20 le guarde y me le deje ver: AF 58v27 *omitted*;  
 PI 385v20 ver: T1 405v13 veer;  
 PI 385v21 Besa: T1 405v15 Besa, T2 746r19 Beso;  
 PI 385v21 y afecto: AF 58v28 *omitted* afecto;  
 AF 58v29 *omitted line 22 from PI 385v and note in Basque from  
 387r, on left margin*;  
 T2 746r23 *left margin*: Capitulo;  
 T2 746v3 *left margin*: Razon del margen;



T2 746v4-8 Por lo que contiene esta carta de la Presunçion que ay del alsamiento general de los Yndios ynfieles de diferentes jurisdicciones Mando se ponga con los autos para que conste de ellos al Exçelentissimo señor Virrey gouernador y capitan general de la nueua españa Etçetera;

T1 405v20 *left margin*: Racon por | vn *capitulo* del | margen; T1 405v23 *left margin*: Otra racon | y nota del | margen;

PI 386v *right margin*: Juan Agramont 16 de *septiembre* de 680: T1 406r4, T2 746v3, AF 58v29 *omitted*;

AF 58v29 *omitted line 21 from PI 386v*.

T1 406r4 *left margin*: Otra;

PI 387r2 and 10, PI 387v2 *suzesso*: AF 59r2, 8 and 21 *sucesso*;

PI 387r3 *egemplar*: AF 59r3 *exemplar*;

PI 387r4 *del*: T1 406r12, AF 59r4 *de el*;

PI 387r16 *deste*: T2 747r15-16, AF 59r12-13 *de este*;

PI 387r16 *ver*: T1 406v7 *veer*;

PI 387r18 *Padre custodio*: T2 747r19 *Padre de custodio*;

PI 387v1 *ber*: T1 406v19 *veer*;

PI 387v3 *buen*: T1 406v22 *tener*;

PI 387v4 *suzessos*: AF 59r23 *sucessos*;

PI 387v8 *ni*: AF 59r26 *y*;

PI 387v11 *que tengo*: T2 748r5 *omitted*: *que*;

PI 387v13 *nacatorori*: T2 748r9 *nacatorosi*, AF 59v1 *Nacattouci*;

PI 387v18 *25000 pesos*: AF 59v5 *25*;

PI 387v26 *Ayeta*: T2 748v9 *de Ayeta*;

PI 388r1 *propio*: T1 407v9, AF 59v13 *proprio*;

PI 388r8 *no puedo cossa*: AF 59v19 *omitted cossa*;

PI 388r9-10 *destruicion*: T1 407v22 *destruccion*, AF 59v20 *destrucion*;

PI 388r23 *egecucion*: AF 60r3 *execucion*;

PI 388r24-25 *egemplares*: AF 60r5 *exemplares*;

PI 388v1 *años*: AF 60r6 *omitted*;

PI 388v1-2 *rezaua*: T1 408r20 *rejaual*, AF 60r7 *rezava*;

PI 388v3 *Plega*: AF 60r8 *Plegue*;

PI 388v4 *consumi*: T1 408r24, T2 749v13, AF 60r9 *consumir*;

PI 388v5 *mima*: T1 408r25, T2 749v14, AF 60r10 *misma*;

PI 388v9 *suzesso*: AF 60r13 *sucesso*;

PI 388v10-11 *eta Zure anaya zUartean*: T1 408v5, T2 749v20-21 *eta zurre anaya y llartean*, AF 60r13 *etta Zureanaya y llarttean*;

PI 388v12 *Joan*: T2 749v21, AF 60r13 *Juan*;

PI 388v12 *Baptista de Escorza*: AF 60r14 *Baupttistta de Escoya*;

PI 388v *right margin*: [\*15 de *septiembre* de 680] *Don Juan Baptista Escorza respondida*: T1 408v5, AF 60r14 *omitted*;

T1 408v7 *left margin*: Auto | del Governador en que se | conforma con los | Pareçeres en que | se mantenga la | gente en el Rio | del Paso hasta | dar cuenta;

PI 389r1 *dicho* paraxe: T1 408v7 *omitted*: dicho;

PI 389r1 Octubre: T1 408v8, T2 750r20, AF 60r15 octubre;

PI 389r2 años: AF 60r16 *omitted*;

PI 389r7 *justiçia*: AF 60r20 junta;

PI 389r13 Octubre: T1 409r3, T2 750v4, AF 60r26 octubre;

PI 389r15 estufas: T1 409r8 lestufas;

PI 389r16 xacales: AF 60v1 jacales;

PI 389r17 aççion: T1 409r11-12, T2 750v12, AF 60v2 aççion;

PI 389r18 de el: T1 409r13, T2 750v13, AF 60v3 del;

PI 389r25 praticas: T1 409r26, T2 751r4, AF 60v9 praticas;

PI 389v9 *secretario* de *gouernacion*: AF 60v18 *Esscribano* de *gouerno*; PI 389v13 *gouernacion*: AF 60v20 *Gouerno*;

PI 389v14 yncontinente: T1 409v20 inContinenti, AF 60v21 incontinentti;

PI 389v15 pedimiento: AF 60v22 pedimento;

PI 389v20 *Muy*: AF 60v27 *omitted*;

PI 389v21 desta: T1 410r6, AF 60v28 de esta;

PI 389v21 de el: T1 410r6, T2 751v21, AF 60v28 del;

PI 389v22, PI 390r13 and 24 *Muy*: AF 61r1, 13 and 22 *omitted*;

PI 389v23 seloso: T1 410r11 zelo;

T1 410r13 *right margin*: ofrece Aieta | dos fanegas | mas de maiz | Cumplimiento | a 10; PI 390r1 aççinadas: T1 410r15-16, T2 752r10, AF 61r4 asignadas;

PI 390r2 costa: T1 410r17 consta, AF 61r5 cuestta;

PI 390r5-6 deste: T1 410r23, AF 61r7 de este;

PI 390r8 jurisdicçion: T1 410r27, T2 752v1, AF 61r9 jurisdicçion;

PI 390r8 mil seisçientas y quarenta reses: AF 61r9 1646 reses;

PI 390r16-17 para que la benefiçien y les sea de mayor convenençia: T2 752v19-21 Para la benefiçion y le sea de maior combeniençia;

PI 390r17 convenençia: T1 410v18 conueniençia, AF 61r16 conueniençia;

PI 390r18 el amor: T2 753r1 *omitted*: el;

PI 390r19 discomodidades: T1 410v21-22 descomodidades;

PI 390r23 que traensima: T2 753r11 de trae ensima;

PI 390r23 traensima: T1 411r3-4 trae en çima, AF 61r21 ttrae encima;

T1 411r14 *left margin*: Auto | de remission | a su *exçelençia*; PI 390r24 esto: T2 753r12 este;

PI 390v1 de el: T1 411r15, T2 753r21, AF 61r26 del;

PI 390v2 dias del mes: AF 61r27 *omitted*;

PI 390v2 octubre: T1 411r16, T2 753r22, AF 61r27 octubre;

PI 390v4 *Provinçiaz* de la nueva mexico: AF 61r28 Provincia del nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 390v5 sustançiadados: T1 411r22-23 substançiadados;  
 PI 390v7 xenero: AF 61r31 genero;  
 PI 390v7 delitos: T1 411r26, T2 753v10 delitos;  
 PI 390v9 Vautismo: T2 753v13-14 euangelio;  
 PI 390v9 *santo* Vautismo y obediencia: T1 411v1-2 Sancto eVangelio Baup<sup>t</sup>ismo y obediencia;  
 T1 412r1 *omitted*: apoderandose de los ganados y cavalladas y de t[odo] lo que tenia todo el reino (PI 390v26-27);  
 PI 390v11-12 convocados aliados: T2 753v18 combocados y aliados;  
 PI 390v16 arroxoxo: AF 61v6 arroxoxo;  
 PI 390v17 ellos: AF 61v6 ellas;  
 PI 390v17 de esta: T2 754r6 desta;  
 PI 390v21 ydolaticos: AF 61v10 ydolatrias;  
 PI 391r2 de el: T1 412r9, T2 754v9-10, AF 61v20 del;  
 PI 391r10 escritas: AF 61v27 escripttas;  
 PI 391r11 vlancas: T1 412r23 vsanças;  
 PI 391r13 *Predicador*: AF 61v29 *omitted*;  
 PI 391r19 *nuestro*: AF 62r4 Maestro;  
 PI 391r21 Causa: T1 412v11 v la v causa;  
 T1 412v26, T2 755v10 *left margin*: Decreto;  
 T1 413r1-3 Rubricado del exçelentissimo señor Conde de Paredes (T2 755v13-14 Paderes), Marques de la Laguna etçetera (T2 755v14 *omitted*: etçetera);  
 T1 413r4 *left margin*: Carta del | Cauildo Justiçia | y regimiento de | la villa de | Santa ffee | cauecera de | la nueva Mexico;  
 T1 414v26 *left margin*: Respuesta del Señor | fiscal de su | Magestad,  
 T2 755v15 *left margin*: Respuesta del | Señor fiscal;  
 T1 415r8 *right margin*: esta [manchado: *esta*] Res | puesta a folio | 56;  
 PI 391v1-2 and 6 *secretario* de gouernacion: AF 62r10 and 11  
 Esscribano de gouerno;  
 AF 62r11 *omitted lines 7-9 from PI 391v*;  
 PI 391v12 y Capitan General: T2 755v18 *omitted*;  
 D 73r20 *left margin*: Dictamen Fiscal;  
 PI 391v13 escripta: D 73r23-24 escrita;  
 PI 391v14 fee: D 73v1 Fé;  
 PI 391v20 consta: T1 415r16 conota;  
 PI 391v24-P2 392r1 *repeated*: General;  
 PI 392r4 sanctos: D 73v18, AF 62r27 santos;  
 PI 392r5 proferirlos: T2 756v6, D 73v20, AF 62r29 preferirlos;  
 PI 392r6 totalmente: D 73v20 enteramente;  
 PI 392r9 de dicha: T1 415v11-12 de la dicha, D 73v24 el dicha;  
 PI 392r9 fee: D 74r1 Fé;

PI 392r10 *que* se puso: T2 756v14 y se puso;  
 PI 392r29 arcabucearon despues: D74v5-6 arcabucearon luego despues;  
 PI 392r30 deliberada: D 74v7 deliberado;  
 PI 392r33 de otros: T2 757v17 *omitted*: de;  
 PI 392v1 salirse retirando: D 74v13 salirse retirandose;  
 PI 392v4 donde havia: D 74v18 que había;  
 PI 392v6 circunvezinas: D 74v20, AF 63r6 circunvecinos;  
 PI 392v8, 24 fee: D 74v23, 75r22 Fé;  
 PI 392v10 mesma: D 75r2, AF 63r10 misma;  
 PI 392v9-10 y temiendo: T1 416v22 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 392v14 dejarla: AF 63r13 dexarla;  
 PI 392v19 inviado: T2 758v11 Embiado, D 75r15 enviado, AF 63r18 enviado;  
 PI 392v23 revolviessen: D 75r20, AF 63r22 resolviesen;  
 PI 392v28 mientras fueron: T1 417v3 mientras que fueron;  
 PI 392v31 del: T1 417v9 de el;  
 PI 393r3 grande necessidad: T2 759r21 gran nesesidad;  
 PI 393r13 *que* inviaba: T2 759v19 *omitted*, D 76r5-6 que enviaba, AF 63v19 que enviava;  
 PI 393r14 atascado: T1 418r15, T2 759v20 tascado;  
 PI 393r17 *que* se echaron a la agua: T2 760r4-5 y se echaron a la laguna;  
 PI 393r17 a la agua: T1 418r21 al agua;  
 PI 393r19-20 y maltratados y mojados muchos generos de los *que* llevaba: D 76r14-16 maltratadas, y mojadas, igualmente que los generos de lo que llevaba, AF 63v27-64r1 maltratadas, y mojadas, y igualmente *que* los generos de los que llevaba;  
 PI 393r22 gurupa: T2 760r14-15 garupa;  
 PI 393r22 *successivamente*: T2 760r15 subsesivamente, AF 63v3 subcesivamente;  
 PI 393r24 con que venian: D 76r22 *omitted* con;  
 PI 393r24 *que* se componian: T2 760r19-20 y que se componian;  
 PI 393r29 en *que* se: T1 418v21 donde se;  
 PI 393r29-30 se havian de congregarse: D 76v5-6 habian de congregarse;  
 PI 393r30 se volviessse: D 76v6 *omitted* se;  
 PI 393r31 rebeldes: D 76v7 revelados;  
 PI 393r31 poblazones: D 76v8 poblaciones;  
 PI 393r32 dieron: T2 760v11 diessen;  
 PI 393r32 escripto: T1 418v28, T2 760v12, D 76v9-10 escrito; D 76v10 *repeated* general;  
 PI 393v1 deffinitorio: T1 419r diffinitorio, AF 63v14 Difinittorio;

PI 393v1 deffinitorio ofreciendo quanto: D 76v11 Difinitorio, ofrecía todo quanto;  
 PI 393v2 carros: D 76v12, AF 64r15 carretos;  
 PI 393v3 resolua salir: T1 419r4-5 resolua a salir;  
 PI 393v4 perdido: D 76v14 pedido;  
 PI 393v4 especialmente: T2 760v18 expesialmente;  
 PI 393v12 el comun: T2 761r9-10 el comer;  
 PI 393v14 ajustada: AF 64r26 axustada;  
 PI 393v15 escrito: D 77r4 escrito;  
 PI 393v17 ofreçido: T2 761r19-20 rreferido;  
 PI 393v17 de manifiesto: D 77r8 *omitted*;  
 PI 393v19 los carro: T1 419v8, T2 761v2, AF 64v2-3 los carros;  
 PI 393v21 jurisdiccion: T1 419v12, T2 761v6, AF 64v5 jurisdiccion;  
 PI 393v24 *que* los que huviessen: T2 761v11 y que los que huuinessen;  
 PI 393v25 prompto: T2 761v13 prompto, D 77r17 pronto;  
 PI 393v27 inviass[e]: D 77r21 enviassen, AF 64v12 enviassen;  
 PI 393v28 del: T1 419v27 de el;  
 PI 393v30 escrito: T2 762r2, D 77r24 escrito;  
 PI 393v31 thome: D 77v2 Tomás, AF 64v16 Thomas;  
 PI 393v32 revolver: T2 762r6 resolver, D 77v4, AF 64v18 resolver;  
 PI 394r1 causas: D 77v4 casas;  
 PI 394r2 del cabildo: T2 762r8 de el cauildo;  
 PI 394r3 invierno: D 77v6 invierno, AF 64v20 Ybierno;  
 PI 394r3-4 ciento y cinquenta y cinco: D 77v7 150.;  
 PI 394r5 falta: T2 762r15 la falta;  
 PI 394r8 se debia: D 77v12 *omitted se*;  
 PI 394r9 *que* los rebeldes: D 77v13 por los reveldes, AF 64v26 por los rebeldes;  
 PI 394r11 de conocido: D 77v16-17 de no conocido;  
 PI 394r13 *que*: T2 762v8 quien;  
 PI 394r21 *Procurador*: T2 763r4 Prodicador;  
 PI 394r28 poblazones: D 78r14 poblazones;  
 PI 394r29 en todas: D 78r15-16 *omitted en*;  
 PI 394r31 sucessos: AF 65r22 sucesos;  
 PI 394r32 del: T1 421r17 de el;  
 PI 394v14 del: T1 421v14, T2 764r13-14 de el;  
 PI 394v3 llamadas: D 78r24 llamada;  
 PI 394v4 elijieren: D 78v2 eligieron;  
 PI 394v6 fuerzas: D 78v4 familias;  
 PI 394v12 se podra salir a castigar: D 78v12 se podrá castigar á salir;  
 PI 394v15 verisimil: D 78v16 verosimil;  
 PI 394v17 en *dicho* reyno: D 78v18 en dicha reyno;  
 PI 394v21 promptitud: D 78v24 prontitud;  
 PI 394v29 se deben: T2 764v9 que se deuen;

PI 395r7 huviere: D 79r21 hubiera;  
 PI 395r7 qualquiera: T2 765r2 alguna;  
 PI 395r12 Joseph de Retes: D 79v4 José de Vetes, AF 66r9 Joseph de vetes;  
 PI 395r13 escriptura: D 79v4-5 Escritura;  
 PI 395r15 se le paguen: D 79v7 se lo paguen;  
 PI 395r15 promptos: T2 765r17 prompts, D 79v8 prontos;  
 PI 395r16 debiendose estar: T2 765r17 deuiendose a estar;  
 PI 395r21 acepta: T1 422v25 accepta;  
 PI 395r24 fee: D 79v20 Fé;  
 PI 395r25-26 providencia: D 79v23 prudencia;  
 PI 395r26 7 de henero de 1681: D 79v24, AF 66r22-23 Henero 7. de 1681;  
 PI 395r27 Don Martin: D 79v24, AF 66r23 *omitted Don*;  
 D *omitted PI 395v-399v*;  
 PI 396r2 de el miserable: T2 765v20, AF 66r25 del miserable;  
 PI 396r4 explaiara: T1 413r8 explorara;  
 PI 396r8-9 desaogo: T1 413r14 desahogo;  
 PI 396r10 patrosignio: T1 413r16-17, AF 66v1 patroçinio;  
 PI 396r13 molestar: T2 766r13 Molestarle;  
 PI 396r15 terrestre: T1 413r22, T2 766r15, AF 66r4 terrestre;  
 PI 396r16 de esta: T2 766r17 desta;  
 PI 396r18 niños: T2 766r19 los niños;  
 PI 396r19 ymajenes: T1 413r28 ymagines;  
 PI 396r19 de el: T1 413r29, T2 766r21-22, AF 66v7 del;  
 PI 396r23 desnudos: T2 766v4-5 y desnudos;  
 PI 396r27 satisfacion: T1 413v9-10 satisfaccion;  
 PI 396r30 sustançiado: T1 413v14 substançiado;  
 PI 396v2 que con çelo: T2 766v16 *omitted*: que;  
 PI 396v3 de el: T1 413v18, T2 766v17, AF 66v17 del;  
 PI 396v4 [se le]: AF 66v18 *omitted* le;  
 PI 396v6 se aya: T2 767r2 se halla;  
 PI 396v9 de este: T2 767r6 deste;  
 PI 396v9-10 [a] cuia: T1 413v27 con cuya, T2 767r7 a cuia, AF 66v22 cuia;  
 PI 396v12 de el: T1 414r3, T2 767r10, AF 66v24 del;  
 PI 396v20-21 [ha] consumido: T2 767v2-3 consumo;  
 PI 396v24 segua: T1 414r20, T2 767v7, AF 67r3 seguia;  
 PI 396v24 [para]: AF 67r3 de;  
 PI 396v27 particular: T1 414r24 particulares;  
 PI 396v31 las manos: T2 767v17 la mano;  
 PI 396v33 aviso: AF 67r9 *omitted*;  
 PI 396v39 Pidiendo: T1 414v11 piendo;  
 PI 397r2 de el Passo: T2 768r9-10, AF 67r14 del passo;

PI 397r3 octubre: T1 414v16, T2 768r10, AF 67r14 octubre;  
 PI 397r3 a 12: AF 67r15 *omitted a*;  
 PI 397r4 b[esa]: T1 414r18 Besamos;  
 T2 768r19 *left margin*: Real Cedu | la;  
 PI 398r2, PI 398r2 and PI 398v2 consejo: AF 67r21 and AF 67v13  
 concejo;  
 PI 398r5 esa: AF 67r25 la;  
 PI 398r9 gente armas: AF 67r28 gente de armas;  
 PI 398r12 fruto: T1 423v8 fruto;  
 PI 398r13 mayor seguridad: T2 769r6 *omitted*: mayor;  
 PI 398r18-19 remitiendome: T2 769r17 remitiendose;  
 PI 398r19 con su carta: T2 769r18 por su carta;  
 PI 398r22 dello: T2 769v4, AF 67v10 de ello;  
 PI 398v1 del: AF 67v12 de el;  
 PI 398v2 [lo]: AF 67v13 *omitted*;  
 PI 398v5 mil seiscientos: T2 769v15 mill y seisçientos;  
 PI 398v12 qu[ienes]: T2 770r9 quien;  
 PI 398v17 conducion: T1 424v8, T2 770r16 conducçion;  
 PI 398v18 santa: T1 424v10 sancta;  
 T1 425r1, T2 770v17 *omitted lines 7-11 from PI 399r*;  
 T1 425r1-3 Y a las espaldas de dicha Real zedu | la estan quatro  
 rubricas de los se | ñores del conssejo;  
 T2 770v15-16 señalado con quatro Rubricas de Los Señores del  
 Consejo;  
 T1 425r4 *left margin*: Memorial | del Reverendo Padre | Predicador y  
 visitador | [G]eneral fray francisco | [d]e Ayeta; PI 399r2-3 a veinte y  
 cinco: AF 68r5 *omitted a*;  
 PI 399r6 Don: AF 68r6 *omitted*;  
 PI 399r8 de la nueva Mexico: AF 68r9 del nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 400r13 inspeccion: T2 771r16-17 yspeccion;  
 PI 400r13 de ellos: D 80r16, AF 68r22 de estos;  
 PI 400r16 toda obediencia: D 80r19-20, AF 68r25 toda la obediencia;  
 PI 400r16 promptitud: T2 771v1-2 promptitud, D 80r20 prontitud;  
 PI 400r18 con muy poca: T2 771v6 *omitted*: con;  
 PI 400r21-22 cerca: D 80v3 acerca;  
 PI 400r23 reçevir: D 80v4 recibir, AF 68v2 recibir;  
 PI 400r29 aumento: T1 425v22 augmento;  
 PI 400r29 fee: D 80v11 Fé;  
 PI 400r30 poblazon: T2 772r6 Poblacion;  
 PI 400r30-400v1 fomento de la poblazon de aquel reyno y reduccion:  
 D 80v12-13 fomento de aquel reyno, y reducion;  
 PI 400v1 reduccion: T2 772r7 Reducçio, AF 68v9 reducion;  
 PI 400v2 santa: T1 425v27 sancta;  
 T1 426r7 *left margin*: Junta *general*;

T2 772r15 *left margin*: Junta;  
 PI 400v4 y henero: D 80v16, AF 68v12 *omitted* y;  
 PI 400v6 hazienda: D 80v18 Real hacienda;  
 D 80v19 *omitted lines 7-16 and part of 18-19 from PI 400v*;  
 PI 400v6 mil seissientos: T2 772r16-17 mill y seisçientos;  
 PI 400v9 de esta: T2 772v2 desta;  
 PI 400v10 felix: AF 68v19 Felis;  
 PI 400v10 del: T1 426r18 de el;  
 PI 400v11 de Prado: AF 68v20 *omitted* de;  
 PI 400v14 Juezes: T1 426r26 Juez., T2 772v14 Jueses, AF 68v24 Juezes;  
 PI 400v16 de este: T2 772v18 deste;  
 PI 400v18 escritas: T1 426v7, T2 773r1, AF 68v28 escritas;  
 PI 400v19 escrito: T1 426v10, T2 773r4, AF 68v29 escrito;  
 PI 400v21 de esta: T2 773r7 desta;  
 T1 426v16 *left margin*: Cartta | de los PPadres | diffinidores | de la  
 nueua Mexico;  
 T1 426v16, T2 773r11, AF 69r3 *omitted lines 23-26 from PI 400v*;  
 PI 403r3 and 9 susedido: AF 69r5 and 10 succedido;  
 PI 403r5-6 y ya que en medio: T2 773r19 y a que en medio;  
 PI 403r6 para: T2 773v1 por;  
 PI 403r8 real acuerdo aga: T2 773v5 gouierno aya;  
 PI 403r11 mucho que sentir: D 81r15 que sentir mucho;  
 PI 403r12 abrasado: AF 69r13 abrazado;  
 PI 403r13-14 lo socorrio: T1 427r9-10 le socorrio, T2 743v15  
*omitted*: lo;  
 PI 403r19 aflieccion: AF 69r20 afflicion;  
 PI 403r20 desta: T2 774r8 Esta, D 81v3, AF 69r21 de esta;  
 PI 403r23 vueselencia: T2 774r16, D 81v8, AF 69r24 *Vuestra  
 exçelencia*;  
 PI 403r23 esperamos: AF 69r24 experamos;  
 PI 403r24 en sumo: T2 774r19 con sumo;  
 PI 403r28 sombra de vueselencia: T2 774v4 sombra *Vuestra  
 exçelencia*, D 81v14, AF 69r29 sombra de *Vuestra Exçelencia*; PI  
 403r29 derrotada: T1 427v11 derrota;  
 PI 403r32 deligencia: T1 427v17, D 81v20, AF 69v5 diligencia;  
 PI 403r36 dellos: T1 427v24, T2 774v20, D 82r1-2, AF 69v9 de ellos;  
 PI 403r38 y gloria a Dios y su yglessia: D 82r4 *omitted* a Dios;  
 PI 403r39 el malogro: T2 775r5 al maior Logro, D 82r5, AF 69v11 el  
 mal lógro;  
 PI 403v3 aflige: T2 775r10, D 82r9, AF 69v14 afligen;  
 PI 403v3 prophanasion: AF 69v15 profanacion;  
 PI 403v5 vueselencia: T2 775r15, D 82r12, AF 69v17 *Vuestra  
 exçelencia*;  
 PI 403v6 el ayuda: D 82r12, AF 69v17 la ayuda;



PI 403v6-7 nos [con]ceda: D 82r13-14 le conceda, AF 69v18 nos lo conceda;  
 PI 403v7 vueselencia: T2 775r18, D 82r14, AF 69v18 *Vuestra exçelencia*;  
 PI 403v8 años: AF 69v20 *omitted*;  
 PI 403v9 *Reverendissimo*: T1 428r16 *Reverendo*;  
 T1 428r24 *left margin*: Carta del | Cauildo Justticia y | regimiento de la | Villa de Santa fee | cauecera de la | nueua Mexico;  
 PI 403v10 vueselencia: T2 775v2, D 82r16, AF 69v21 *Vuestra exçelencia*;  
*D omitted folios de PI 404r-415v*;  
 PI 404r3 de el: T1 428r26, T2 775v10 del;  
 T1 428v1 con [*crossed out: uerssion*] quista;  
 PI 404r3 de el nuevo: AF 69v26 del nuevo;  
 PI 404r10 jurisdicçiones: T1 428v8-9, T2 775v20, AF 70r3 jurisdicçiones;  
 PI 404r11 susesos: T1 428v10 sucesos;  
 PI 404r14 so graves: T2 776r4 o graues;  
 PI 404r15 y otras: T1 428v15 y a otras;  
 PI 404r15-16 sus territorios: AF 70r7 su territorio;  
 PI 404r16 de el: T2 776r7-8, AF 70r8 del;  
 PI 404r23 senecu socorro: T1 428v28 Senecusso Couo;  
 PI 404r26 su biviir: AF 70r14 á su biuir;  
 PI 404v2 a los henemigos ynfieles que an echo: AF 70r16-17 al enemigo infiel que ha hecho;  
 PI 404v9-10 primer: AF 70r21 primera;  
 PI 404v13 suplica este cauildo a *Vuestra Excelencia* mande: T1 429r18-19, T2 776v16-17 suplica a *Vuestra excelencia* este cauildo mande;  
 PI 404v18 del: T1 429r25 de el;  
 PI 404v25 del: T2 777r12-13, AF 70r27 de el;  
 PI 404v33 mas: AF 70v11 muchos;  
 PI 404v34 octubre: T1 429v22-23, T2 777v7, AF 70v12 octubre;  
 PI 404v34 a 16: AF 70v12 *omitted* a;  
 PI 404v35 bes[a]: T1 429v24-25 besamos, T2 777v9 Besa;  
 T1 430r4 *left margin*: Carta del | *Gouernador* de la | *nueua Mexico* | *Don Anttonio* de | *Otermin*;  
 PI 408r3 uera: T1 430r5, T2 777v17 veera;  
 PI 408r3 infeliz: T2 777v18 ynfelix;  
 PI 408r4 suceso: AF 70v18 succeso;  
 PI 408r5 reyno: AF 70v19 *omitted*;  
 PI 408r6 via: AF 70v20 beya;  
 PI 408r8 avia: T2 778r6 aui;  
 PI 408r9 tuvo: T2 778r7 tuue;

PI 408r10 reduçion: T1 430r15, T2 778r8-9, AF 70v22 reduçion;  
 PI 408r10-11 inumerable: AF 70v23 innumerable;  
 PI 408r18 esenciales: T2 778r20 eficazes;  
 PI 408r19 conservaçiones: T2 778v2-3 conservaçion;  
 PI 408r25 suzedido: AF 71r 4-5 succedido;  
 PI 408r *first line and upper left margin*: Mexico 9 de henero de 1681  
 | Ponganse con lo autos tocantes | a esta materia para la Junta General  
 | [*rubric*]: AF 70v17 *omitted text from the left margin*, T1 436v28-  
 437r1-5 nueue de henero de mill seisçientos y ochentta y uno.  
 Pongase con los auttos tocantes a esta matheria para la junta general.  
 Rubricado del exçelentissimo Señor Conde de Paredes Marques de la  
 laguna; T2 787v1-2 pongase con los autos; T2 787v4-5 Rubricado del  
 Exçelentissimo Señor Conde de paderes. Marques de la laguna; T2  
 779r2 *repeated*: cupiera;  
 PI 408v1-2 y cauallos: AF 71r8 *omitted* y;  
 PI 408v9 alimento: AF 71r13 *omitted*;  
 PI 408v17 alla[do]: T1 431r13, AF 71r18 hallado;  
 PI 408v19 jurisdicçiones: T1 431r15, T2 779v4, AF 71r19  
 jurisdicçiones;  
 PI 408v22 al que: T2 779v9 el que;  
 PI 408v24 amenazava: AF 71r23 comenzava digo amenazava;  
 PI 408v25-26 se fragoava: T1 431r25, T2 779v15 se fraguaba, AF  
 71r25 se fraguava;  
 PI 408v26 que [el de], T1 431v2 que de, T2 779v16-17, AF 71r25 que  
 el de;  
 PI 409r11 del: T1 432r13 de el;  
 PI 409r28 destruiçion: AF 71v26 destrruicion;  
 PI 409r29 incorporarme: T1 432v15, T2 781r20, AF 71v27 incorporarme;  
 PI 409r30 o, en el: T1 432v17 por;  
 PI 409r34 euerme: AF 72r2 deverme; T1 432v22 e uerme, T2 781v7 e berme;  
 PI 409v2 se seguiria: T1 433r11 se seguia;  
 PI 409v4 de todo: AF 72r10 *omitted*;  
 PI 409v4-5 magnifiçençia: T1 433r15 munificiençia;  
 PI 409v8 gasto: T1 433r21 costo;  
 PI 409v9 reses facunas: T1 433r23 rezes bacunas, AF 72r14 reces  
 vacunas, T2 782r16 Reses Bacunas;  
 PI 409v10 gasto: AF 72r15 sustento;  
 PI 409v19 darselas po[r la]: AF 72r22-23 darsela por lo;  
 PI 409v25 son: AF 72r27 ser;  
 PI 409v31-32 [su]çeder: AF 72v2 succeder;  
 PI 409v33 que: AF 72v3 de que;  
 PI 410r4 en superfluydad: T2 783v9 a superfluidad;  
 PI 410r6 del animo: T2 783v12 *omitted*;  
 T2 783v12-13 *repeated*: de *Vuestra exçelencia*;

PI 410r8 sea sustentado: AF 72v13 se ha substentado;  
 PI 410r9 coste: T1 434v1, T2 783v16 conste, AF 72v14 constte;  
 PI 410r12 açerlo: T1 434v4-5 hacerlo;  
 PI 410r12 es: T1 434v5 está;  
 PI 410r16 puerta: T1 434v11 propuesta;  
 PI 410r17 reduçion: T1 434v13, T2 784r8 reduçion;  
 PI 410r18 innumerables: T2 784r9 ynumerables;  
 PI 410r28 ardides: T2 784v3 ardiles;  
 PI 410r30 añidese: AF 73r1 añadese;  
 PI 410r33 deste: T1 435r7, T2 784v12, AF 73r3 de este;  
 PI 410v3-4 de esta jurisdicçion: T1 435r18, AF 73r9 de esta jurisdicçion, T2 785r5 desta jurisdicçion;  
 PI 410v8 y [yo]: T1 435r25 y yo, T2 785r13, AF 73r13 *omitted*: yo;  
 PI 410v12 de este: T2 785r18 deste;  
 PI 410v13-14 [la] toma: AF 73r16 la Toma, T2 785r20 *omitted*;  
 PI 410v17-19 y carretas y otras que se soličitan en [aque]llos alrededores el sentarlos y la mesma [veçin]dad de casas grandes: AF 73r19 *omitted*;  
 PI 410v17 se soličitan: T2 785v6 *omitted*: se;  
 PI 410v32 a sinaloa: T2 786r7 ansinaloa;  
 PI 410v33 estanças: T2 786r9 *omitted*;  
 PI 411r2 esperiençias: T1 436r22 experiençia, AF 73v7 experiencias;  
 PI 411r3 suzeder: AF 73v8 subceder;  
 PI 411r6 esperiençias: AF 73v10 experiencia;  
 PI 411r15 uea: T2 786v19 se vea;  
 PI 411r22 todo: T2 787r11 *omitted*;  
 T1 436v28, T2 787r20 *left margin*: Decreto;  
 T1 437r6 *left margin*: Certificacion;  
 PI 411r27 a 20 de octubre de 1680 años: AF 73v26 y octtubre 20 de 1680;  
 PI 412r3 la nueva mexico: AF 74r2 del nuevo Mexico;  
 PI 412r4 a el Rey: T2 787v10 al Rey;  
 PI 412r4 conçexos: AF 74r3 concejos;  
 PI 412r13-14 veinte y uno: T2 788r9-10 veinte y cinco;  
 PI 412r14 çin: AF 74r12 con;  
 PI 412r16 del: AF 74r14 de;  
 PI 412r17 dotrina: T1 437v10, T2 788r16-17, AF 74r15 doctrina;  
 T1 437v4 *left margin*: Murieron | 380 personas | y relijiosos;  
 PI 412r19 delitos: T1 437v14, T2 788r20 delictos;  
 PI 412r21 ynespunable: T1 437v17-18 inexpugnable;  
 PI 412r21 y ynespunable: AF 74r19 e inespugnable;  
 PI 412r22 del: AF 74r20 de;  
 PI 412r25 termino: T2 788v11 tiempo;  
 PI 412r28 a numero: AF 74r27 al numero;

PI 412r29 lo mas mujeres niños jente: T2 788v20-789r1 los mas mugeres niños y gente;  
 PI 412r30 viudas y guerfanos: AF 74r28 viudos, y huerfanos;  
 PI 412r30 guerfanos: T2 789r1-2 huerfanos;  
 PI 412v1-2 lo mas extremo de nesesidad: AF 74v1 la mas esttrema necesidad;  
 PI 412v4 Reverendo Padre Predicador fray: AF 74v3 Padre fray;  
 PI 412v4 Santo: T1 438r21 Sancto;  
 PI 412v4 desta: T1 438r22, AF 74v4 de esta;  
 PI 412v10 reales minis[tros]: AF 74v10 Real ministro;  
 PI 412v13 de este: T2 790v11 deste;  
 PI 412v16 socorriendo: T2 790v16 socorriengo;  
 PI 412v26 honrra: AF 74v26 honrna;  
 PI 412v31 otubre: T1 439r19, T2 790v3, AF 75r1 octubre;  
 PI 412v31 mil seisçientos: T2 790v3-4 mill y seisçientos;  
 PI 412v32 sellada: T1 439r21 sellado, T2 790v5-6 y sellada;  
 PI 412v32 del: T1 439r22 de el;  
 PI 412v34 Juan Luzero de Godoy: T1 439r23 *omitted*: Juan;  
 T2 790v10 *omitted line 38 from* PI 412v;  
 T1 439r28 *left margin*: [\*Y]nstruczion;  
 PI 414r1 Ynstruçion: T1 439r28, AF 75r6 Ynstruccion;  
 PI 414r4 reyno del Nuevo Mexico: T1 439v6-7 Reyno de nuebo Mexico;  
 PI 414r6 sueldo: T2 791r1 el sueldo;  
 T1 439v9, T2 791r6, AF 75r11 *omitted annotations on left margin of PI 414r*;  
 PI 414r13 viscaynas: T2 791r11 visainas;  
 PI 414r15 arados: AF 75r19 *omitted*;  
 PI 414r17 otros doçientos: T2 791r18 *omitted*: otros;  
 PI 414r18 esto para: T2 791r20 Esto es para;  
 PI 414r22 para sepo: T1 440r8 para el sepo;  
 PI 414r24 del numero del presidio: T1 440r11, T2 791v8 del nuebo presidio;  
 PI 414r25 para: T2 791v10 *omitted*;  
 PI 414r26 fabrica: T2 791v11 la fabrica;  
 T2 792r14 *left margin*: Razon del | Margen;  
 PI 414r30 abisos: AF 75v2 aviso;  
 PI 414v1 que: AF 75v5 y que;  
 PI 414v8-9 o [fis]cal: T2 792r20-21 ofiçal;  
 PI 414v9 seguira: AF 75v12 siga;  
 PI 414v11 pare: T2 792v5 para;  
 PI 414v11 tan solamente: T2 792v12 tanto la mente;  
 PI 414v21 nuestro: T2 793r3 Maestro;  
 PI 414v22 agçidente: T1 441r7, T2 793r6, AF 75v25 accidente;  
 PI 414v23 seamos: AF 75v26 que seamos;

PI 414v23 bastimento: T1 441r8 bastimentos;  
 PI 414v24 disminuyendo: T2 793r9 disminuyendo;  
 PI 414v26 deber: T1 441r14-15, T2 793r13 deue;  
 PI 414v27 tienen: AF 76r2 tiene;  
 PI 414v31 yten isso: T1 441r24, T2 793v1 y tenuo;  
 PI 414v31 a no haçer [gasto]: AF 76r6 *blank*;  
 PI 414v38 mexor: T1 440v10, AF 75v29 mejor;  
 PI 415r8 guerfanos: T2 793v19, AF 76r14 huerfanos;  
 PI 415r9 efegto: T1 441v17, T2 794r2, AF 76r15 efecto;  
 PI 415r11 del: T1 441v21, AF 76r17 de el;  
 PI 415r14 deste ... deste: T1 441v26 and 27, T2 794r11 and 12, AF 76r20 and 20 de este ... de este;  
 PI 415r16 octubre: T1 442r2, T2 794r15, AF 76r21 octubre;  
 PI 415r16 mil seissientoz: T2 794r15-16 mill y seiscientos;  
 PI 415r24 Ante mi: T2 794r20 Ate mi;  
 T1 442r10 *left margin*: Memorial | del Padre Vissitador | [\*G]eneral de la nueua | Mexico fray | Francisco de | Ayeta;  
 T2 794v1 *left margin*: Memorial;  
 T1 442r22 sub [*crossed out*: de] leuaçion;  
 D 82r *lower left margin*: Carta de Reverendo | Padre Fray Francisco | de Ayeta | al Excelentissimo Señor | Virrey;  
 PI 416r2 sancto: T2 794v3, D 82r22, AF 76r27 santo;  
 PI 416r9 vista: D 82v4 visita;  
 PI 416r11, 17 escrito: D 82v6,12 escrito;  
 PI 416r18 el dia viernes: D 82v13 *omitted*, AF 76v9 *omitted* viernes;  
 PI 416r19 thenor: D 82v14, AF 76v10 honor;  
 PI 416r22-23 que aquellos: D 82v18 aquellos;  
 PI 416r23 leales: D 82v18, AF 76v13 Reales;  
 PI 416v2-3 de la villa de santa fee: D 82v23-24 de villa de santa Fé;  
 PI 416v3 santa: T1 442v21 sancta;  
 PI 416v9 no se d[ubda]: T2 795v11 no dudo, D 83r6-7 no se duda;  
 PI 416v18-19 ca[mpa]ña: D 83r15 compañía;  
 PI 416v19 de pie: T2 796r4 a pie;  
 PI 416v22 6000 piedras [de arcabuz]: D 83r19, AF 77r2 seis mil piedras castellanas;  
 PI 416v23 asimismo: T2 796r10 Assi mesmo;  
 PI 416v24 con sus ojas cortadoras: D 83r20-21 hojas cortadas;  
 PI 416v26 adentro: D 83r23, AF 77r5 dentro;  
 PI 416v31 ca[usara]: T1 443v9 caussara, T2 796v3 Causaron;  
 PI 416v32 reduccion: AF 77r9 reducion;  
 PI 416v35-PI 417r1 *repeated*: cargo;  
 PI 417r2 que en su catholico: D 83v10, AF 77r13 *omitted* en;  
 PI 417r4 dichas: T2 796v13 dicha;  
 PI 417r8 continuar con el zelo: D 83v14-15 continuamente el zelo;

PI 417r9 sancto: T2 796v19, D 83v15, AF 77r17 santo;  
 PI 417r10 siendo *vuestra excelencia* servido: D 83v16 *omitted* siendo;  
 PI 417r16-17 y los quarenta mil novecientos y sesenta pessos: D 83v21-22 y los quarenta mil novecientos sesenta, AF 77r22 y los 40960;  
 PI 417r24 administracion: AF 77r27 administracion;  
 PI 417r26 necessaria: D 84r5-6, AF 77v29 necesario;  
 PI 417r28 conduzgan: T1 444r26 condugan, D 84r7-8, AF 77v1 conduzcan;  
 PI 417r32-33 despidiendose las quadrillas de los sirvientes: D 84r11 *omitted*;  
 PI 417v2 reduccion: D 84r15, AF 77v8 reducion;  
 PI 417v2 aumentar: T1 444v13 aumentar;  
 PI 417v5 se fueren: D 84r18 se fueron;  
 PI 417v5-6 acrecentarles: T2 798r5 acresentarle, D 84r18-19 aumentarles;  
 PI 417v19 mismo: T2 798v3 mesmo;  
 PI 417v21 formad[a]: T1 445r14 formado, T2 798v6, AF 77v23 formada, D 84v10 firmada;  
 PI 417v26 joseph: D 84v14 José;  
 PI 417v27 escriptu[ra]: D 84v16 escritura;  
 PI 418r1-2 sargento mayor: D 84v23-24, AF 78r6 *omitted* mayor;  
 PI 418r3 san joseph: D 84r24 *San* José;  
 PI 418r8 reses vacunas: D 85r5, AF 78r11 *omitted* reses;  
 PI 418r10 sustento: AF 78r12 substtento;  
 PI 418r14 y se compraron: T2 799v2-3 que se compraron;  
 PI 418r28 de esta: T2 800r2 desta;  
 PI 418r30-31 las provinçias: D 85r23, AF 78r25 la provincia;  
 PI 418r33 de el monto: T2 800r9, D 85r24, AF 78r27 del monto;  
 PI 418v3 joseph: D 85v4 José;  
 PI 418v4 escriptura: T1 446v2-3 escritura;  
 T2 800r17-18 *repeated*: para;  
 PI 418v9-10 y m[ante]ner: D 85v9 hoy mantener, AF 78v4 oy mantener;  
 PI 418v10 exercito: D 85v10 Reyno, AF 78v5 *omitted*;  
 PI 418v11 en parte: T1 446v10-11 em partes;  
 PI 418v12 se incluyen: D 85v12 se incluyeron;  
 PI 418v17 de el: T2 800v16, D 85v16, AF 78v9 del;  
 PI 418v24 a esta: D 85v23 de esta;  
 PI 418v27-28 [de] la nueva mexico: D 86r2 del nuevo México;  
 PI 420r6 satisfacion: T1 447r22-23, AF 78v25 satisfaccion;  
 PI 420r7 conduzga: T1 447r23-24 conduzga, D 86r14 conduzca;  
 T1 448r22 *omitted lines 11-12 from PI 420v*;  
 T1 448r24 *left margin*: Junta *general*;

PI 420r22, 420v18 fee: D 86v4, 18 Fé;  
 PI 420r30-31 ninguna: D 86v12 ninguno;  
 PI 420v2 de esta: T2 802v13 desta;  
 PI 420v5 escrito: D 86v21 escrito;  
*D omitted lines from PI 421r-428v*;  
 PI 420v5 de esta: T2 802v17 desta;  
 T2 803r6 *left margin*: Junta;  
 PI 421r1 de Diez: AF 79r23 en 10;  
 PI 421r7 de esta: T2 803r14 desta;  
 PI 421r9 felix: AF 79r28 Felis;  
 PI 421r10-11 de prado: AF 79r30 *omitted*;  
 PI 421r11 deste: T1 448v13, AF 79v1 de este;  
 PI 421r14 de esta: T2 803v4 desta;  
 PI 421r14 and 15 pedimiento: AF 79r4 pedimento;  
 PI 421r20 en ella: T2 803v14 en ellas;  
 PI 421r31 del dicho: T2 804r9 de dicho;  
 PI 421r32 escrito: T2 804r11 escrito;  
 PI 421v7 desta: T1 449v12, AF 80r1 de esta;  
 PI 421v9 con su *exçelençia*: T2 804v10 *omitted*;  
 T1 449v16, T2 804v10 *omitted*: enmendado “quen”; vale. Su  
*Exçelençia Señores Agurto, San Martin, Vargas, Maldonado.*  
 Pressen[\*tes] los Señores fiscales: Prado, Dessa, Rossal, Gusman; T2  
 804v11 *left margin*: Regulacion;  
 PI 423r2 hemos: T2 804v12, AF 80r4 tenemos;  
 PI 423r3 del: T1 449v20 de el;  
 PI 423r4 reduccion: AF 80r6 reducion;  
 PI 423r4 de el: T1 449v21, T2 804v16, AF 80r6 del;  
 PI 423r5 peltrechos: AF 80r7 pertrechos;  
 PI 423r6 del gasto: T1 449v24, T2 804v19 el gasto;  
 PI 423r12 como ganan: AF 80r11 como para;  
 PI 423r17 deste: T1 450r9, AF 80r15 de este;  
 PI 423r18 del: AF 80r15 deel;  
 PI 423r23 dos mil ziento y quarenta: AF 80r18 *omitted* y;  
 PI 423r26 las: T1 450r21 assi;  
 T1 450r23 *omitted*: 72U510;  
 T2 805r23 *right margin*: 000000, 63U950;  
 T2 805v1 *right margin*: 63U950;  
 T2 805v23 *right margin*: U000, 74U055;  
 T2 806r1 *upper right margin*: de atras 74U055;  
 T2 806r3 *upper right margin*: UU0116  
 T2 806r4 *right margin*: U010;  
 T2 806r5 *upper right margin*: U000  
 T2 806r6 *upper right margin*: U040  
 T2 806r7 *upper right margin*: 74U221

T2 806r21 *upper right margin*: 19U625 pesos  
 T2 806v *upper right margin, on top*: La de atras 74U221  
 T2 806v1 *upper right margin*: ø  
 T2 806v3 *upper right margin*: ø  
 T2 806v4 *upper right margin*: U  
 T2 806v7 *upper right margin*: U200  
 T2 806v13 *upper right margin*: U400  
 T2 806v14 *upper right margin*: 95U446  
 PI 423v11 picas: AF 80r26 pica;  
 PI 423v14 fierro: AF 80r28 hierro;  
 PI 423v19 zien pesos: AF 80v1 *omitted*;  
 PI 423v20 dos: T1 450v16 doçe;  
 PI 423v21 diez y seys pesos: AF 80v2 *omitted*;  
 PI 423v23 diez pesos: AF 80v3 *omitted*;  
 PI 423v24-25 quarenta pesos: AF 80v4 *omitted*;  
 PI 423v29 deste: T1 450v26, AF 80v6 de este;  
 T1 450v28 *omitted*: 74U221;  
 PI 424r8 perzivir: T1 451r7 perçeuir;  
 PI 424r16 mil pesos: AF 80v14 *omitted*;  
 PI 424r17 Duzientos: AF 80v15: doscienttos;  
 PI 424r29-30 y picos azadones: AF 80v22 picos y azadones;  
 PI 424r21 achas: T1 451r22 hachas, AF 80v18 achas;  
 PI 424v2 el dicho: AF 80v24 del dicho;  
 PI 424v4 mission: T1 451v5, T2 807r1 jurisdicçion;  
 PI 424v6 dichos: T2 807r2 dicho;  
 T1 451v11 *crossed out*: quarenta;  
 T1 451v25 *left margin*: Junta general,  
 T2 807r2 *right margin*: Montan los gastos.  
 T2 807r6 *right margin*: 95U446 pesos.  
 T2 807r7-8 *right margin*: Las dos tercias | partes del gasto | de la mission. 40U446 pesos.  
 T2 807r9 *right margin*: suplemento 54U486 pesos.  
 T2 807r19-20 *right margin*: Junta general | de 17 de henero de 81;  
 PI 424v9-10 novecientos y sesenta: AF 80v27-28 *omitted* y;  
 PI 424v18-19 quatrozientos y ochenta: AF 81r3 *omitted* y;  
 PI 424v20 Don Gonçalo: AF 81r9 *omitted* Don;  
 PI 424v21 Don Martin: AF 81r10 *omitted* Don;  
 PI 424v [encased, *right margin*: Suplementto: AF 81r8 Restto y Suplemento;  
 PI 425r3 Paredes: T2 807r22 paderes;  
 PI 425r5 de esta: T2 807v1 desta;  
 PI 425r10 fructus: T1 452r8 frutus, T2 807v7 fructos;  
 PI 425r11 de esta: T2 807v9 desta;  
 PI 425r13 felix: AF 81r21 Felis;



PI 425r15 Baptista: AF 81r23 Baupptista;  
 PI 425r16 de este: T2 807v17 deste;  
 PI 425r19 de esta: T2 807v21 desta;  
 PI 425r22 Otermin: T2 808r2 termin;  
 PI 425r22 sancta: T2 808r4, AF 81v3 santa;  
 PI 425r23 desta: T1 452v2, AF 81v3 de esta;  
 PI 425r25 a hecho: AF 81v5 han hecho;  
 PI 425r29 reduçion: AF 81v8 reducion;  
 PI 425r32 juntas generales: T2 808r17 *omitted*: generales;  
 PI 425r33 considerado: T2 808r18 considerando;  
 PI 425r35 prompta mente: T2 808r21-22 pronta mente;  
 PI 425v1 baptissados: AF 81v14 baupptizados;  
 PI 425v11 instimulando: AF 81v22-23 estimulando;  
 PI 425v12 parientes y haçendas: T2 808v20 y Parientes y parientes;  
 PI 425v17 reduçion: AF 81v27 reducion;  
 PI 425v22-23 reduçion: T2 809r14, AF 82r3 reduçion;  
 PI 425v27 rodeadas: T2 809r21 Rodeados;  
 PI 425v28 las: AF 82r7 los;  
 PI 425v32 el Parral: AF 82r9 *omitted* el;  
 PI 425v33 espeçial: T2 809v7 expecial;  
 PI 425v36 lo que se perdiere: T2 809v11 lo Perdido;  
 PI 426r11 çiento: T2 810r5 aciento;  
 PI 426r20 y avio: T2 810r17 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 426r20-21 y que mientras: T2 810r18 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 426r21 reduçion: AF 82r27 reducion;  
 AF 82r29-AF 82v1 *repeated* la;  
 PI 426r24 hecha: T2 810v1 hecho;  
 PI 426r27 ymbiar: T1 454v16, AF 82v3 embiar;  
 PI 426r28 la dicha revaja: T2 810v7 *omitted*: la dicha;  
 PI 426r29 and 36 ymbio: AF 82v4 and 7 emvio;  
 PI 426r35 las platas: T2 810v17 para las platas;  
 PI 426r36 ella: AF 82v8 ellas;  
 PI 426v2 ella: T1 455r7 ello;  
 PI 426v3 hecho: T2 811r1 hechos;  
 PI 426v11 sancta: T1 455r21, T2 811r11, AF 82v16 santa;  
 PI 426v12 çiento y quarenta: T2 811r13 ciento y cinquenta, AF 82v17  
 150;  
 PI 426v15 sustentar: AF 82v18 substtenttar;  
 PI 426v18 reduçion: T2 811r20-21 reduçion;  
 T1 456r11, T2 811v6 and AF 82v23 *omitted*: Presidio [*left margin of*  
*PI 426v24*];  
 PI 427r5 salieron: T2 812r15 salieren;  
 PI 427r6 de la dicha: AF 83r9 *omitted* la;  
 PI 427r6 sustentar: AF 83r9 substtenttar;

PI 427r11 deste: T1 456v2, AF 83r14 de este;  
 PI 427r14 deste: T1 456v6, T2 812v6-7, AF 83r16 de este;  
 PI 427r16 reduçion: T1 456v10 reduccion;  
 PI 427r17 mismas: T1 456v11 mesmas;  
 T1 457r10 *crossed out*: grandes;  
 PI 427r24 ymbie: AF 83r23 emvie;  
 PI 427r25 satisfaçion: T2 813r2, AF 83r24 satisfaçion;  
 PI 427r30 el armeria: AF 83r27 la Armeria;  
 PI 427r36 pessaran: T1 457r16 pasaran;  
 PI 427r39 mejor forma: T2 813r22 *omitted*: mejor;  
 PI 427r40 de a entender: AF 83v6 y de attender;  
 PI 427r41 reduçion: T2 813v4, AF 83v7 reduçion;  
 PI 427v1 ymbiara: AF 83r7 emviará;  
 PI 427v1 privilegios: AF 83r7 privilegios;  
 PI 427v6 deste: T1 457v8, T2 813v12, AF 83v11 de este;  
 PI 427v7 se le satisfagan: T2 813v13-14 se les satisfagan;  
 PI 427v11 promptitud: T2 813v20 prontitud;  
 PI 427v16 reduçion: AF 83v20 reduccion;  
 PI 427v21 pedimiento: AF 83v25 pedimento;  
 T1 458r10, T2 814r16, AF 83v27 *omitted*: testado =podido= no valga;  
 T1 458r11, T2 814r16, AF 83v27 *omitted*: Su Exçelencia Señores:  
 Agurto, San Martin, Delgado, Moreno, Vargas, Maldonado.  
 Presente[\*s los] Señores fiscales Prado, Mendriçe, Deza, Rosal i  
 Gusman;  
 PI 427v *left margin, line 14*: demarcacion de la tierra: T2 814r16, AF  
 83v27 *omitted*;  
 T1 458r11 *left margin*: Memorial del | [\*R]everendo Padre  
 Predicador | Procurador y Visitador | [\*G]eneral de las Provincias | de  
 la nueva Me | xico fray francisco | [\*d]e Ayeta; T2 814r17 *omitted*  
*lines 2-3 from* PI 428r;  
 AF 83v27 *omitted lines 1-3 from* PI 428r;  
 PI 428r12 consideradose: T2 814v6 considerandose;  
 PI 428r14 promptamente: T2 814v9-10 prompta mente;  
 PI 428r17 baupçiados: T1 458v4, T2 814v13 Baptissados;  
 PI 428r20 casi: AF 84r11 quasi;  
 PI 428r22 unirse: T1 458v4, T2 814v19 venirse;  
 PI 428r24 el Parral: AF 84r14 *omitted* el;  
 PI 428v3 sancto: T2 815r7, AF 84r18 santo;  
 PI 428v7 del: T2 815r12-13 de el;  
 PI 428v8 desta: T1 459r1, AF 84r22 de esta;  
 PI 428v8 del: T1 459r1 de el;  
 PI 428v8-9 satisfaçion: T1 459r2, AF 84r23 satisfaccion;  
 PI 428v9 conduçion: T1 459r3 conduçion;  
 PI 428v16 se aya: T2 815v3 se halla;

PI 428v25-26 p[rom]ptamente: T2 815v16-17 pronta mente;  
 PI 428v33 reçivira: T2 816r2-3 Reseuira;  
 PI 429r2 de esta: T2 816r5 desta;  
 T2 816r8-12 Mexico y henero veinte y quatro de mill seisçientos y ochenta y vn años a junta general de hazienda. Rubricado del Exçelentissimo Señor Conde de Paderes Marques de la laguna; T2 816r13 *left margin*: Junta general de 24 de henero de 81; PI 429r5 de veinte y quatro de: D 87r4 *omitted*;  
 D *omitted lines 6-16 from PI 429r*;  
 PI 429r6 mil seisçientos: T2 816r14-15 mill y seisçientos;  
 PI 429r13 Baupista: T2 816v3 Baptista;  
 PI 429r14 de este: T2 816v4 deste;  
 PI 429r16 de esta: T2 816v8 desta;  
 PI 429r16 pedimiento: AF 84v25 pedimento;  
 PI 429r16 pedimiento del Padre Visitador: D 87r5-6 pedimento del Visitador;  
 PI 429r20 aquellas provinçias: D 87r9, AF 84v28 aquella provincia;  
 PI 429r22 satisfaçion: T2 816v17 satisfaçion, D 87r11-12 satisfacion;  
 PI 429r23 de esta: T2 816v19 desta;  
 PI 429r26 de este: T2 817r2 deste;  
 PI 429v4-5 almoneda: D 87r24 amoneda;  
 PI 429v5 ponedores: T2 817r13 ponedores;  
 T1 459v17, T2 816r8 *left margin*: Decreto;  
 T1 459v19-21 Rubricado del exçelentissimo señor Conde de Paredes Marques de la Laguna;  
 T1 459v22 *left margin*: Junta general | de hazienda;  
 T1 460v16, T2 817r19, AF 85r12 *omitted*: Su Exçelencia Señores Agurto, San Martin, Vargas. Presentes los Señores Fisca[\*les] de Su Magestad Prado, Mendrice, Deza, Gusman;  
 T1 460v17 *left margin*: Real Liçenzia;  
 T1 461v3-5 a las espaldas de dicha Real Çedula estan quatro Rubricas de los Señores del conssejo;  
 T2 817r19 *left margin*: Real zedula | de 14 de feurero de 80; PI 429v6 fatoria: D 87v1 Factoría, AF 85r10 facttoria;  
 PI 429v8 Francisco de Ayeta: D 87v2-3 Antonio de Ayeta;  
 PI 431r2 la orden: T2 817r20 del orden;  
 PI 431r3 de la Nueva Mexico: D 87v8, AF 85r15 del nuevo México;  
 PI 431r5 de Mexico: T2 817v6 *omitted*;  
 PI 431r5 dichas provinçias: D 87v13 *omitted* dichas;  
 PI 431r5 suplicandome: D 87v14, AF 85r19 suponiendome;  
 PI 431r6 conzederle: D 87v16, AF 85r21 concedersele;  
 PI 431r7 de las Indias: D 87v18, AF 85r22 de Indias;  
 PI 431r11 a el efecto: D 88r4, AF 85r29 á efecto;

PI 431r12 le haga: D 88r6, AF 85r30 la haga, T2 818r6 se haga;  
 PI 431r14-15 a catorçe de febrero: D 88r8, AF 85v2 y Febrero 14.;  
 PI 431r18 *Don Joseph*: D 88r9-10 José, AF 85v3 *omitted Don*;  
 T2 818r13-14 señalado con quatro Rubricas de los señores del  
 consejo;  
 T1 461v6, T2 818r15 *left margin*: :Patente;  
 T1 461v5, T2 818r15, AF 85v4 *omitted*: Duplicado. Lizençia a Fray  
 Françisco de Ayeta de la orden de San Françisco residente en las  
 provinçias de la Nueva Mexico para venir a su costa a estos reynos  
 Corregido [*rubric*];  
 PI 433r1 Joan: T2 818r15, D 88r11, AF 85v5 Juan;  
 PI 433r3 *Sancto*: AF 85v8 *omitted*;  
 PI 433r4-5 *custodia* salud: T2 818v1 justicia sad;  
 PI 433r6 esta essa: T2 818v3 *omitted*: esta;  
 PI 433r6 Santa ... Santo: T1 461v18-19 sancta ... sancto;  
 PI 433r7 esta: D 88r21 esa;  
 PI 433r8-9 mucho tiempo a: D 88r24 *omitted a*;  
 PI 433r9 mesma: D 88v1, AF 85v17 misma;  
 PI 433r12 aumentos: T1 462r4 augmentos;  
 PI 433r13 estraños: AF 85v22 extraños;  
 PI 433r14 *Paternidad*: T1 462r8 *Reverençia*;  
 PI 433r17 desta: T1 462r16, D 88v15 AF 85v27 de esta;  
 PI 433r19 *Paternidad*: T1 462r20, T2 819r8, D 88v18, AF 86r1  
*Reverençia*;  
 PI 433r19 mesmos: D 88v18, AF 86r1 mismos;  
 PI 433r21 refrendadas: T2 819r12 refrentadas;  
 PI 433r21 deste: T1 462r26, D 88v22, AF 86r3 de este;  
 PI 433r21-22 conmisariato: T2 819r14 conmisiriato, D 88v22, AF  
 86r3-4 Comisariato;  
 PI 433r24 *Paternidad*: T1 462v4, D 89r2, AF 86r6 *Reverençia*;  
 PI 433r24 santo: T1 462v6 sancto;  
 PI 433r25 *Paternidad*: T1 462v8, T2 819v1, D 89r5, AF 86r8  
*Reverençia*;  
 PI 433r27 *porque*: T2 819v6 para;  
 PI 433r28 cada: T2 819v6 a cada;  
 PI 433r28 vageaçiones: T2 819v8 vejaçiones;  
 T1 462v25, T2 818r15, AF 85v4 *omitted*: Padre Fray Françisco |  
 Ayeta Custodio | [\*de]l Nuevo Mexi | [\*co] y Procurador General de |  
 [\*la] Santa Provinçia | [\*del] Santo Evangelio | [\*de] las demas de |  
 [\*la Nu]eva España;  
 PI 433v1 se escusarian: T2 819v18 y se escusarian;  
 PI 433v2 *Paternidad*: T1 462v28, T2 819v20, D 89r20, AF 86r19  
*Reverençia*;  
 PI 433v2 no caresca: T2 819v20 *omitted*;

PI 433v3 azete: T2 820r3 azepte, D 89r22, AF 86r20 accepte;  
 PI 433v9-10 de Nueva [Espa]ña: D 89v10-11 de la nueva España;  
 PI 433v12 Joan: T2 820v2, D 89v13, AF 86v2 Juan;  
 T2 820v6 *left margin*: Razon;  
 T2 820v9 *omitted line 2 from* PI 434r;  
 T1 463v2 Pedimiento | del Padre visi | tador y Procurador | *general*  
 fray françisco | de Ayeta, T2 820v9 *left margin*: Pedimiento del |  
 Reverendo Padre fray francisco ayeta;  
 AF 86v3 *omitted footnote from PI 433v and lines 1-3 from PI 434r*;  
 PI 434r6 de el: T1 463v6, T2 820v12, D 89v18, AF 86v6 del;  
 PI 434r14-15 prontamente: T2 821r3, D 90r2 prontamente;  
 PI 434r17 patente: T2 821r6 presente;  
 PI 434r18 escrito: T2 821r7-8, D 90r5 escrito;  
 PI 434r21 de esta: T2 821r11 desta;  
 PI 434r25 en punto: T2 821r17 en vn punto;  
 PI 434r8-9 *left margin*: de la prouincia: D 90v22, AF 87r17 *omitted*;  
 PI 434r12 *left margin*: proveer: AF 87r18 prover;  
 PI 434v1-2 representarlo: T2 821r20 representado;  
 PI 434v7 coluna: T1 464r12, D 90r21, AF 86v27 columna;  
 PI 434v8 solo: T2 821v9 so;  
 PI 434v11 medio: AF 87r2 medio medio;  
 PI 434v13-14 insinuaciones: T2 821v16-17 ysinuaciones;  
 PI 434v17 pide y suplica: D 90v7, AF 87r7 pido y suplico;  
 PI 434v24 penalides: T1 464v6, T2 822r9-10, AF 87r11 and D 90v13-  
 14 penalidades;  
 PI 434v26 dubdar: T2 822r12, D 90v15-16, AF 87r12 dudar;  
 PI 434v26-27 en todo con el açie[r]to: T2 822r13 con todo el açierto;  
 T2 822r16 *left margin*: Decreto | 28 de henero de 681;  
 T1 464v14 *left margin*: Decreto;  
 T1 464v17 *left margin* Respuesta del Señor | fiscal de su | Magestad,  
 T2 822r20 *left margin* Respuesta del | Señor fiscal | de 28 henero de  
81;  
 PI 434v8 *left margin*: sancta: T2 822v18, D 91r7, AF 87r23 santa;  
 PI 434v14 *left margin*: de esta: T2 823r1 desta;  
 PI 434v27 *left margin*: de dejar: D 91r16 *omitted* de;  
 PI 434v34 *left margin*: es preciso: D 91r23 expresó;  
 PI 434v35 *footnote*: suplica: T2 823v2 se suplica;  
 PI 435r2 le toca: T2 823v6, D 91v3, AF 87v5 *omitted*: le;  
 PI 435r3 los ordenes: D 91v4, AF 87v6 las órdenes;  
 PI 435r8 reduccion: T2 823v16 Restauracion, D 91v10, AF 87v11  
 reducion;  
 PI 435r9 se arrezgara: D 91v11-12, AF 87v12 se arriesgará;  
 PI 435r16 experiencias: T2 824r8-9 experiencia;  
 PI 435r16 sucesso: AF 87v18 sucesso;

PI 435r18 mesmo: T2 824r12, D 91v22, AF 87v20 mismo;  
 PI 435r21 fructo: D 92r2 fructo;  
 PI 435r23 sancta: T1 466r9, T2 824v2, AF 87v25 santa;  
 PI 435r23 sancta fee: D 92r5 santa Fé;  
 PI 435r26 en otra: D 92r8 con otra;  
 PI 435r30 successo: AF 88r1 successo;  
 PI 435v1 en dicha: T2 824v20 de dicha;  
 PI 435v2 de este: T2 825r1 desta;  
 PI 435v3 sancta: T2 825r3, AF 88r5 santa;  
 PI 435v13 mesmo: D 92v6, AF 88r13 mismo;  
 PI 435v14-15 de la data: D 92v9 *omitted*;  
 PI 435v23 le ha puesto: D 92v22-23 se le ha puesto;  
 PI 435v26 y a [que]: T2 826r8 *omitted*: y;  
 PI 435v27 e inuiarlo: AF 88r30 é enviarlo;  
 PI 436r1 *repeated*: como va;  
 T1 467v5, T2 826v1 *omitted*: Testado “el socorr”, “que p”, no valga;  
 T1 467v7 *left margin*: Decreto,  
 T2 826v3 *left margin*: Decreto | 30 de henero de 81;  
 T1 467v9-11 Rubricado del exçelentissimo señor Conde de Paredes  
 Marques de la laguna, T2 822r18-19 Rubricado del exçelentissimo  
 señor Conde de Paderes Marques de la laguna; T1 467v12 *left*  
*margin*: Junta general, T2 826v7 *left margin*: Junta *general* | de 1º  
 feurero de 681;  
 PI 436r6 Don Martin: D 93r14, AF 88v5 *omitted* Don;  
 AF 88v6 *omitted lines 7-8 from PI 436r*;  
 PI 436r10 mil seisçientos: T2 826v9 mill y seisçientos;  
 PI 436r10 años: AF 88v7 *omitted*;  
 PI 436r12 de Alcantara: D 93r18 de Calatrava;  
 PI 436r13 ffructus: D 93r18 Fuctus;  
 PI 436r13 de esta: T2 826v14 desta;  
 PI 436r16 Baptista: AF 88v12 Baupptistta;  
 PI 436r17 de este: T2 826v19 deste;  
 PI 436r18 de deza: D 93r23 *omitted* de;  
 PI 436v2 de esta: T2 827r1 desta;  
 T1 468r5 *left margin*: Notificação, T2 827r8 *left margin*:  
 Nottificazion | 7 de feurero de 681;  
 PI 436v2-3 pe[di]miento: D 93v2, AF 88v16 pedimento;  
 PI 436v7 dias del mes: D 93v7, AF 88v20 *omitted*;  
 PI 436v7 mil seisientos: T2 827r9-10 mill y seisçientos;  
 PI 436v9 antes desta al Reverendisimo: D 93v10 antecedente á el  
 Reverendisimo;  
 PI 436v9 desta: T1 468r9, T2 827r13 de esta;  
 PI 436v9 foxa antes desta al: AF 88v22 foxa anttecedentte á el;

PI 436v10 del serafico san Francisco: D 93v11-12 serafico de *Nuestro Padre* San Francisco;  
PI 436v11 a el: T2 827r18, AF 88v26 al;  
PI 436v11 a el *Reverendo Padre*: D 93v11-14 al *Padre*;  
PI 436v12 del Nuevo Mex[ico]: D 93v16-17, AF 88v27 de la nueva México;  
PI 436v14 [a el]: T1 468r20, AF 88v29-30 a el, T2 827v2 al;  
PI 436v14 las hordenes: D 93v21, AF 89r1 los órdenes;  
PI 436v16 obedesco: T1 468r26-27, T2 827v9, D 93v24, AF 89r3 obedeçia;  
PI 436v16-17 [con] orden: T1 468r28 en orden, T2 827v10, D 94r1, AF 89r4 con orden;  
PI 436v17 a el: T1 468r28 al;  
PI 436v18 del: D 94r4, AF 89r6 de él;  
PI 436v19 fee: D 94r6 fé;  
PI 436v23 Joseph: D 94r8 José;  
T1 468v3, T2 827v19, D 94r9, AF 89r9 *omitted lines from PI 436v25-27*: Su *Excelencia*. *Presentes* Agurto, Delgado, Vargas. *Presentes* los *Señores Fiscales* de su *Magestad* Me[\*ndrice] Deza, Rosal, Gusman.

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## Appendices

The alphabetical order for toponyms, terms for nationality or origin and anthroponyms takes into account the current spelling of those names. For instance, “Yndias” goes under “i”, not “y”, “Vonilla” goes under “b” and not under “v”, immediately before “Bonillo”.

“Beracruz” goes under “v” because of today’s Veracruz, while “Chruz” is placed under “c” and not “ch”. “Suñi” will be found under “z” due to the current spelling “Zuñi”. For the anthroponyms, we place the first surname as the point of reference. In toponyms and terms for nationality or origin “San” is placed under “s”, but in anthroponyms “San” or “Santo” is subordinated to the name. E. g. “Sancto Job” goes under “j”, not under “s”.

## Toponyms

pueblo del **Alameda** (317r1), (326v21)  
paraje del **Alamillo** (316v24),  
    pueblo del **Alamillo** (319r26)  
    **Alamillo** (364r16), (404r23-24)  
Santa *Provincia* de **Los Angeles** (433r1-2)  
paraxe del **Arroyo de San Marcos** (313r10)  
**Arroyo de Tesuque** (308v8), (311r11), (313v5), (315r11)  
**Camino Real** (410v36)  
    La **Cañada** (308r5, 21-22), (309r27-28), (327r14),  
    **Cañada** (325v18), (327r16), (336v18), (409r9-10)  
**Carretas** (383r18, 25), (383v18), (387v27)  
    conversion de... **Carretas** (410v17)  
**Casas Grandes** (348v10), (359v13), (361v17), (362r2), (383r18), (383v34)  
    (387r17), (390r8), (393v21-22), (404v18-19), (410v5)  
    Balle de San Antonio de **Casas Grandes** (383r23)  
    conversion de [**Casas**] **Grandes** (410v16-17)  
    [veçin]dad de **Casas Grandes** (410v18-19)  
**Castilla** (435v5)  
    **reinos de Castilla** (435v28)  
    **reynos de Castilla** (434r16-17), [*left margin and footnote* (434v10)]  
La **Çienega** (309v30)  
**Cochití** (322v8)  
**Cuia Mungue** (306r13), (308r23)  
**Emex** (305v20),  
    **Los Emes** (316r38-v1), (317r18)  
**España** (433r31), (433v6)  
paraje que llaman de **Fray Cristobal** (316v13-14), (347r5), (349r30),  
    paraje que llaman de **Fray Cristoval** (317v19), (361r15), (365r23)

paraje de **Fray Cristobal** (335r27-28), (335r30), (335v19), (343r1), (409r33)  
 paraje de **Fray Christoval** (341r5),  
 paraje y plasa de armas que llaman de **Fray Cristobal** (336v1),  
 el puesto llamado de **Fray Cristoval** (392v3)  
**Galisteo** (309v12, 14, 29-30), (310r15), (315r15,17, 20, 21-22),  
 (315r36), (315v9), (336v23), (350v21), (408v34)  
**Galizia** (388v6)  
**Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** del Passo del Rio del Norte (347r1-2)  
**Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** del Passo (347v34)  
 convento de **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** del Passo (348r10-11), (348v1-2)  
**Guadalupe** del Paso (359v9-10)  
**Guadalupe del Passo** [*mission*] (394v3)  
 conversion de **Guadalupe del Passo** (404r21-22)  
**Guadalupe del Passo del Rio del Norte** (412v30-31),  
 (415r15-16)  
 convercion de **Guadalupe** (368v1)  
**Guadalupe** [*mission*] (394r19)  
 combersion de **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** del Passo  
 (361v9)  
 comb[ersion] de **Guadalupe** del Passo (361v17-18)  
 pueblo de **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** del Paso (362r30-362v1)  
 Pueblo de **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe** del Passo (383v30-31)  
 converssion que llaman de **Guadalupe** (381r20)  
**Guazavas** (387r15)  
**Indias** (431r7), (433v16), (434r19)  
**Indias occidentales** (433r1-2)  
**Yndias** (398r2), (398v2), (425r5), (433r22), (433v13), [*left margin and footnote*] (434v7)], (435v24)  
**La Ysleta** (311v29, 33), (312r14), (312v24), (317v27), (312r1),  
 (321v30), (326v16, 23-34), (330r19), (332r25), (336r7), (337r18), (349r20),  
 (364r16), (392v5)  
 La **Isleta** (314v25), (316r25), (316v2, 5), (317r17, 18, 19),  
 (323r27), (336r10), (379v10), (409r31)  
**Ysleta** (316v1)  
**Janos** (383r25)  
**Jentiles** [*provincia*] (383v18)  
**Leon** [*on the cover*]  
**Madrid** (399r2), (431r14), (433r7, 30)  
**Mexico** (345v31), (385r21), (385v13), (391r12, 18), (391v7),  
 (395r26), (398r4), (400v4), (408r [*upper left margin*]), (415r6)  
 (420v10), (428r2), (431r5, 9), (434r1), (436r3)  
 çiudad de **Mexico** (369r3), (398r6), (412v11), (418v24),

(436v7)  
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     Reberendo Padre Predicador Fray **Joseph Montez de Oca**  
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     **Diego Montoya** (354v3)  
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     **Antonio Montoya** (351v23)  
**Felipe Montoya** (352r1, 3)  
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**Alonso de M[o]raga** (340r21)  
     Capitan **Alonso de Moraga** (355v8, 11)  
 Fray **Luis de Morales** (308v10)  
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     Fray **Francisco Muñoz**, Difinidor Subrogado (338r14),  
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     **Lo[renzo] Muza** (331v8-9)  
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**Pasqual Naranjo** de color pardo (363v10)  
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     **Christoval Nieto** (375v13)  
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     hord[en] del Serafico San Francisco y Co[misario General de  
     estas p]rovincias de la Nueva [E]spaña (436v9-10)  
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**Cristoval Holguin** (356r30),  
     **Cristobal Holgin** (356v2)  
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**Pedro Omtua** (tegua) (305r20)  
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**Gonsalo de Paredes** (319v35), (351r21)  
     Capitan **Gonsalo de Paderes** (351r18)  
**Fray Diego de Parraga** (321v31), (323v24), (335v3),  
     **Padre Predicador Fra[ñ Diego] de Parraga** (323v2-3),  
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     **Sarjento Mayor Andrez de Peralta**, *Justiçia Mayor y Capitan*  
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 Capitan **Alonso Perez Granillo** *Alcalde Mayor de la jurisdiccion de*  
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 Padre Predicador Fray **Juan Pio** (305r15, 16), (306v7, 9, 30),  
     **Joan Pio** (321v26)  
*theniente* de **Po He Yemu** (305v23-24), (311r13-14)  
**Poquete** [*Indian from Tesuque*] (313v5)  
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**Alonso Ramires** (319v34), (352v17)  
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 Don Fray **Payo de Rivera** Arcobispo de la Yglesia Metropolitana de  
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**Felipe Romero** (322v26),  
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 testigo **Nicolas Ruiz** (384r12, 14)  
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     Padre Predicador Frai **Tomas de Tobalina** (323v1),  
     Fray **Thomas de Tobalina** (323v21), (338r12), (403v13)  
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     Algusil Mayor Rexidor de primer voto y pendolero **Gregorio**  
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**Francisco de Velasco**, *Secretario* de cavildo (350r15)  
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**Francisco Xavier** Maestro de Campo, Alcalde Hordinario de esta  
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**Salvador Samorano** (357r18), (375v19)  
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Fray **Joan de Zavaleta** (323v23), (338r17)  
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**Don Lorenzo Carrasco de Vetancurt** [*witness*] (T1 468v10)

**Don Diego Cortes de Puebla** [*witness*] (T1 468v10)

**Gabriel de la Cuadra** *Scrivano Real* y Receptor (T1 469r4-5)

Exçelentissimo Señor Conde de Paredes **Marques de la [La]guna**  
(T1 468v7-8)

**Augusto Sariñana** [*witness*] (T1 468v10-11)

**Manuel Sariñana** *scrivano* del Rey Nuestro Señor ofiçial mayor y  
theniente de ella (T1 468v6), (T1 468v16-17, 19)

**Miguel Leonardo de Saya** *Scrivano Real* (T1 469r6-7)

**Carlos de Siguenza** *Scrivano* de Su Magestad (T1 469r8-9)

**Don Pedro Velasques de la Cadena** *cavallero* del orden de Santiago (T1 468v5), (T1  
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## **Anthroponyms from Appendix T2**

**Juan de Abarca** (testigo) (T2 828r6)

**Don Lorenzo Carrasco de Vetancurt** [*witness*] (T2 828r5-6)

**Don Diego Cortes de Puebla** [*witness*] (T2 828r6)

**Antonio F[\*ernandez] de Gusman** *Scrivano Real* (T2 828r22-23)

**Antonio Ximenez de Gusman** *Scrivano Real* y Receptor (T2  
828r24-25)

Exçelentissimo Señor Conde de Paderes **Marques de la Laguna**  
Virrey de esta Nueva España (T2 828r2-3)

**Manuel Sariñana** *escrivano* del Rey Nuestro Señor ofiçial maior y  
theniente de ella (T2 827v22-23-828r1), (T2 828r12, 14)

**Carlos de Siguenza** *Scrivano* de Su Magestad (T2 828r26-27)

**Don Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena** *cavallero* del horden de Santiago (T2 827v21-22), (T2  
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*FINIS, DEO GRATIAS*