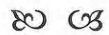


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Revolt of the Pueblo Indians
of New Mexico and Otermín's
Attempted Reconquest,
1680-1682

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Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of
New Mexico and Otermín's
Attempted Reconquest
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*Autos Drawn Up as a Result of the Rebellion of the Christian Indians. [Santa Fe, August 9, 1680.]*¹

In the villa of Santa Fe, New Mexico, capital of this kingdom and these provinces, on the ninth day of the month of August, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and the provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, states: That he has just received three messages, one from the reverend father visitador, Fray Juan Bernal, another from the father preacher, Fray Fernando de Velasco, and the third from Captain Marcos de Dehezas, alcalde mayor and war captain of the jurisdiction of Los Taos, all of which messages notify his lordship that the Christian Indians of this kingdom are convoked, allied, and confederated for the purpose of rebelling, forsaking obedience to his Majesty, and apostatizing from the holy faith; and that they desire to kill the ecclesiastical ministers and all the Spaniards, women, and children, destroying the whole population of this kingdom. They are to execute this treason and uprising on the thirteenth of the current month, as they have disposed and planned among themselves. All this has become known through the Indian governors and captains of the pueblos of Tagnos [Tanos], San Marcos, and La Ciénega, who likewise have appeared in this villa to report the aforesaid, saying that they had learned of it through two Indians, natives of the pueblo of Tesuque of the Tegua nation, one named Nicolás Catua and the other Pedro Omtua. They declared, alike through the said three messages as well as through the governors and captains of Tanos, San Marcos, and La Ciénega, that they had come, sent by the said Tanos, to convoke and advise the Indians of the said uprising and treason. All the nations of this kingdom were now implicated in it, forming a

1. *Autos tocantes al Alsamiento de Los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico*, Archivo General y Público, México, Sección de Provincias Internas, Tomo 37. These translations have been made from a transcript of this expediente in the possession of Dr. Charles W. Hackett. Unless otherwise indicated, the documents that follow, to the end of part I, are from the same source.

confederation with the heathen Apaches so that, on the night of the thirteenth of the current month, they might carry out their disobedience, perfidious treason, and atrocities. The said señor governor and captain-general, having heard all this, with the haste which the matter demands dispatched Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo to the said pueblo of Tesuque to arrest the said two Indians of Tesuque. Then, without any delay whatever, the said señor governor and captain-general sent his orders and notices of the matter to all the alcaldes mayores of the jurisdictions of this kingdom, so that they might exercise the care that the case demands. In pursuance and execution of the said order, there appeared under arrest in these casas reales the said two Indians of Tesuque mentioned in this *auto*, from each of whom his lordship, in order to proceed juridically with the case and to learn the truth regarding the uprising, received the oath in legal form, before God, our Lord, and a sign of the holy cross, they being informed of its seriousness through the interpretation of Agustín Griego, a Spaniard who speaks the language of the said Teguas Indians. They being given to understand that they have been arrested for going to the pueblos of San Cristóbal and to Los Pecos, sent by the people of their nation and on behalf of all the other nations to discuss the treason and rebellion in which they were engaged, in order to carry it out on the night of the thirteenth against the clergy and the Spaniards generally, both of them in their replies stated that they were sent by two Indians of Tesuque named Pedro Situ and Diego Misu, by whom they were charged strictly to be diligent and to go with all secrecy, they giving them a deerskin thong with two knots in it, which signified the two days intervening before the execution of their treason. Being asked what reason or motive they had for rebelling and losing respect for God and obedience to his Majesty, they replied that they knew nothing because they were youths, and that among the old men many juntas had been held with the Indians of San Juan, Santa Clara, Nambé, Soxuaque [Pojoaque], Emex [Jemez], and other nations. They said that the most that has come to their knowledge is that it is a matter of common report among all the Indians that there had come to them from very far away toward

the north a letter from an Indian lieutenant of Po he yemu to the effect that all of them in general should rebel, and that any pueblo that would not agree to it they would destroy, killing all the people. It was reported that this Indian lieutenant of Po he yemu was very tall, black, and had very large yellow eyes, and that everyone feared him greatly. They state that they have declared all they know; that it is true that the Indians of San Cristóbal were unwilling to receive the message they brought and reported it to the rest of their nation, which is why it has come to the notice of the señor governor and captain-general. What they have stated is the truth and what they know, under burden of their oath, which they affirm and ratify, their statements being read to them and explained through the interpreter. They did not know their ages nor how to sign. His lordship signed it with Alcalde Juan Lucero, Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, and Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana, who served as witnesses, so that they might proceed immediately without any delay to adopt measures that are conducive to the service of the two Majesties. He so provided, ordered, and signed it before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto [of Antonio de Otermin. Santa Fe, August 10, 1680].

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the 10th day of the month of August, 1680. At about seven o'clock in the morning there appeared in this villa Pedro Hidalgo, a resident of it, who came in flight from the pueblo of Tesuque, because of having escaped from the Indian natives and those of the pueblo of Cura Mungue [Cuyamunque] of the Tegua nation. The said Pedro Hidalgo states that, coming in company with the father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, to say mass for the said Indians, the latter assailed Father Fray Juan Pío and Pedro Hidalgo and killed the father; and the said Pedro Hidalgo escaped. In order to verify the truth of this, I order the person named herein to appear so that he may affirm and declare under oath what he

saw and learned, and what happened to him. I so provided, ordered, and signed, before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Declaration of Pedro Hidalgo, soldier. [Santa Fe, August 10, 1680.]

In the villa of Santa Fe, on the said day, month, and year, for the continuation of these *autos*, his lordship caused to appear before him Pedro Hidalgo, soldier, a resident of this villa, from whom he received the oath in due legal form before God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might know and as he might be questioned. Having been told to state and declare what happened to him, what he saw, and what he learned, as regards himself and the father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, and the Teguas Indians of Tesuque, he said that what happened is that, this witness having set out from this villa at dawn this morning in company with the father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, for the pueblo of Tesuque, they reached it by daylight and found the said pueblo empty of people and of the few cattle which the Indians had; and that this witness and the said father passing on in search of the people of the pueblo, because the father was going to say mass for them, they came up with the people about a quarter of a league from the said pueblo, where they found many Indians wearing war paint, with their bows, arrows, lances, and shields. The said father went up to them, saying, "What is this, children; are you mad? Do not disturb yourselves; I will help you and die a thousand deaths for you." The said father and this witness with him went on to summon and detain the mass of the people who were going toward the sierra, so that they would go back to the pueblo where he could say mass for them. The said father went on to one side toward a ravine, telling this witness to go by the ridge to intercept the said people. In a little while he saw an Indian named El Obi come out of the ravine with the shield which the said father had been carrying, and he saw also the interpreter of the pueblo, named Nicolás, painted with clay and

spattered with blood. These Indians and others assailed the witness, grasping the reins of the horse he was riding; they surrounded him, taking away his sword and hat, whereupon he grasped his harquebus, and, making good his escape, spurred his horse down the hill, dragging along those who had hold of him. He broke away from them and descended to the plain, where they followed him, discharging many arrows, none of which reached or harmed him, and he escaped safely. Seeing that the said father preacher, Fray Juan Pío, did not again appear, he judged him to be dead, whereupon he came to this villa as quickly as possible to give the news. The witness knew that, on the evening before, the said Indians had killed Cristóbal de Herrera. What he has said is the truth, and what happened and what he saw; under charge of his oath he affirms and ratifies his statement, it being read to him. He declares he is about thirty years of age, and signs with the señor governor and captain-general before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); PEDRO HIDALGO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto [of Antonio de Otermín. Santa Fe, August 10, 1680].

Then immediately, on the said day, month, and year stated above, his lordship, the señor governor and captain-general, said: That he has sent his orders to the alcaldes mayores to the effect that they give the news in their districts and go to the defense of the holy temples, to prevent their being profaned by the enemy, and that such a force of soldiers as they can muster be raised as quickly as possible, since the settlers are widely separated from one another on their estancias; and so that the same care and vigilance may be maintained in the villa, he ordered the secretary of government and war to have assembled in these casas reales all the people and families of the villa, its jurisdiction, and environs, so that together we can defend ourselves and oppose the enemy if the occasion shall arise. There are to be brought out immediately all the harquebuses, blunderbusses, swords, daggers, shields, and munitions which are in the armory and magazine, given by his Majesty,

to arm and equip the youths who have none, so that they may come with them into his Majesty's royal service. Guards, watches, and sentries are to be stationed to meet any emergency that may arise in the royal service, and likewise a squad shall be placed on guard in the church for the protection and custody of the holy sacrament and the images, sacred vessels, and things pertaining to divine worship. All this shall be done by the secretary, Francisco Xavier, alcalde ordinario of this villa. I¹ so provided, ordered, and signed it before the said secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). By order of his lordship. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Certification. [Santa Fe, August 10, 1680.]

I, Francisco Xavier, secretary of government and war of these provinces, alcalde ordinario de primer voto of this villa, certify and attest that within a period of about four hours the above mandate of the señor governor and captain-general was executed, and that all is arranged and disposed as his lordship orders. So that it may be recorded, I give this certification and sign it with two witnesses, who are Captain Francisco Xavier and Alférez Juan de Carbajal y Cangas. Witness, FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); witness, JUAN DE CANGAS (rubric). In testimony whereof I affix my accustomed sign and rubric. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Judicial process and declaration. [Santa Fe, August 10, 1680.]

In the said villa on the said day, month, and year. At about five o'clock in the afternoon there arrived at this villa Alférez Nicolás Lucero and Antonio Gómez, soldiers, who came fleeing through the mountains, because of enemy rebels of the Tegua nation having come out upon them, attempting to kill them on the road, discharging many arrows at them, and shooting a carbine at the said alférez. The soldiers were sent by the alcalde mayor of Los Taos with a report of the conspiracy and rebellion of the Indians of that nation and of Pecurías. When the said men reached the jurisdiction of La Cañada, Sargento

1. The construction of the document changes from the third to the first person. The same change occurs in many of the documents that follow.

Mayor Luis de Quintana, its alcalde mayor, sent me word by them that in the pueblo of Santa Clara the Indians had killed on Friday—correction, Saturday—at daybreak, Felipe López and Marcos Ramos, soldiers who were serving as escort, with six other men, under the officer, Captain Francisco de Anaya. They caught all of them, attacking them treacherously under promise of safety. The said officer and five others escaped with the horse drove that they had been watching over in the pasture, and the said Marcos Ramos and Felipe López were left dead. The said alcalde mayor, Luis de Quintana, also advised that he has assembled all the people of his jurisdiction at his house and that in the pueblo of Santa Clara there have gathered a large number of the rebellious Christians, alike from the pueblos of the Teguas and from Los Jemez, and that the said Indians are going out in mounted squadrons and gathering up the cattle and property from the fields and houses of the Spaniards, committing such iniquities, atrocities, and robberies quite shamelessly. So that this may be recorded, I order it set down as a judicial proceeding, and I order that Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez go with a squadron of Spanish soldiers to La Cañada to see and inquire into what has happened, alike in that jurisdiction and in all the pueblos of Tesuque, Cuyamunque, Pojoaque, and the rest, in order to ascertain the damages and atrocious murders which the treacherous rebels have committed and to provide the remedy which is most convenient. I so provided, ordered, and signed, with the said Nicolás Lucero and Antonio Gómez, before the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); ANTONIO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto and declaration of Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez.
[*Santa Fe, August 12, 1680.*]

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the 12th day of the month of August, 1680, there appeared in this villa Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, whom the señor governor and captain-general sent to reconnoiter the pueblos and jurisdiction

of Los Teguas and Cañada in order to learn what had happened in the said jurisdiction. Having seen and inspected it with the body of Spanish soldiers whom he took under his command, he said that all the people of the pueblos from Tesuque to San Juan are in rebellion, and a large number of them are fortified in the pueblo of Santa Clara and the rest are in the sierra of the arroyo of Tesuque and scattered about along the caminos reales, intercepting the passage of every one. He says that they have killed Fathers Fray Luis de Morales and Fray Tomás de Torres, and that the Indians of Santa Clara have carried off the wife and children of Captain Francisco de Anaya. He found that they have killed, in the pueblo of Pojoaque, Captain Francisco Ximenes, Don Joseph de Goitia, and the wife and family of Francisco Ximenes; and that there was no sign of Doña Petronila de Salas and eight or ten children whom she has, three boys, now grown, and the rest young children and grown daughters. Sebastián de Torres, his wife, and other persons, are likewise dead, in the pueblo of Nambé; and, in the pueblo of Santa Clara, the Indians have killed Felipe López and Marcos Ramos and have robbed the holy temples and the cattle haciendas of the countryside, and sacked the houses of the Spaniards. They have rebelled generally and also have killed two other youths named Cristóbal de Herrera and Bartolomé Griego, so that in these pueblos alone more than thirty persons are dead and captives. This declarant and his companions killed one of the Indians who are going up and down, patrolling the roads and trails; although they admonished and required him repeatedly to surrender peaceably, saying that they did not wish to harm him, he said pertinaciously and rebelliously that he wished to die and go to hell. What the deponent has stated is the truth and what he has seen, and if necessary he swears to it in the name of God and the Virgin. He signs with his lordship, before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto. [*Santa Fe, August 13, 1680.*]

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the 13th day of the month of August, 1680, the señor governor and captain-general, Don Antonio de Otermín, stated: That there is apparent both the manifest danger in which his lordship and the people of this villa find themselves, and the danger to the church and convent due to the small force of soldiers here; and the fact that the enemy is aiming to put an end to all of them, having yesterday at noon fallen upon all the people of the estancias and haciendas of Los Cerrillos who were fighting together, besieged in the house of Sargento Mayor Bernabé Márquez, who sent to ask help in order to be able to get out with the rest of the families and come to this villa to join us. I sent him last night a relief party of Spaniards, both for the said purpose and because the report has come from the enemy themselves that all the Tagnos, Pecos, Ciénega, and San Marcos Indians have rebelled, and it is said that they have killed the reverend father custodian, Fray Juan Bernal, and the father preachers, Fray Fernando de Velasco, Fray Manuel Tinoco, and Fray Domingo de Vera, together with the teniente de alcalde mayor, Juan de Leiva, Captain Joseph Nieto, Nicolás de Leiva, and all the women and children of their families. There is also a general report that in the pueblo of Santo Domingo they have killed three religious, Alcalde Mayor Andrés de Peralta, and four other soldiers who were with them; and that the same thing has taken place in the other jurisdictions, because the convocation is general; and the said Indians have taken possession of the horse droves and cattle of the kingdom, and of the churches and sacred objects. Foreseeing that all the nations will join together to destroy this villa, his lordship determined to notify the reverend father preacher, Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, to consume the most holy sacrament, and take the images, sacred vessels, and things appertaining to divine worship, close the church and convent, and bring everything to the palace, accompanied by Father Fray Francisco Farfán. He decided also that Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana and all the people of La Cañada who are with him be summoned, and that they bring the few horses and cattle they may have, so that they may resist the fury of the

enemy in this villa; and he is notifying Lieutenant General Alonso García to send such aid as he can in the way of horses and soldiers. These *casas reales* are to be immediately intrenched, embrasures are to be made in the walls, watches set, and arquebusiers stationed on the roofs. The two small pieces of ordnance will be placed in the doors of the *casas reales*, charged and mounted on their carriages, and aimed at the entrances of the streets, so that they may be pointed wherever the enemy may attack. All the above was ordered and carried out immediately, without any delay, making ready for the enemy's assault in the prosecution of their treason. So that all this may be recorded, he ordered it set down as a judicial proceeding and signed it before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric) . Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric) .

Auto and judicial process. [Santa Fe, August 13-20, 1680.]

In the said villa of Santa Fe on the said day, month, and year, his lordship the governor and captain-general being extremely uneasy because of reports that were current of the deaths of the Reverend Father Antonio and the other religious, clerics, and Spaniards mentioned in the preceding *auto*; and having reason to believe that the Tagnos and Pecos Indians, through whom he had the news of the treason and uprising, had rebelled and perpetrated the said murders in the pueblo of Galisteo, and killed Fray Juan de la Pedrosa in the pueblo of Los Pecos; and having dispatched two Indian servants of Spaniards to carry an order to the alcalde mayor of Galisteo, who have not returned in three days; as well as having sent Lucas de Gamboa, a soldier, with another order to Alonso García, the lieutenant general of the jurisdictions of the lower river [Río Abajo], he determined to place confidence in two Christian Indians, one of them a resident of this villa and married here, and the other a native of the pueblo of San Felipe, so that, being Indians of the said nations whom their own people would not harm, they might inquire and learn what had happened in the two jurisdictions of Tagnos and Queres, and bring a true account, as Christians, of all they

might ascertain, he promising them many presents and doing everything possible to gain their good will. In virtue of this they promised to do what he wished, and were dispatched with that understanding. While awaiting them—both in order to learn what had happened and because they were carrying the said letters and orders, in case the *alcaldes mayores* and other persons should be alive—it happened that on the next morning the two Indians who had been sent with the letter for the father custodian and the *alcalde mayor* came fleeing from the countryside, bringing the news that all the Indians of the pueblos of Los Pecos, San Cristóbal, San Lázaro, San Marcos, Galisteo, and La Ciénega, who numbered more than five hundred, were one league from this villa on the way to attack it and destroy the governor and all the Spaniards, so that the whole kingdom might be theirs, and they might profit at the expense of the Spaniards and their haciendas. They were saying that now God and Santa María were dead, that they were the ones whom the Spaniards worshiped, and that their own God whom they obeyed never died. The messengers reported also that the said Indian, Juan, the Tagno whom his lordship had sent, was coming as captain of these people, a rebel like the rest of them, as was seen. They were expecting to meet on their way all the Indians of Teguas, Taos, Pecurías, and the heathen Apaches, so as to sack the said villa all together and kill within it the señor governor and captain-general, the religious, and all the citizens. On the morning of the next day the enemy's army was seen on the plain of the maize fields of San Miguel and in the houses of the Mexicans, which they sacked shamelessly and in which they lodged in order to lay siege to the villa, along with the rest of the people whom they were awaiting. A troop of soldiers going out to reconnoiter them saw the said Tagno, Juan, on horseback, wearing a sash of red taffeta which was recognized as being from the missal of the convent of Galisteo, and with *harquebus*, sword, dagger, leather jacket, and all the arms of the Spaniards. He was summoned and persuaded with fair words to enter the plaza of the villa to talk with the señor governor and captain-general, and being asked how he could do such a thing when his lordship had placed confidence in

him, he said that there was now no help for it; that everything he had said about the deaths of the father custodian and all the other Spaniards and religious was true, and that the Indians who were coming with him and those whom they were awaiting were coming to destroy the villa. They were bringing two crosses, one red and the other white, so that his lordship might choose. The red signified war and the white that the Spaniards would abandon the kingdom. His lordship admonished them that he desired to avoid the war, because it had not been of his seeking, and that if they would become quiet he would pardon the crimes they had committed, as they would not cease to be Christians or forsake obedience to his Majesty. They derided and ridiculed this reply and received the said Indian in their camp with trumpets and shouts, ringing the bells of the hermitage of San Miguel, spreading destruction among the houses of the district, and setting fire to the hermitage of San Miguel. Thereupon, seeing their audacity, boldness, and impudence, and all indications of warfare, without giving them time for the other nations to arrive to destroy the villa, his lordship sent a troop of soldiers to dislodge them from that place. Seeing the men leave the villa, the enemy fell upon them and fought them with such boldness and fury that the said señor governor and captain-general was obliged to go out in person with as many men as he could. The encounter lasted nearly all day, during which many of the enemy were killed and they wounded many of our men, because they came with the harquebuses and the arms which they had taken from the religious and the Spaniards, and were very well provided with powder and shot, with which, fortified in the houses, in which they made embrasures, they fought all day. When they were almost overcome, many Indians having been killed, a large number of animals taken away from them, and the houses in which they were being set on fire to destroy them, there arrived the relief of Teguas, Taos, and Pecurías Indians who fell upon the villa from the other side. His lordship thereupon was forced to go to the rescue, leaving the Tagnos and Pecos, who were defeated, so that the new arrivals might not take possession of the villa. It being now almost sunset, the said Tagnos and Pecos fled, the Spaniards

and the villa still being besieged by the Teguas, Taos, and Pecuríes Indians, who, being bold and daring, gained an eminence behind the casas reales where they made their camp, firing many harquebuses at the men who were in the casas reales and who came out from there to reduce them to peace. They being unsuccessful, the Indians became even bolder, and in this manner got possession of the cultivated fields and the houses of the villa, which they sacked; and they ended by setting fire to the church, which burned down, and to the houses. Every day of the nine days which the siege lasted more and more people assembled, until the beasts and cattle which were in the casas reales began to die because we had been entirely cut off from water, of which we had none for two days and a night. Whereupon, seeing that we would surely perish shut up there and that the Indians, although he had repeatedly charged them to make peace, were bolder than ever—in proof of which they had taken the water away from us and had lodged within the villa, boasting of victory, that they had defeated us, and that we should all die the next day—his lordship agreed with the experienced persons among us to engage the enemy in a pitched battle on the following morning, since it would be a better and safer step to die fighting than of hunger and thirst, shut up within the casas reales. This being agreed upon and planned for sunrise the next morning, his lordship accordingly advanced with his small forces, and, invoking the name of the Virgin, Santa María, he routed and overran them, dislodging them from the streets and houses, where they were massacred with the loss of more than three hundred Indians, some harquebuses, a number of animals, and all their spoils and baggage; for more than fifteen hundred Indians of the army made up of all the nations of the kingdom were in flight, and forty-seven Indians were taken prisoners in the houses. The latter were executed, having first revealed the treason, saying that it had been planned a long time before by the Teguas Indians of the pueblo of Tesuque, and that now, in order to carry it out, they had the mandate of an Indian who lives a very long way from this kingdom, toward the north, from which region Montezuma came, and who is the lieutenant of Po he yemu; and that this person

ordered all the Indians to take part in the treason and rebellion, saying that they would kill immediately anyone who refused to agree to it. For fear of this they all joined together and coöperated in the said rebellion which they have carried out, killing the priests and the Spaniards, so that only the women and children would be left. They say that all the remaining men must be killed, even to male children at the breast, as they have done in other parts where they have been. Thus all these events have taken place in a period of nine full days, the enemy being destroyed in this time, and it having cost on our part the deaths of four soldiers, and of Maestre de Campo Andrés Gómez. The señor governor suffered two wounds, one in the face and the other a shot in the breast through his deerskin jacket. Many soldiers and youths among the Spaniards were wounded, with both shots and arrows. All seem to have been miraculously protected by the most serene Virgin Mary, who was invoked in the assaults and skirmishes.

So that all this may be recorded, his lordship ordered that it be placed in an *auto* and he signed it with the military officers, *alcaldes ordinarios* of the villa, and other persons. Done and concluded on the 20th day of the month of August, 1680. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); DIEGO LÓPEZ SAMBRANO (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); BARTOLOMÉ ROMERO DE PEDRASA (rubric); BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO (rubric); FRANCISCO DE ANAYA (rubric); ANTONIO DE AYALA (rubric); BLAS GRIEGO (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); LÁZARO DE MIZQUIA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto. [*Santa Fe, August 21, 1680.*]

In the said villa of Santa Fe, capital of this kingdom and these provinces, on the 21st day of the month of August, 1680, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom for his Majesty, stated: That yesterday, the 20th of the current month, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the hostilities were ended with the rebellious and treasonable

Christian Indians who threw off obedience to his Majesty, apostatized from the holy faith, and have withdrawn in flight, leaving more than three hundred Indians dead in the vicinity, within and without this villa, there having been taken from them eleven firearms, in addition to eighty animals and other spoils of provisions and other things. Many Indians who were captured have declared that all the nations of the kingdom that laid siege to the villa were confederated with the heathen Apache enemy so that, going to the siege to join them, they might destroy his lordship, the religious, and all the Spaniards and persons who were besieged, who comprised the greater part of the kingdom. Many settlements have been laid waste and destroyed, and it is known that from Los Taos to the pueblo of Isleta, which is a distance of fifty-one leagues, all the people, religious, and Spaniards have perished, no other persons being alive except those who found themselves besieged within the *casas reales* of the villa, and there is information to the effect that the residents of Río Abajo have fortified themselves and assembled in the said pueblo of Isleta. For which reasons, and finding ourselves out of provisions, with very few horses, weary, and threatened by the enemy, and not being assured of water, or of defense, since the few horses and cattle are dying from being shut up day and night within the said *casas reales*—and on taking them out for water and to graze a little, it was necessary to leave the *casas reales* undefended because of the small number of soldiers, most of whom went out armed on horseback to guard and defend the said beasts and cattle—and because of many other inconveniences that followed, and of the holy church and all the houses of the Spaniards and the Mexican Indians and others being burned—for all these reasons, it was requested unanimously by the reverend father preachers, Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, minister guardián, and Fray Andrés Durán, definidor habitual, and Fray Francisco Farfán, all clerical ministers, and by the *alcaldes ordinarios*, military officers, and soldiers, that his lordship, looking to the better service of the two Majesties and the safety of the people, arms, horses, and cattle which have remained where it is not possible to maintain them, decide to withdraw, marching from

this villa in full military formation until reaching the pueblo of La Isleta, where it is said that the residents of Río Abajo are gathered with the lieutenant general of that jurisdiction. All the forces thus being united in one body, his lordship may resolve and determine upon what is best for the service of God, our Lord, and of his Majesty. In view of the fact that there are now more than a thousand persons within these casas reales, and that among all of them there are not a hundred men who can fight, all the rest being women and children who must necessarily march on foot through the countryside in sight of the enemy, they petition that the withdrawal therefore be carried out immediately, in order to improve their position, and before the enemy recovers from the losses they have sustained and can attack in force in the open country, and destroy so many families. It thereupon was determined, acceding to the opinions of the said reverend fathers and of all the other persons, to march to-day as much as a league from this villa into the open and unprotected country, and his lordship ordered that it be recorded as a judicial proceeding. He signed it with his reverence and the alcaldes and military officers, before me, the secretary of government and war. His lordship ordered the present secretary to supply the people who are in these casas reales from goods which are his own property, so that, clothed and fed, they may be better able to march; and he directed that he load the munitions and stores for supplying the soldiers. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO GÓMEZ DE LA CADENA (rubric); FRAY ANDRÉS DURÁN (rubric); FRAY FRANCISCO FARFÁN (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); FRANCISCO GÓMEZ ROBLEDO (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric); AMBROSIO SAIS (rubric); FRANCISCO XAVIER (rubric); BACHILLER FRANCISCO DE VELASCO (rubric); JUAN DE CARBAJAL (rubric); NICOLÁS LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); BARTOLOMÉ ROMERO DE PEDRASA (rubric). Done before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Certification [and] notice of departure. [Santa Fe, August 21, 1680.]

I, Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier, alcalde ordinario of this villa of Santa Fe, secretary of government and war of this province by appointment of Señor Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom for his Majesty, certify and attest truly in so far as I can and should that by order of the said señor governor I have distributed a large quantity of clothing to the Spanish soldiers, to all their families and servants, to the Mexican natives, and to all classes of people, numbering more than a thousand souls, who are in these casas reales in the siege which has been continued for nine days by the rebellious enemy. Of shirts, clothing, coats, shoes, and provisions I have distributed a quantity worth apparently more than eight thousand pesos; and I have also given them beasts so that they may be able to march out from this villa. All has been provided at the expense of his lordship, in order to proceed to the pueblo of La Isleta, where it is reported that the Spanish people of the jurisdictions of Río Abajo are assembled, so that a stand can be made with them, and so that, with the forces united, it may be determined what is most conducive to the service of the two Majesties. Every one was given what he asked for and needed free of charge, the gift amounting, as I said, to somewhat more than eight thousand pesos. So that this, and the fact that it is given gratis, may be recorded, I give these presents at the request of his lordship in these casas reales, before the camp marches, on the said day, month, and year, signing it with two witnesses, who are Juan Lucero de Godoy, alcalde ordinario, and Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana. JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). In testimony of the truth I affix my accustomed signature and rubric. FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Declaration of an Indian rebel. [Place of the Arroyo de San Marcos, August 23, 1680.]

In the place of the Arroyo de San Marcos on the 23d day of the month of August, 1681, this army having halted and raised the royal standard, and his lordship being at the headquarters

of the army, Sargento Mayor Bernabé Márquez and other soldiers brought in as a prisoner a Christian Indian of the Teguas nation who says that his name is Antonio and that he is one of the rebel Indians who, having been at the siege of the *casas reales* along with the rest of the people and in the service of Sargento Mayor Bernabé Márquez, fled from the *casas reales* and was captured at the *estancia* of Los Cerrillos, hidden in a cornfield with his arms, a bow and arrow. The said Indian then appeared before the *señor* governor and captain-general, and, being able to speak the Castilian language, took the oath in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the holy cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth. Having been asked where he was going and why he left the *casas reales* and joined with the Indian rebels, he said that Ambrosio de Carbajal caught him in a cornfield where he was attempting to hide, and that his reason for leaving the *casas reales* was that he believed that the Spaniards must perish, along with the *señor* governor and captain-general, and that in case they should happen not to be defeated, they would probably take him to some other country, and he did not wish to leave this one. He stated that he did not find any of the rebels that night, and the following day he went toward the villa because of having learned that the *señor* governor and all the people who were with him were marching out. On reaching the villa he found inside and out of the *casas reales* a large number of the rebellious Indians who were sacking the place, taking out a large amount of property belonging to the *señor* governor, which he had left behind. He recognized among the pillagers Indians of all nations, and a number of Taos and *Pecurías*, and he heard an Indian of Tesuque named Poquete tell of having seen the great number of Indians who were dead in the plaza of the villa, and in the houses, streets, and environs. The said rebels had told him, "We are at quits with the Spaniards and the persons whom we have killed; those of us whom they have killed do not matter, for they are going, and now we shall live as we like and settle in this villa and wherever we see fit." The said Indian told him also that all the rebels were planning to come together in a narrow pass between the hills and the Río

del Norte near the house of Cristóbal de Anaya and fall upon the Spaniards and the people who were on the march, to see if they could destroy them. In the plaza of the villa this declarant saw, entering on horseback into the *casas reales*, Nicolás de la Cruz, whom they call Jonva, who took part in the pillaging with the rest; and the said pillage did not end that day. This declarant came to the house and cornfields of his master, where they captured him; he did not know or see anything else except what he has stated, which is the truth under the oath he took, which he affirmed and ratified, this, his said declaration, being read to him. He did not know his age or how to sign. Apparently he is more than sixty years old. His lordship signed it with Alcalde Juan Lucero de Godoy and Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana, before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Auto of the march and halting places. [August 24-26, 1680.]

Following the abovesaid, we having left this place on the day of the 24th and marched a little more than a league, a troop of the enemy was sighted, drawn up in two lines on the tops of some mesas and large rocks, sending up smoke signals. On our arrival at the pueblo of Santo Domingo, there were found behind the church the bodies of five Spaniards, and signs within the convent of fighting and of the murder of the father preachers, Fray Juan de Talabán, Fray Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, and Fray Joseph de Montes de Oca, whose bodies the said rebels had dragged out and buried in the church, where a large grave containing all three bodies was seen; and the church, the convent, and the sacristy were closed. All were opened and the images and altars were found undisturbed. On entering the sacristy all the ornaments were found—six silver chalices, a hand basin, a salver, seven vessels for wine and water, an incense burner and vessel, a lamp, and other things of silver, all of which, with other things from the sacristy, the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena brought out and took possession of. On this day we lost sight of the said pueblo

without any of the rebels being seen, and, on the following day, in the morning, as the camp was about to march, some Indians appeared on the other side of the Río del Norte, having some loose animals in sight which they were pasturing, in order to incite us to go over to them. A soldier named Juan Ramos crossed over and discovered it to be the main body of the said enemy, who were in ambush. They fired two harquebus shots at the said Juan Ramos, and, seeing that they were discovered and that their evil intent had not succeeded, they all rose from where they were concealed and came to the bank of the said Río del Norte, which was in flood. A small number of Indians forded it on horseback, and more on foot, making many hostile demonstrations, and shouting loudly. The army being set in motion, many of the enemy crossed on horseback, on foot, and by swimming, following after the camp. On its way the army encountered a Christian Indian of the Tagno nation who was coming with his wife and another Indian woman to overtake and accompany us, because he did not want to be a rebellious traitor. The said Indians came after him, took away his wife and the other Indian woman, and he escaped by fleeing and because some of our soldiers who were in the rear guard went out to meet them. We were marching toward the pueblo of San Felipe, which was in sight, a little more than two leagues away. The camp halted there, and the pueblo was found deserted like the rest. Not an Indian was seen until the sun was setting, when some came out on horseback on the tops of the mesas. At dawn of the next day more were seen, who were watching us, and as soon as the camp marched some of them on horseback swam across to reconnoiter the place and examine the fires. They went back from there, some coming along in sight of the army as spies. It marched from there on with all care and vigilance to the narrow pass at the house of Cristóbal de Anaya, where the said Indian, Antonio, who was captured at Los Cerrillos, declared that the enemy would attack, it being two leagues away. His lordship gave orders that mounted soldiers be stationed all along the heights, and that the men be ready to receive the enemy, and the camp passed on, continuing its march. Large numbers of the enemy were seen on the mesas,

with an abundance of horses and cattle. They remained quiet, making no move whatever, watching the march and the camp from the highest points. About a quarter of a league farther on there was seen an estancia belonging to Pedro de Cuellar, which was found sacked and destroyed. A short distance beyond they came to another house, belonging to Captain Agustín de Carbajal, where the house was found open and everything stolen, including the cattle. In the parlor and in another room of the house were the bodies of the said Captain Agustín de Carbajal, of his wife, Doña Damiana Domínguez de Mendoza, of a grown daughter, and of another woman; there was no sign of his sons and of the rest of the family. A very short distance from there they came to the house of Captain Cristóbal de Anaya; it was found to have been robbed, the cattle and all his other property stolen, and he, his wife, six children, and other persons, to the number of twelve, all dead and their bodies stripped, were found lying at the main door. The army halted here, having marched more than ten leagues, and his lordship ordered that the Tagno Indian who had come to join the retreat from Santo Domingo be examined, so that he might declare everything that he knew concerning the treasonable designs of the enemy. He ordered also that whatever takes place henceforth shall be recorded as a judicial proceeding, and that we shall proceed with all care as far as the pueblo of La Isleta, where it is reported that there are Spaniards, so that it may then be decided what is most conducive to the service of both Majesties. He signed it before me, the secretary of government and war. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

Declaration of Pedro García, an Indian of the Tagno nation, a native of Las Salinas. [Near the estancia of Cristóbal de Anaya, August 25, 1680.]

At the place near the estancia of Sargento Mayor Cristóbal de Anaya, on the 25th day of the month of August, 1680, for the prosecution of this case, the señor governor and captain-general caused to appear before him a Christian Indian of the Tagno nation who came from among the hostile rebel apos-