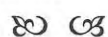


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### Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682

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came declaring that they had been with a large number of the enemy and the leaders of the rebellion in the district of Cochití, all of them being in the heights of the sierra and all the pueblos being depopulated; and that in the said assemblage they saw and recognized Indians from all the nations of this kingdom. His lordship ordered me, the present secretary, to set this down as a judicial proceeding so that it might be recorded; and that we proceed immediately to obtain juridical statements from the said prisoners and others who had been taken previously and from other suitable persons who might have information. I signed it with the witnesses whose signatures appear, to which I attest. LUIS DE QUINTANA (rubric); JOSEPH DE UGARTE (rubric); JUAN DE ECHEVERRIA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Appointment of an Interpreter. [December 18, 1681.]*

Then immediately on the said day, month, and year his lordship, the señor governor and captain-general, for the prosecution of this case and so that everything might be done in legal form in conducting an examination of the said Indian prisoners, none of whom speaks the Castilian tongue, it being necessary to examine them through interpreters, caused to appear before him the alcalde, Juan Lucero de Godoy, and Juan Ruiz de Casares, a soldier. They received the oath in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a holy cross, under charge of which they promised to interpret in the Tegua and Castilian languages, accurately, loyally, and legally, without adding to or omitting anything the parties might say or which his lordship might ask them. They took oath to this effect and signed it with his lordship, before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); JUAN RUIZ DE CASARES (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

— *Declaration [of the Indian, Juan. Place on the Río del Norte, December 18, 1681].*

In this place and camp on the Río del Norte in view of the three pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia on the said 18th

day of the month of December, 1681, for the judicial proceedings and inquiry which must be made in this new reduction and pacification and in order to learn of all the motives, reasons, circumstances, designs, and other supports which the treacherous apostate rebels against the royal crown of his Majesty had and may have at present for the conspiracy, alliance, and rebellion which they executed, apostatizing from the holy faith, forsaking royal obedience, burning images and temples, killing atrociously priests, soldiers, women, and children, taking possession of all the things pertaining to divine worship, of haciendas, and of everything in the kingdom that they could, returning to the blind idolatry and superstitions of their ancient days, his lordship caused to appear before him an Indian of the Tegua nation who said his name is Juan, that he is a native of the pueblo of Tesuque, and is married. The said señor governor and captain-general named as his assisting witnesses Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva; Sargento Mayor Nicolás Rodríguez Rey; Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera, captain and head of the presidio; Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo, present regidor; Alférez Juan de Luna y Padilla; and Juan García de Noriega, a soldier of the post. There were present assisting his lordship the Very Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta, preacher, commissary of the Holy Office, procurador general of both jurisdictions and visitador of this holy custodia, with his secretary, the reverend father preacher, Fray Nicolás López. The latter, so that the said apostates might be capable of taking the oath, absolved them and by virtue of it his lordship received the oath from the Indian, Juan, 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 as to what he might know and might be asked. Having been questioned according to the tenor of the case, and asked for what reasons and causes all the Indians of the kingdom in general rebelled, returning to idolatry, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, burning images and temples, and committing the other crimes which they did, he said that what he knows concerning this question is that not all of them joined the said rebellion willingly; that the chief mover of it is an Indian who is a native of

the pueblo of San Juan, named El Popé, and that from fear of this Indian all of them joined in the plot that he made. Thus he replied.

Asked why they held the said Popé in such fear and obeyed him, and whether he was the chief man of the pueblo, or a good Christian, or a sorcerer, he said that the common report that circulated and still is current among all the natives is that the said Indian Popé talks with the devil, and for this reason all held him in terror, obeying his commands although they were contrary to the orders of the señores governors, the prelate and the religious, and the Spaniards, he giving them to understand that the word which he spoke was better than that of all the rest; and he states that it was a matter of common knowledge that the Indian Popé, talking with the devil, killed in his own house a son-in-law of his named Nicolás Bua, the governor of the pueblo of San Juan. On being asked why he killed him, he said that it was so that he might not warn the Spaniards of the rebellion, as he intended to do. And he said that after the rebellion was over, and the señor governor and captain-general had left, defeated, the said Indian Popé went in company with another native of the pueblo of Taos named Saca through all the pueblos of the kingdom, being very well pleased, saying and giving the people to understand that he had carried out the said uprising, and that because of his wish and desire the things that had happened had been done, the religious and the people who died had been killed, and those who remained alive had been driven out. He [the deponent] said that the time when he learned of the rebellion was three days before it was carried out.

Asked how the said Indian, Popé, convoked all the people of the kingdom so that they obeyed him in the treason, he said that he took a cord made of maguey fiber and tied some knots in it which indicated the number of days until the perpetration of the treason. He sent it through all the pueblos as far as that of La Isleta, there remaining in the whole kingdom only the nation of the Piroso who did not receive it; and the order which the said Popé gave when he sent the said cord was under strict charge of secrecy, commanding that the war captains take it

from pueblo to pueblo. He [the deponent] learned of this circumstance after the kingdom was depopulated.

Asked to state and declare what things occurred after they found themselves without religious or Spaniards, he said that what he, the declarant, knows concerning this question is that following the departure of the señor governor and captain-general, the religious, and the Spaniards who were left alive, the said Indian, Popé, came down in person with all the war captains and many other Indians, proclaiming through the pueblos that the devil was very strong and much better than God, and that they should burn all the images and temples, rosaries and crosses, and that all the people should discard the names given them in holy baptism and call themselves whatever they liked. They should leave the wives whom they had taken in holy matrimony and take any one whom they might wish, and they were not to mention in any manner the name of God, of the most holy Virgin, or of the Saints, on pain of severe punishment, particularly that of lashing, saying that the commands of the devil were better than that which they taught them of the law of God. They were ordered likewise not to teach the Castilian language in any pueblo and to burn the seeds which the Spaniards sowed and to plant only maize and beans, which were the crops of their ancestors. And he said that all the nations obeyed in everything except in the command concerning Spanish seeds, which some of them sowed because of their fondness for the Spaniards. Thus he replied.

Asked whether they thought that perhaps the Spaniards would never return to this kingdom at any time, or that they would have to return as their ancestors did, and in this case what plans or dispositions they would make, and what else he knew about this matter, he said that they were of different minds regarding it, because some said that if the Spaniards should come they would have to fight to the death, and others said that in the end they must come and gain the kingdom because they were sons of the land and had grown up with the natives. Thus he replies.

Asked to state and declare what Indians those are who say that they must die fighting, he said that they are the chief

Indians of the pueblos and the aggressors in crime. Thus he replies.

Asked how they received notice of our coming and who advised them of it, he said that on the day that the pueblo of La Isleta was surrounded, two Indian natives of the pueblo of Puaray were wandering on this side of the Río del Norte, and, as soon as they saw the Spaniards, they came to notify their pueblo and the others, and the news spread from pueblo to pueblo, it being said that the Spaniards had killed all the natives of the pueblo of La Isleta and had captured all the outsiders from other pueblos who had come to seek maize. As a result of this the pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia were emptied of people, who went to the sierra; and those of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochití went to the sierra of La Cieneguilla; and those of Santana [Santa Ana], Zia, and Jemez to a high mesa which is near the pueblo of Los Jemez; and all the men from these pueblos and from many others, except those from the province of Moqui, had assembled in the sierra of La Cieneguilla. Thus he replies.

Asked whether it had come to the notice of the people who had assembled that no one had been killed nor a single person harmed in the said pueblo of La Isleta, he said that they had learned of this at the said post of La Cieneguilla, where the men are assembled, before the arrival of the Spaniards, the news having reached them from these pueblos; and that for this reason they were discussing it among themselves, saying, "What do these Spaniards want, and why are they coming?" They communicated it to one another, saying, "What do these Spaniards want, since they are passing on without doing any harm? Perhaps they are coming in peace." Others said, "Perhaps they are deceiving us in order to take us peacefully and kill us." He said that the latter are the ones who desire war, there being among them twenty-two Indians who are the leaders, war captains of the Teguas nation which is the one to which this declarant belongs, and also a coyote of the Queres nation named Alonso Catití, he being the one whom many have obeyed since the rebellion. He knows that the head of Pecuríes is a brother-in-law of Don Luis, called Tupatú in his language, present gov-

error in the said pueblo. He does not know who are the heads of the other nations. Thus he replies.

Asked what led him to come among the Spaniards, he said that it was because when the Spaniards arrived and communicated with the Indians with some demonstrations of desiring to establish peace, he, among others, came down, and finding Sargento Mayor Luis de Quintana, whom he had served, and Juan Ruiz de Casares, who acted as interpreter, he communicated with them privately. The said persons asking him what he thought about the actions of the Indians and whether their peaceful actions were sincere, he told them, "I do not know what to say to you. If there should be any treason, I will warn you." And in virtue of what they had communicated, he asked the said Luis de Quintana for the loan of a horse, saying to him, "Lend me a horse to bring you pinole." He gave him the horse, and while he was among the other Indians he saw that they were sending spies to reconnoiter the Spanish camp in order to attack and drive off the horses if there should be any carelessness. The declarant stated that in virtue of his agreement with the said Luis de Quintana and Juan Ruiz de Casares he invited himself to come with the said spies, and running away from them, he came to the Spanish camp and advised the said Luis de Quintana, telling him, "Mount your horse at once; there come the men who wish to surround you." Whereupon all the Spaniards armed themselves, standing guard throughout the night. He declared also that the plan of the coyote Alonso Catití was to order all the Indian girls to wash themselves and put on their mantas and induce the Spaniards to sleep with them; that then the Pecurías and Teguas would come to take off the horses while the Queres and other nations would kill the Spaniards. For this purpose he had notified the said Pecurías and the other nations who were above the river. Thus he replies.

Asked how it happened that they left off arranging a peace with the Spaniards after the arrival of Don Luis Tupatú, governor of the Pecurías, an Indian respected among all the nations, he said that what he knows about this is, that as soon as the said Don Luis arrived he asked all the people if anything new had occurred and they replied to him, "We have already

made peace with the Spaniards and have gone down to talk with them;" and he replied, "You have done very well." Thus he responds.

Being asked repeatedly, as a person who had been among the said rebels, if he knew, saw, or there had come to his notice anything else, and why they did not conclude peace, he said that all he knows and saw and heard, he has declared, and he knows nothing else, under charge of the oath he has taken which he affirms and ratifies, this, his declaration, being read to him. He did not know his age nor how to sign; apparently he is about twenty-eight years old. The señor governor and captain-general signed it with the witnesses and the interpreters, all of whom were present, before me, the said secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); JUAN RUIZ DE CASARES (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); NICOLÁS RODRÍGUEZ REY (rubric); SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); LUIS DE GRANILLO (rubric); JUAN DE NORIEGA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian. [Place of the Río del Norte, December 19, 1681.]*

In this said place and plaza de armas of this army on the 19th day of the month of December, 1681, for the said judicial proceedings of this case, his lordship caused to appear before him an Indian prisoner named Josephe, able to speak the Castilian language, a servant of Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera who fled from him and went among the apostates. The interpreters and assisting witnesses being present, his lordship received from the said Indian the oath in due legal form, in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under charge of which and having been absolved, he promised to tell the truth as to what he might know and as he might be questioned, he having been given to understand the seriousness of the oath. Being asked why he fled from his master, the said Sargento Mayor Sebastián de Herrera, and went to live with the treacherous Indian apostates of New Mexico, where he has been until he came among us on the present occasion, he said that the reason why he left was that he was suffering hunger in the



plaza de armas of La Toma [del Río del Norte], and a companion of his named Domingo urged this declarant to go to New Mexico for a while, so as to find out how matters stood with the Indians and to give warning to the Spaniards of any treason. They did not come with the intention of remaining always with the apostate traitors and rebels, and after they arrived they [the Indians] killed the said Domingo, his companion, because of the Pecos Indians having seen him fighting in the villa along with the Spaniards. He said that because his comrade was gone he had remained until now, when he saw the Spaniards and came to them, warning them not to be careless with the horses, because he had heard the traitors say that although the Spaniards might conclude peace with them, they would come to attack them by night and take away the horses. Thus he responds to this question.

Asked what causes or motives the said Indian rebels had for renouncing the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, and for committing so many kinds of crimes, and who were the instigators of the rebellion, and what he had heard while he was among the apostates, he said that the prime movers of the rebellion were two Indians of San Juan, one named El Popé and the other El Taqu, and another from Taos named Saca, and another from San Ildefonso named Francisco. He knows that these were the principals, and the causes they gave were alleged ill treatment and injuries received from the present secretary, Francisco Xavier, and the *maestre de campo*, Alonso García, and from the *sargentos mayores*, Luis de Quintana and Diego López, because they beat them, took away what they had, and made them work without pay. Thus he replies.

Asked if he has learned or it has come to his notice during the time that he has been here the reason why the apostates burned the images, churches, and things pertaining to divine worship, making a mockery and a trophy of them, killing the priests and doing the other things they did, he said that he knows and has heard it generally stated that while they were besieging the villa the rebellious traitors burned the church and shouted in loud voices, "Now the God of the Spaniards, who was their father, is dead, and Santa María, who was their

mother, and the saints, who were pieces of rotten wood," saying that only their own god lived. Thus they ordered all the temples and images, crosses and rosaries burned, and this function being over, they all went to bathe in the rivers, saying that they thereby washed away the water of baptism. For their churches, they placed on the four sides and in the center of the plaza some small circular enclosures of stone where they went to offer flour, feathers, and the seed of maguey, maize, and tobacco, and performed other superstitious rites, giving the children to understand that they must all do this in the future. The captains and chiefs ordered that the names of Jesus and of Mary should nowhere be uttered, and that they should discard their baptismal names, and abandon the wives whom God had given them in matrimony, and take the ones that they pleased. He saw that as soon as the remaining Spaniards had left, they ordered all the estufas erected, which are their houses of idolatry, and danced throughout the kingdom the dance of the cazina, making many masks for it in the image of the devil. Thus he replied to this question.

Asked what plans or information the said apostates communicated with regard to the possible return of the Spaniards and how they got along in the life they were living, he said that it is true that there were various opinions among them, most of them believing that they would have to fight to the death with the said Spaniards, keeping them out. Others, who were not so guilty, said, "We are not to blame, and we must await them [the Spaniards] in our pueblos." And he said that when the hostile Apaches came they denounced the leaders of the rebellion, saying that when the Spaniards were among them they lived in security and quiet, and afterwards with much uneasiness. Thus he replied to the question.

Asked how it was that if some wished to fight and others to give themselves up, all had retired to the sierra, leaving the pueblos deserted and depopulated, and why none of them had come to our camp, he said that all of them have fled because they had been so ordered by the Indian leaders, of whom they stood in very great fear. Thus he replied to the question.

Asked why, since the said rebels had been of different minds,

some believing that they should give themselves up peacefully and others opposing it, when the Spaniards arrived at the sierra of La Cieneguilla de Cochití, where the leaders of the uprising and people from all the nations were assembled, they had not attempted to give themselves up and return to the holy faith and to obedience to his Majesty—for while they had made some signs, they had done nothing definite—he said that although it is true that as soon as the Spaniards arrived some said that it was better to give up peaceably than to have war, the young men were unwilling to agree, saying that they wished to fight. In particular one Spanish-speaking Indian or coyote named Francisco, commonly called El Ollita, said that no one should surrender in peace, that all must fight, and that although some of his brothers were coming with the Spaniards, if they fought on the side of the Spaniards he would kill them, and if they came over to the side of the Indians he would not harm them. Whereupon everyone was disturbed, and there having arrived at this juncture Don Luis Tupatú, governor of the pueblo of Los Pecuríes, while they were thus consulting, news came to the place where the junta was being held from another Indian named Alonso Catití, a leader of the uprising, believed to be a coyote, in which he sent to notify the people that he had already planned to deceive the Spaniards with feigned peace. He had arranged to send to the pueblo of Cochití all the prettiest, most pleasing, and neatest Indian women so that, under pretense of coming down to prepare food for the Spaniards, they could provoke them to lewdness, and that night while they were with them, the said coyote Catití would come down with all the men of the Queres and Jemez nations, only the said Catití attempting to speak with the said Spaniards, and at a shout from him they would all rush down to kill the said Spaniards; and he gave orders that all the rest who were in the other junta where the said Don Luis and El Ollita were present, should at the same time attack the horse drove, so as to finish that too. This declarant being present during all these proceedings, and feeling compassion because of the treason they were plotting, he determined to come to warn the Spaniards, as he did, whereupon they put themselves under arms and the said Indians again went

up to the heights of the sierra, and the Spaniards withdrew. Thus he replies to the question.

Having been asked repeated questions touching on the matter, he said that he has already told all he knows; that what he might say further is that they should be constantly on the alert, because the traitors have all planned to join together and follow the Spaniards as far as the pueblo of La Isleta, so as to fall upon them by night and take away the horses, for on being left afoot they could do nothing and they would kill them. He said that what he has stated in his declaration is the truth and what he knows, under charge of his oath, which he affirms and ratifies, this, his said declaration, being read to him. He did not sign because of not knowing how, nor does he know his age. Apparently he is about twenty years old. His lordship signed it with the interpreters and assisting witnesses, before me, the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); JUAN RUIZ DE CASARES (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); NICOLÁS RODRÍGUEZ REY (rubric); SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); JUAN DE LUNA Y PADILLA (rubric); JUAN DE NORIEGA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Appointment of an interpreter. [Place of the Río del Norte, December 19, 1681.]*

In the said place and plaza de armas of this army on the said 19th day of the month of December, 1681, for the prosecution of this case, an Indian of the Piros nation being held prisoner, his lordship named as interpreter Raphael Téllez Jirón, a soldier who speaks the said Pira language, and Castilian as his mother tongue. He received the oath from him in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under burden of which he promised to speak the truth, interpreting correctly, loyally, and legally without adding to or omitting anything that his lordship might say and ask and that the parties might reply. He did not sign because he did not know how. His lordship signed it with the other interpreters and the assisting witnesses, before me, the present secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN

(rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); JUAN RUIZ DE CASARES (rubric); NICOLÁS RODRÍGUEZ REY (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); JUAN DE LUNA Y PADILLA (rubric); JUAN DE NORIEGA GARCÍA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Declaration [of Lucas, Piro Indian. Place of the Río del Norte, December 19, 1681].*

In the said place and plaza de armas on the said day, month, and year, for the prosecution of this case and to receive the declaration of an Indian prisoner of the Piro nation, a native of the pueblo of Socorro, who said he was named Lucas, his lordship caused him to appear before him, and being already absolved he received the oath in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under charge of which he was given to understand the seriousness of the oath by the said appointed interpreter, whom he told he would speak the truth as a Christian as to what he might be asked and might know. Being questioned as to how long he had been among the said rebel apostates, he replied, since the departure of the señor governor and captain-general before whom he is making his declaration, the religious, and the other persons who escaped from the general rebellion. This declarant came in company with others of his nation from the place which they call Fray Cristóbal to the pueblo of El Socorro, where they stayed for some time, during which the Apaches twice ambushed them, and later the Tiguas Indians came down for them by order of a captain—he does not know who he is—to bring them to the pueblo of La Isleta, where he has been most of the time. About a month ago he went to the jurisdiction of the Queres, where Alonso Catití was, and this declarant went of his own free will. Thus he replies.

Asked whether he, knows, saw, or there has come to his notice the reason why the Indians of this kingdom in general rebelled, forsaking the law of God and renouncing obedience to his Majesty, committing so many crimes in burning the images, temples, crosses, and rosaries, and treacherously killing

the Spanish priests and ministers, women, and children, and what else he might know, and who were the principal instigators, movers, and leaders, he said that of everything contained in the question he knows only that the temples and images, crosses and rosaries were burned generally by all the Indians of the districts, and he also heard it said that each one was to live according to such law as he wished, forsaking that of the Spaniards, which was not good, and that these commands came from the jurisdictions above here; he does not know who gave them nor does he understand the languages, or any other except his own, which is Pira. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked if he knows, or whether it has come to his notice, that the said apostates have erected houses of idolatry which they call estufas in the pueblos, and have practiced dances and superstitions, he said there is a general report throughout the kingdom that they have done so and he has seen many houses of idolatry which they have built, dancing the dance of the cachina, which this declarant has also danced. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked for what reason the Indian natives have abandoned the pueblos, gathering in the sierras, and what it is that the chiefs and the rest of the people alike are discussing, he said that concerning this question he knows only that they say all must fight with the Spaniards to the death; that he learned recently of their arrival and he, the declarant, came at once because he was summoned by a brother of his who was coming in the army, and thus he came with confidence of safety. He knows nothing more than he has stated. Thus he replies.

Having been asked repeated questions touching on the matter, he said he has already stated that he understands no language except his mother tongue and thus he has not heard or understood anything more than what he has declared, which is the truth under burden of the oath he has taken, which he affirms and ratifies, this, his said declaration, being read to him. He did not know how to sign, nor did he know his age. Apparently he is somewhat more than twenty years old. The señor governor and captain-general signed it with the other interpreters and assisting witnesses—since the appointed interpreter in

the Pira language does not know how to sign—before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); JUAN RUIZ DE CASARES (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); NICOLÁS RODRÍGUEZ REY (rubric); SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); LUIS GRANILLO (rubric); JUAN DE LUNA Y PADILLA (rubric); JUAN DE NORIEGA GARCÍA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Declaration of Pedro Naranjo of the Queres Nation. [Place of the Río del Norte, December 19, 1681.]*

In the said plaza de armas on the said day, month, and year, for the prosecution of the judicial proceedings of this case his lordship caused to appear before him an Indian prisoner named Pedro Naranjo, a native of the pueblo of San Felipe, of the Queres nation, who was captured in the advance and attack upon the pueblo of La Isleta. He makes himself understood very well in the Castilian language and speaks his mother tongue and the Teguá. He took the oath in due legal form in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under charge of which he promised to tell the truth concerning what he knows and as he might be questioned, and having understood the seriousness of the oath and so signified through the interpreters, he spoke as indicated by the contents of the *autos*.

Asked whether he knows the reason or motives which the Indians of this kingdom had for rebelling, forsaking the law of God and obedience to his Majesty, and committing such grave and atrocious crimes, and who were the leaders and principal movers, and by whom and how it was ordered; and why they burned the images, temples, crosses, rosaries, and things of divine worship, committing such atrocities as killing priests, Spaniards, women, and children, and the rest that he might know touching the question, he said that since the government of Señor General Hernando Ugarte y la Concha they have planned to rebel on various occasions through conspiracies of the Indian sorcerers, and that although in some pueblos the messages were accepted, in other parts they would not agree to it; and that it is true that during the government of the said



señor general seven or eight Indians were hanged for this same cause, whereupon the unrest subsided. Some time thereafter they [the conspirators] sent from the pueblo of Los Taos through the pueblos of the custodia two deerskins with some pictures on them signifying conspiracy after their manner, in order to convoke the people to a new rebellion, and the said deerskins passed to the province of Moqui, where they refused to accept them. The pact which they had been forming ceased for the time being, but they always kept in their hearts the desire to carry it out, so as to live as they are living to-day. Finally, in the past years, at the summons of an Indian named Popé who is said to have communication with the devil, it happened that in an estufa of the pueblo of Los Taos there appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians who never came out of the estufa. They gave the said Popé to understand that they were going underground to the lake of Copala. He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies, and that one of them was called Caudi, another Tilini, and the other Tleume; and these three beings spoke to the said Popé, who was in hiding from the secretary, Francisco Xavier, who wished to punish him as a sorcerer. They told him to make a cord of maguey fiber and tie some knots in it which would signify the number of days that they must wait before the rebellion. He said that the cord was passed through all the pueblos of the kingdom so that the ones which agreed to it [the rebellion] might untie one knot in sign of obedience, and by the other knots they would know the days which were lacking; and this was to be done on pain of death to those who refused to agree to it. As a sign of agreement and notice of having concurred in the treason and perfidy they were to send up smoke signals to that effect in each one of the pueblos singly. The said cord was taken from pueblo to pueblo by the swiftest youths under the penalty of death if they revealed the secret. Everything being thus arranged, two days before the time set for its execution, because his lordship had learned of it and had imprisoned two Indian accomplices from the pueblo of Tesuque, it was carried out prematurely that night, because it seemed to them that they were now discovered; and they killed religious,



Spaniards, women, and children. This being done, it was proclaimed in all the pueblos that everyone in common should obey the commands of their father whom they did not know, which would be given through El Caydi or El Popé. This was heard by Alonso Catití, who came to the pueblo of this declarant to say that everyone must unite to go to the villa to kill the governor and the Spaniards who had remained with him, and that he who did not obey would, on their return, be beheaded; and in fear of this they agreed to it. Finally the señor governor and those who were with him escaped from the siege, and later this declarant saw that as soon as the Spaniards had left the kingdom an order came from the said Indian, Popé, in which he commanded all the Indians to break the lands and enlarge their cultivated fields, saying that now they were as they had been in ancient times, free from the labor they had performed for the religious and the Spaniards, who could not now be alive. He said that this is the legitimate cause and the reason they had for rebelling, because they had always desired to live as they had when they came out of the lake of Copala. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked for what reason they so blindly burned the images, temples, crosses, and other things of divine worship, he stated that the said Indian, Popé, came down in person, and with him El Saca and El Chato from the pueblo of Los Taos, and other captains and leaders and many people who were in his train, and he ordered in all the pueblos through which he passed that they instantly break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired. In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments. They did this, and also many other things which he does not recall, given to understand that this mandate had come

from the Caydi and the other two who emitted fire from their extremities in the said *estufa* of Taos, and that they thereby returned to the state of their antiquity, as when they came from the lake of Copala; that this was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong, the Spaniard's God being rotten wood. These things were observed and obeyed by all except some who, moved by the zeal of Christians, opposed it, and such persons the said Popé caused to be killed immediately. He saw to it that they at once erected and rebuilt their houses of idolatry which they call *estufas*, and made very ugly masks in imitation of the devil in order to dance the dance of the *cacina*; and he said likewise that the devil had given them to understand that living thus in accordance with the law of their ancestors, they would harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and that they could erect their houses and enjoy abundant health and leisure. As he has said, the people were very much pleased, living at their ease in this life of their antiquity, which was the chief cause of their falling into such laxity. Following what has already been stated, in order to terrorize them further and cause them to observe the diabolical commands, there came to them a pronouncement from the three demons already described, and from El Popé, to the effect that he who might still keep in his heart a regard for the priests, the governor, and the Spaniards would be known from his unclean face and clothes, and would be punished. And he stated that the said four persons stopped at nothing to have their commands obeyed. Thus he replies to the question.

Asked what arrangements and plans they had made for the contingency of the Spaniards' return, he said that what he knows concerning the question is that they were always saying they would have to fight to the death, for they do not wish to live in any other way than they are living at present; and the demons in the *estufa* of Taos had given them to understand that as soon as the Spaniards began to move toward this kingdom they would warn them so that they might unite, and none of them would be caught. He having been questioned further and re-

peatedly touching the case, he said that he has nothing more to say except that they should be always on the alert, because the said Indians were continually planning to follow the Spaniards and fight with them by night, in order to drive off the horses and catch them afoot, although they might have to follow them for many leagues. What he has said is the truth, and what happened, on the word of a Christian who confesses his guilt. He said that he has come to the pueblos through fear to lead in idolatrous dances, in which he greatly fears in his heart that he may have offended God, and that now having been absolved and returned to the fold of the church, he has spoken the truth in everything he has been asked. His declaration being read to him, he affirmed and ratified all of it. He declared himself to be eighty years of age, and he signed it with his lordship and the interpreters and assisting witnesses, before me, the secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); PEDRO NARANJO; NICOLÁS RODRÍGUEZ REY (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); JUAN RUIZ DE CASARES (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); JUAN DE NORIEGA GARCÍA (rubric); LUIS DE GRANILLO (rubric); JUAN DE LUNA Y PADILLA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

*Declaration of Juan Lorenzo and Francisco Lorenzo, brothers.*  
*[Place of the Río del Norte, December 20, 1681.]*

In this said place and plaza de armas on the 20th day of the month of December, 1681, for the prosecution of this case, the verification and substantiation of which is being made in virtue of the general uprising of the treasonable apostate Indians of this kingdom, the señor governor and captain-general caused to be brought into his presence two youths, one of them named Juan Lorenzo and the other Francisco Lorenzo, full brothers, who when the rebellion broke out were living on a little rancho near the pueblo of San Felipe, along with their mother and a grown brother of theirs. His lordship received the oath from them in due legal form, in the name of God, our Lord, and a sign of the cross, they having come of their own accord, because of being God-fearing Christians among the

rebellious apostates, and entered our camp in the column of men which the lieutenant general of cavalry, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, took into the interior country. Under charge of their oath they promised to speak the truth, and notwithstanding that they were very good linguists, the interpreter, Juan Lucero de Godoy, *alcalde ordinario*, was present, along with the six assisting witnesses named by his lordship.

Being asked whether they were in the general uprising or had notice of it beforehand, and what else they know pertaining to this question, and what they saw, heard, or were told by other persons, they said that on the day of the glorious San Lorenzo, a Saturday, the two declarants were going simply and as Christians to the pueblo of San Felipe to see if the minister religious had come to say mass, and to hear it, when the Indians of the pueblo seized them and they found themselves prisoners, being still confused about the cause. They kept them in the plaza of the pueblo under guard because a number of Indians had left the said pueblo for that of Santo Domingo, to kill the religious, the *alcalde mayor*, and the other persons who might be there, as in fact they did, and these two witnesses saw them return from committing the said murders, and telling what had happened. They saw also that on that same evening at about the time of the angelus there arrived at the said pueblo the elder brother of these two deponents, named Bartolomé Naranjo. The Indians of the pueblo came up to him and said, "Are you willing to help the Indians and be on their side in order to kill the religious and the Spaniards?" To which their said brother replied, "Are you crazy? What is it you are trying to do?" And he was unwilling to agree to it, saying that it was not right. After leaving him alone for a time they seized him and perfidiously and treacherously fell upon him with *macanas* and killed him. The reason which they have heard given for the rebellion was that they said they had rebelled because the present secretary, Francisco Xavier, and *Sargentos Mayores* Luis de Quintana and Diego López would not leave them alone, and burned their *estufas*; and the order for the general rebellion came from the pueblos of the Teguas, and was commonly re-

ported to have been brought by an Indian of the pueblo of San Juan named El Popé. Thus they reply to the question.

Asked what happened after the said rebellion, they said they saw that the said Indian, Popé, came down to the pueblo of San Felipe accompanied by many captains from the pueblos and by other Indians and ordered the churches burned and the holy images broken up and burned. They took possession of everything in the sacristy pertaining to divine worship, and said that they were weary of putting in order, sweeping, heating, and adorning the church; and that they proclaimed both in the said pueblo and in the others that he who should utter the name of Jesus would be killed immediately; and that they [the Indians] were not to pray or to live with the wives whom they had taken in holy matrimony, all under the said penalty of death; and that thereupon they could live contentedly, happy in their freedom, living according to their ancient custom. Thus they replied to the question.

They declared further that by order of the said Popé and of Alonso Catití, governor and head of the Queres nation, they were commanded to place in the pueblo and its environs piles of stones on which they could offer ground corn and other cereals and tobacco, they saying that the stones were their God, and that they were to observe this, even to the children, giving them to understand that thereby they would have everything they might desire. They say that they have passed over many other things that they do not recall, but they saw that as soon as the señor governor and the rest of the Spaniards had left, the Indians erected many estufas in the pueblos and danced the dances of the cazina and of losse, which are dances instituted by the devil. Thus they replied.

Asked whether during all the time they have been among the said idolaters they have recognized, seen, or heard that the said apostates may have felt any repentance for what had been done or any inclination to return to the law of God or to receive the Spaniards, they said that they have in no wise heard or understood such; rather, they have heard it said in general that the Spaniards must not come, and that if they should come, they must fight them to the death; and that in case they should

find themselves defeated, they must surrender peacefully so as to kill them [the Spaniards] treacherously. The one named Francisco, the younger of the two brothers, who came among the said apostates three days after the elder brother, said that he saw in the junta which the said apostates held in the sierra of La Cieneguilla that they were discussing making a feigned peace with the Spaniards who went there under the command of the lieutenant general of cavalry, in order to kill them while they slept. To this end the said leader, Alonso Catití, directed that the prettiest girls bathe and adorn themselves and go down to the pueblo of Cochití to provoke the Spaniards to lewdness. This deponent was present at the consultation and heard them order the girls to please the Spaniards even though it might have to be done gratis, and he saw them wash and dress themselves; and he saw the said Alonso Catití go about preparing the people so that at night, while the Spaniards were sleeping with them, the Indians would come in with clubs to kill the Spaniards, while others would attack to drive off their horses, and thus they would be destroyed. For this purpose they ordered the other Indians who had remained in the pueblos to come under penalty of death to assist them in what had been decided upon. After the girls were ready to go down, they saw a column of Spaniards coming toward the said pueblo before anyone had left, whereupon they were terrified and did not go. Thus they replied to the question. And having been asked many and repeated questions touching the subject, they said that they know no more than they have declared, which is what they have seen and heard; and they have attained the happiness of seeing themselves free among the Spaniards. That which they have declared and stated is the truth, and what they have seen and heard under burden of their oaths, which they affirm and ratify, this, their declaration, being read to them. They did not know how to sign, nor their ages. The elder is about twenty years old and the younger about eighteen. His lordship signed it with the interpreter and the assisting witnesses, before me, the said secretary. ANTONIO DE OTERMÍN (rubric); JUAN LUCERO DE GODOY (rubric); PEDRO DE LEIVA (rubric); NICOLÁS RODRÍGUEZ REY (rubric); SEBASTIÁN DE HERRERA (rubric); LUIS

GRANILLO (rubric); JUAN DE LUNA Y PADILLA (rubric). Before me, FRANCISCO XAVIER, secretary of government and war (rubric).

[*Auto of Antonio de Otermín. Place of the Río del Norte, December 20, 1681.*]

In this place and plaza de armas of this royal army on the said 20th day of the month of December, 1681, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor and captain-general of this kingdom and provinces of New Mexico for his Majesty, said: That with due regard in everything to the service of God, our Lord, and of his Majesty; and laboring with extreme vigilance in the said causes in order to reduce, pacify, and bring these Indians into the fold of our holy mother church and to obedience to the king, our lord, Carlos II, whom God keep; and in execution of and compliance with the supreme command of the most excellent señor, the Count of Paredes, Marquis of La Laguna, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of all this New Spain, ordering that I march to these provinces, I have drawn up the judicial proceedings and taken the other measures which, with the events of each day, are set forth juridically in these *autos*, to which I refer. On arriving at the pueblo of La Isleta I laid siege to it and reduced it to obedience to his Majesty, I and the men under my command having our arms in our hands. The rebellious traitors gave up their bows and arrows, and, being unarmed, knowing the power of our arms and the danger in which they were, they gave obedience, which was accepted, and the very reverend father, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, visitador procurador general and commissary of the Holy Office, exhorted, instructed and admonished them in the other things of our Christian religion, he absolving them of the apostasy that they had committed, and baptizing the children who had been born after the rebellion, with which tasks the said reverend father and his religious busied themselves. Two Indians who were outside the said pueblo of La Isleta at about dawn had escaped during the advance and assault and they went to warn all the pueblos of those jurisdictions, so disturbing them that they went up to the sierra, they being given to understand that we had killed all the