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# I

## Introduction

The historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people. . . . [Furthermore] the preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of cultural, educational, aesthetic, inspirational, economic, and energy benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations of Americans.

—*National Historic Preservation Act, Pub. L. 89-665, §1,*  
*as amended by Pub. L. 96-515*

The history of New Mexico between 1598 and 1680 is truly one of a contested frontier region between Spanish settlers and Indigenous peoples over political, economic, and cultural control of the region. In that regard, Indigenous territoriality clashed with European notions of sovereignty. Colonial policies throughout the Spanish empire were based on age-old European practices of claim of certain regions as well as control of resources and people within them. In many ways, colonial policies regarding Indigenous groups aimed

to control and replace their political loyalties and social structures to fit the imperial paradigm and change their religious beliefs and rituals to comply with a Christian world view. Viewed comparatively, the history of European colonialism was replicated many times throughout the Americas as well as other places, such as Africa, India, the Philippines, and Australia. Yet the development of nation-states associated with the expansion of Spain, England, France, and Portugal, particularly, resulted in the evolution of today's world.<sup>1</sup> Today the native response to colonialism on a worldwide basis is "indigenization," a concept that in essence drives the hope that the Indigenous world can recover from the effects of colonialism and take back its cultures.

European sovereignty challenged concepts, traditions, and practices of tribal territoriality, especially as it revolved around defense of homeland. For thousands of years, prior to European contact, tribes spread throughout the Americas and differed linguistically and culturally as well as in identity. Since time immemorial, tribes in the Americas had carved out the boundaries of their homelands and prohibited any trespass. Their territorial claims marked their separate and distinct homelands. For tribes living within their territorial boundaries, unwanted and unwelcomed intrusions were a reason for war, as were issues associated with the predominance of European sovereignty. Such acts were met with open warfare between trespassing and defending tribes.<sup>2</sup> As Europeans expanded throughout the Americas, enemy tribes who allied with European cohorts were, indeed, trespassers onto their lands. To them, such unwelcomed intrusions were acts of war.

After 1492, tribal lands were continuously challenged by Europeans who would assume sovereignty by performing acts of possession in the name of their king and would issue land grant charters (England), *seigneurial* (France), the *sesmaria/sesmeiro* (Portugal), and *mercedes* (Spain) as well as the Dutch patroon system under their laws. The European claims disrupted and violated the norms of Indigenous practices and traditions tied to territoriality. Thus, the experiences of English, French, and Portuguese explorers and their Indian allies were no different from those of Spanish expeditions that made early contact with Indigenous peoples. From the earliest times, Indian alliances made by English, French, and Portuguese colonials, Spanish alliances had violated tribal territorial traditions.

Given the heritage and legacy of past European colonial powers, New Mexico, at the far edge of empire, was no different during those early centuries.

Indeed, the broader history of New Mexico is more than a narrative in a history book. History, on the other hand, is a living memory of places and events of the cultures that created them. Commemorating past cultures and people and their significance as a part of the march of humankind requires an understanding of historical processes and the values of the period under consideration.<sup>3</sup>

Along with that of Western Europeans that settled the New World, particularly North America, Native Americans are a part of the heritage that needs to be commemorated as a part of our national story and its shared histories with England, Spain, France, Portugal, Mexico, and Latin America. The prehistory and history of early New Mexico is of epic proportions in regard to the people who settled and developed the land and places that grew into towns and cities.

To study solely the narrative accounts of New Mexico's past without analysis of the historical cultural values at play during a given period is to deny the cultural dimensions of time, place, and the people who pioneered its founding, in this case, both Native American and Hispanic New Mexicans. The triad of pueblos, plains, and province is an integral part of the history of New Mexico, for it defines the complexity of the concept of homeland. In that regard, the word *culture* has many meanings, but one thing is sure: at its very least, culture is the way a group of people define their environment. It is done through language and practices that turn into customs, traditions, laws, and institutions. It is done by defining the homeland and its institutions as well as how they are governed, protected, and preserved for future generations.

To that end, the United States Congress, concerned with preserving and protecting our national heritage for future generations, enacted the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966.<sup>4</sup> The application of the philosophic tenets of the act clearly apply to state and local justifications in preserving and protecting historical places and structures related to New Mexico's history.<sup>5</sup> The National Historic Preservation Act rekindles the notion that historical significance is at the heart of the criteria for determining authenticity. Without doubt, wonderment, investigation, and analysis are building blocks for authenticity, preservation, and protection of New Mexico's history inclusive of many places, such as the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail, the Northern Rio Grande National Heritage Area, the Old

Spanish Trail National Historic Trail as well as numerous New Mexico state monuments, such as early settlement and mission structures with their associated acequias, nineteenth-century fortifications, Indigenous archaeological sites, and other cultural resources. Similarly, the National Park Service preserves seventeenth-century Spanish Colonial heritage sites at Salinas Pueblos Missions National Monument (see appendix A), El Morro National Monument, and Pecos National Historical Park.

Our national story runs deep, especially in New Mexico. The native tribes that met the Spaniards in 1540 had long defined their environment and had learned to live in it. As First Peoples, they had, for centuries, lived their lives in a perilous land, which throughout time had become even more dangerous as events that were not within their control unraveled before them. Despite that they had been attacked, and sometimes entire settlements were wiped out, by other warring tribes, the Pueblo people of New Mexico had managed to recover and hold on to what mattered most to them. In the long haul of history, the historical process of modern times proved unforgiving and harsh in their regard. While many tribal languages have survived into modern day, others have long since disappeared and, along with them, their conceptual world view and their traditions. While many tribes survived both the prehistoric and Spanish colonial periods in North America, the nineteenth-century American westward movement, along with the Indian Wars on the Great Plains and California's gold rush period, proved to be the harshest of all tests they would face. Between the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, the Indigenous world in North America was forever changed.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, Native American cultural values were further pushed aside under US military rule under policies ordering removal from their homelands onto reservation lands. To be sure, the missionization of native groups did not end with Spanish colonialism; it came west along with boarding schools with Anglo-Americans whose ministers continued to missionize Indians, Pueblos and Plains, along their paths. Sites such as Whitman Mission National Historic Site in Washington State, for example, reflect that part of our national story. In the process, many Native American ancient ways were further despoiled, while numerous cultural threads that held them together were torn apart and probably lost forever. Throughout the Western Hemisphere, the Indigenous world was similarly turned upside down.

Aside from policies of removal, wars of extermination were waged as Americans expanded westward. Attitudes toward Indians were deeply engrained in US culture and lore. Indeed, in the 1890s, such feelings were expressed by many Americans, among them L. Frank Baum, author of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* and editor of the *Aberdeen Saturday Pioneer* in South Dakota. Baum, for example, called for the extermination of the Sioux.<sup>6</sup> One can go further with a discussion about the disruption of Indian cultures, but the main point herein is that the theme is a part of our national story, and not relegated to a single European power of the past. Yet the story of the Indigenous world is also about its legacy of survival and cultural continuity.

Historically, in regard to the history of New Mexico, ethnographic details describing the homelands of Indigenous people on the Great Plains and of the Puebloans emerge as a descriptive window to the past that might have been historically forgotten were it not for the earliest Spanish colonial documentation. Today the historical documentation of the Spanish colonial period can, in today's world, be supported by Native American oral histories and traditions along with archaeological findings and ethnographic studies. Modern-day tribes in New Mexico retained a memory of their past, but their role in forging New Mexico's history is a part of this study, which adds to the reconstruction of an Indian perspective that is a part of our national story. As First Peoples, native groups deserve recognition and credit for their role in defining the history of the United States inclusive of its positive and negative effects on Indian America.

Spanish exploration, claim, and settlement of North America were extensive. The Spanish presence in what came to be called the Greater Southwest, which includes Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, California, and Nevada, begins in the 1530s with Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's travels that included the southern plains. Cabeza de Vaca's odyssey touched on vague but real stories about the existence of Indian pueblos far to the north along the Rio Grande. Once established, nonetheless, the geographic limits of Provincia de Nuevo México defined the northernmost point of New Spain in the interior of North America. The New Mexico frontier stretched eastward to the western portion of the Great Plains of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas and from southern Colorado to the Great Salt Lakes in northwestern Utah. The Colorado River, which defines today's Arizona-California boundary, originally formed the western extension of New Mexico. By the end of the

seventeenth century, such an expanse combined to form New Mexico and define the Spanish claim to North America. Still, the Spanish expansion that formed the triad of pueblos, plains, and province was constantly checked by Indigenous resistance.

Eventually, a land route known as El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro along the interior of New Spain connected Mexico City and the capital of the Province of New Mexico. As such, the Camino Real, forged and modified from Indigenous trails, combined with other trails in New Spain to facilitate other established patterns of exploration, migration, trade, and war. At first glance, the Camino Real formed a conduit for immigration and trade, but a closer view presents the trail as a linear frontier, running from south to north. Along that line towns, haciendas, ranches, mines, missions, and other aspects of an occupied line of places evolved and connected each other on a south-to-north basis. Indeed, the seventeenth-century towns aligned along later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century settlement patterns that crisscrossed along the long and linear Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, forming a braided trail. Shooting out from the Camino Real, spur trails connected isolated places on either side of the Royal Road.

Significantly, the Camino Real was a transmitter of Spanish heritage and practices associated with culture, lore, language, Spanish law, governance, religion, and a host of many institutional and cultural values that form the history and heritage of New Mexico and the Greater Southwest. Indeed, Indian ways, language, and customs also traveled along the Camino Real. Spain, Mexico, and regional Native American tribes share in that history and heritage that ties to the national story of the United States. The story begins in a prehistoric setting and evolves along the lines of a historical process that binds the triad of pueblos, plains, and province to the modern day.

The Spanish frontiersmen who ventured into New Mexico after blazing a portion of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro from Santa Bárbara in present Chihuahua to New Mexico in 1598 were keenly aware that they were not the first settlers of New Mexico. They came, however, with a broader purpose than merely settling the area. They were part of a worldwide defense plan for the Spanish empire that included the establishment of civil government and the spread of Christianity. In that regard, the settlers of 1598 introduced a new system of governance and a new economy based on ranching, farming, and trade, combined with a new technology that allowed them to build on

the land. On a cultural level, they introduced a new language, religion, lore, music, food stuffs, and other amenities.

Governance of the land required a political, legal, and organizational infrastructure that emanated from the king of Spain, who delegated executive power to a viceroy down to the governor and an *alcalde mayor*, a chief municipal administrator who worked with a *cabildo*, the town council, of a given area. The *cabildo*, composed of elected and appointed officials, made decisions for each province and town. Property rights, such as those that governed land grants, as well as contractual and judicial procedures were established through the Laws of the Indies. Their lives were not easy, for the first settlers suffered deprivation of the comforts of life, medicine, and security. The establishment of New Mexico, basically as a backwater area of the empire, which experienced its own “starvation period,” depended on their sacrifice during the first years of its existence.

One aspect of Spanish culture allowed them to plan for the future, for they could, through the written word, record and secure the corporate memory of their endeavors, and, through architectural sketches, plan and construct the vertical world they would develop. In 1598, Spanish officials envisioned a braided corridor of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, which stretched from Mexico City to San Juan de los Caballeros, the first capital of New Mexico. In time, an infrastructure of forts, missions, towns, and ranchos evolved. Over time, the early pathways of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, forged from Indian foot trails, expanded into corridors for horse, mule, and wagon that eventually became modern-day corridors for motorized vehicles along a series of local, state, and regional roads, along with interstate highways.

Eventually Spanish towns grew into large cities with growing populations as the Camino Real faded into the romanticism of the past. Soon its pathways were overrun by paved streets, roadways, buildings, parkways, concreted arroyos, and every other imaginable land use pattern in modern times. Eventually the corridors gave way to Interstate 40 and Interstate 25, just as did historic Route 66 and Highway 85, which formed a part of New Mexico’s historical highway system. Thus, colonial trails, based on Indian pathways, formed the corridor established by the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro and its many spur roads and trails that traversed New Mexico’s landscape in all directions. Indeed, the significance of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro

to the history of New Mexico and our national story was clearly acknowledged in 2000, when the US Congress designated the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail. That section of the Camino Real totaled 404 miles within the United States, starting at the Mexican border through El Paso, Texas, and New Mexico. Internationally, in 2015, UNESCO designated 1,200 miles within the Republic of Mexico as a World Heritage Site. Such honors pay tribute to the significance of the early Hispanic settlers of northern Mexico, New Mexico, and Texas, who developed towns, ranches, fortifications, and missions along a corridor that supported such enterprise. In that way, they touched the future of New Mexico and our shared national story with Spain, Mexico, and regional tribes.

Buried beneath today's New Mexican urban-rural infrastructures is the historical legacy and heritage of its native and Spanish colonial past. Education is a part of the remedy to salvage its patronage and promote the effort and commitment to preserve and protect New Mexico's early history and heritage as a part of our national story for future generations.

The early years of New Mexico's history, inclusive of the little-mentioned "starvation period," have, in many ways, been short-changed by historians who have concentrated on Spanish-Indian relationships without interpreting or analyzing the dynamics and values of the period. Indeed, Stan Hoig, in *Came Men on Horses* (2013), is one of very few researchers who have touched on the subject of the "starvation period" without necessarily ascribing causation when he writes, "Despite the provisions the relief expedition brought, both the New Mexico colony and Oñate's army fell into dire straits during the winter of 1600–1601."<sup>7</sup> Other historians have similarly mentioned the lack of food on both sides, Hispanic and Pueblo Indian, but have not gone far enough in specifically ascribing such analysis to it as a cause affecting relationships between both groups. Historiographically, historical narratives, told from a deficiency of analysis, have resulted in a retelling of historical events through the lens of nineteenth-century historians who subscribed to the "God, Gold, and Glory" school of thought and used "cruelty" as a theme to describe Spanish colonial motives. Oddly, the same formula was never applied to the first chapters of US history, which described Anglo-Americans as the builders of "the city on the hill" and as the sole presenters of the concept of democracy. Yet the question remains about the telling of reasons for the "starvation period" in Virginia's history or what happened to native

tribes between the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the long history of the Indian Wars, leading to the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. Among other wars, part of that early history is tied to the violent Powhatan “Uprising” of 1622, led by Opecanough against the English settlers at Jamestown. The overall Powhatan War, caused by European trespass onto Indian lands and demands on Indian food resources, ran intermittently between 1609 and 1646.

New Mexico in the seventeenth century appeared no different from any other settled area established by Spain or, for that matter, by any of the European powers of the period. Thematically, between discovery, exploration, and conquest, New Mexico’s early history is similar to events that were in progress in other parts of the Spanish Empire. Columbus’s first voyage and the subsequent expansion of the Spanish Empire follow two important and relevant thematic periods: the so-called “Age of Discovery” and the “Age of Faith,” in which a Church Militant emerged. Both were significant factors in the early period of expansion by Spain, England, France, and Portugal, the top four colonial powers of the period. Each, in its own way, utilized religious conversion and acculturation of the Indigenous peoples as part of their expansion efforts.

With exception to style, Spain appeared no different in its motives for expansion than those of the other powers; yet their stories are told from different vantage points. As colonial powers, the mother countries were interested in the exploitation of resources and the occupation of certain territories. In the end, the colonial penchant for exploitation of resources resulted in the exploitation of native peoples to work the land for every valuable asset found. All, however, had to deal with the tribes they encountered. Each European power evolved dual Indian policies to deal with peaceful or warring tribes. Under Spain, for example, tribes within the fold of Spanish sovereignty were treated as vassals of the crown with legal standings under the Laws of the Indies. Similarly, as in European feudal societies, vassals and their lands were protected from common enemies and paid a tribute in support of such protection. In 1598, for example, Governor Juan de Oñate met with all the pueblos in New Mexico and exacted their loyalty to the Spanish sovereign, which, in effect, resulted in a semblance of vassalage to the crown. The Pueblo people and their lands were protected under the Laws of the Indies. Warring tribes were dealt with militarily, and peace was maintained with them by treaty.

Within the scope of the historical process European colonials created a social hierarchy with strong racial overtones that allowed them to justify their treatment of native peoples and colonial minorities. Each contributed to a vestigial colonialism that affected the modern world in its struggle between “Jim Crow” types of practices and jurisprudence that clashed with our modern concepts of human and civil rights. To that end, the legacy of African slavery, too, speaks of those colonial values and its tragic aftermath that affected a given people. Thus, twentieth-century notions of democracy and human rights differ from seventeenth-century values across time, language, and culture. Although such values are different from today’s American values, both evolved from the same historical fabric ingrained in European antecedents and notions of colonialism.

In New Mexico as elsewhere in the Spanish Empire, societal boundaries evolved that tied to Spain’s mission to spread Christianity, to establish governance, law, and associated institutions, as well as to occupy the land for whatever it could yield either in agriculture, trade, or exploitation of resources. Had one walked into a Spanish settlement with its plaza during the colonial period, one would have heard the sounds of dogs barking, horses neighing, mules braying, along with those of cattle, goats, and sheep. At certain hours of the day, church bells made their clanging sounds announcing a moment of prayer. On a human scale, a given mix of people representing all colors and walks of life would have met the eye, and their voices expressing laughter, conversation, or heated discussions would have been heard at once. Spaniards, mestizos, mulattos, Indians, Asians, old and young, busily occupied the streets and marketplaces within a given plaza.

In the center of a given town, a plaza housed the institutions of church and state. Their structures formed the vertical cultural landscape of a given place. Each town had its *cabildo* (town hall) and its chief politicians: the *alcalde mayor* and his *regidores* (regents) of the *cabildo*. From time to time, the governor of the province would visit the outlying towns. The business of the *cabildo* was to attend to the *res publica*, the affairs of the people. The *cabildo* voted on policies in conformity with the Laws of the Indies on all matters that affected the town, colony, or province. Inescapable to the eye would have been the interactions of the *cabildo* with the people within the colonial society of the place. Beyond their social status, political leaders, the clergy, the laymen or the laity, itinerant traders, drovers, scribes,

soldiers, and others in colonial societies seemingly had much in common as citizens of the empire.

Surrounding a given town, farmlands dotted the landscape with apple, peach, and apricot orchards as well as cultivated fields of melons, wheat, corn, chiles, and other assorted vegetables. Between the adjoining settlements were open ranges for pasturing herds of cattle, sheep, oxen, horses, and mules. In general, aside from stables or storage sheds for farm products, in corrals or within fences with small hutches near the homes of the settlers, one would have seen smaller numbers of domestic animals such as chickens, turkeys, milk cows, and goats, along with a few sheep and hogs for consumption. Farmlands with their attended acequias (irrigation ditches) would have dotted the landscape along rivers. Outlying settlements would have been, according to the Laws of the Indies, located near such necessities as water, wood, and pasturage. Other food sources, as available, included fish, wild birds, and foraging mammals.

On the outskirts of Spanish settlements, or not far from them, were Indian pueblos, which like their Spanish counterparts were farming communities, and rancherías (settlements of non-Pueblo tribes—in the case of New Mexico, Apache, Navajo, Ute, and Comanche communities), which lived off the land and trade. The dual Indian policy of dealing with peaceful tribes such as the pueblos and the warring tribes, especially those who lived on the eastern plains and woodlands to the north of New Mexico, affected both civil and religious entities. Spain dealt with the tribes as “*naciones*,” or nations. Yet the dual Indian policy defined the “*Gentiles*,” or those who had not yielded their sovereignty to Spanish authority and those, like the pueblos, who at least placated Spanish authorities by saying they accepted Spanish sovereignty. For them, coexistence was a means of survival. On the other hand, colonials preferred the object-lesson approach rather than the destruction of native groups. Indeed, control of native groups functioned as the preferred alternative. Groups or individuals who resisted coercion accordingly suffered the consequences of colonial European justice. Throughout the seventeenth century in New Mexico, for example, the pueblos, for the sake of survival, were submissive and obedient to Spanish authority and intimidation. Yet from time to time, the pueblos would “rebel” against Spanish sovereignty, but were defeated in their efforts until they succeeded in 1680.

Another element of Spanish Indian policy toward those who submitted to Spanish authority dealt with mission and non-mission Indians. Missionaries would have liked to have had control over an entire pueblo community, but Spanish law drew the line. Those Indians in the missions were under the authority and protection of the missionary priests. Those Indians in the pueblos who had not submitted to the mission process were not subject to the demands of the Spanish priests, but were a part of the population controlled by the civil authorities. Therein lay a three-pronged problem between missionaries, civil authorities, and the Indians themselves. The legal fight over authoritative boundaries between the priests and governors over control of Indians seemed, in the context of the times, to be a fine line. While priests tended to use Indian labor drawn from their charges, they could not demand work from non-mission Indians. That privilege was reserved to the governor and his chosen *encomenderos*, that is, those with the privilege to exact a yearly tribute (the *encomienda*) from non-mission Indians. If the tribute could not be paid in kind—that is, in blankets and *fanegas* (a fanega is equivalent to 1.6 bushels) of corn—then the value of the owed tribute would be paid in labor. The contractual aspects of the *repartimiento* outlined the guidelines for such work. For example, under the *repartimiento*, the *encomendero* had to pay one *real* a day to each laborer. Additionally, the type of work required and the number of days to do the work had to be specified.

The church-state feuds over Indian labor spilled into litigation brought before the Holy Office of the Inquisition, which dealt with issues such as the obstruction of the mission program. Governors and *encomenderos* were usually subjected to such investigations as a measure of control and intimidation by the clergy, which often led to their arrest, trial, and ouster from New Mexico. The laity, that is, the settlers, were often caught up in such fights and were literally forced to take sides, usually with the priests, who had the power to excommunicate dissidents. Too, in order to control the settlers in their choice of whom to side with, the priests would withhold the sacraments or not say mass on holy days, thus depriving the settlers of their religious practices. Such denials of the sacraments were frequently suffered in Santa Fe during the seventeenth century. Social conformity through such denials became the rule. Indeed, the struggle between church and state reflected the missionaries' passion to impose the supremacy of the church on the governor and Spanish settlers who stood in their way.

Spanish settlers, too, were subject to different forms of taxation. For example, despite their poverty, they paid a yearly tithe from their agricultural products, principally, wheat seeds collected by the church. They also paid a donation (alms) to the Santa Cruzada (the Holy Crusade) aimed at financing the fight against the “infidel,” that is the fight over the Holy Land occupied by Islam. The Santa Cruzada alms had to be paid in specie, something of which New Mexican settlers had very little. If they did not pay, the total owed would be charged in arrears and, if still not paid, the debtor would be excommunicated from the church. Between 1633, when the Santa Cruzada policy was instituted, to the end of the seventeenth century, New Mexico settlers, through their *cabildo* representatives, argued that if the Santa Cruzada policy prescribed a special church tax collected to be used for the defense of the holy faith in a traditional war against “infidels,” then instead of paying the tax, could they carry out a “holy crusade” against the unconverted Apaches and Navajos? Other taxes, such as the *quinto real*, or royal 20 percent for subsoil mineral resource, as well as the *diezmo*, a tithe amounting to 10 percent of their yearly earnings, were also charged the settlers.

Still, the goal of missionization of the natives had two diametrically opposed propositions. The crown, for example, utilized the missionaries to pacify the frontier so that expansion could be made without the cost of military force and manpower. Governors throughout the empire were keenly aware that mission fields served that purpose. Civil authorities saw pacification as a means to accomplish their goals dealing with the expansion of claim and sovereignty. They, like all investors, were motivated by personal economic gain. The second is that the missionaries were, indeed, imbued with the passion to serve their God by saving the souls of native peoples. In that regard, such religious fervor, compounded by a zealous drive, motivated the missionaries in the New Mexican mission field, known as the *Conversión de San Pablo*, to protect at all costs their work against the intrusive attitudes of civil authorities. Their fight to achieve their goals often resulted in extreme consequences.

One theme in New Mexico’s history bears discussion because it formed the center of the Pueblo Indian resentment and antagonism that led to conflict with the Spanish settlers. The many pueblo rebellions of the seventeenth century, including the much misunderstood battle of Acoma in 1599 and the much ignored “Jumano War” of 1602–3, are tied to New Mexico’s “starvation period” (see appendix B). The history of that period explains the issues

that are usually presented as “Spanish brutality” against the pueblos without any interpretation regarding the events and values of the period. That subject is treated in a number of chapters concerning events during the period 1598–1603.<sup>8</sup> Certainly, earlier expeditions between 1540 and 1592 added to the history of such resentments by the pueblos that had experienced demands by Spanish expeditions for food.

Interpreting the early history of New Mexico is not without its dangers in making general statements, or, for example, utilizing single-factor analyses to reach conclusions, or misrepresenting the cultural values of the period. Thus, an effort has been made herein to reconcile or at least call attention to the need to balance preconceived notions of historical events as they are applied to interpretations of events of another era across culture, language, and time as they apply to New Mexico’s history.

New Mexico’s history is a strong regional force, as it has influenced the early histories of neighboring states. Its history, moreover, is part of a broader story shared on a national and international stage. In that regard, other places and people significant to the history of the United States, Mexico, and Spain share that stage. To that end, the history behind Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument inspired the writing of this book (see appendix A). While this study focuses on Spanish New Mexico between 1598 and 1680, some light is shed on the history of the sites at Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument and its ties to the history cited herein.

Insights to the early history of New Mexico, as seen through the Salinas Pueblos Missions National Monument story, can be gleaned from the pioneer writings of France V. Scholes, Charles Wilson Hackett, Herbert E. Bolton, and Hubert Howe Bancroft.<sup>9</sup> So, too, the archives of Spain and Mexico as well as those in the Vatican are filled with data that reflects on the history of the Provincia de Nuevo México, the pueblos, and the Great Plains during the seventeenth century. Their story lay hidden in the timeless mists of history.

The historiography of the exploration and settlement of New Mexico is rich in early Spanish colonial documentation. In addition to sources in the archives of Spain and Mexico as well as documentary depositories in the United States, this study utilized printed documentary sources such as those by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, whose monumental work translated and edited all available documents that they collected of the life and times of Juan de Oñate as well as those concerning early explorers

of New Mexico. Similarly, Herbert Eugene Bolton's edited translations of correspondence, diaries, and reports regarding New Mexico's early history are essential for the study of Spanish colonial exploration and settlement of the Greater Southwest. Another major contributor to the history of seventeenth-century New Mexico, France V. Scholes, pioneered the use of ecclesiastical documents to unravel a deeper understanding of New Mexico's rich history. Among his many studies are *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610 to 1630* (1936) and *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659–1670* (1937). Additionally, sources extant in various national and international depositories were utilized in the present study. To that end, the author is indebted to the staffs of the following archives who aided him in locating related documents: the Archivo de Indias, Seville; the Real Academia de Historia, Madrid; the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid; the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City; and the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; as well as the Center for Southwest Research, Zimmerman Library, at the University of New Mexico. Special thanks to Dr. José de la Cruz Pacheco Rojas, professor at the Universidad Juárez del Estado de Durango, who shared documents with me related to early New Mexico, which he located in the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City.