

During this period, New Mexicans, not aware that the Treaty of 1806 had been concluded, continued to pursue expansion of the province and gather information to define and verify the boundary. In 1819, the Spanish commander in Santa Fe, Facundo Melgares sent a map along with descriptions of the land between Santa Fe and the upper Missouri to Mexico City. This map shows Santa Fe at the bottom, South Pass, Wyoming, at the top, the full extent of the Missouri River to the Yellowstone, and the three rivers that flow into it (which Lewis and Clark named the Madison, the Gallatin, and the Jefferson), as well as the full extent of the Arkansas River from the Rockies to the Mississippi. In his letter to the viceroy, Melgares promised, "As soon as the weather warms, I will lead an expedition northward." In 1820 he did in fact order an expedition northward by way of present Denver to the Yellowstone River. In the end his efforts came to naught when the United States prevailed on the western boundary issue and came close to gaining California as its prized possession.

That did not stop the New Mexicans from consolidating their hold on northern New Mexico. Abiquiá quickly became a jumping-off point for settlement. From there settlers pushed northward to a perilous Ute Navajo frontier at Tierra Amarilla, Ojo Caliente, and Chama. They also occupied the Española Valley with settlements at and surrounding Las Lucernas. East of there, New Mexicans founded the mountain settlements of Perlasco, Ojo Sarco, Las Trampas, and Truchas. Other settlers in the early nineteenth century pushed the frontier line from Mora to La Cueva and, eventually, south of there to Las Vegas. Everywhere along the line of settlements were land grants covering millions of acres.

Agriculture and stock raising were New Mexico's main industries in the rugged frontier zone of northern and central New Mexico, valleys with fresh water for irrigation and supplies of wood for building, cooking, and fuel to keep home fires burning through the cold, unforgiving winters were prerequisites for survival. Corn, wheat, beans, squash of all kinds, chile, and fruit, such as apples, apricots, and pears were grown on the arable lands along the waterways. Acequias drew water from nearby rivers and crisscrossed farmlands for miles, supplying settlements and farms. Mules, burros, cattle, horses, and sheep were raised in great numbers. Barnyard fowl were also raised to supplement

the settlers' diets. Local industries centered on producing trade items such as furniture, crafts, textiles, and pottery.

The Spanish colonial period in New Mexico was significant in many ways. It saw the establishment of a Spanish population, a system of governance and laws, a dominant religion, and documentation of the people, flora, and fauna across a broad geographic area stretching from Nevada to the Mississippi River and from South Pass in Wyoming to the crossing at El Paso. The development of the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (designated as a National Trail by the U.S. Congress in 2000 and as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2010) established a trade and immigration route that served to transmit western culture northward to merge with the Indian heritages of the present U.S. Southwest. In the waning days of the Spanish Empire, New Mexicans were preoccupied with survival. Their agriculture, irrigation systems, stock raising, and trade sustained them, but their conflicts with raiding tribes often pulled them away from their livelihoods. Exploration continued throughout the Spanish period as New Mexicans traveled as far north as the Great Salt Lake of Utah, through northern and western Colorado, and eastward across the Great Plains as far as the Missouri-Mississippi drainages. By 1781, New Mexicans had caught glimpses of a new power—the United States of America. In the previous decade Spain had aided the American cause by sending troops to the Gulf Coast to prevent Britain from attacking from the south. Residents of northern New Spain—New Mexicans, along with Californians, Sonorans, Chihuahuans, Coahuilans, and Tejanos—had contributed money, blankets, and horses to the American Revolution. In the end, as Spanish power gave way to U.S. encroachment and later an independent Mexico, New Mexicans became absorbed into a new order and acquired a new identity.

Upon his return to Santa Fe, Melgares was instructed to lead an expedition north from Santa Fe to arrest an intruder named Zebulon Montgomery Pike south of Denver, near present Colorado Springs. Pike knew well that the Arkansas River was the boundary, because Thomas Jefferson had instructed him not to cross it. What he was not sure about was where or at what point the boundary line ran north of the Arkansas. Seeking a safe haven, he and his frostbitten, fever-ridden men marched northwestward in the snow toward present Pikes Peak, which he could see in the distance. If Anglo-Americans were unsure of the boundary, Melgares knew that Pike was within Spanish territory and arrested him for trespassing on Spanish soil. In effect, Melgares rescued Pike's party from certain death in the winter of 1807. Pike and his men were escorted to Santa Fe for interrogation, then subsequently to Ciudad Chihuahua for further questioning and possible execution. Eventually, they were released by way of San Antonio, Texas. Pike's release and the publication of his diary sparked renewed interest regarding Spanish New Mexico. As a result, between 1807 and 1818 the United States pressed Spain for a clarification of the vague boundary line between their territories.

The winds of war that would sweep the Spanish Empire presented an advantage to the United States in boundary negotiations with a weakened Spanish government. The turmoil began in 1808 when France invaded Spain, forcing the Spanish king and his son to abdicate, imprisoning them, and imposing Joseph Bonaparte as monarch. A Spanish opposition government in exile that included representatives from the Americas was established at Cádiz, serving as a regency for the absent monarch. New Mexico's representative was Don Pedro Baptista Pino. New Mexicans aptly observed that despite the drafting of a new, liberal constitution by the Cortes, nothing changed for Pino or New Mexico during his tenure in the Cortes de Cádiz. Indeed, when it was all over, New Mexican frontiersmen quipped, "Don Pedro Pino fue, Don Pedro Pino vino" (Don Pedro Pino went, Don Pedro Pino returned.) He did at least either write or assist in the publication of an endearing description of New Mexico that was presented to the Cortes de Cádiz entitled *The Exposition on the Province of New Mexico, 1812*. It remains a significant narrative of daily life, cultural practices, and political issues

in New Mexico at the end of the colonial period. Meanwhile, during the throes of the French occupation of Spain, Father Miguel Hidalgo raised the flag of revolution in Mexico in 1810, triggering the Mexican independence movement that finally ended in success in 1821.

These developments put the United States in a good bargaining position during the 1818–19 boundary negotiations leading up to the 1819 Adams-Onís, or Transcontinental, Treaty. The western limits of Louisiana, which had never been resolved following the Louisiana Purchase, remained a point of contention between Spain and the United States. Many Anglo-American frontiersmen claimed Texas as part of the Louisiana Purchase. Meanwhile, Andrew Jackson had demonstrated that the United States could easily take Spanish Florida by force. Armed with information gained from Jackson's invasion of Florida, the United States persuaded Spain of its weaknesses in North America and proposed an agreement. Spanish officials were perturbed but eventually compelled to reevaluate Spain's hold on Florida. Debilitated by rebellions at home and in Latin America, Spanish officials perceived that losing Florida would be inevitable. Reluctantly, in 1819, they agreed to cede Florida to the United States.

The treaty of 1819 finally established a western boundary line for the Louisiana Territory and settled issues regarding Florida. For several decades, raiders from Florida had been causing property damage to landowners in the United States, totaling more than \$5 million. When the Americans demanded compensation for this property damage, Spanish negotiators agreed to cede Florida to the United States in exchange for the latter's assumption of the \$5 million claim. Along similar lines, Spanish officials agreed to relinquish all previous claims to Louisiana and Oregon if the United States would give up claims to Texas. The new boundary ran from the mouth of the Sabine River, on the present border between Louisiana and Texas, to the 32nd parallel, then north to the Red River, west along the river to the 100th meridian, then north to the Arkansas River and along its right bank to its source. From there, the new boundary zigzagged north along the Rockies to the 42nd parallel. Then it turned west to the Pacific, separating Oregon from Spanish holdings in California and giving the United States its long-sought extent from coast to coast.

Meanwhile, Spanish officials in Mexico saw the United States as a threat. While the eastern boundary of Louisiana was established along the Mississippi River, the western boundary was unclear. How far west did Louisiana extend? Did it include Texas? Spain argued that it was. Thomas Jefferson said that the boundary could reach as far as the "Rocky Mountain Mountains" and claimed it was the manifest destiny of the United States to extend all the way to the California coast. So when he was in the northern end of the Rocky Mountains, New Mexico, he was concerned about Jefferson's claims.

In July 1803, following the Louisiana Purchase, Meriwether Lewis met in Louisville with Carlos Donat de Delmas, the last Spanish governor of that city, who stated that he could not permit Lewis to proceed any further. Delmas warned Spanish officials, "I believe that his only aim was not other than to discover the Pacific Ocean, following the Missouri." Meanwhile, General James Wilkinson, an officer sympathetic to the U.S. and Spanish armies, gave Spain information about the Lewis and Clark expedition (the Corps of Discovery). As a double agent, Wilkinson advised Spanish officials in Louisiana that they should arrest Lewis and Clark and that Daniel Boone and his Missouri River men were from Spain's territory.

In New Mexico, Spanish officials received notice of the Lewis and Clark expedition. At the time, Santa Fe was the center of concerns about possible encroachments by the British and by Anglo-Americans ever since the latter took their acquisition of Louisiana. All Anglo-American expeditions were watched closely by Spanish officials, ranging from the minister in Washington to the treasury in Mexico. Meanwhile, much correspondence flowed between Spain and its North American possessions. From St. Louis, Delmas suggested that the only course for Spain was to arrest Lewis and Clark, whose expedition "can hardly avoid passing among the neighboring Indian nations of New Mexico, through their huts or villages." In the past, the routes French traders had traced from Louisiana and Illinois had crossed the Great Plains to New Mexico. Delmas warned officials in Texas and New Orleans that Anglo-American settlers claimed that the boundary of the United States included the Rio Grande, south of Santa Fe. He cautioned that these settlers might begin setting up posts for contraband trade into Mexico.

The Spanish foreign minister in Spain issued warnings about this danger to the governors of Coahuila, Chihuahua, and New Mexico. In the summer of 1804, Governor Fernando Chacon of New Mexico sent Pedro Vial to alert Plains tribes allied with Spain to monitor movements of the Lewis and Clark expedition should they attempt to cross the Great Plains. Vial had orders to arrest Lewis and Clark if he encountered them.

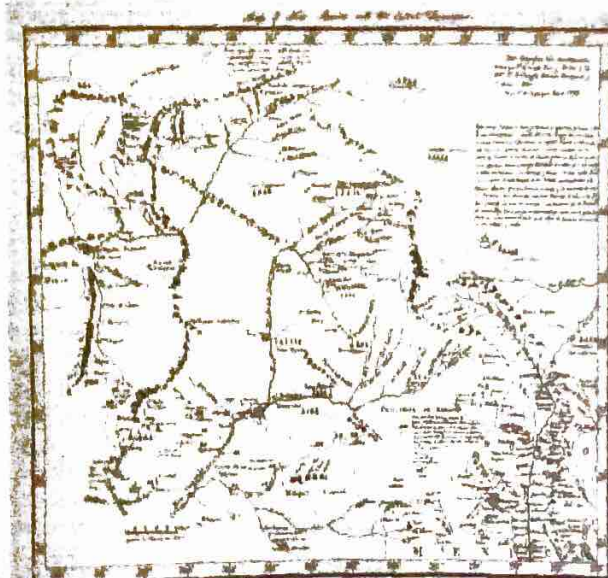
At Taos, Vial was joined by twenty New Mexican frontiersmen and Pueblo warriors. By September 3, they had reached the Rio Chato (Platte), and three days later they arrived at the Pawnee villages. They did not find the trail of Lewis and Clark's party, but they did meet some twenty Frenchmen from Illinois who reported that Lewis and Clark had sufficient men and supplies, and that they had befriended various Indian tribes, whose chiefs had given them Spanish medals, flags, and *patentes* (commissions), in exchange for Anglo-American *patentes* and flags. Only the Pawnees had refused to ally themselves with the Anglo-Americans. Vial returned to Santa Fe and made his report. On a subsequent search for the Corps of Discovery in 1806, Vial and Juan Lucero and their men were attacked by a party of about one thousand Indians, who pillaged two-thirds of their supplies. The Spanish repulsed the assailants, but Vial, finding their supplies dangerously depleted, returned to Santa Fe at about the same time that Lewis and Clark reached the mouth of the Columbia River. Other expeditions were sent out without success.

Spanish officials in New Mexico did not give up their search for Lewis and Clark until late 1806. That year, Facundo Melgares and six hundred men, including Pueblo auxiliaries from New Mexico, had journeyed to the eastern end of the Arkansas to trade and discuss alliances with the Osage and Pawnee. The Arkansas River was recognized as the boundary separating New Spain from the United States. Melgares was ordered to keep an eye out for the Lewis and Clark expedition, which Spanish officials believed had crossed the continent via the Great Plains of Nebraska and Kansas. Instead, Lewis and Clark followed the Missouri northward to the Mandan villages and then turned west to the Pacific coast, arriving at a point near present Portland, Oregon. They returned by the same route. Melgares never came near the expedition, which had already returned to Louisiana several months earlier.

a medieval place called Teguaya, where the Pueblo Indians ostensibly had originated, crossed nearly all of the Indian trails in the area. In 1791, Juan María Antonio Rivera led two expeditions through western Colorado as far as the Colorado River. He spent a summer prospecting for silver (plata) in a mountain range they called Sierra de la Plata today's La Plata Mountains. In July 1776, Franciscan friars Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Veles Escalante led an expedition to locate a route to the California coast. Their route meandered northwest into Colorado and Utah as far north as present Grand Junction, Colorado. Crossing the Green and Colorado rivers the expedition headed westward, where they made contact with the Timpanogos, who lived near the Great Salt Lake. From there they traveled southwestward to a point near Orderville, Utah. From there they could see snowcapped mountains and decided to return to New Mexico. Exploring through the mazes of the Grand Canyon, the expedition made its way to Oraibi and other Hopi pueblos. Eventually, they reached the Rio Grande below Albuquerque. On January 4, 1777, the explorers entered Santa Fe and reported all they had seen to the governor. Their route would inspire the successful route blazed in 1800 by Antonio Arrijo from Santa Fe via present Kanab, in southern Utah, to Los Angeles.

In 1765, Pierre Vial, a French trader from Louisiana, led a small party from San Antonio to present Wichita Falls. From there he followed the Red and Canadian rivers to New Mexico and made his way to Santa Fe. Known as Pedro Vial to the Spaniards and as Manton, the Great Walker, by eastern Plains Indians, Vial was a trailblazer who opened a route from Santa Fe to St. Louis, Missouri. His partner, Francisco Braguer, ran another route from Santa Fe to New Orleans via northern Texas. Such trails, though feasible, were not practical and were soon forgotten. In the nineteenth century, other, more successful trails, such as the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri, would revolutionize trade from New Mexico via the Great Plains of Texas to Missouri.

In 1800, Spain found its entire empire threatened, not by external enemies, but by internal foes who began to talk about independence from the mother country. Recognizing its weaknesses in terms of being able to defend its empire against Great Britain and the United States, Spain decided to return Louisiana to France in exchange for lands in



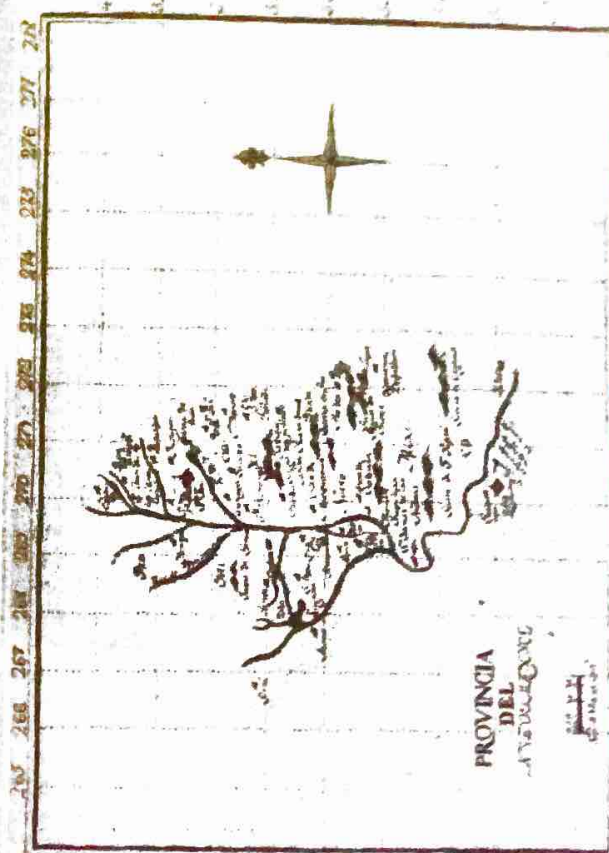
New Mexico Province in the late eighteenth century, mapped by Bernardo Miera y Pacheco. (Facsimile made in 1970 by Meriden Gravure Co. of "Plano geográfico de los Descubrimientos hechas por don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco y los RRs Ps Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y Fr. Silvestre Veles. Año de 1778", archived in the Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.)

Tuscany, with the hope that the French government would establish a buffer to protect Spain's sparsely populated northern frontier. Spanish and French officials signed the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800), exchanging Louisiana, at a palace near Segovia, Spain. The Spanish plan was thwarted when Napoleon Bonaparte, in need of money and hoping to retake Louisiana later by force, sold the territory to the United States in 1803. Three years later, he stationed 20,000 French troops in Haiti with the intent of invading Louisiana, but the Haitian rebellion led by Toussaint L'Ouverture in 1806 squelched that plan.

Europeans rarely recognized that nomadic and seminomadic peoples such as the Apaches, Utes, and Comanches lived in small, mobile, largely autonomous bands. Although not always successful, Spanish settlers, along with Pueblo Indian allies, led punitive expeditions against them, often tracking specific Navajo, Apache, and Comanche raiders to their campsites. Sometimes, such engagements triggered revenge killings by Plains Indians honor bound to avenge their dead. That, in turn, provoked Spanish counterattacks, and so the cycle continued. Still, throughout the colonial period, Spanish and Pueblo Indian farmlands and animals, along with women and children, were easy targets for raiding warriors. Similarly, Spanish settlers took Plains Indian women and children as hostages to trade for their captured Hispanic kin. Trade fairs, called *rescates*, were held at Taos, Picuris, and Pecos for such purposes. Some New Mexican captives were rescued as far away as San Antonio, Texas. Others were never seen again. Tactically, Europeans, with their long guns, were accustomed to certain maneuvers on the battlefield, whereas Indian warfare, at least among their adversaries on the northern frontier of New Spain, resembled guerrilla hit-and-run tactics. Indian raiding was not a warfare tactic per se, but, in the long run, it became a desperate attempt by roaming peoples to survive the pressures of American westward expansion as Plains tribes pushed one against the other toward New Mexico.

Finally, in 1779, New Mexico governor Juan Bautista de Anza, a seasoned frontier commander, pursued the Comanches relentlessly until he trapped them at the Arkansas River. There in a bloody afternoon fight, he defeated them. With the death of Chief Cuerno Verde, the Comanches ceased their raids into New Mexico for a long period.

During the 1770s and 1780s, Spanish officials in Santa Fe also turned their attention toward making contact with settlements in Texas, Louisiana, and California. Finding an overland route to the California settlements, nearly cut off from the rest of New Spain except by sea, became a priority, however. New Mexicans reasoned that the recently established missions and towns in California offered rich trading possibilities, but range after range of rugged mountains separated them from the coast. Exploration of western Colorado and Utah as far as the Great Salt Lake had taken place since the 1670s. New Mexicans, seeking



Eighteenth century New Mexico. "Mapa de la Intendencia del Nuevo México, c. 1770," AGI, FS 41091. AGI 16418 17-MP Mexico, 2683

street along with two other French deserters sold firearms to Plains people on their way west. On arriving in Santa Fe, they stole horses and mules from New Mexican and traded them to Comanches who were raiding northern New Mexican villages. Such activities caused Spanish officials to consider all traders as persons non gratas and treat them as such. In 1762, officials in Santa Fe promptly arrested Jean Chapuis, a Frenchman who had come from Louis Chartier in Illinois, confiscated his goods, and sent him and his men to prison in Mexico City and Spain.

The French and Indian War in North America (1754-63) pitted the British colonies against the colonists of New France. As the conflict spread to Europe, launching the Seven Years' War, Spanish-French relations underwent a change. In 1762, realizing that they were about to lose the war with England, the French Bourbon quickly negotiated a land transfer to their Spanish Bourbon cousins. The result was that Spain inherited French Louisiana. Under the terms of the 1763 Treaty of Paris, England emerged the victor with newly won possessions in the Caribbean.

Meanwhile, New Mexico continued to be beset by Plains raiders. In order to pacify them, Spanish officials in Santa Fe developed a policy to control trade on the plains by befriending and creating alliances with certain bands. Although the policy did not stop the raiding, the last quarter of the eighteenth century was a period of comparative peace. The Utes did form alliances with New Mexicans, but Apaches on the lower Rio Grande continued raiding farms and villages, such as Socorro, from their strongholds in the Magdalena Mountains. Other Apaches still harassed travelers on the Camino Real between El Paso del Norte and the Villa de Albuquerque. In northern New Mexico the Comanches, raiding from southeastern Colorado, dominated the area from the Arkansas River to mountain villages from Taos to Mora, Las Trampas, Pecos, San Miguel, and Villanueva. Comanche warriors raided at will, took captives, and killed whoever stood in their way.

Far away in Mexico City, Spanish officials formulated plans to stop the aggression from England, which had, between 1775 and 1790, encroached on Spanish claims to the lower Ohio and Mississippi river valleys. The plan aimed at beating Indian attacks in a wide arc from Sonora northward through present southern Arizona, northern New

Mexico, and Texas along with the provinces of Chihuahua, Nuevo León, and Coahuila in present northern Mexico. To do that, Spain had to harness the entire frontier.

The first phase of the plan called for an inspection of all frontier military outposts and towns that could support a militia. Similar inspections had taken place in 1726-28 under Pedro de Rivera and again in 1762-66 under the Marqués de Rubí. Each inspector had visited every town and outpost for months on end and had presented recommendations for making the frontier defenses more efficient. Rubí's report resulted in the *Reglamento de 1763*, which reorganized the frontier, instituting a set of policies and plans that turned the outlying frontier area into a large military jurisdiction called the *Provincias Internas* (Internal Provinces). The *Reglamento* designated a new frontier line of defense running from Texas to Chihuahua that was supervised by one commander, the *comandante general de las Provincias Internas*, based in Ciudad Chihuahua. The *comandante general* was appointed by the king and independent of the viceroy, insulating him from New Spain's politics. He oversaw all political, military, and financial affairs within the *Provincias Internas*, with the governor of each province reporting directly to him. Judicial matters remained under the jurisdiction of the courts (*audiencias*) of Mexico and Guadalajara. Tediato de Croix, "El Caballero de Croix," became the first *comandante general*. Facing Apache and Comanche raiders a threat to the prosperity of the northern provinces, he proceeded to wage war against them. Still, despite some small successes, the raids continued.

The Spanish lack of success with Plains tribes was in part attributable to profound cultural misunderstandings between them. Despite the animosity between the two, the Spanish never doubted that they were more civilized than the Plains Indians, but they did fear and respect them. Indeed, since the days of Juan de Oñate, succeeding Spanish governors had prohibited trade with Plains tribes unless explicitly licensed. Violators suffered penalties. Recognizing the warrior culture and the tribes' athletic abilities in warfare, Oñate, as early as 1599, believed that they were so strong and numerous that they could overrun New Mexico if antagonized. Eventually, the same policy was applied to the Utes. Accustomed to a strictly hierarchical political organization, most

along it. To the west, Navajos often raided land grant communities east of the Sierra de Cebollera (today's Mount Taylor) and on the west side of the Villa de Albuquerque. Settlers far to the north in the Española Valley feared raids by Utes, and, in the northeast, Comanches hit as far south as Pecos and Galisteo. By the 1790s both of those areas had seen significant population declines. Pecos, for example, had a population of nearly 2,000 in the seventeenth century; by 1760, the number had dropped to about 600; and by 1797, it had dwindled to 189 residents. In the context of the period, Spanish officials were essentially powerless to stop the Apache, Ute, Navajo, and Comanche hit-and-run tactics. Punitive expeditions of Spanish militia and Pueblo allies sallied forth annually to track down raiders, but often had little success against Natives who were adept at disappearing into rugged country.

At the start of the eighteenth century a new peril appeared on the eastern plains in the form of French traders selling weapons to Plains peoples bordering Spanish New Mexico. Having moved southward from the Canadian Great Lakes to Louisiana during the seventeenth century, the French began to eye Spanish Texas as a possible addition to the French Empire. In 1680, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, attempted a settlement in eastern Texas. After he was murdered by his own men, the French outpost at Fort St. Louis fell prey to the Karankawas and other local Natives. A few survivors escaped toward the Spanish settlements in Coahuila south of the Rio Grande. Two of them, Jean L'Archevêque and Jacques Grolet, made their way to El Paso in 1693, where they joined Diego de Vargas and his settlers on their march to New Mexico. The murky French threat became more real in 1706 when Juan de Ulibarri, one of the founders of Albuquerque, led an expedition against the Utes and Comanches. At a place called El Cuartejejo in southern Colorado, he heard tales of Frenchmen among the Pawnees. Between 1719 and 1721, French traders under La Harpe traveled from Natchitoches in western Louisiana and reached Santa Fe.

To upset the growing French influence on the Great Plains, Governor Antonio Valverde led an expedition in 1719 against the Utes and Apaches along the Arkansas River and beyond as far as El Cuartejejo. There Apache informants told him that they had fought a battle with Pawnees who were equipped with French firearms and

that Frenchmen were living among various Native groups along the Platte River.

In 1720, Valverde sent a second small expedition, numbering forty soldiers from Santa Fe, sixty Pueblo Indian allies, and a few others, under Captain Pedro Villasur. Among them was Jean L'Archevêque, who served as an interpreter. Villasur's orders were to spy on the French and report back on their activities. Marching northeastward as far as the junction of the North and South Platte in central Nebraska, Villasur failed to locate any French traders. On the morning of August 13, as Villasur and his men were breaking camp to return to New Mexico, a large Pawnee war party fell upon them in a surprise dawn attack, wiping out nearly the entire expedition. Only thirteen men survived to tell the story. When the news reached New Mexico, the entire colony was thrown into a panic. Believing that Frenchmen had orchestrated the Pawnee victory, New Mexicans prepared for the worst. So fearful were the settlers that many considered abandoning the province.

Meanwhile, in Europe, matters between Spain and France came to a head and the two countries made peace in 1721. Among the issues of contention was Spanish encroachment toward the northeast from New Mexico and Texas. Spain agreed to halt its expansion and prohibit Spanish subjects from trading on the Great Plains, concessions that favored French control over Plains peoples. New Mexicans were not about to cede control to the French, and the provisions of the agreement of 1721 went unenforced.

The French did not back off. In 1739, the Mallet brothers with a small group of men crossed from Missouri through present Nebraska and Kansas, reaching Taos and Santa Fe. The Mallet brothers demonstrated that the Great Plains could be crossed despite the dangers posed by hostile Plains bands. The following spring, they returned to Louisiana and reported to the commander at New Orleans, briefing him about trade opportunities and conditions in the Provincia de Nuevo México. The Mallet brothers had opened the door to New Mexico. French officials in Louisiana took great interest in the possibilities of opening up trade with Santa Fe. Between 1741 and 1752 other trading parties visited Santa Fe. Some French traders created problems for Spanish officials. In 1749, for example, a trading party under Pierre

smaller-scale reenactment of the Pueblo Revolt. Taos, Picuris, Cochiti, Santa Domingo, Jemez, and Arcoma were among the pueblos that led the revolt of 1680. Vargas responded quickly and harshly, putting down open revolt not leaving simmering resentment.

Governor Vargas realized that Pueblo sentiments were divided over continued rebellion. Prolonged resistance inevitably meant ongoing death and destruction. Many recognized that they would never rid themselves of the Spanish settlers and sought accommodation. As always, not all relationships were antagonistic for there were new intermarriages and friendships. Both Pueblo Indian and Spanish settlers were farmers who had more in common than their animosities. Still, the colonial regime stood in the way of a harmonious relationship. One of the positive outcomes of the Pueblo Revolt from the Indian perspective was that the *encomienda* and the *repartimiento* were not reinstated in New Mexico and the Indians gained some freedom to preserve their social organization and cultural practices within their pueblos.

As the sentiments for rebellion quieted, Vargas saw the opportunity to reestablish the mission system in New Mexico. By the end of 1684, the missionaries were able to establish mission programs in nearly eighteen pueblos and missionization proceeded steadily. When Bishop Tamarón visited New Mexico in 1760, he confirmed that more than 14,000 Christian Indians lived there, inclusive of those in the El Paso mission district. Still, long-standing bitter feelings between the missionaries and traditional Pueblo Indian elders and headmen did not go away. Franciscan missionaries struggled to overcome the power of these traditional leaders. Too, the missionaries remained adversarial to civil authority and became embroiled in arguments with Spanish officials over control of Indian jurisdictions.

Governor Vargas expanded the settlements along the Rio Grande from north to south. Three years after the start of the reconquista, Vargas authorized seventy families to establish the Villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, some thirty miles north of Santa Fe. Other towns were established at Bernalillo and Cerrillos, with farming communities at Angostura, Arasco, Los Padillas, and other places. Vargas offered land grants to entice settlers to leave the security of Santa Fe and establish farms and ranches along the river. Because fear of the Apaches was

detering settlement of new lands, Vargas warred against Apache raiders and pursued them into the Sandía Mountains.

After Vargas's death in 1704, the new governor, Francisco Cuervo y Valdes, founded several other settlements. Among them was the Villa de San Francisco de Albuquerque, soon renamed San Felipe de Albuquerque in honor of the newly crowned King Philip and the viceroy the Duke of Albuquerque. With a slight spelling change, Albuquerque (modern local spelling and pronunciation without the first *r*) has grown today into the metropolitan center of the state of New Mexico. The eighteenth-century Villa de Albuquerque served as a center of governance with an *ayuntamiento*, a small garrison, and a church that attracted many settlers to the area. The town, however, offered little protection against Apache raiders who followed a plunder trail through Tijeras Canyon a short distance to the west in the Sandia Mountains. To deter raiding, a land grant was offered to anyone willing to settle the mouth of the canyon at Carnuel. In time other land grants with names like Alameda, Los Ranchos, Los Griegos, Los Candelarias, Los Poblanos, Corrales, Pajarito, Los Padillas, and Armijo dotted the entire valley from north to south. Surviving periodic raids and slowly beginning to thrive, many of these communities persisted intact into the twenty first century.

Meanwhile, settlers petitioned the governor for greater protection for their families, lands, and livestock. Prior to the founding of Albuquerque, the Santa Fe garrison, numbering eighty men at full strength, was the only substantial military presence north of El Paso. Smaller units of five or six men, called *compañías volantes* (flying squadrons) because they were designed to be mobile, were stationed in places like Jemez, Laguna, Cochiti, and Santa Clara. For the most part settlers depended on civilian militias recruited from the various communities and on Pueblo Indian allies to secure their safety. Travelers on the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro between El Paso and Santa Fe took their chances against Apache raiders. After 1770, thirty soldiers were stationed at Robledo, at the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto north of El Paso.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Apache threat loomed large along the Camino Real and in the many Hispanic villages that sprang up

cut off the water supply to the acequia and gave Governor Otermín two choices, to be signified by a white or a red wooden cross. The white cross meant that Otermín would abandon the country forever and leave in peace; the red cross that the Spaniards intended to fight to the death, in which case all would be killed without mercy.

Otermín and his settlers decided to fight their way out. Facing starvation and thirst, they suddenly attacked the unprepared Pueblo warriors. 300 Indians were killed, 47 were captured, and an estimated 1,500 fled to the surrounding hills. For the Spaniards, the situation was still desperate. As they fled Santa Fe, they saw the havoc wreaked in the countryside by Pueblo and Apache warriors. Along their escape route toward the *bosque grande* (the large riparian forest of the Rio Grande between Bernalillo and Isleta), they witnessed desolated farms and many families who had been killed.

Otermín and his fellow refugees, numbering about a thousand men, women, and children, moved southward down the Rio Grande. For seventy miles, the Indians followed them to make sure they kept going. On passing present Las Cruces, Otermín saw fabulous spirals on a mountain and named them "Los Organos," the Organ Mountains. Beyond there lay El Paso del Norte, where they met up with the refugees under García. Otermín declared El Paso to be the official headquarters of New Mexico. Thus, El Paso served as New Mexico's fourth capital, from 1680 to 1692. There, the settlers recounted their experiences and mourned the nearly five hundred men, women, and children, along with twenty-one Franciscan missionaries, killed in the uprising.

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 resulted in the displacement of New Mexican families to El Paso del Norte and towns farther south. Some families returned to New Mexico after the rebellion was quelled, others did not. At least twelve families with close ties to the pueblos did not flee New Mexico, but remained to live among their Indian relatives. From time to time between 1680 and 1690, Spanish officials in El Paso ordered sorties into New Mexico to gather information about the status of the revolt. Some expeditions reached Cochiti Pueblo, but determined that an effort to retake New Mexico was likely to fail. Meanwhile, officials in Mexico City viewed the rebellion with great

concern, fearing that if they left it unpunished, they risked the danger of encouraging other revolts.

In 1690, the viceroy of Mexico appointed Diego de Vargas governor of New Mexico, with a mission to retake Santa Fe. Setting out from El Paso del Norte with three hundred men in August 1692, Vargas headed north to Santa Fe. By September 13, he and his army had surrounded the town and cut off its water supply and all communications. Vargas demanded that the Pueblo warriors surrender. By this time the alliances that had enabled the Indians to defeat the Spanish before had broken down, and the pueblos had suffered through a seven-year drought, leaving them in a far weaker position. Despite some blustering and threats, they surrendered before nightfall. Having retaken Santa Fe, Vargas toured the entire province, visiting pueblos from Taos in the north to Zuni and Hopi in the west. Although he touted the *reconquista* of New Mexico as bloodless, the reality was that Pueblo and Apache warriors resisted the Spanish return, and the people subsided into sullen acquiescence while awaiting better opportunities to rebel.

Aware that the peace was tenuous at best, Governor Vargas decided to bring nearly one thousand Spanish settlers north from El Paso to consolidate his position. After long delays, Vargas started north for the permanent reoccupation of New Mexico. By mid-December 1693, the colonists had arrived on the outskirts of Santa Fe, seemingly without opposition. When they tried to enter the town, however, the Indians refused to vacate it and forced the colonists to camp nearby. All were suffering from the bitter winter weather that swept down from the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Vargas ordered his men to assault the town. Before the second day had ended, the Indians surrendered. Seeking to assert Spanish supremacy and instill fear in the recalcitrant Indians, Vargas executed many of the Native warriors as an object lesson.

Other rebellions flared up at the end of 1693 as the Pueblos attempted to shake off Spanish control before it could be reestablished. Most of the central and northern pueblos were in rebellion throughout the next year. Vargas used diplomacy, Pueblo allies, and increasingly severe force to keep them in check. In 1696, fourteen pueblos rose in another mighty rebellion, killing missionaries and Spanish settlers in a

and Hopi pueblos. Fray Benavides also encouraged the resumption of work in the Jemez area, where the Pueblo de la Congregación de San Diego was reestablished. New missions were founded among the Piro, and at Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi as the Franciscans spread their influence throughout New Mexico after Benavides's tenure.

In the seventeenth century, the history of colonial New Mexico was largely one of church-state conflicts. The disputes were fundamentally between missionaries and economic policies of colonialism. In the Indian and Hopi, discord among governors and missionaries became apparent, largely over who would control the Pueblo Indians for religious conversion or civilian purposes under prevailing Indian policies. The Franciscans used the Holy Office of the Inquisition as a political weapon against New Mexico governors to discipline them and thwart their opposition to missionary efforts. Missionaries wanted sole control to convert the Pueblos without interference from civil authorities. The governors, on the other hand, wanted a free hand to collect tribute (encomienda), employ Indians under the repartimiento laws, or use them as allies against raiding Apache, Navajo, Ute, and later Comanche warriors who attacked pueblos and Spanish settlements. Each charged the other with abuse and exploitation of the Pueblos and other friendly Indians. Witnessing the discord and division among missionaries and civil authorities, many of the pueblos became increasingly restless. Indian rebellions occurred throughout the period, but they were small and easily quelled by Spanish militia. After the Pueblo Indians, decades would pass before they could muster their forces for a successful revolt in 1680.

Several factors led to the Pueblo Revolt. The oppressive colonial regime enforced the yearly tribute of the encomienda and forced labor under the repartimiento, although by law workers had to be paid, abuses were common. Meanwhile, the power struggle between Franciscan missionaries and the civil government created disunity in the colony, causing dissension among the Spanish settlers, who were forced to choose sides.

Meanwhile, the Indians witnessed the squabbles and sometimes encouraged them by reporting abuses to one side or the other. They used the Inquisition to testify against settlers and governors that the

missionaries accused of religious infractions, while resisting conversion efforts in their pueblos. The fight between governors and priests ran deep. Many governors were ousted from New Mexico. Others were sent in chains to Mexico City for trial by the Inquisition.

By the mid 1600s, Pueblo Indians were openly expressing their hostility to the colonial system imposed on them through military force. Spanish-Indian relationships were not exclusively antagonistic, however. In the eighty years since the establishment of New Mexico, intermarriages and religious kinships had been established. Friendships and social associations had been formed among Spanish frontiersmen and their Indian counterparts. But such relationships were not enough to soothe Indian resentment against the injustices of Spanish colonialism.

Some pueblos plotted with the Apaches to drive out the Spaniards, but most of these plans were discovered before they happened. In many cases, Indian relatives or friends told their Spanish kin about the planned insurrection. In 1675, Spanish officials quelled a rebellion in San Juan, hanging three conspirators and imprisoning forty others. Escaping prosecution, one of the leaders, Popé, fled to Taos and resumed plotting. Even though his accomplices were not to reveal the plan under penalty of death, two days before the revolt, informants from Taos, Galisteo, and Peecos reported the impending trouble to Governor Antonio de Otermín. Nevertheless, on Saturday, August 10, 1680, the feast day of San Lorenzo, the Indians unleashed their fury, killing as many Spanish farmers and their families as they could. Again, loyalties were not black and white: some Spanish families were spared because of their familial relationships with certain pueblos.

Spanish settlers along the Rio Grande south of Santa Fe fared better than their counterparts in the capital. More than 120 Spaniards were killed, but 1,500 escaped with the assistance of the lieutenant governor, Alonso García, who lived in the area. García sent messengers to Santa Fe, but none got through. He concluded that Santa Fe had fallen with no survivors. Similarly, when Governor Otermín's messages to García went unanswered, he assumed that the entire province had perished.

Meanwhile, settlers around Santa Fe fled to the capital and barricaded the town, besieged by Indian forces. By August 13, the Pueblos

indifference to Indian cultures, the Spaniards referred to these people as Jumanos, lumping them together with the Caddoan speaking Wichitas and at least one other distinct Indian group. Perhaps Benavides felt a close affinity to the people of Salinas because they had little prior experience of indoctrination. It was he who could claim the conversion of one of their principal pueblos, Las Humanas, a place name denoting where the Jumanos came to trade and sometimes live among their pueblo friends. The present-day ruins are known as Gran Quivira, a unit of Salinas Pueblo Mission National Monument, located in Mountainair, New Mexico.

Another aspect of the Jumanos in which Benavides took a great interest concerned the appearance of Maria de Jesús de la Concepción, a mystic nun of the order of St. Francis from Agreda in the Spanish province of Burgos. The investigation of this mystery took up much of Benavides's time and involved a great deal of travel. The story goes that Maria de Agreda "miraculously bilocated" herself from her convent in Spain to New Mexico to preach to the Indians. Mysteriously appearing to the Jumanos on the edge of the plains as a Lady in Blue, she had inspired them to convert. The story of the apparition of the Lady in Blue first surfaced when Jumanos from the plains crossed the large mountain east of the Rio Grande to Isleta Pueblo on the Abajo River. For several summers, they reportedly returned annually to "beg" Fray Juan de Salas to visit their land and baptize them.

When thirty new friars arrived in New Mexico in 1629, they bore a missive to Benavides from the archbishop of Mexico, authorizing him to undertake an inquiry into the apparition, which by now "was common news in Spain." Until Benavides saw the letter, he had never thought to ask the Indians why they sought conversion. Dazzled by the contents, Benavides said he thought that the Jumanos' plea "for friars to go and baptize them must have been through inspiration from heaven." Shortly after receiving the letter, Benavides noted that, four days sooner than in previous years, the Jumanos had returned to Isleta to make their request.

This time Benavides asked them about their request for baptism. Gazing at a portrait of Mother Luisa in the convent at Isleta Pueblo, they said, "A woman in similar garb wanders among us over there, always preaching, but her face is not old like this, but young." When asked why they had never before mentioned it, they answered, "Because you did

not ask us, and we thought she was around here, too." Dumbfounded, Benavides sought to verify the story.

Soon thereafter, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego López, led by the Jumanos, departed Isleta bound for the plains of New Mexico and Texas. The priests had no idea where they were going. They traveled for many days across the buffalo plains, past the land of the brave Apache *vaqueros*, to Jumano country. When they reached the Jumano *rancherías*, the people came out "in procession carrying a large cross and garlands of flowers." From them, the priests learned that the nun in blue had taught them about the cross, had helped them decorate it, and had even instructed them on the processional march. After spending several days among the Jumanos and other tribes, instructing them in the catechism and in prayer, the friars set up a large cross and, promising to return, departed the *ranchería* for Isleta to report to Benavides.

Benavides returned to Spain, where he received permission to visit Mother Maria de Jesús, abbess of the convento of La Purísima Concepción at Agreda, which he did on the last day of April 1631. Friar Benavides was impressed with the Lady in Blue, who reported that her transportations to New Mexico "by angels" took place "from the year 1620 to the present year, 1631." She told Fray Alonso "all we know that has happened to our brothers and fathers, Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego López, in their journeys to the Jumanos, and confirmed" that she had asked them "to go and call the priests, which they did." Perhaps Benavides asked leading questions, but he was able to get detailed descriptions of the priests and Indians she claimed to know. "She told me so many details of this country that I did not even remember them myself, and she brought them back to my mind," he wrote. She told Benavides that "she had been present with [him] at the baptism at the Píros . . . [and] had helped Father Cristóbal Quirós with some baptisms, giving a minute description of his person and face." Astounded, Benavides was convinced that Mother María de Jesús was gifted with powers of bilocation, and that indeed she had often visited the Jumanos.

The story of the Lady in Blue fit perfectly with Benavides's promotion of New Mexico as a mission field. Impressed by Benavides's reports, his superiors pledged renewed support for new missions in the province. Under him, special attention had been given to the Tewa, Manzano, Tiwa,

Real de Tierra Adentro. By the time Friar Estevan Perea took over as padre custodio of the New Mexican mission field in 1617, Franciscan friars were scattered over a large area along the Rio Grande from San Ildefonso in the north to Isleta in the south, and from Jemez in the west to Galisteo in the east. Perea intensified his predecessors' efforts such that by the time of his death in 1638 the conversion of New Mexico's pueblos was in full bloom. Before mid-century, Isleta surrendered the title of southernmost mission to Senecú, near Socorro.

With the supply caravan of 1626, Fray Alonso de Benavides arrived with twelve other missionaries, bringing the number of friars in the Conversión de San Pablo to twenty-six. Benavides's arrival signaled a new beginning for the New Mexican missions. As custodian, he worked tirelessly to convert more Indians and expand the mission field. At the time of his arrival, Chilili, Tajique, Las Humanas, Quarai, and Abó already had missionaries who had been working in their midst since the early 1620s. The padre comisario reported that "fourteen or fifteen pueblos in the area, which must have more than ten thousand souls," were being served by friars who were working to establish "six very good communities and churches" among them.

From a modern perspective, Benavides is more significant in New Mexico's history for his prolific quill, which made him one of its most prominent chroniclers. His magnum opus, the *Memorial of 1630*, was written as a report to the king, exalting the prospects for the province of New Mexico. The viceroy, the archbishop, and other church officials in Mexico City encouraged Benavides in his promotion of New Mexico. It suited the state's objectives concerning the pacification of the northern frontier and it dovetailed with the church's quest to save souls and spread the gospel. Before the seventeenth century was out, his *Memorial of 1630* and the revised version of 1634 had been published in at least five languages.

From 1626 to 1629, Fray Benavides also served as prelate and auditor of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Mexico, responsible for ensuring strict Catholic orthodoxy among the settlers. In that capacity, he pursued cases against Spanish settlers for crimes against the church, such as superstition, witchcraft, and demonology. Established in Spain and in the West Indies in 1520, the Holy Office of the Inquisition

Spain's attempt to strengthen Catholicism in the face of the rising threat of Protestant heresy and the ongoing presence of Jewish and Islamic minorities in the country. The Inquisition in fact continued in Spain and the empire for centuries until its abolition in 1820.

Indians were exempt from the Inquisition's power because they were as yet imperfectly converted to Catholicism and thus not part of the congregation. Although religious conformity was their goal, the friars realized that the conversion of Indians to Christianity was often imperfect, as often they continued to practice their spiritual ways in their pueblos. In his glowing account of successful conversions, Benavides omitted a crucial perspective, that of the anti-Spanish Indians throughout the pueblos. The Pueblo Indians viewed Spanish colonial institutions, both religious and civil, as a threat to their cultures. They often expressed this view as a rejection of the missionaries. When passive resistance failed, the Indians turned to coordinated, armed rebellion. Less than a century after missionization began, a coalition of pueblos succeeded in overthrowing the colonial regime, driving the Spaniards out for more than a decade.

In the interim, however, Benavides worked hard to expand the missions to the rest of the frontier pueblos and to put the existing ones on better footing. The *Memorial of 1630* indicates that as of 1628 twenty-five missions served the pueblos, with one or two friars and several Indian assistants at each one. Of Santa Fe, Fray Alonso mentioned that 250 Spanish families lived there. His figures accounted for nearly 1,500 settlers within the jurisdiction of the villa, including those who lived in the many haciendas and ranches already established within the province. Settlers tended to own two houses, one in Santa Fe and another wherever their ranch or farm was located. As yet, there were no Spanish towns other than Santa Fe, where the majority of Spaniards lived, although settlers had begun to expand into the large valley along the Sandia/Manzano Mountains. Spanish settlements stretched from Taos in the north to Socorro in the south. Santo Domingo, south of Santa Fe, served as the ecclesiastical headquarters of New Mexico and directed the expansion of missions and the pacification of tribes.

Of all the pueblos Benavides visited, the Salinas pueblos seemed to tantalize his fertile imagination the most. Showing their supreme

chroniclers, including Fray Alonso de Benavides in 1626, equated it with the Spanish capital of New Mexico, Santa Fe. The official founding of Santa Fe did not, however, occur until 1610.

Meanwhile, Juan de Oñate, seeing that his fortunes were waning and having been exiled by the viceroy for his harsh treatment of settlers and Indians, resigned as governor of New Mexico. Simultaneously, the Spanish crown decided to take the New Mexico province under its royal wing, and Don Pedro de Peralta was appointed governor and captain general of the province. On March 30, 1609, Viceroy Luis de Velasco handed Don Pedro instructions to follow in establishing his administration as royal governor and in strengthening defenses within his jurisdiction. The viceroy also authorized Peralta to establish a new villa that would serve as New Mexico's capital. At that time the viceroy did not mention the existence of any town named Santa Fe, instead identifying the main settlements as being in the San Juan de los Caballeros-San Gabriel area. Upon receipt of his orders, Peralta organized his expedition and departed Mexico City sometime that summer. With Peralta and his soldiers were Fray Alonso Peinado, the new *paterfamilias* (father commissary) of the missions, and eight friars. The caravan—numbering at least thirty *carreras*, a large herd of livestock, servants, teamsters, and a mounted escort—traveled north on the trail to Nuevo México.

Once in New Mexico, Peralta quickly acted to found the Villa of Santa Fe and move the settlers there from San Gabriel. Another of his instructions was to take measures to protect the pueblos and the villa from the Apaches and Navajos, a provision which prohibited exploration and trade on the Great Plains. To that end, Peralta hoped to concentrate the Spanish population at Santa Fe and likewise move the Pueblo Indians into fewer and larger towns for their protection. Before Peralta could establish his governorship on a sound footing, he found himself embroiled in a conflict with the Franciscans over the administration of the pueblos, a quarrel that continued under succeeding governors as well. The missionaries had hoped to establish New Mexico as a mission frontier. Settlements had taken root on the Río Grande and along the Santa Fe River, and Peralta's administration stood in the way of expanding the mission program. The Franciscans wanted

free hand to convert the pueblos, establishing missions that would be exempt from taxation; the governors, for their part, demanded their right to collect the annual tribute called the *encomienda* in return for Spanish men-at-arms protecting the pueblos against Apaches, Navajos, and other raiding tribes. If this tax in the form of bushels of corn or blankets for trade could not be paid, the value of the amount due would be converted to service or labor under the *repartimiento*. Both institutions were throwbacks to feudal Europe where lords collected tribute from their serfs or converted the debt to labor. In either case, labor was taken from Indian villages and used for public works or personal service. Spanish settlers also paid a yearly tax called the *diezmo*, one-tenth of their crops, mainly paid in wheat seeds. The *diezmo* was allocated to support the missionaries and the churches. Miners paid the *quinto real* (royal fifth), which was a tax payable to the crown and equal to one-fifth the value of extracted mineral wealth. The missionaries argued that the *encomienda* and *repartimiento* system interfered with the missionizing process.

The New Mexico mission field was named the *Conversión de San Pablo* in honor of the conversion of St. Peter, which in the colonial church calendar was celebrated on January 25. They adopted St. Peter as their patron because many incidents associated with him had occurred in New Mexico's brief but already full history. The religious conversion of New Mexico began when Governor Oñate visited all the pueblos in 1598 and assigned friars to them. Deep in the Manzano Mountains Padre Comisario Alonso Peinado began working as the sole friar among the Tiwas at Chulilí in 1613. Indeed Fray Alonso heavily influenced the pattern of the mission field in New Mexico, expanding the doctrine by assigning priests to work in areas rarely visited by missionaries. Under Fray Peinado, the incipient stage of mission expansion extended down the Río Grande to Sandía Pueblo. In 1612, travelers passing Sandía Pueblo noted that it was the "primer convento de este Nuevo México" (the first mission residence one comes to in New Mexico). In late 1612 or early 1613, Fray Juan de Salas founded the mission at Isleta, which replaced Sandía as the southernmost mission. Salas remained there until 1630, over which time Isleta continued to grow in importance as a stopping place for weary travelers coming from Mexico or departing New Mexico along the Camino

pace that surprised Native groups. From the days of Governor Juan de Oñate on, New Mexico was governed in accordance with the laws of Spain. In the Americas, the Laws of the Indies (*Recopilación de las leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*), a compilation of applicable laws, royal decrees, and ordinances, was mandated as a guide for governing the New World. In accordance with the Laws of the Indies, each province, called a kingdom (*reyno*) or a province (*provincia*), had a governor to oversee executive, legislative, and judicial functions. Initially, the governor bore the title of captain general and commanded the military within his province. Later, when the Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas was organized in 1776, it established a separate military jurisdiction that reported directly to the viceroy. Among the governor's powers, he executed laws and policies, served as chief magistrate, approved and gave land grants, appointed officials to the cabildo (town council) or other offices, and handled Indian affairs.

By the time of the U.S. annexation of New Mexico following the Mexican War, more than three hundred land grants existed, the majority having been conferred by the governor in the name of the Spanish king. These large tracts of land were granted to individuals, families, or communities for the purpose of settlement and development of territories in colonized areas of the empire. Under contract the grantees were obligated to use the land for a stated purpose, most commonly for farming and raising small herds of livestock but sometimes solely for ranching or raising horses or mules. In all cases the Laws of the Indies required that settlements be located near water, pasturage, and wooded areas. The people were charged with caring for the land as stewards, thus inaugurating a concern for the environment and sustainable use for future generations.

The modern legacy of the land grants is that the farming communities on former grant lands serve as cultural enclaves preserving Spanish colonial-period linguistics, religion, law, literature, local political organization, and lore of seventeenth-century Spain. *Dichos* (proverbs), folktales, medicinal cures, husbandry, dances, and songs or ballads were among the cultural activities that persisted and evolved throughout the subsequent Mexican territorial and Anglo-American occupations. Sustainability is a part of that legacy, for the network of *acequias*

(irrigation ditches) that exist today, along with the practices for administering them, date from that period. The descendants of land grant families continue to preserve the values born in Spain and modified in the theater of the Spanish colonial and Mexican territorial periods. Today, despite the passage of time, that tie remains relatively unbroken.

Overall, a top-down administration oversaw the daily or occasional events in the towns and countryside. The chain of command ran from the king of Spain in Madrid to the viceroy in Mexico City to the provincial governor of New Mexico. In time, the provinces were divided into *alcaldías mayores*, jurisdictions akin to modern counties. An *alcalde mayor* was either appointed by the governor or elected by the cabildo to serve as the head administrative officer of each *alcaldía*, reporting to the governor. *Alcaldes mayores de indios* were appointed by the governor to oversee the political business of Indian pueblos. Each governed a large Indian district, such as the *Jurisdicción de las Salinas* behind the Manzano Mountains. Today its history and heritage are interpreted and preserved at Salinas Pueblo Mission National Monument in Mountainair, New Mexico. Whether in Spanish towns or Indian pueblos, the *alcaldes* managed ordinary civil and criminal matters, and together with the provincial *alguacil* (sheriff), also appointed by the governor, were the chief law enforcement officials in their territories. The *alcaldes*, furthermore, carried out economic and political policies set by the governor and the cabildo. In larger or more important towns, a municipal council called the cabildo or, in the late Spanish colonial and Mexican periods, the *ayuntamiento*, ruled the citizens. Large towns had one or more *alcaldes ordinarios* who exercised the same functions in their municipality as the *alcalde mayor* in the larger districts. Smaller towns and villages did not have a cabildo but did have an *alcalde ordinario* who served as magistrate.

Sometime about 1605, Juan de Oñate apparently approved the establishment of an outpost called San Francisco de Santa Fe, Real Campo de Españoles (the Royal Spanish Outpost of Saint Francis of the Holy Faith). Juan Martínez de Montoya led a group of settlers south from San Gabriel (near the confluence of the Rio Grande and Rio Chama) to set up an encampment. Over time, the location of Martínez de Montoya's outpost became blurred, but Spanish colonial

CHAPTER 3

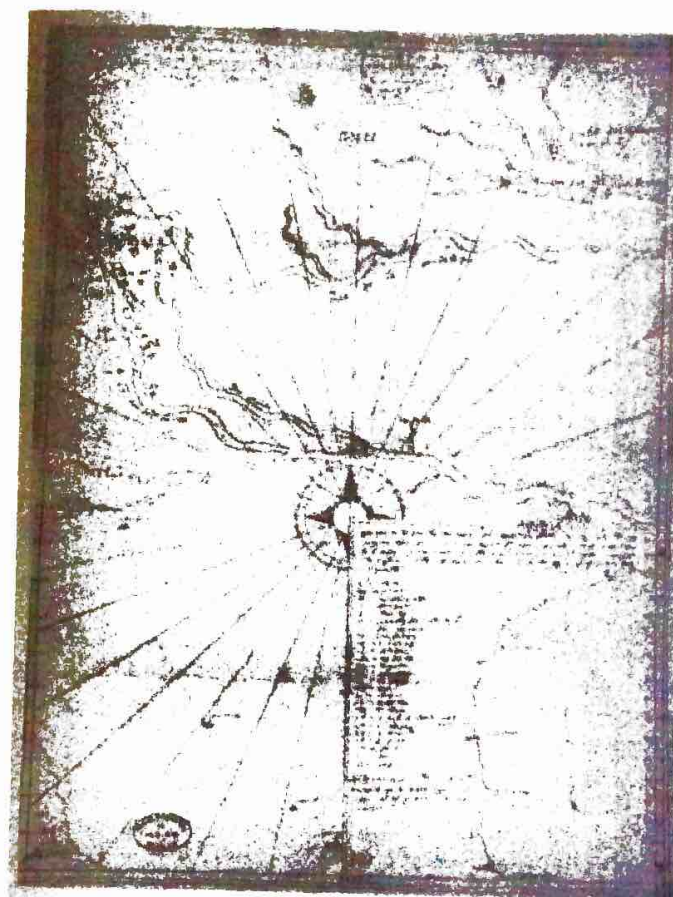
Spanish Bureaucrats, Settlers, Soldiers, and Missionaries, 1598–1821

As soon as he may have arrived in the said provinces he shall inform himself of the state of the settlements there, endeavoring before all else to put into execution the founding and settlement of the Villa [Santa Fe] which it is intended and ordered to be made there so that they may commence to be and live with some system and permanence.

VICEREGAL INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNOR PEDRO DE PERALTA, 1600

NEW MEXICO'S HISTORICAL PERIOD began with explorers searching for rich civilizations. Following them came Hispanic frontiersmen seeking trade and arable land for settlement. During the period 1598–1680, as they established themselves among the Indian pueblos existing since pre-Columbian times, these settlers established the essential nucleus of colonial-period New Mexico. Then the Pueblo Revolt drove the Hispanic settlers out, and New Mexico became autonomous Indian territory for roughly a decade. From 1692 to 1821, exploration and settlement continued as settlers expanded westward from the Rio Grande and northwestward from Santa Fe to western Colorado. In this time they explored as far northwest as the Great Salt Lake of present-day Utah. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the province of New Mexico claimed land as far north as the Yellowstone River. Some New Mexicans had settled the Denver-Loveland area. Others chose to seek their fortunes on the Santa Fe Trail and headed toward the Missouri and Mississippi rivers.

Settlement was the dominant theme of the period from 1598 to 1680, the first phase of Spanish occupation and mission building in New Mexico. The establishment of towns and farms, structures of governance, a Spanish legal system, and a colonial culture developed at a



The province of New Mexico, as mapped by Enrico Martínez circa 1600. ("Mapa del Nuevo Mexico c. 1600," in AGI, Mapas y Planos, ES.41091, AGI/16418.17//MP.Mexico, 49)