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ORANGE COUNTY CALIFORNIA GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

CHAPTER 10

PLACE NAMES OF THE CAMINO REAL IN THE RIO ABAJO AND IN THE JORNADA DEL MUERTO

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JORNADA DEL MUERTO

"La Jornada" translates literally as "the journey." It may also denote an expedition, span of life, or a forced march. The name "Jornada," as applied to the geographic region in southern New Mexico, is derived from the countless marches across the "despoblado" (an unoccupied tract) from the Spanish colonies of Nueva Vizcaya to the settlements in the province of Nuevo México.

The term "Jornada del Muerto," "Journey of the Dead Man" or "Journey of Death," refers to a desert passage of the Camino Real (Royal Road) approximately 90 miles long. This trail between the ranges of the Caballo-Fra Cristobal and the San Andres was established due to the broken character of the terrain in the adjacent river region which made river passage difficult.

This desert passage was an established route of the Spanish caravans more than two centuries before the opening of the Santa Fe Trail, and it was utilized for nearly three centuries. This extended use created a corrugated swale which is still a conspicuous element of the desert landscape today (Figure 10.1). In many places the trail, now abandoned for more than a century, can be traced by linear growths of mesquite. The trail is often defined by multiple parallel paths similar to those of the Santa Fe Trail; these parallel avenues were apparently developed as former tracks became eroded and difficult to travel. Scattered along the trail is the discarded roadside debris of three centuries. The artifacts which fell on the trail itself have been crushed and fragmented by the passage of stock, whereas the scattered fragments beyond the trail margin remain somewhat intact.

In the historical records journeys across the Chihuahuan desert are often likened to voyages on the sea. On October 12, 1778, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez wrote:

This is a sea of land, and, just as there are delays of six or more months in Cádiz for lack of a ship, or convoy, so there is also a delay here for lack of a cordon [Adams and Chávez 1956:300].

In 1854 W.W. Davis described a crossing of the Jornada del Muerto by saying,

The mountains could be distinctly traced in the moonlight, and but for serried peaks, to remind us that we were upon terra firma, it would have required no great stretch of the imagination to believe ourselves at sea. [Davis 1938:210].

Even today it is easy to understand this illusion. The Jornada is a seemingly endless terrain where the winds fan the creosote

until the desert floor appears to roll and shift, where sprays of sand trail the crests of the dunes. It is not surprising that, to the Spanish travelers, the carretas seemed like sailing vessels laden with water kegs and goods for trade and colonization, leaving the ports of Santa Bárbara, Ciudad de Chihuahua, and El Paso del Norte to go out into a sea of shifting sands, alkali playas, and pebble-paved flats.

The Oñate Expedition of 1598

The southern entrance to the Jornada del Muerto was called "La Cruz de Robledo." As related by Hammond and Rey, this name originated with an event that occurred during the Oñate expedition. In May of 1598 Don Juan de Oñate and his colony were encamped on the Rio del Norte, intending to enter and occupy the San Felipe province of the Pueblo Indians. Oñate's notes read, "On the 21st, day of the Most Holy Sacrament, we buried Pedro Robledo" (Hammond and Rey 1953:316). Pedro Robledo was a man "of good stature, entirely gray, 60 years of age" (Hammond and Rey 1953:290). Oñate mentions that he arrived "with complete armor for himself and horse. He is taking his household of wife and five children" (Hammond and Rey 1953:160).

Thus the name "La Cruz de Robledo" or, later, "Robledo" came to be attached to the southern entrance to the Jornada. From La Cruz de Robledo, the Oñate caravan entered a desert pass east of the Rio del Norte to avoid the precipitous river route. "That entire side of the river is very rough, extremely hilly, almost like cut rock" (Hammond and Rey 1953:317).

The itinerary of the Oñate expedition of May 1598 is the first documented reference to the use of the Jornada del Muerto passage, although at that time it was not so named. Their knowledge of the Jornada trail as a viable alternative to the difficult river trail apparently came either from members of the Captain Juan Morlete expedition of 1590, who were among the Oñate party, or from the vanguard explorations of Captain Aguilar. Still, their knowledge was very incomplete, as indicated in the following statement:

We were exploring and feeling our way along this entire route for the first time, and we suffered a great deal because of not knowing it [Hammond and Rey 1953:317].

The Oñate caravan left the Rio del Norte and moved out onto the open plano east of the river. "We went two leagues and spent the night without water. The animals went almost a league to the river" (Hammond and Rey 1953:317).

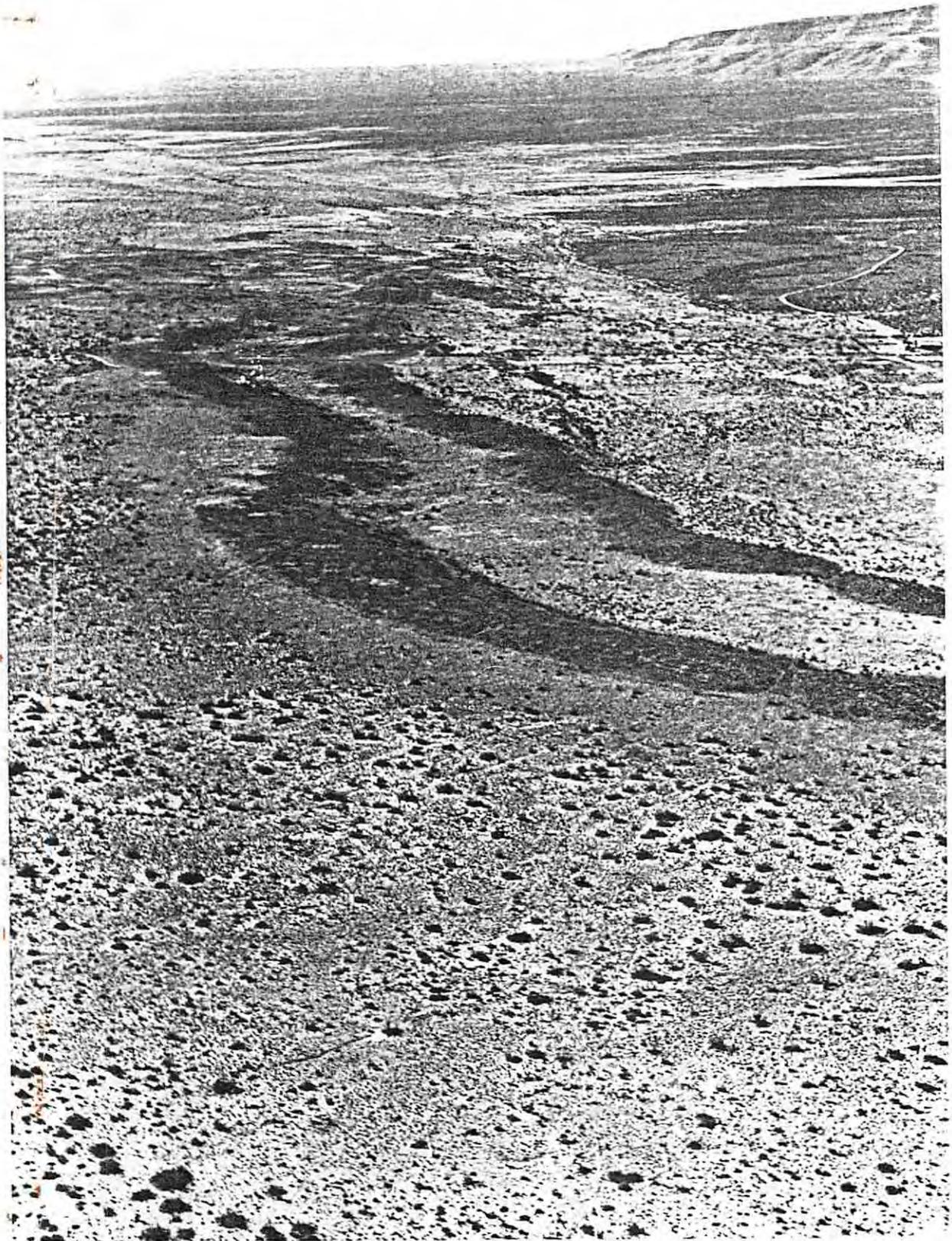


FIGURE 10.1. View of Jornada del Muerto toward the south. Wagon trail visible in upper center of frame, above wash.

This *paraje* (literally *place*, a resting or camping place along the trail), later known as San Diego, is on the plain east of the present village of Rincon. This was the last point below the sierras, and the stock in this and subsequent caravans were often taken to water for the last time before the Jornada entry. On the 23rd of May, 1598, the Oñate caravan continued to an area they named "Ojo de Perillo."

On this day, when a dog appeared with muddy paws and hind feet, we searched for some water holes. Captain Villagrán found one and Cristóbal Sánchez another. . . . On the 24th we traveled four leagues . . . and without water. Finally we came to some small pools near some grinding stones, where we all drank and rested. Our horses went down to the river, which was more than six leagues off to the left [Hammond and Rey 1953:317].

This latter location is apparently the Paraje de Peñuelas, named at a later date. It is situated on the desert floor opposite the gap in the Caballo and Cristobal ranges. The movement of stock through the gap to the river was occasionally employed in later crossings, if the possibilities for reaching the river at the north or south entrance were questionable.

Exploration of the river trail north of the gap revealed a jumble of rock ledges, arroyo cuts, and dune fields along the river margin. Most of the Oñate caravan, therefore, proceeded north to rejoin the river at a place that they named "Paraje de Fra Cristóbal," because of the mountain's resemblance to the face of Fray Cristóbal Salazar, Father Commissary of the Oñate caravan.

The Destruction of Senecú

On January 23, 1675, the bells of Senecú, the southernmost outpost of Piro and Spanish civilization in New Mexico, sounded the alarm. From across the cold plano of the Jornada came the Perillo Apaches and from the mountain fastness the Xilas. They laid siege to the pueblo, killing the priest, Fray Alonzo Gil de Avila, and desecrating the richly adorned church. The Piros took up arms, but the Apaches prevailed, killing so many of the inhabitants of all ages and sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to the Pueblo of Pilabó, site of the mission establishment of Nuestra Señora de Socorro.

The Refugees from the Pueblo Revolt

In September of 1680 the refugees of the Pueblo Rebellion filed past the burned and abandoned villages of Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro, and Senecú, and some 2520 camped at the Paraje de Fra Cristóbal, northern entrance to the Jornada del Muerto. They were a miserable lot, wrote Otermín in 1680: "on foot, worn out, starving and in dire necessity" (Hallenbeck 1950:163). They were bare-foot and suffering, "so that it fills one with pity and horror to see them" (Hallenbeck 1950:163).

On September 14 the refugees, suffering from exposure, hunger, and sickness, abandoned New Mexico and entered the Jornada del Muerto. For nine days they struggled, a disorganized and exhausted multitude. The records are mute, but undoubtedly it was during this terrible flight to the south that the Jornada del Muerto was truly christened. The broken families spread south toward the Bosque de San Lorenzo, seeking aid and leaving a line of graves to mark their passage.

The Valverde Presidio

In 1832 Antonio Barreiro set forth an exposition regarding a military plan to secure the northern frontier provinces. In this plan the establishment of a presidio near the ruins of a hacienda named Valverde was suggested. Valverde was "located on the outskirts of all the settlements and on the edge of the horrible desert which separates this territory from El Paso del Norte" (Carroll and Haggard 1942:78).

Barreiro noted that the placement of this presidio on the "king's highway" could serve as a port of entry and "customs' house . . . where regular duties could be collected" (Carroll and Haggard 1942:79).

Lastly, the safeguard of a force at Valverde would protect the settlers to such an extent that within a few years New Mexico would spread imperceptibly along the delightful banks of the Rio Bravo to El Paso del Norte. What a flattering spectacle would be a series of settlements stretching over a distance of two hundred leagues! . . . Farewell, *Jornada del Muerto*, farewell, gloomy and fearful desert, you would vanish forever! [Carroll and Haggard 1942:79-80].

The Valverde Presidio was never established, and the village of Valverde remains in ruins today, melting into the earth, engulfed in the sands and visited only by the dove and coyote.

The Texas-Santa Fe Expedition

In November of 1841 Captain Dimasio Salazar and his band of Mexican Dragoons herded some 200 captives of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition south through the Jornada del Muerto in a forced march of 40 hours. On the morning of November 1, the prisoners awoke at Fra Cristóbal from under a blanket of snow. In his 1844 account, George William Kendall wrote:

We remained at Fray Cristobal until near night. . . . Salezar said aloud, on starting, that we were to be driven through the entire ninety miles without sleep or a morsel of food [1935II:11].

The band straggled out into the "raw night wind . . . fresh and piercing, from the snow-clad mountains, and chilling our weak frames" (1935II:12).

About nine o'clock at night we met a regiment of dragoons, under Colonel Muñoz, on their way from Durango to Santa Fé. . . . many of them were leading their horses and setting fire to every little tuft of palm or dry grass. . . . Around these blazing tufts, and scattered along the road for miles, were to be seen knots of half-frozen dragoons, mingled with a large number of women, who always follow the Mexican soldiery on a march. . . .

Wild and picturesque was the scene presented by the train of roadside fires, each with a little bevy huddling and shivering around the red-glaring and fitful lights, the lengthened and flitting shadows coming and going, and losing themselves in the sombre obscuration of night. . . . [The palmilla] would suddenly flash up, blaze for a few moments, and then suddenly expire [1935II:12-13].

. . . The wild group would hurry on to others, [and] soon kindle them. . . . faces came and vanished on that barren moor, that did strongly remind me of the witch scenes in Macbeth [1935II:13].

The band journeyed on into the day and then into the night and into yet the day again. "The sufferings, the horrors of that dreadful night upon the Dead Man's Journey cannot soon be effaced from the memory of those who endured them" (1935II:13).

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FIGURE 10.3. Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco's 1700s map of the Rio del Norte from San Elzeario to the village of San Pascual. Originally published in *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with Other Contemporary Documents* (Adams and Chávez 1956:264). Used by permission of the University of New Mexico Press.

El Nogal Paraje

This location is apparently mentioned only in the Auto de Xavier, regarding Otermín's 1682 retreat from the attempted reconquest (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cciii). The location is upon the east bank, south of the Pueblo of Alamillo and north of Socorro, in the Pueblito area.

Vega of the Rio del Norte

This paraje or simple landmark is mentioned only in the Otermín records (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cciv) and was located on the east bank just beyond the bends of the river opposite Socorro, and north of the hacienda of Luis López (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:364). This is perhaps in the Tajo or Presilla arroyo confluence area.

Vueltas de Luis López

The name "Vueltas de Luis López" refers to the steep and sandy barrancas north of the present site of Bosquecito, over which the Camino Real passed. If the road passed over these steep arroyo slopes, it would appear to indicate that during this time the river ran against the eastern bank, preventing travel along the floodplain. Nicolás de Lafora describes the vueltas in 1966-1768:

These are several fairly high hills, with many steep slopes. In some places the vehicles are very much in danger of going over the edge. These *vueltas* extend over a space of three leagues. Before leaving this stretch one sees on the opposite side of the river the ruins of Socorro Pueblo [Kinnaird 1958:88-89].

Black Mesa

Early reference to a lava flow in the San Marcial area without the specific identification of Black Mesa appears in Luxán's January 1583 account of the Espejo expedition. Regarding the location, Luxán noted,

We set out from this place [i.e., La Punta de Buena Esperanza] . . . and went four leagues to a marsh which we named El Mal País, because it is close to some bad lands [Hammond and Rey 1966:171].

The earliest reference which specifically identifies the mesa is in the itinerary of the Oñate expedition of 1598:

On the 27th we traveled seven leagues to the marsh of Mesilla de Guinea, so named because it was of black rock [Hammond and Rey 1953:317].

In the 1770s the black basaltic mass was referred to as "Mesa de Senecu" on the Miera y Pacheco map (Figure 10.3) and by Nicolás de Lafora (in Kinnaird 1958:88). The mesa was also later identified as "Mesa del Contadero" (S. Wilson 1976:6-7). In 1846 Gibson refers to the location as "Table mountain" (Bieber 1935:294). The name "La Mesa de San Marcial" (Stanley 1960:6) appears with the occupation of the village of La Mesa upon the northern base of the flow in approximately 1854. Pearce (1965:146) indicates that this name refers to St. Martial of Limoges, France; probably it was chosen by one of the resident French clergy of the area. Today the location is commonly known simply as La Mesa or Black Mesa.

El Contadero

El Contadero first appears as a paraje north of Fra Cristóbal in the Auto de Xavier with reference to Governor Otermín's 1682

attempted reconquest (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cciv and 1942II:364).

We marched from this place on the next day to another, which they call El Contadero, along the banks of the Rio del Norte, where we halted and spent the night. Here many signs of the fierce Apache enemies were seen, both on horseback and afoot [Hackett and Shelby 1942II:203].

The name El Contadero refers to "a narrow passage where sheep or cattle are counted" (Alemany y Bolúfer 1917:440). It was clearly an established location in the Pre-Revolt period, functioning as a station where sheep and cattle were impounded, rested, and counted prior to the crossing of the Jornada del Muerto and the entrance into the province of Nueva Vizcaya (later the Department of Chihuahua). Contadero appears on the Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco map of the 1770s (Figure 10.3). It is located just south of "Mesa de Senecu" (Black Mesa) and north of "Fra Cristóbal." Nicolás de Lafora describes the location in 1766:

[There is a] dangerous pass called El Contadero, extending three leagues over hills and hollows, forming a bad defile to the Senecú mesa. For this reason we reconnoitered before entering with the vehicles. Here we saw ruins of the Senecú pueblo. . . . Two leagues farther, on the bank of the river, is San Pascual [Kinnaird 1958:88].

In 1844 Josiah Gregg made reference to El Contadero:

Our next camping place deserving of mention was *Fray Cristóbal*, which, like many others on the route, is neither town nor village, but a simple isolated point on the river-bank—a mere *paraje*, or camping ground. We had already passed San Pascual, El Contadero, and many others, and we could hear Aleman, Robledo, and a dozen such spoken of on the way, leading the stranger to imagine that the route was lined with flourishing villages [Gregg 1933:258].

Spencer Wilson (1976:6-7) provides a summary of information regarding El Contadero. He uses the terms "Mesa del Contadero" and "Paso del Contadero," describing the latter as a "very narrow trail along the western and southern base, between the steep sides of the Mesa and the waters of the river." El Paso del Contadero has also been referred to as a winding road of about 8 miles in length through the hills midway between San Pascual and Fra Cristóbal.

During the Rio Abajo Survey of the east bank from Bosque Well to Paraje Well a series of large rock corrals within rincóns of the lava flow were found. These corrals appear to be of Colonial and Mexican period affinity and have been termed "Los Corrales de Contadero" (see the description of LA 31735 in Chapter 13).

Fra Cristóbal

The celebrated Paraje de Fra Cristóbal was the riverside encampment at the northern limits of the Jornada del Muerto. This location is said to have been named after Father Commissary Fray Cristóbal de Salazar of the Oñate expedition, because of the resemblance of his face to the profile of the northern mountain (later known as Sierra Fra Cristóbal). C. Hallenbeck (1950:361) says of the landmark that it "is an Irish and not a Spanish profile, and is smiling. So Brother Cristóbal must have been a jolly friar, as Saint Francis wished his disciples to be."

Reference is made to Fray Cristóbal in the Auto of García and Auttos Tocantes of Otermín concerning the September 1680 retreat from the Pueblo Revolt (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:lxvii) and also

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in the Auto of Xavier regarding the 1682 attempted reconquest (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cciv and 1942II:364). There is unfortunately little description of the location other than as a riverside camp on the northern edge of the desert passage.

Diego de Vargas, in his campaign journal of 1692, entered the following item:

Today, Saturday, August 30 of this year, by the will of God our Lord, I, said governor and captain general, reached this place of Fray Cristóbal, on the Del Norte river, with the camp, having completed the long march without mishap [Espinosa 1940:64].

Nicolás de Lafora's 1766 northern passage is described in the following statement:

The sierra turns northwest and so does the road for four leagues. Then the road turns north for a league to Fray Cristóbal. We camped there on the bank of the river [Kinnaid 1958:87].

In regard to the specific location of Fra Cristóbal camp, the statement by A. Wislizenus on August 1, 1846, is of interest:

Travelled this morning about five miles, and camped between one and two miles off the river. This camping place is known as *Fray Cristobal*; but as there is neither house nor settlement here, and one may fix his camp close on or some distance from the river, the limits of Fray Cristobal are not so distinctly defined as those of a city, and generally the last camping place on or near the Rio del Norte before entering the *Jornada del Muerto* is understood by it [Wislizenus 1969:38].

Susan Shelby Magoffin's entry in her diary dated February 2, 1847, gives a dismal impression of "Fray Cristoval":

There is not even the dusky walls of an adobe house to cheer its lonely solitude. . . . it is only a regular camping place with a name. At present I can say nothing of its beauties—the bleak hill sides look lovely enough and feel cold enough [Drumm 1926:195].

Based on an 1857 visit, W.W.H. Davis (1938:208) referred to the area as a camping ground, indicating that not even a homestead had been established there. Within 6 years, however, there was a respectable-sized village named Paraje de Fra Cristóbal, with 195 residents (U.S. Census Records, 1860).

No specific camping ground or grounds of Fra Cristóbal have been located; much of the valley bottom and margin has been enveloped in a blanket of silt, and much of the area was once covered by the waters of Elephant Butte Reservoir. The Paraje de Fra Cristóbal was no doubt situated in the general area of its namesake village. Indeed, the Paraje village area is the only location where there is an opening in the lava flow to the river valley. The rugged and broken flow which exists along the river margin both north and south of the Paraje village and present Paraje Well area would have effectively prevented access to the valley floor by wagons.

Muertos or Parras Arroyo

The Oñate colony referred to the present Lava Gate Wash, which extends between the lava flow and the northern limits of Fra Cristóbal Mountain down to the Rio Grande, as "Muertos or Parras arroyo."

On the 25th [of May, 1598] we descended to the Muertos or Parras arroyo, a distance of two leagues. It has running water, although it

is not very good, so we did not stop there, but continued another league to the Rio del Norte [Hammond and Rey 1953:317].

"Parras" is a Hispanic-American term which may refer to either a species of cane or an earthenware jug (Alemany y Bolúfer 1917:1269), either of which may apply here.

Las Tusas

The paraje of "Las Tusas" or "El Alto de las Tusas" appears in the Auto of Xavier concerning the Otermín retreat of 1682 (Hackett and Shelby 1942:ccv and 364–365). This paraje is the first location south of Fra Cristóbal and north of La Cruz de Anaya. No subsequent references to this location were found in the course of this research, but the area is still known as Las Tusas (Dean Fite and José Olguín, 1982).

Colloquial definitions of Las Tusas refer to prairie dogs or to the burrowing owls which often inhabit prairie dog towns. José Olguín states that "Las Tusas" refers to the acres of prairie dog towns that exist in that area.

La Cruz de Anaya and Ojo de Anaya

A reference to La Cruz de Anaya appears in the Auto of Xavier with regard to Otermín's attempted reconquest in 1682. Hackett summarizes the passage as follows:

A place called La Cruz de Anaya, seven leagues from the river, was reached. As the livestock were suffering for water, a halt was called at La Cruz de Anaya and Otermín. Father Ayeta and the other religious, together with thirty soldiers, remained there over night with the wagons, munitions, provisions, and camp equipment, while the rest of the men drove the livestock on to the river. The next day mules and horses were sent back to La Cruz de Anaya for the wagons and men who had been left there [Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cxxv–cxxvi].

Diego de Vargas recalls the location in 1692:

With forces united we marched on and made camp on a plain and marsh which we found dry. This place is called La Cruz de Anaya [Espinosa 1940:64].

The Miera y Pacheco map of the 1770s (Figure 10.3) illustrates a location called "Ojo de Anaia" on the southern margin of the lava flow. "Ojo de Analla" appears on the General Land Office map of 1882 and "Anaya" Spring on the 1908 edition.

The Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco maps locate Ojo de Anaya at the southern margin of the Malpais, well to the east of the Lava Ranch gateway and other parajes of the Jornada del Muerto. This location is most likely the area known to local residents today as "Tucson Springs." The springs are marked by a growth of cottonwoods which appear in remarkable isolation within a draw of the Jornada Plain. The draw, which is the location of an abandoned homestead, emanates from a gypsum ridge and is surrounded by prehistoric campsites. Modern wells have been excavated into the grassy slopes of the draw. A brief reconnaissance of the area as part of the Rio Abajo Survey failed to reveal remains of Spanish colonial affinity, but the area should be subject to systematic survey.

Madrid

The Paraje de Madrid was located south of La Cruz de Anaya and north of the Laguna del Muerto. In the Auto de Xavier re-

garding Otermín's retreat, there is the following phrase: "beyond El Alto del Cerrillo to the place which they call Madrid" (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:ccv and 1942II:365). The Cerrillo referred to here is probably the Round Mountain or "Siereta" described below.

Laguna del Muerto

The first reference to this paraje was made during the Otermín passage of 1682 (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:ccv and 1942II:365). In 1692 de Vargas refers to the location as "Aguaje del Muerto" (Espinosa 1940:63-64). In 1766 Nicolás de Lafora refers to the location as "El Muerto lagoon" (Kinnaird 1958:87) and notes that it is eight leagues north of El Alemán.

In 1844 Josiah Gregg described the location, saying

Early the next morning we found ourselves at the *Laguna del Muerto*, or 'Dead Man's Lake,' where there was not even a vestige of water. This lake is but a sink in the plain of a few rods in diameter, and only filled with water during the rainy season [Gregg 1933:259].

Susan Shelby Magoffin's entry of February 5, 1847, concerning Laguna del Muerto states that

Travellers generally stop here and send off their animals to water at this spring quite a long distance too, but tis quite necessary as we shall not find water again till we strike the River forty miles ahead. . . . I should fully say the name it [Laguna del Muerto] bears is not too solitary for it. The country is quite level immediately around us, with dark hills in the distance. . . . the whole [area] puts on a gloomy aspect [Drumm 1926:198].

In 1844, Josiah Gregg said

To procure water for our thirsty animals, it is often necessary to make a halt here [i.e., Laguna del Muerto], and drive them to the *Ojo del Muerto* . . . five or six miles to the westward, in the very heart of the mountain ridge that lay between us and the river. This region is one of the favorite resorts of the Apaches, where many a poor arriero has met with an untimely end. The route which leads to the spring winds for two or three miles down a narrow cañon or gorge, overhung on either side by abrupt precipices, while the various clefts and crags, which project their gloomy brows over the abyss below, seem to invite the murderous savage to deeds of horror and blood [Gregg 1933:259-260].

Wislizenus (1969:38) mentions that the Ojo del Muerto "[is] five miles west from here [Laguna del Muerto], at the foot of the mountains." He describes the location as being through "a narrow gorge . . . under a cluster of cotton trees."

In 1846 James J. Webb refers to this location as "the Gallego spring" (Bieber 1931:190).

Las Peñuelas

Las Peñuelas is a "piedra grande sin labrar" (a large rock without earth) or a "piel para forro o guarnición" (a skin for a sheathing or guard for a sword) (Alemany y Bolúfer 1917:1292). The paraje called Las Peñuelas appears in the Auto of Xavier concerning Otermín's retreat; it is described as being south of Laguna del Muerto and north of La Cruz de Alemán (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:ccv and 1942II:365). Las Peñuelas also appears in the Diego de Vargas campaign journal of 1692:

I reached Las Peñuelas [from Perillo], and in the nearby canyon the marsh had an abundance of water for the entire camp, and I ordered

the camp to stop there until the next day. I then sent six soldiers to inspect the Aguaje del Muerto, which is six leagues farther on [Espinosa 1940:62-63].

La Cruz de Alemán

The paraje of La Cruz de Alemán or, later El Alemán, was located south of the Laguna del Muerto and north of Perillo hills. It is apparently the location of the death of the German fugitive Bernardo Gruber in the summer of 1670. Information regarding this event is summarized by John Kessel (1979:214-215) from a document by Francisco del Castillo Vetancurt sent to Juan de Ortega and dated September 1, 1670:

A party of travelers making their way through the forlorn and shimmering desert stretch south of Socorro in mid-July came upon a dead horse tethered to a lonely tree. Nearby they found articles of clothing, apparently Gruber's. A further search turned up his hair, more bits of clothing, and 'in very widely separated places the skull, three ribs, two long bones. . . .'

La Cruz de Alemán is mentioned as a paraje in the Auto of Xavier regarding Otermín's 1682 retreat (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:ccv and 1942II:365), but it does not appear in the Diego de Vargas campaign journal of 1692. In 1766 Nicolás de Lafora refers to the location as "El Alemán, where there is usually some rain-water collected in several pools, but we found them dry" (Kinnaird 1958:87).

The name "Alemán" is referred to by Josiah Gregg (1933:258) in 1844. George Rutledge Gibson in 1846 refers to Alemán saying, "It is fourteen miles from the *laguna* [del Muerto]" (Bieber 1935:296).

Dr. Wislizenus (1969:39) misidentifies Alemán as "*Alamos*," a location 16 miles south of Laguna del Muerto "where sometimes a water-pool is found, but which was now perfectly dry." He also notes 4 miles farther south a camp "on a hill, near a prairie grave, distinguished by a cross."

Alemán was later the location of a ranch, and a post office at Alemán existed from 1869-1878 and from 1884-1890 (Pearce 1965:6). The location was also known as Martin's Well (General Land Office 1882). There is a story that Confederate soldiers stopped here and in desperation witched a well and then dug 18 feet to water in a single night (Dean Fite, 1982).

Perrillo

The paraje of Perrillo, also known as Los Charcos del Perrillo (Hallenbeck 1950:360), Ojo del Perrillo, and later the Point of Rocks, received its first name from an event during the Oñate expedition on May 23, 1598.

On this day, when a dog appeared with muddy paws and hind feet, we searched for some water holes. Captain Villagrán found one and Cristóbal Sánchez another [Hammond and Rey 1953:317].

Fray Alonso de Benavides in 1630 referred to the "Provincia de los Apaches del Perrillo" (Ayer 1965:132). Thus both the Jornada del Muerto district and the Apache inhabitants of the region were named, in early Spanish references, for a little dog who had muddy feet on a day in May of 1598.

Otermín, during his attempted reconquest, passed the location late in 1681 and made the following journal entry (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:202):

In only one place, which they call El Perrillo, was there found a little water fit for the people to drink and with which to water some of the beasts, all the rest being dry and without water.

The Diego de Vargas campaign journal of August 27, 1692, contained the following entry:

In the evening we reached the place called El Perillo. Through the divine providence of our Lord there were heavy showers from dusk until about midnight, and even though all of the members of the expedition grew weary of the drenching, they obtained water, and were assured of finding more at Las Peñuelas [Espinosa 1940:62].

In 1846, Gibson refers to this location as "Perilla" (Bieber 1935:297). Wislizenus (1969:39), in characteristic fashion, identifies the location as "*Barilla*, another camping place . . . some stagnant water. . . . The eastern mountains send here some spurs into the plain." The name "Point of Rocks" had been applied to the location as early as 1851; the Reverend Hiram Walter Read reports: "Three miles farther on are the Ponds of Perillo, (Ponds of Peril.) so called from their dangerous proximity to the point of rocks. No water in them" (Read 1942:136).

San Diego

The Paraje de San Diego, the southernmost desert encampment in the Jornada del Muerto, is first mentioned with regard to the Otermín passage of 1682 (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:ccv and 1942II:365) and subsequently in the de Vargas campaign journal of 1692 (Espinosa 1940:60).

In 1766 Nicolás de Lafora describes the importance of this paraje:

We saw, two leagues west of the road, the San Diego sierra on the river's edge. Here a halt is usually made because at this point begins the Jornada del Muerto where there is seldom any water. Thus water is generally taken on here. After the mules have drunk, travelers set out on the road, starting in the evening to take advantage of the night's coolness. They travel two nights, one day and part of another without stopping in order to reach Fray Cristóbal [Kinnaird 1958:86].

In 1844 Josiah Gregg tells us that

The arriero will tell one to hasten—"we must reach San Diego before sleeping." We spur on perhaps with redoubled vigor, in hopes to rest at a town; but lo! upon arriving, we find only a mere watering-place, without open ground enough to graze the *caballada* [Gregg 1933:258].

George Gibson in 1846 describes San Diego as 14 miles north of Robledo.

Our animals were all sent to the river for water, and we ourselves are tolerably comfortable. This place is off the direct road but very often is passed on account of water, though it is inconvenient, being two miles from where you have to encamp [Bieber 1935:297].

La Cruz de Robledo

Robledo or, originally, La Cruz de Robledo, was the riverside paraje which marked the southern entrance or terminus of the Jornada del Muerto, being a place of rest and supply prior to the northern march and succor and relief for the southern march. The site was named after Pedro Robledo, a member of the Oñate 1598

expedition who died upon the river margin as the Oñate expedition prepared to enter the desert passage, as described above.

The location is mentioned in the records of the Otermín retreat of 1682.

Leaving San Diego on the first day of February, the army marched until late in the evening in order to reach the river at the place called Robledo. There, on February 2, mass was said, and, after repairing two wagon wheels, the march was continued to Robledo el Chico, one league farther on. From there, on February 3, the march lay to a place on the bank of the river called La Yerba del Manso [Hackett and Shelby 1942I:ccv].

In 1844 Josiah Gregg relates the following information on Robledo:

One thing appears very certain, that this dangerous pass has cost the life of many travellers in days of yore; and when we at last reached Robledo, a camping-site upon the river, where we found abundance of wood and water, we felt truly grateful that the arid *Jornada* had not been productive of more serious consequences to our party. We now found ourselves within the department of Chihuahua, as the boundary betwixt it and New Mexico passes not far north of Robledo [Gregg 1933:260].

George Gibson in 1846 describes the entrance to Robledo.

The last two miles there is a very rapid descent and sandy road. . . . We are now in the Department of Chihuahua, as the line is said to cross a mile or two back. . . . [Bieber 1935:298].

Siereta or Round Mountain

George Rutledge Gibson in 1846 recalled the location "Siereta."

We marched until about nine o'clock at night, when we camped on the open prairie at Siereta [?], sixteen miles from Fray Cristóbal. . . . [The next day we] left the Siereta [?] . . . after a march of about ten miles, arrived at the Laguna del Muerto [Bieber 1935:296; questions are Bieber's].

Gibson's "Siereta" is clearly the Round Mountain indicated on the 1918 enlarged Homestead Map (U.S. Department of the Interior 1918). This landmark is an isolated basaltic butte which appears but is unnamed on the 1961 Crocker U.S.G.S. 7.5' quadrangle. It is 4.5 kilometers south of Crocker Siding and 500 meters west of the railroad. Deep Well Ranch is 2 kilometers to the northeast. A visit to this isolated black mass failed to reveal structural remains or graffiti.

This location is apparently the "Alto del Cerrillo" referred to with regard to the Paraje de Madrid in the Otermín 1682 records (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:365).

Black Hill—Cerro de los Baletas

There is an isolated basaltic knob approximately 1 mile south of the Cutter railroad siding, adjacent to and west of the railroad, which is identified as "Black Hill" on the 1959 Engle U.S.G.S. 15' quadrangle. This butte is called "Cerro de los Baletas" (Hill of the Bales of Goods) on the 1882 General Land Office map. This location is visible from a considerable distance, and it is surprising that it is not mentioned more often in the historic notes regarding the trail. A visit to the location failed to reveal structural remains or graffiti.

The Sierras: El Muerto, Las Peñuelas, Los Órganos, El Perrillo, and Las Petacas

Diego de Vargas recorded in his campaign journal of 1692, concerning the Paraje de Fra Cristóbal, "from the said place we could see the sierras of El Muerto and Peñuelas, which are along the royal highway for wagons but which is on the other side" (Espinosa 1940:248).

Nicolás de Lafora's notes of 1766 relate that

We passed San Diego on the left, and set out for El Perrillo. We camped on the edge of a ditch where there was a little rainwater. On our right and continuing north was the sierra of Los Órganos. On the left El Perrillo sierra, extending in the same direction and meeting the very high and rugged El Muerto. At the foot on the other side the river becomes very deep and narrow [Kinnaird 1958:86].

From this information it can be determined that El Muerto is the Fra Cristobal Range and that Lafora's Sierra Perrillo is the Caballo Range. De Vargas' "Peñuelas" (a large rock without earth) may refer to the San Andres Range. Lafora considered Los Órganos to extend into the San Andres chain. The Miera y Pacheco map of the 1770s (Figure 10.3) refers to the Sierra de los Organos, Sierra del Caballo, and Sierra de Fra Cristóbal in the present locations; however, the San Andres are identified as "Las Petacas." A petaca is "a chest of leather, wood, or wicker with a cover of skin" (Alemany y Bolúfer 1917:1308). Indeed, the blocklike summits of the San Andres from the Jornada del Muerto appear similar to traveling trunks of the Colonial era.

Jornada del Muerto Railroad Sidings

Railroad siding names in the Jornada del Muerto may be derived from colonial place names or railroad personnel and are often applied to the geographic area and occasional ranch settlements. Eugene Manlove Rhodes, in his 1919 short story entitled "No Mean City" [Hutchinson 1957:200-264], indicates that certain Jornada railroad sidings were named after

seven husky and dusty young men. . . . Morley, Pope, Crocker, Engle, Cutter, Upham, and Grama. . . . The year was 1879 [1957:201].
 . . . Eighty miles across the desert, seven sidetracks, one every ten miles, seven young men. . . . Also, at the casting of lots, the senior surveyor drew a sidetrack in the most lunar of earthly landscapes, where the road curved deep through the Malpaís. . . . So Morley named his sidetrack, not Morley but Lava [57:204-205].

W.H. Hutchinson, editor of the *Rhodes Reader*, indicates that the names Crocker, Engle, Cutter, and Upham were verified by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad as the names of the engineers in charge of construction (Hutchinson 1957:201). Pearce (1965:124) suggests that Pope may have been named for William Hayes Pope, the first district judge in 1917, although it might have been named after Brevet Captain John Pope who, in 1855-1856, identified locations for possible artesian well development in the Jornada del Muerto for the Secretary of War (Westphall 1965:17-18). Various references to Lava Station appear in the James Barton Adams letters from Dripping Springs (Christiansen 1968). The Alemán Siding and Ranch/Post Office of 1869-1878 and 1884-1890 (Pearce 1965:6) took their name from the colonial paraje, La Cruz de Alemán. No information was found on the historic derivations of the siding names "Alivio" (Relief) and "Gramma" (Grama grass).

CHAPTER 11

PLACE NAMES OF THE PRE-REVOLT PERIOD: A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS

COMPILED BY MICHAEL P. MARSHALL

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a summary of all the available published Spanish colonial documents regarding the principal Piro Indian pueblos and known Hispanic establishments in the Rio Abajo district. Emphasis is given to place names and settlement history in an effort to provide supplementary documentation for the archaeological records.

The vivid accounts of Piro culture which appear in the Chamuscado 1581 and Espejo 1582 records (Hammond and Rey 1966) have little value in the following analysis, since continuity in place name identification was not established in the Piro-Hispanic archives until the 1598 Oñate colonization documents. Indeed, certain place names in common use today (e.g., Fra Cristobal, Socorro) first appear in the 1598 itinerary of the Oñate expedition. The principal documents consulted for this summary include the Oñate records of 1598 (Hammond and Rey 1953), the Benavides Memorials of 1630 (Ayer 1965) and 1634 (Hodge et al. 1945), the brief history by Vetancurt in 1698 (Vetancurt 1961), and the various "Autos" and "Relaciones" of the Revolt period (Hackett and Shelby 1942). A few brief entries which appeared after the abandonment of the Piro Province in the eighteenth century which have significance to this analysis include the Diego de Vargas 1692 campaign journal (Espinosa 1940), the 1725 diary of Rivera (Robles 1946), Bishop Tamarón's brief statements (Adams 1953, 1954), the Lafora 1766-1768 diary (Kinnaird 1958), and the de la Concha diary of 1788 (Feather 1959).

The records of the Piro-Hispanic civilization of the seventeenth century represent a rich archive but one of limited dimension. From the pages of books written 300 to 400 years ago come brief descriptions of Piro-Hispanic culture which bring specific people and events onto the Rio Abajo stage. It is through the integration of the historical archives and the archaeological record that an understanding of Colonial Piro civilization may be gained.

The structure of this chapter is somewhat different from that of the other place names chapters (Chapters 10 and 12). Because the main purpose of this chapter is to present primary source documentation, the section devoted to each place name includes a general discussion of the information available about the place and a section entitled *Historical Documentation*. The various entries in the documentation section are numbered for ease in referencing them; in the discussion section these reference numbers appear in parentheses in the text.

Most of the maps showing Pre-Revolt site locations have already been included in Chapters 9 and 10, but one additional seventeenth-century map is reproduced here (Figure 11.1). The Diego de Peñalosa map, drafted by the ex-governor of New Mexico, was found in the Naval Library in Paris; it bears the stamp of the Dépôt of Maps and Plans of the French Navy. The map is entitled "Carte du Nouveau Mexique tirée des relations de Mons^r. le Comte de Peñalossa [*sic*] qui en a esté gouverneur en 1665 et du manuscrit du pere Estevan de Perea costode de l'ord[re] de Saint francois [*sic*] dans le mesme pays et d'autres memoirs escrits sur les lieux." It was probably drafted by Peñalosa in ca. 1680. It was submitted to the French military by Peñalosa as part of his efforts to encourage a French invasion of New Mexico. Peñalosa went to Paris in 1672 and died in 1687.

A copy of the actual map appears in Volume 1 of *Mapping the Transmississippi West* by Wheat (1957:44). The map reproduced here as Figure 11.1 is a copy of the original which was redrafted to provide legible place names. One illegible entry on the west bank of the Rio Grande north of Cochiti has been omitted. Peñalosa's memory failed him in a few instances. For example, he placed the "Zama Rio" (the Chama) on the east bank and Alamillo Pueblo on the west bank. He may also have mislocated "Las Barrancas," since the estancia of Las Barrancas was well to the north of Sevilleta and south of Isleta. It is also possible, however, that this entry refers to the eroded canyonlands of the east bank in the Socorro district.

SEVILLETA

DISCUSSION

The earliest reference to the Piro pueblo of Sevilleta, the eventual site of the mission establishment of San Luis Obispo, is in the 1598 itinerary of the Oñate expedition, whose members named it "Nueva Sevilla" (No. 1). The situation of the pueblo upon the elevated bluff of the eastern river margin and the proximity of the pueblo to the "Rio Guadalquivir" (an early name for the Rio Grande) and to the adjacent marshlands of the present-day La Joya area apparently reminded the colonists of the setting of Seville. Reference to the settlement as a "little pueblo" is significant, since

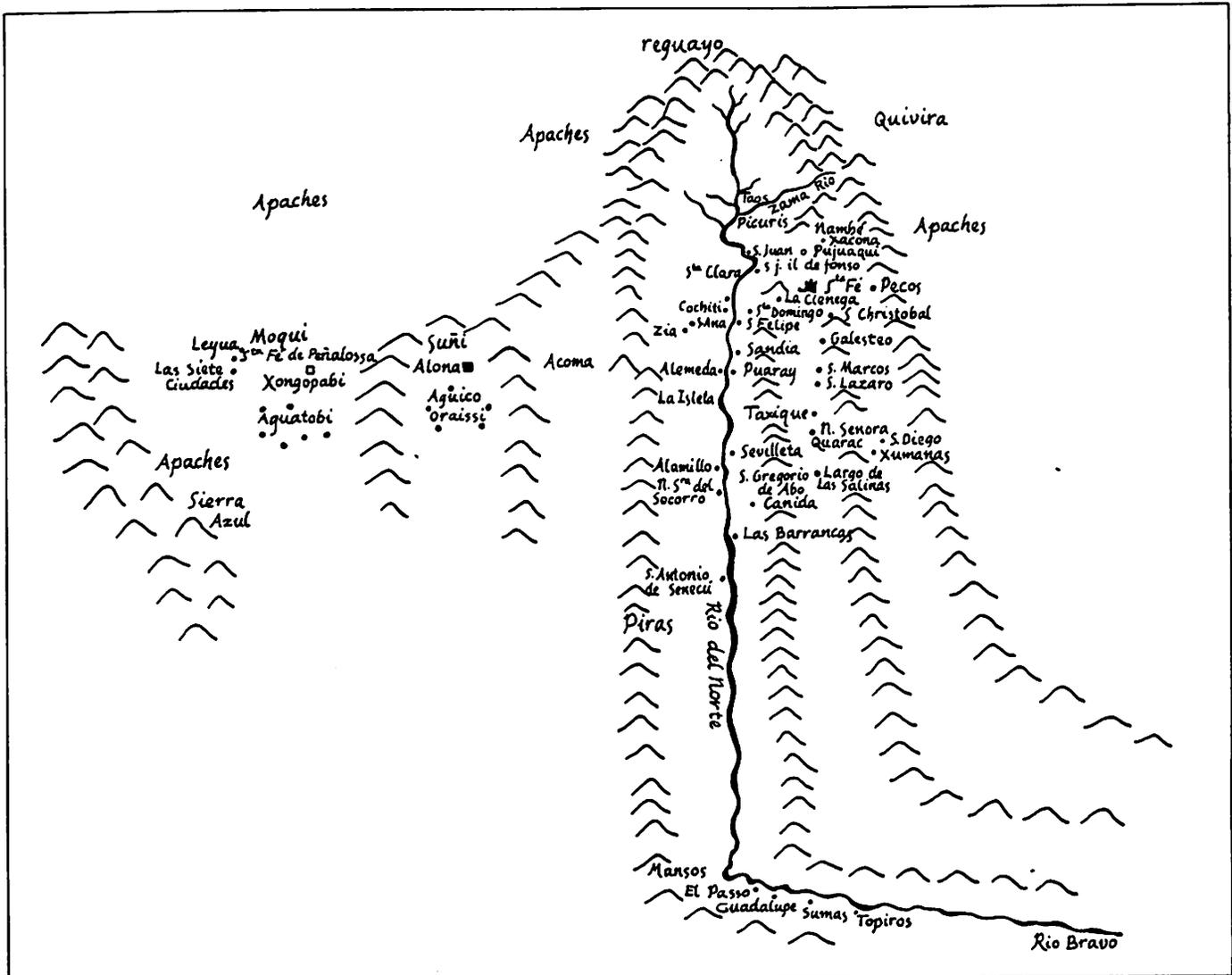


FIGURE 11.1. Illustration by Caren Walt based on 1680 map by Peñalosa (Wheat 1957:following p. 44)

the prehistoric component of the pueblo, which was established in the fourteenth century, is of rather limited dimension; most of the pueblo complex appears to have been constructed in the Piro Mission period of ca. A.D. 1620–1670. See Chapter 9 for a discussion of the archaeological site, LA 774.

In the Benavides Memorial of 1630 (No. 2) and Revised Memorial of 1634 (No. 3), we learn that the native name of the pueblo was Seelocú (note that the suffix “cú” is common in most Piro pueblos with native names; it apparently carries the connotation of place or settlement). The first reference to the village as Sevilleta (Little Seville, rather than the former New Seville) also appears in the Benavides Memorial text. We learn from Benavides that the village of Sevilleta had been abandoned and burned sometime during the period between 1598 and 1626, due to conflicts with adjacent tribes. Benavides tells us that he and his Franciscan companions refounded the village, probably in the late 1620s, and that they established the Mission of San Luis Obispo. The village was known as “San Luis de Sevilleta” (Ayer 1965:19). In the Relación of Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón (No. 4), we find that the

mission establishment of Sevilleta was considered a *visita* of the Socorro mission.

Benavides’ statements that the pueblo was “growing more and more each day” (No. 3) and that he had assembled the scattered population of the pueblo “and gathered there many others” (No. 2) suggest that the population of Sevilleta was substantial compared with the surrounding villages. It is probable that most of the structures in the complex were constructed during a brief period of florescence from ca. 1626 to 1658 (No. 5).

In the Inquisition records concerning Governor Mendizábal’s investigation of Sevilleta, there is a statement (No. 6) which indicates that the pueblo was abandoned under the order of Governor Don Juan Manso in the year 1658 and that the inhabitants were sent to El Alamillo. Governor Manso then apparently sold the Sevilleta lands to the community of Valencia, although the presence of hostile Apaches in the region did not allow for Hispanic settlement of the site.

In 1661 Governor Mendizábal commanded the resettlement of Sevilleta Pueblo. According to the declaration of Captain Andrés

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Hurtado (No. 7), this was done so that the Sevilleta inhabitants could be used to transport salt from the Las Salinas area. This transportation effort was to be carried out under the direction of the Sevilleta Encomendero, Captain Don Diego de Guadalajara, whose hacienda was apparently one league from the pueblo.

In the summer of 1680 the first wave of Spanish refugees, under the guidance of Alonso García (No. 8), approached the village of Sevilleta and found it "quiet and peaceful." The Piro inhabitants of Sevilleta followed the Spanish refugees south to El Socorro and eventually to El Paso, presumably because they feared continued Apache depredations. In December of 1681, Governor Otermín and his soldiers passed the site on their way north in their attempted reconquest (No. 9). They found the village deserted due to fear of the Apaches, and they indicate that the remaining inhabitants had gone to join rebels farther in the interior (Hackett and Shelby 1942I: lxxi and cxxix). The hermitage was found entirely demolished and the wood from it had been used to construct a kiva. Apparently an attempt had been made to reestablish the village after the Spanish exit, but the burned sections of the pueblo attest to continued conflict with the Apaches. Another attempt at resettlement by the Piro is indicated in the statement by Vetancurt (No. 10) that the village was inhabited by three families in 1698.

That this final resettlement attempt also failed is indicated by the statement in the Diego de Vargas campaign journal of September 1692 (No. 11) that the pueblo was uninhabited. De Vargas, in a letter of January 1693 (No. 12), recommends the resettlement of Sevilleta and the adjacent haciendas, but this was never effected (Espinosa 1940:287). The Sevilleta area was apparently abandoned until the year 1800, when Hispanic populations founded the new settlement of La Joya de Sevilleta (NMLG, Reel 6, #1266; Twitchell 1914I:370, #1266; see Chapter 12), apparently adjacent to and below Sevilleta Pueblo at or near the present location of La Joya village.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. We traveled three leagues to the little pueblo which we named Nueva Sevilla, because of its site. This was the first pueblo in which we camped, as we considered it safer to take refuge in the houses for protection in case the Indians of the country should decide to attack. We remained there until the 21st to wait for the supply of maize brought by Villagrán and because of the exploration of the pueblos of Abó [the itinerary of the Oñate expedition, June 15, 1598, in Hammond and Rey 1953:318-319].
2. And I have founded in this province [of the Piro] three monasteries and churches; the one in the pueblo of Senecu, dedicated to San Antonio de Padua; another in the pueblo of Pilabo, [dedicated] to the Virgin of Socorro; the other in the [pueblo] of Sivilleta [sic], dedicated to San Luis Obispo, of my Order.
The beginning which the founding and pueblo of Sivilleta had, it is well that Your Majesty know. It was depopulated by wars with other nations, which burned it, and our Spaniards called it Sivilleta. Its natives wandered scattered over sundry hills. With them I founded that pueblo anew [probably in 1626], and gathered there many others, wherewith it is today one of the best pueblos Your Majesty has there [in New Mexico] [memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630, in Ayer 1965:17].
3. When I entered upon the conversion of this province, the people of this pueblo of Seelocú, which the Spaniards named Sevilleta, had for several years been at war with some other Indians, their

enemies, who had burned their pueblo and killed many of them. Those who had escaped were wandering about in the neighboring hills. I undertook to found their pueblo anew and to bring them back to live in it, and our Lord assisted me, it being His own cause. Thus the pueblo is now settled, dedicated to San Luis Obispo of our holy order. As I gained their favor with these good works, they were all converted to our holy Catholic faith. Since that place is a pleasant one, it is growing more and more each day. In this mild manner I refounded several pueblos which had been burned down during their wars. Thus with their own labor, my efforts and those of my companions, and divine assistance, I succeeded in congregating them, and thus their conversion was facilitated [Fray Alonso de Benavides' revised memorial of 1634, in Hodge et al. 1945:64].

4. The pueblo of Socorro has a church and *convento*, with two *visitas*, Alamillo and Sevilleta; there is very good provision for public worship; there are 400 souls under administration [Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón's relación of 1641, in Scholes 1929:50].
5. Benavides' Memorials of 1630 and 1634 also mention a third Piro convent at Sevilleta, but this foundation was not permanent. We have no record of any friar who served as guardian, and it was apparently replaced by the convent of Alamillo [Scholes and Bloom 1945:81].
6. Don Juan Manso depopulated the pueblo of Sevilleta and transferred it to El Alamillo, a deed of which he was accused in his *residencia*, as well as of having sold the site to Valencia. . . . because the removal of the above-mentioned pueblo had given free passage to the hostile Apaches [records of the reply of Mendizábal, in Hackett 1937:220].
7. Captain Hurtado refers to Governor Mendizábal's command to resettle the Pueblo of Sevilleta "whom the previous governor . . . congregated in the pueblo of El Alamillo" for the purpose of using the inhabitants to carry salt from the Las Salinas area. Hurtado also refers to "very serious idolatries, such as the natives of Sevilleta practice on the Río Puerco, near their settlement." In further reference to the Sevilleta inhabitants he states "There they are enslaved on the hacienda of Captain Don Diego de Guadalajara, who acts with the authority of an *encomendero* [a]s the pueblo is but one league from the hacienda" [from the declaration of Captain Andrés Hurtado, Santa Fe, September 1661, in Hackett 1937:189. The portions in quotation marks are direct quotes from Hurtado in Hackett.].
8. I arrived at the pueblo of Sevilleta, where I found the natives of the said pueblo quiet and peaceful, to all appearances, since they left their pueblo and followed me to that of El Socorro [the auto of Alonso García, El Socorro, August 24, 1680, in Hackett and Shelby 1942I:70 and lxxi].
9. On the fourth day of the said month [December 1681] we marched from this place toward the pueblo of Cebolleta. His lordship went ahead with a company, reconnoitered the said pueblo, entered it, and found it depopulated, and that the apostates had left it for fear of the Apaches and had gone to join the rebels farther in the interior. Here the hermitage where the holy sacraments were administered was found entirely demolished, and the wood from it made into an underground estufa of idolatry. Some of the houses of the pueblo were burned [from the documents of Otermín's attempted reconquest, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:207].
10. Al lado diestro del rio, cinco leguas del Alamillo está Sevilleta que por la multitud que se halló de Piro tomó el nombre de Sevilla.

y le habitan tres familias: oy està azolado [Vetancurt 1961:266, original date 1698].

11. Today, Thursday, the fourth of the present month [September 1692], I, said governor and captain general, arrived with the camp at this uninhabited pueblo of Sevilleta, and I continued on [the Diego de Vargas campaign journal, in Espinosa 1940:66].
12. The natives of the said tribe [Piros] now live in some miserable huts in the pueblo of Isleta [del Sur], in this district of El Paso, and so it will be desirable to restore them to their pueblo. They will be assured success in cultivating the fields which they plant at the pueblo, because the lands are extensive, in good climate, and can be easily irrigated. And they will be protected if the said intervening haciendas called "Las Huertas" are settled, along with those extending from Las Barrancas, and those toward the abandoned pueblos of Alamillo and Sevilleta, whose natives are scattered and restless, and with the settlement of the said haciendas and the pueblo referred to, it will be possible to restore them to their pueblos [Don Diego de Vargas to the Conde de Galve, El Paso, January 12, 1693, in Espinosa 1940:287].

SAN FELIPE

DISCUSSION

San Felipe, "La Cabeza de la Provincia," was the first Piro pueblo encountered by the Spanish upon their entrance into New Mexico via the Rio Grande corridor. It was, however, abandoned and in partial ruins. The pueblo is described in the Chamuscado 1581 and the Espejo 1583 documents (Nos. 1-4). It was here, on August 21, 1581, that Chamuscado took possession of the entire province, which they termed the Kingdom of San Felipe, on behalf of the King of Spain.

The abandoned pueblo of San Felipe is described as an adobe structure of two or three stories, with 45 houses grouped about two plazas. It is probably the pueblo at LA 597, which is situated near the confluence of Milligan Gulch and the Rio Grande. This is the southernmost Piro pueblo known in the Rio Abajo district. It has two plazas, like the pueblo described by Pedrosa (No. 3), but it is not, like the described site, located on a hillock. The Milligan Gulch site has been engulfed in a great deal of silt recently, which could account for the difference (see site description of LA 597, Chapter 9).

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. When we had learned what there was beyond, from the account of the Indian, we went on with him as our guide. Farther up the same river we came to an abandoned pueblo that had been inhabited by a large number of people, who must have been very advanced, judging by the buildings, and whose discovery would be of great importance, if they could be found. The said pueblo was walled in; and the houses had mud walls and were built of adobes, three stories high, so it appeared, though they had crumbled from the rains and seemed to have been abandoned for a long time. Here we halted for the night [the Gallegos relación of the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition, 1581, in Hammond and Rey 1966:81].
2. The first pueblo to be seen we named San Felipe. It had about forty-five houses of two and three stories. In this pueblo we took possession of the whole province for his Majesty; and on August

21, 1581, we set out from it to explore all the other pueblos and provinces located farther up on a river which we named the Guadalquivir and of which the natives had told us [the Gallegos relación of the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition, 1581, in Hammond and Rey 1966:102-103].

3. San Felipe, capital of the province (*cabeza de la provincia*). First, a pueblo containing forty-five houses and two plazas was discovered on a hillock, the houses being two stories high. We named the place San Felipe, and here took possession of the entire province, on behalf of his Majesty, on August 21, 1581. From this pueblo the exploration of the whole province was begun by following upstream a river to which we gave the name of Guadalquivir [Martín de Pedrosa's list of the pueblos, the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition, 1581, in Hammond and Rey 1966:115].
4. We set out from this place on the thirty-first of January and went four leagues to a marsh which we named El Mal País, because it is close to some bad lands. On our way, about a league from this site, we found an abandoned pueblo with the houses in ruins. Departing from this place on February 1 of the said year, 1583, we traveled five leagues. On the way, after going three leagues, we came to another abandoned pueblo. We stopped by the river at a place close to the first pueblo of the province, which is called San Felipe [Diego Pérez de Luxán's account of the Antonio de Espejo expedition, 1582-1583, in Hammond and Rey 1966:171].

SOCORRO (PILABÓ)

DISCUSSION

The name "Socorro" first appears in the June 1598 itinerary of the Oñate expedition (Hammond and Rey 1953:318) with reference to the village of "Teypana." Ultimately, however, the name was applied to the pueblo of Pilabó (i.e., the "Pilogue" of the Obediencias) in the 1630 Memorial of Fray Alonso Benavides (Ayer 1965:17), where we learn that it was the site of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Socorro. Benavides calls Pilabó "the principal pueblo" of the province and relates an account of the conversion of the village chief to the Catholic faith and of his efforts to "conjure and banish the devil from this place through the exorcism of the church" (Hodge et al. 1945:63). The mission of Nuestra Señora de Socorro had been established by August of 1626 (No. 1). In the 1641 Relación of Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, we find that the Socorro mission served as the administrative center of the province, and that it supervised the *visitas* of Alamillo and Sevilleta and two estancias (Scholes 1929:50 and 55). In the historic sketch written by Vetancurt in 1698 (No. 2), we learn that the pueblo was inhabited by 600 persons.

In August of 1680 the Spanish refugees from the lower river provinces, under the leadership of Alonso García, briefly took refuge in the pueblo of Socorro (No. 3), where they found the Piro inhabitants quiet but restless and determined to leave the province. The pueblo may have been largely abandoned during the Spanish retreat in the summer of 1680, but the fact that Otermín advanced on the pueblo in November of 1681 during the attempted reconquest with the intent to attack (No. 4) indicates that he expected to find it inhabited. It was deserted, however, and the church and convento had been burned. The few residents of the pueblo who had remained behind after the 1680 retreat had apparently been killed by the Apaches, hence the burned village and the

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presence of skeletons. Otermín set fire to what remained of the pueblo.

The campaign journal entries of Diego de Vargas for September and December 1692 (Nos. 5 and 6) also describe the village as being in ruins and uninhabited, but notes that the walls of the church were still standing and that enough of the convento remained to provide some shelter. Throughout the eighteenth century an occasional passing reference is made to the vestiges and ruined shell of Nuestra Señora de Socorro. In the summer of 1725 Don Pedro de Rivera passed on the east bank and remarked that his party saw some buildings of the abandoned pueblo of Socorro and the ruins of some haciendas on the west bank (No. 7). Brief mention of the ruins of Socorro is also made by Lafora in 1766 (Kinnaird 1958:89) and by Tamarón in 1760 (Adams 1953:201).

Socorro appears to have been reestablished in the spring of 1816 (translation of the 1815 letter of Alberto Maynez, SANM #1104, in Simmons 1983). The present church of San Miguel may have been constructed on the ruins of the former mission (No. 8). When the plaster was stripped from the walls of the present church during a renovation, an irregular eroded section of the lower wall was visible with a clean and regular section of adobes above it (Robert Weber, personal communication). This indicates that the walls were built on the foundations of an older structure.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. But the most valuable data recorded in these early documents refer to the Socorro convent. On August 3, 1626, a soldier gave testimony before Benavides in which he told about making a journey to the Socorro area and mentioned "the convent and oratory in which the friars reside." We also have a document dated at "the convent of Nuestra Señora del Socorro" on October 22, 1627. Thus we find that a convent, with friars in residence, had been established as early as the summer of 1626, and we may assume that one or more were stationed there during the intervals between Benavides' visits [Scholes and Bloom 1945:78].
Vetancurt tells us that Socorro "was a foundation of the venerable Padre Fray García." Although he may have assisted at Socorro from time to time, it is now clear, on the basis of the data presented above, that the Socorro mission was established before 1629, when Fray García first came to New Mexico [Scholes and Bloom 1945:81].
2. Siete leguas de Senecu està el Convento dedicado a N. Señora del Socorro, nombre que le dieron, porque à la venida de los carros antes de la fundacion de Guadalupe se les llevaba socorro de pan, y otras cosas à los caminantes, fue fundacion del V. P. Fr. Garcia, à la ribera del rio de la nacion Piros, de un idioma con los de Senecu, donde avia seiscientas personas; este Pueblo està destruydo, y el año de 81. [sic] quitó las companas que havian quedado el P. F. Francisco de Ayeta, y las sacò para las nuevas fundaciones del rio del Norte [Vetancurt 1961:266, original date 1698].
3. In the said pueblo of El Socorro I also found them quiet, and determined to go to the territory outside the pueblo, fearing that they were in danger from the evildoers because they had not joined the rest when the day set for the general convocation arrived. This day apparently was the tenth of the current month, as was seen, for on it they killed Spaniards and religious. As it appeared to me to be safer in this said pueblo of El Socorro, I decided to leave the families of women and children there, under the protection of a garrison of Spaniards [from the auto of Alonso García, El Socorro, August 24, 1680, in Hackett and Shelby 1942I:70-71].
4. On the day of the 28th the governor arranged to go ahead with thirty soldiers and to attack the pueblo of Nuestra Señora del Socorro at dawn on the following day. He found it likewise depopulated, the church and convent burned, the images, crosses, and sacred objects destroyed, and in it were some skeletons of dead persons. It was recognized that it also had been sacked by the heathen. Two bells were found in this pueblo, and the houses were set on fire [from the reply of the fiscal, Don Martín de Solís Miranda, Mexico, June 25, 1682, in reference to the advance of the attempted reconquest and the day of November 28, 1681, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:376].
5. Today, Tuesday, the second of the present month, I, said governor and captain general, arrived with the said camp at this place near the uninhabited and ruined pueblo of Socorro. We traveled seven leagues, and the road was so bad that in order to get the wagons through it was necessary to load the freight on the pack animals [from the Diego de Vargas campaign journal, September 2, 1692, in Espinosa 1940:65].
6. I set out in a snowstorm from the said place to look for the pueblo of Socorro, which was close at hand. After traveling two long leagues, I entered it. The walls of its church are standing, and they are very strong, more than two varas and a half in thickness. In one of the cells of its convent, I took lodging. The door was torn down and a part of the wall above [from the Diego de Vargas campaign journal, December 9, 1692, in Espinosa 1940:246].
7. Este día percibió la vista algunos edificios de los que aún se mantienen del pueblo despoblado del Socorro, situado a la banda del Oeste del río, y a la del Este, se encontraron varias ruinas, donde hubo haciendas de labor antes de la sublevación; y habiendo encontrado con la demostración de un pueblo que se nombró El Alamillo, situado a la banda del Este del río, que es la que sigo, hice noche en un despoblado cerca de él [from the diary of Don Pedro de Rivera, May 29, 1726, in Robles 1946:50].
8. *San Miguel (Nuestra Señora), Socorro.* The possibility exists that the present church at Socorro, . . . now dedicated to San Miguel, is substantially the same as that noted by Benavides in 1630 at the pueblo of Pilabo. . . . In 1692, General de Vargas entered Socorro, on December 9. His detailed description of the church once again allows the possible identification of an extant structure with a pre-Rebellion fabric. According to the General, the walls of the church at Socorro had fallen, but enough of them was still standing for him to determine that they had originally been "more than two yards and a half in thickness." This account is complemented by that of Escalante, also in 1692, who remarked that the church was still standing, except for the roof, which had been burned. Bishop Tamarón, who visited New Mexico in 1760, gives evidence to prove that the site remained desolate for many more years. As he passed up the east bank of the Río Grande, the ruins . . . of Socorro were visible across the river. Tamarón knew that the pueblo had been destroyed in the Revolt of the preceding century, and he could see only the walls of the church and some peach trees. The actual resettlement of Socorro took place in 1800, and the church was probably rebuilt shortly thereafter [Kubler 1940:98-99].

QUALACÚ

DISCUSSION

The Piro pueblo named Qualacú first appears in the May 1598 itinerary of the Oñate expedition (No. 1) and in the Obediencias

of September 9, 1598 (Hammond and Rey 1953:346). The pueblo is also mentioned as abandoned in January 1692 in the Auto of Xavier regarding Otermin's retreat from the attempted reconquest (No. 2); it is described as being south of Luis López and north of San Pascual. Subsequent to this reference the Piro village of Qualacú seems to have drifted into obscurity, since it does not appear in the journals of de Vargas (Espinosa 1940), Tamarón (Adams 1953, 1954), Lafora (Kinnaird 1958), Rivera (Robles 1946), or de la Concha (Feather 1959).

Bandelier's statement (1892II:251) that Qualacú was the southernmost Piro pueblo on the east bank was probably based on a statement from the Oñate itinerary: "[We] camped for the night across from the second pueblo, called Qualacu, toward the bank of the river which we were following" (Hammond and Rey 1953:318). Since Bandelier considered Senecú to be the southernmost pueblo of the province, this would have made Qualacú the "second pueblo"; this interpretation was followed by Hodge (1910II:332).

In the Oñate Obedencias, however, the pueblo of Qualacú is listed as being on the east bank to the north of Texa and Amo (Hammond and Rey 1953:346), and in the Auto of Xavier (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cciv) we find that San Pascual was south of Qualacú. Perhaps the statement from the Oñate itinerary quoted above may be interpreted as meaning that "Qualacu" was the second pueblo on the east bank, but reference to two pueblos south of Qualacú on the east bank in the obedencias is rather curious, since all other information (historical and archaeological) suggests only a single pueblo, San Pascual, to the south of Qualacú. In 1969 David Snow (personal communication) suggested that the terms Texa and Amo may be a scribe's error, and that they should be interpreted as a single pueblo, Texaamo, possibly San Pascual. This seems quite probable in terms of the grammatical structure of the other pueblo names in the Obedencias. Given the historical information and the results of archaeological investigations on the east bank in the Bosque del Apache district, it is probable that LA 757 is the settlement of Qualacú (Chapter 9).

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. On the 28th, in the morning, mass was said, and we took communion in order to enter the first settlements with good luck. We traveled nearly four leagues and camped for the night across from the second pueblo, called Qualacu, toward the bank of the river which we were following. The Indians, suspicious and excited, had abandoned the pueblo. We reassured them with gifts of trinkets. In order not to frighten them we went to the bank of the river, where we remained, living in tents, for a month. This was both because of the sickness of the father commissary who had grown worse, and to provision the army with maize. Diego de Zubía, the purveyor general, brought the provisions [from the itinerary of the Oñate expedition, May 1598, in Hammond and Rey 1953:317-318].
2. A halt was made there [i.e., opposite the Pueblo of El Socorro] for the rest of the day in order to transfer two fieldpieces to the wagons. On the day of the 16th [January 1682] we marched from this place for the hacienda which they call that of Luis López, and we left there on the 17th for the place of Qualacu, a ruined pueblo, where we halted solely because of the great cold we were suffering, the country being full of snow [from the auto of Xavier concerning

the retreat from the attempted reconquest, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:364. In Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cciv there is a reference to the two bells being taken from Socorro and put into the wagons.]

TEYPAMA (OR TEYPANA)

DISCUSSION

The Piro village name "Teypama" appears only in the records of the Oñate Expedition (Hammond and Rey 1953:318 and 346). We find in the June 1598 itinerary (No. 1) that the pueblo of "Teypana" was also called "Socorro." The name Socorro (aid, assistance, or relief) was applied to the village since the inhabitants had furnished the Oñate colony with a supply of corn and, as Vetancurt described in 1698, "à la venida de los carros antes de la fundacion de Guadalupe se les llevaba socorro de pan, y otras cosas à los caminantes" (Vetancurt 1961:266).

There has been some dispute in the literature as to whether Teypama is located on the east or west bank of the Rio Grande, since Bandelier maintained that it was on the east bank (No. 2), based on his interpretation of the term "frontero" in the "Discurso de las Jornadas" (Anonymous 1871). The Oñate caravan does appear to have traveled up the east bank of the river, but the phrase "Dormimos frontero de Teypana" (No. 1) could be translated as "opposite" as well as "upon the edge." In Oñate's obedencias (Hammond and Rey 1953:346), the site is described as being on the west bank, and this is probably correct. Since this pueblo was held in such high esteem by the colonists, the description of its location seems likely to be accurate.

There also appears to be some dispute as to the relative north-south position of the pueblo. This is due to the probably erroneous statement by Hodge et al. (1945:248) that the village was located "three leagues above the present town of Socorro" (No. 3). In the Obedencias (Hammond and Rey 1953:346), Teypama is north of the southernmost village on the west bank, "Tzenaquel de la Mesilla," and south of "Pilogue" and the intervening pueblo of "Penjeacu." The listing of both Teypama and Pilogue in the Obedencias is significant, since there is some confusion concerning the term "Socorro." Although it could be suggested, based on some of the sources, that Teypama was the name of the mission village of Socorro, Benavides in 1630 (Ayer 1965:17) referred to the mission establishment of Nuestra Señora de Socorro in the village of "Pilabó," which is probably the same village as Pilogue in the Obedencias. It appears, therefore, that the name "Socorro" was transferred from Teypama to Pilabó, perhaps with the abandonment of the former in the early seventeenth century.

Among the documented Piro pueblos of Colonial period affiliation, the second village from the south on the west bank is in the Bosque del Apache area. But this cannot be the site of Teypama, since that village is described as being three leagues north of Qualacú and four leagues south of Sevilleta. This description would place the site in the Luis Lopez to Lemitar area. It is probable that the village of Teypama is either LA 282 or LA 31744 (Chapter 9).

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. A catorce, andobimos tres leguas, parando siempre en campaña. Dormimos frontero de Teipana, pueblo que llamamos del Socorro

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porque nos dió mucho maiz; y su Capitan llamado Lectoc nos dió noticia de los pueblos de la tierra, muy verdadera y cierta [Discurso de las Jornadas, in Anonymous 1871:251].

On the 14th we traveled three leagues, stopping always in open country. We halted for the night opposite Teypana, the pueblo which we called Socorro, because it furnished us with much maize. Its chieftain, named Letoc, gave us a very accurate and truthful account of the pueblos of the country [from the itinerary of the Oñate expedition, June 1598, in Hammond and Rey 1953:318]

2. Opposite [Pilabo], on the left bank, there then stood another village, called Teypana. Possibly, even probably, it is the ruin of a many-storied pueblo four miles west of Socorro, in the Cañada de las Tinajitas, where there is said to be still another old village [Bandelier 1892II:242].

Teypana is also located on the west bank in the *Obediencia*. But in the *Discurso de las Jornadas* p. 254, it appears on the east side, which is correct since Oñate marched up on that bank [Bandelier 1892II:242, Note 4].

3. The name Socorro was applied to two distinct Piro pueblos: first by Juan de Oñate in 1598 to the village of Teypana or Teypana, three leagues above the present town of Socorro (see *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XVI, p. 251), and now by Benavides to the village of Pilabó (or Pilogue, as the Oñate documents record it), where Socorro now stands. Oñate remarks that he applied the name Socorro because the natives received him kindly and supplied him with much-needed corn: "Dormimos frontero de Teypana, pueblo que llamamos del Socorro porque nos dió mucho maiz" [Hodge et al. 1945:248, Footnote 72].

SAN PASCUAL

DISCUSSION

Reference to the Piro pueblo of San Pascual first appears in the November 1681 records of Otermín's march north in the attempted reconquest (No. 1). It is rather odd that the name San Pascual first appears after the pueblo was abandoned, but it was a common place name from that time and through much of the eighteenth century abandonment era. In the records of Otermín's return march to the south, we again find reference to the ruined pueblo of San Pascual (No. 2), which is described as being within sight of Senecú. A similar statement is made by Rivera on May 28, 1725, where he states that from San Pascual "se miran los vestigios de otro que se nombraba Senecú, situado a la banda del Oeste del río" (No. 3). These statements have considerable significance with regard to the location of San Pascual and Senecú and are in agreement with the relative locations of these villages on the Miera y Pacheco map of the Rio del Norte from San Elezario to the Paraje de San Pascual (Figure 10.3).

In the 1766 journal of Nicolás de Lafora, San Pascual is noted to be two leagues north of Senecú and beyond the "dangerous pass" of El Contadero and the "bad defile" leading to Senecú Mesa (No. 4). From the diary of Colonel Don Fernando de la Concha (No. 5), we learn that San Pascual was five hours north of Fra Cristobal by horseback.

In the May 1760 journal of Bishop Tamarón (No. 6) we find a reference to a church in the ruined village of San Pascual and a recommendation that the pueblo should be rebuilt as a source of "consolation and relief to travelers on that road" (Adams 1953:200).

Kubler (1940:26) also alludes to a church at San Pascual, apparently based on Tamarón's statement. San Pascual was the patron saint of shepherds and sheep (Steele 1974:131-133), and the pueblo of San Pascual was situated adjacent to the grazing lands of the western Jornada del Muerto district. It is quite possible that the San Pascual district was a center of grazing activity during the early Colonial period.

The curious aspects of San Pascual's history are: 1) that the name does not appear in the records until after the village was abandoned and 2) that the only reference to a church is made by Bishop Tamarón more than a century after the village had been deserted. Based on the historical data and the archaeological investigations, it is most probable that the pueblo of LA 487 (Chapter 9) is the village of San Pascual. This pueblo is the largest documented village in the Rio Abajo province, although the destroyed or still-lost villages of Senecú and Alamillo also were probably quite large. It is difficult to account for Tamarón's mention of a church at the pueblo, especially since he visited the site so long after its abandonment. Nevertheless, the colonial documents of the Piro province are extremely sketchy, and the very large size of the community would seem to justify a mission establishment. There can be little doubt that archaeological excavation of Piro pueblos will involve numerous surprises, and LA 487 will certainly prove to be no exception.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. On the day of the 27th of the said month of November, his lordship, the señor governor and captain-general, marched with all the people to a ruined pueblo which they call San Pascual, where he halted that day, having seen on the road signs of a drove of beasts and the trail of Apache Indian enemies [recorded by Francisco Xavier on the northern march of the army in the attempted reconquest, 1681, the day after the visit to Senecú, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:204].
2. On the day of the 18th we marched out of the place of Qualacu for another ruined pueblo which they call San Pascual, in sight of Senecú [from the record by Francisco Xavier on the southern march of the army in return from the attempted reconquest, January 1682, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:364].
3. El día 23 [sic] rumbo del Nor-Noroeste, por tierra llana de mucha arena, con monte pequeño de romerillo que exhala un olor sensual aromático, caminé ocho leguas siguiendo la rivera del río, y haciendo noche en un despoblado como los antecedentes, que llaman San Pascual, tomando la denominación de las ruinas de un pueblo situado a la banda del Este del río, que lo fue antes de la sublevación general, y desde este mismo paraje se miran los vestigios de otro que se nombraba Senecú, situado a la banda del Oeste del río [from the diary of Don Pedro de Rivera, 1726, in Robles 1946:50].
4. On the 12th we traveled twelve leagues northeast. At one league is the dangerous pass called El Contadero, extending three leagues over hills and hollows, forming a bad defile to the Senecú Mesa. For this reason we reconnoitered before entering with the vehicles. Here we saw ruins of the Senecú pueblo, which was abandoned on the second entrance of the Spaniards into this kingdom. Two leagues farther, on the bank of the river, is San Pascual [from the journals of Nicolás de Lafora, 1766-1768, in Kinnaird 1958:88].
5. Before dawn we began our march, traveling northwest toward Fray Cristobal where we assumed the supply train and horseherd

would be according to the report which the Navajos had given. But upon arriving there we found nothing. In spite of the bad condition of my horses it was necessary that, after three hours of rest which we gave them, to set out again since my men had nothing to eat and we had lost hope of finding the supply train before reaching the Province.

At this place, a tired horse was killed so that the Jicarilla Apaches and the Pueblo Indians would have something to eat.

At three in the Afternoon we left Fray Cristobal, traveling toward the Province and at eight at night we stopped at San Pascual [from the diary of Fernando de la Concha, 1788, in Feather 1959:301].

6. The site they call San Pascual was reached. There was a pueblo there before the revolt of the kingdom, and only traces of the church and houses are visible. If it were rebuilt, it would be a great consolation and relief to travelers on that road [from the diary of Bishop Tamarón, May 14, 1760, in Adams 1953:200].

SENECÚ

DISCUSSION

The Piro pueblo of Senecú was the southernmost occupied pueblo in the New Mexican province during the Pre-Revolt era. It was situated on the west bank of the Rio Grande within sight of the village of San Pascual (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:364; Robles 1946:50). The native name of the pueblo may have been "Tzeno-qué" (Bandelier, 1883, in Lange and Riley 1970:163) or "Tzeno-cué" (Hodge 1910II:508). In the 1598 Obedencias, the village is mentioned as "Tzenaquel de la Mesilla, which is the first settlement in this kingdom toward the south and New Spain" (Hammond and Rey 1953:346). The term "de la Mesilla" implies proximity to Black Mesa near San Marcial, which was also known as "Mesa de Senecú" (on the Miera y Pacheco map of the 1770s, Figure 10.3). Senecú may also have been the village called San Miguel by the Chamuscado Expedition of 1581 (Hammond and Rey 1966:82 [Footnote 2], 115).

Early reference to the name "Senecú" and to the mission establishment of San Antonio de Padua appears in the 1630 Memorial of Benavides (Ayer 1965:17). The mission establishment in the village of "San Antonio de Senecú" was apparently built in the late 1620s, since that was the period about which Benavides wrote. He mentions his conversion of the Xila and Perillo Apaches and the "remarkable hieroglyph of Captain Sanaba" in the village of Senecú (Hodge et al. 1945:82-83). In his 1698 writings, Vetancurt (1961:265) places the date of construction of the mission at 1630, but this is too late; by that time, Benavides had left New Mexico for Spain (Hodge et al. 1945:5).

The mission of San Antonio was apparently established by Fray Antonio Arteaga and Fray García de Zúñiga (Vetancurt 1961:265). The church was richly ornamented and contained an organ. Organs were rare items in New Mexico missions, even in the late nineteenth century (Kessell 1980:218). Indeed, none appear to have been in use in New Mexico in the late eighteenth century, according to the Domínguez 1776 descriptions (Adams and Chávez 1956). A vineyard was established at the mission, and wine was produced, according to Vetancurt (No. 1). Fray García remained at Senecú for 30 years or more, until 1659 (No. 2). In June of 1660 Fray

Francisco de Salazar is mentioned as minister at the village (Hackett 1937:150), and in May of 1661 Fray Antonio Tavares as lay brother (Hackett 1937:177).

For over half a century the Catholic Church offered the Piro nation spiritual and material blessings, but at the cost of ritual censorship by the Franciscans (Hackett 1937:186, 206, and 220) and economic enslavement by the encomenderos and government (Hackett 1937:189). Several Piro Indians in the village of Senecú who resisted the Spanish jurisdiction were hanged and burned as traitors and sorcerers (No. 3). Piro from Senecú, Socorro, and Alamillo were employed to transport piñon nuts to a warehouse in Senecú, probably for export to northern Mexico, and they were used to carry salt and to manufacture stockings for the governor, but they received little or no payment (No. 4).

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century the delicate economic interrelationships between the Plains and the Rio Grande region and among the Pueblo, Hispanic, and Athabascan populations began to deteriorate significantly. In the Piro district a pattern of Apache raids and predations in the 1670s resulted in the eventual abandonment of the region. In the *Parecer del Fiscal* of September 5, 1676 (No. 5), we learn of the death of Fray Alonso Gil de Avila and of the destruction of the pueblo of Senecú on January 23, 1675. The *Chronica de la Provincia de San Francisco de Zacatecas* (edited in 1737; cited in Hackett and Shelby 1942I:xxxii, Footnote 11) contains the information that Father Avila and other Spaniards were besieged in the church (at Senecú). The priest appeared at the window with a crucifix in his hand, in an attempt to pacify the natives, but he was shot in the breast with an arrow. He died shortly afterward at the foot of the crucifix at the altar. The other Spaniards in the church were aided soon afterward by soldiers, and all escaped.

In the petition of Fray Francisco de Ayeta, dated May 10, 1679 (No. 6), we read of the abandonment of Senecú due to raids by the "barbarous Apaches," and we find that Fray Alonso Gil de Avila received not one but five arrow shots. In November or December 1677 the village was resettled. Father Ayeta refers to the "Succor" of Senecú through the application of men, arms, and supplies, and states that Senecú was resettled by more than 100 families of Christian Indians (Hackett 1937:297). In an undated petition by Father Ayeta, which is apparently from the late 1670s (Hackett 1937:292), we learn of arrangements to resettle the frontier areas of Las Salinas and Los Piro with the aid of supplies and military support. Father Ayeta writes further that the convent of Senecú in Los Piro "is being rehabilitated through the vigilance, promptitude, Christian application and pious zeal of Señor Don Antonio de Otermín."

It is probable that most of the reoccupants at Senecú went south with the Spanish refugees in the summer of 1680 and established the village of Senecú del Sur in the El Paso district. With the return of Otermín in November 1681, we find that the village of Senecú is "deserted and depopulated, the holy temple and the convent burned, only the walls having remained" (No. 7). Otermín burned the remnants of the village. The two bells found in the towers of the church (i.e., a double-tower mission construction) and another bell and a bronze canon were hidden away until the return trip; they were retrieved on January 19, 1682 (No. 8).

There is a possibility that a remnant population of Piro remained at Senecú in the spring and summer of 1681 as suggested in the *Declaration of Fray Miguel Menchero* (No. 9), but this statement

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was written 63 years after the reported event, and we have no other evidence to substantiate this occupation.

The visitations of Diego de Vargas on August 31, 1691 (No. 10), and December 10, 1692 (No. 11), indicate that Senecú, like the rest of the Piro Province, was uninhabited. In a letter of the following year, de Vargas describes a plan for the resettlement of the Piro region which was to include the movement of Hopis to reestablish the villages of Socorro and Alamillo. De Vargas makes the suggestion that the village of Senecú "should not be settled because the river has damaged the land, and furthermore it is on a frontier infested with many Apaches" (Espinosa 1940:287). Despite the repeated attempts at resettlement in the Piro district, the village of Senecú remained deserted. The burned shell of the mission and the pueblo crumbled and melted into the earth during the eighteenth-century abandonment of the area.

Various travelers on the Camino Real, protected from the Apaches by large caravans or by a military entourage, passed the ruins of Senecú. The village was a landmark throughout the eighteenth century, after which it appears to have drifted into obscurity. In 1725 Rivera saw the vestiges of Senecú from the abandoned village of San Pascual on the opposite bank (Robles 1946:50), and both villages were noted by Lafora in 1766 (Kinnaird 1958:88).

The ruins of Senecú have not been located, despite repeated investigations. The only known Colonial period sites in the region are LA 597, which is believed to be too far south, and LA 244, which is moderate-sized and does not exhibit evidence of mission architecture or other Hispanic traits. The statement by Bandelier (1892II:247) that Senecú was near the present village of San Antonio is clearly in error. All estimates indicate that the village was on the west bank not far north of El Contadero, somewhere in the vicinity of San Marcial and north of the Elmendorf siding. If the village was visible from San Pascual (LA 487), it was clearly north of Black Mesa (Mesa del Contadero); thus LA 597 could not be Senecú.

In 1698 Vetancurt, who had never been there, described the location as "En una montaña de escollos pedregosa"—upon the height of gravel escarpment (Vetancurt 1961:265). This is an accurate description of gravel bench formations which exist in the region; however, these benches have been carefully examined on numerous occasions, and the village has not been located. The pueblo was probably situated, as were many Piro settlements, on an elevation adjacent to the floodplain, and perhaps the pueblo was destroyed by the shift in the river noted by Diego de Vargas in his letter of 1693 to the Conde de Galve (Espinosa 1940:287). Then again, the pueblo may have been buried by the substantial quantities of silt which have been deposited in the region in the past century. On June 15, 1882, Bandelier noted a glaze-period ruin (Lange and Riley 1966:325) in the field of Esteban Gonzáles north of San Marcial. It is possible that this site, which was not relocated by the Rio Abajo Survey, is the village of Senecú. In any event, the efforts of yet another attempt to locate the southernmost colonial mission establishment in the New Mexican province have failed to produce results.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. En una montaña de escollos pedregosa el año de 630. [sic] fue hecha la conversion de los Indios de Senecu por el R. P. Fr. Antonio de Arteaga, Provincial que fue de la Provincia Santa de los Des-

calzos de San Diego, y un Templo, y Convento à S. Antonio de Padua dedicado; dexò alli à su compañero el V. P. Fray Garcia de Zuñiga, alias de S. Francisco, que lo adornò de organo, y ornamentos ricos, y una huerta, donde cogia ubas de sus viñas, y hazia vino, que repartia à los demas Conventos; passa cerca del Pueblo un rio, donde se hallan castores, y cria diversidad de pezes, en particular los de la piedra, que en el morro crian, que son de muy buena sazon, oy està el Pueblo despoblado, y arruinado en la tierra de los enemigos; son de nacion Piros, aqui està sepultado el V. P. Fray Garcia; ay setenta leguas de poblados; desde dicho Convento de Guadalupe à este dicho Pueblo que fue de Senecu [Vetancurt 1961:256-266, original date 1698].

2. If we turn to other evidence, recorded in documents of 1626-1628, we find that Benavides made his first missionary journey to the Piro area toward the end of June, 1626, and that he remained about a month, returning to the northern pueblos by the end of July. The document in which this journey is mentioned states that he had gone "to convert the pueblo of Senecu." We also learn that in the autumn of 1626 he accompanied the returning supply caravan as far as Senecú, and that he made another journey to the Piro country in October, 1627 [Scholes and Bloom 1945:80].
No information is available concerning the immediate successor of Arvide in the Piro field. After the arrival of the 1629 caravan additional missionaries were assigned to that area, of whom the best known are Fray Antonio de Arteaga and Fray García de San Francisco (lay brother). Arteaga and the lay brother were stationed at Senecú, where they founded the convent of San Antonio de Padua, and during the succeeding nine years they labored together at this new mission. . . . Fray García remained at Senecú until the end of the 1650's, and in 1659-1661 served as vice-custodian [Scholes and Bloom 1945:80].
3. The common people of this kingdom have always been punished as idolaters, and in particular in the time of Señor General Don Fernando de Villanueva, in the province of Los Piros, some were hanged and burned in the pueblo of Senecú as traitors and sorcerers [from the declaration of the Lt. General of Cavalry, December 20, 1681, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:266].
4. The Indians of the central and southern pueblos were employed to gather piñon and salt and transport the accumulated supplies to convenient places for shipment. The following items are taken from the claims presented in 1661: (1) fifty Indians from Senecú, thirty-six from Socorro, and ten from Alamillo, and a number of pack mules and horses from each pueblo were employed for about two weeks transporting piñon to a warehouse in Senecú; (2) sixty-three Indians from Socorro worked for three days carrying salt from the east bank of the Río Grande to the pueblo of Socorro; . . .
The manufacture of stockings for the governor's account was carried on in a number of villages. The petitions presented in 1661 included the following claims: Senecú, 100 pairs; Socorro, 30 pairs [Scholes 1942:48].
5. The oldest mention of this massacre at my command is found in the *Parecer del Fiscal*, dated September 5, 1676 (MS): "Pasaron à dar muerte . . . y al Pe Fr. Alonso Gil de Avila, Ministro del pueblo de Zennecú en el día 23 de Enero del año pasado del 675 [sic]." Fray Juan Alvarez, *Peticion al Gobernador Don Francisco Cuerdo y Valdés*, 1705 (MS): "Tambien el pueblo de Senecú, maturan al Pe Pr, Fr. Alonso Gil de Auila y destruyeron lo mas de la gente indiana." Vetancurt only says (p. 309): "Hoy está el pueblo despoblado y arruinado en la tierra de los enemigos" [Bandelier 1892II:250, Footnote 2].

6. In another petition Father Fray Francisco de Ayeta, Mexico, May 10, 1679, refers to the abandonment of Senecú at the hands of the "barbarous Apaches" and notes that they "killed the missionary at Senecú in his own convent, with five arrow shots. He was Father Fray Alonso Gil de Avila." He then refers to the subsequent resettlement of Senecú in November or December of 1677 and indicates that it was still occupied as late as March 1678 when he was there for a period of four months. He refers to the Succor of Senecú through the application of men, arms, and supplies, and states that Senecú was resettled with more than one hundred families of Christian Indians [Hackett 1937:297. The portions in quotation marks are direct quotations from Ayeta in Hackett.].
7. We marched from this place on the next day to another, which they call El Contadero, along the banks of the Río del Norte, where we halted and spent the night. Here many signs of the fierce Apache enemies were seen, both on horseback and afoot, and his lordship gave orders that a squadron of forty soldiers and some Indians on foot be made ready to go the next day to reconnoiter the pueblo of Senecú and its environs, which is the first one of the kingdom of New Mexico. In the morning he went out with the said men, being accompanied also by the very reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, and the other religious and officers, and crossed the Río del Norte, the pueblo of Senecú being on the opposite side. They recognized many signs of the Apache enemies on horseback and on foot, and going to the said pueblo to see what people were there, and what was to be done, they found the said pueblo deserted and depopulated, the holy temple and the convent burned, only the walls having remained, and these badly demolished in parts. In the towers of the church they found two bells, and another fallen in the cemetery, without a clapper. There was found also in the said cemetery a small piece of bronze ordnance weighing about a hundred arrobas which formerly served to protect the church and pueblo. Also in the cemetery was a holy cross of pine which in former times was in the main plaza. They entered the place where the sacristy had been and found there the hair and crown from a crucifix, thrown on the ground, and an altar and two pieces of another. They saw many signs of the apostates having deserted the place from fear, being oppressed by the heathen Apaches. The reverend father visitador, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, ordered them to gather up some crosses which were found in the houses of the pueblo—all of which were standing and without a sign of being burned—and he ordered them burned, together with the crown and the hair and other things from the altar made of wood, and directed that the altar and the other two pieces of one be thrown into the current of the Río del Norte. He requested the señor governor and captain-general that his lordship have the clappers taken from the two bells in the tower and that the bells be secured in order to take them to the wagons. His lordship ordered it done, and also that they bring the pieces of ordnance, and that the said pueblo be set on fire, which was done. Most of the day was spent in this business, and the wagons having arrived at the place opposite the pueblo on the other side [of the river], he left with the people who followed him and the said father visitador and crossed the river, and rejoined the army that night, which was the 26th of November [Hackett and Shelby 1942II:203–204].
8. On the day of the 19th we marched from this place [San Pascual] to beyond the pueblo of Senecú, over the snow. They brought three bells and a small piece of bronze ordnance which were in the said pueblo and took all of it to the wagons. We marched from this place to another which they call El Contadero [from the auto of Xavier, January 1682, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:364].
9. The governor decided that the father missionaries, with some soldiers, should enter the kingdom, and they traveled some seventy

leagues to the north to the pueblo of Zenecú, where crops had been planted. When the fathers sought the Indians they fled to the high sierra and refused to come down at their call, being suspicious, perhaps, that it might be their purpose to punish them for the outrage of the preceding year of 1680, and up to the present they have not come back to settle. The fathers went on and . . . they found the pueblos, which were formerly populous, desolate and without people—that is, El Socorro, Alamillo, Sevilleta [from the declaration of Fray Miguel de Menchero, Santa Bárbara, May 10, 1744, in Hackett 1937:398].

10. *Arrival at the place of Senecú, the pueblo being uninhabited.*

Today, Sunday, August 31 [1691], I, said governor and captain general, arrived with the camp at this place facing the pueblo of Senecú, which is on the other side of the Del Norte river, about five leagues distant from the river at Fray Cristóbal, from which I set out today [de Vargas in Espinosa 1940:64].

Today, Wednesday, the tenth of the present month of December of this date [1692], I, said governor and captain general, arrived at this place, on this side of the Río del Norte, which, due to the severe cold, was found partially frozen over today. And in view of, and a short distance from, the pueblo of Senecú, I made camp, having marched nine or ten leagues [from Socorro] [de Vargas in Espinosa 1940:247].

ALAMILLO

DISCUSSION

No references to the pueblo of Alamillo were found in the records of the Chamuscado or Espejo expeditions or in the Oñate documents. The earliest reference to the pueblo in the documents reviewed during this study is in an unsigned statement made on August 31, 1626. This statement gives an account of a conversation in which Governor Eulate took part at the pueblo of Alamillo (No. 1). The pueblo of Alamillo is not included in the Benavides descriptions which were written in the same year.

A mission establishment, known as the Convento del Santo Angel de las Guarda del Alamillo and later as Santa Ana, existed at the pueblo by 1638 (No. 2). In 1641 Salmerón refers to Alamillo as a visita of Socorro (Scholes 1929:50, 1944:245). In the Declaration of Captain Andrés Hurtado of September 1661, we learn of a series of events concerning Alamillo pueblo (No. 3) and find that inhabitants from Sevilleta were congregated at Alamillo in 1658 and returned to Sevilleta in 1661. In the June 1662 testimony of Fray Salvador de Guerra we again find passing reference to Alamillo (No. 4). The Pueblo of Alamillo was said by Vetancurt to have once contained 300 inhabitants (No. 5), and it was described in the Revolt-period records as being located "on a plain on the banks of the Río del Norte" (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:206).

There are a series of references to the pueblo of Alamillo in the documents of the Pueblo Revolt and attempted reconquest (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:85, 159, 1942II:206, 363). Bandelier (1892II:240) summarizes the events of the retreat from the revolt as follows:

Lieutenant General Alonzo Garcia with a few men returned to meet his superior, of whose escape from Santa Fé and retreat down the Río Grande valley he had been informed. At Alamillo he met the Governor, and, one league south of that place, about thirty soldiers commanded by the Maestro de Campo Pedro de Leyba also reinforced the slender forces of Otermín.

PRE-REVOLT PLACE NAMES

The Auto of Otermín gives additional information (No. 6). We learn from the muster of La Salienta that Christian Indians from Alamillo followed the Spanish refugees in their retreat (No. 7). The pueblo was entirely deserted in November of 1681 when Otermín passed to the north in the attempted reconquest. The party found the church, convento, and part of the pueblo burned, and Otermín ordered the remnants set on fire (No. 8). On the return trip in January of 1682 Otermín and his band sought refuge from a hostile winter storm in the burned shell of El Alamillo (No. 9). The pueblo was also noted as being abandoned in September of 1692 when Diego de Vargas reached the location on his northern march toward the reconquest (No. 10).

The pueblo of Alamillo was never reoccupied. In March of 1800 the Spanish provincial governor inspected the country in the vicinity of Alamillo for the purpose of determining its suitability for resettlement (NMLG, Reel 6, #1155), but the area was not resettled at that time. The first reference to the new settlement of Alamillo, which is occupied to this day (see Chapter 12), appears on the 1859 War Department map (Figure 12.2). This Post-Revolt village is on the opposite (west) bank from and north of the original Piro pueblo.

All attempts to locate the Piro pueblo of Alamillo by John Wilson in 1972 (personal communication) and by the Rio Abajo Survey have failed, despite the fact that we are certain that the pueblo was located on the east bank south of Alamillo Arroyo and north of Pueblito. Indeed, the location of the subsequent and now abandoned settlement of Sabino was probably in the area of Alamillo. The remnants of Sabino have been inspected, and there is no evidence of a Piro establishment there. The pueblo of Alamillo was described as being on the river bank (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:206), and it apparently was destroyed by floodwaters from the Rio Grande.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

1. On Monday, the thirty-first day of August of the year 1626, at about four o'clock in the afternoon in the pueblo of Alamillo near the Río del Norte in these provinces of New Mexico, the following persons were seated in the shade of a house: Father Fray Esteban de Perea, Father Fray Jerónimo de Zárate, don Juan de Eulate, who had just finished his term of office as governor of the aforesaid provinces, Captain Francisco Pérez Granillo, Captain Diego de la Cruz, Captain Tomás de Albizu, and I. We were all conversing, discussing the power of the King and the scope of ecclesiastical jurisdiction [Adams and Longhurst 1953:249].
2. Benavides' Memorials of 1630 and 1634 also mention a third Piro convent at Sevilleta, but this foundation was not permanent. We have no record of any friar who served as guardian, and it was apparently replaced by the convent of Alamillo. A document of 1638 states that Fray Diego López was then guardian of the "Convento del Santo Angel de la Guarda del Alamillo." The mission was later known as Santa Ana.
[Footnote 139]. A.G.N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15. Other friars who served at Alamillo were Fray Francisco de Acevedo (1659), Fray Salvador de San Antonio (1672) [Scholes and Bloom 1945:81 and Note 139; see also Bloom and Mitchell 1938:115 for reference to Chapter Elections of 1672 and the installation of Fray Salvador de San Antonio at Santa Anna of Alamillo.]
3. He declares that Father Fray Francisco de Acevedo collected the masks in the pueblo of Alamillo. The Indians said to him that Mendizábal ordered them to dance the *catzinas* [Hackett 1937:186]

It is for this purpose, and without any advantage or convenience to the kingdom, that [the governor] has commanded that the Indians of the pueblo of Sevilleta (whom the previous governor, acting upon the advice of a *junta general* which he convoked, congregated in the pueblo of El Alamillo) should return to their old location. . . . They were congregated at El Alamillo three years ago, by virtue of the authority mentioned, and there they have houses, lands, and a minister of the doctrine who could care for them, but the governor removes them for the reason given to their old pueblo, where they continue their hateful and vicious idolatries [declaration of Captain Andrés Hurtado, September 1661, in Hackett 1937:189].

4. On the night of the last day of April, the father commissary and I in his company were in the pueblo of Alamillo, when he received information by letter of how, on that same day, the governor had entered the pueblo of La Isleta on his return from the journey mentioned, having with him Diego Romero and Nicolás de Aguilar. . . . Knowing this, the father commissary started promptly from the pueblo of Alamillo with me on the morning of May 1. At noon of the same day we crossed the Río del Norte at considerable risk, for it was much swollen. We then traveled eighteen leagues until we arrived, nearly at midnight, at the convent of La Isleta [testimony of Fray Salvador de Guerra, June 13, 1662, in Hackett 1937:137-138].
5. Tres leguas del Socorro está el Pueblo del Alamillo con su Iglesia à Santa Ana dedicada, donde habitan trecientas personas Piros. Cogense Truchas, pampanos, y salmones entre la diversidad que abunda de pescado. Este Pueblo se quemò el año de 81. [sic] que se entrò à su reduccion, y se huyeron los apostatas à las Sierras, de donde no se pudo conseguir vajasen de paz, no obstante el perdon general que se les aseguro [Vetancurt 1961:266].
6. Then immediately, on the said day, month, and year, his lordship being on the march with the army at a place one league beyond the pueblo of El Alamillo, there was perceived in the distance a cloud of dust in which it was seen that a group of as many as thirty persons were coming on horseback [auto de Otermín, September 6, 1680, in Hackett and Shelby 1942I:85].
7. Of the Christian Indians who came with the army from the pueblos of La Isleta, Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro, and Senecú, women and men, old and young, three hundred and seventeen persons passed muster [muster at La Salienta, October 2, 1680, in Hackett and Shelby 1942I:159].
8. On the day of November 30th we marched from this place over a very rough road which overturned a wagon. It was necessary to level hillocks by hand and to open a road, we passing through with much labor. We marched to a place which they call the passages of La Vuelta del Socorro, where a halt was made almost at nightfall. On the next day, December 1, we marched from there in the rain and sleet, and went to the pueblo of Alamillo, the señor governor and captain-general marching in the vanguard. He reconnoitered the pueblo, which is on a plain on the banks of the Río del Norte, like the preceding ones. He went to the said pueblo, entered it, and found it entirely deserted, and the church, convent, and crosses burned, not one being in evidence. There were only some ruined and burned houses, and his lordship ordered the remnants of them set on fire. Here was found only one bell, without a clapper. The camp halted on one side of this said pueblo because of the sun being already down and of all the people being wet. There they spent the night [from Otermín's itinerary, 1681, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:206].
9. On the day of the 11th we marched from this place in order to ascend the hill of Acomilla and go down to the pueblo of Alamillo.

As soon as we went up the said hill, it began to snow, but we nevertheless marched, with much hardship, until we came down to El Alamillo. On this day, through the whole night, and on the day of the 12th, there was much snow and wind, and it was very stormy and extremely cold, wherefore we did not leave this place until the 13th [from Otermín's itinerary, January 1682, in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:363].

10. Today, Wednesday, the third of the present month of September, I, said governor and captain general, arrived with the camp at this pueblo of Alamillo. It was necessary to employ the pack animals half the way, due to the bad passes, and in this way the wagons, empty, were able to reach their destination. The march was five leagues [from Socorro] [de Vargas, 1692, in Espinosa 1940:65].

PUEBLO MAGDALENA (LA 285)

The large Colonial Piro pueblo of LA 285, which is located in the western sierra not far north of Magdalena, was the probable subject of a brief description by Diego de Vargas in 1692.

On the slope in front of the said sierra, I found a very ancient pueblo, with some front walls and two half-destroyed estufas of stone, set up by hand, still standing. It could be seen that the pueblo was large. Looking to the right, toward the Sierra de Gila, at a distance of about one-eighth of a league, we could see, by some tall reed grass, that the watering place which had supplied the inhabitants of the said pueblo was located there [Espinosa 1940:243-244].

Fewkes (1902:217-222) reviews the de Vargas notes and describes the site, which is adjacent to a spring known as Ojo del Pueblo. The de Vargas description of the abandoned pueblo of Magdalena is quite significant, since it indicates that the refugee villages of the Colonial Piro era were also abandoned during the Revolt period. This is the only source of this information. There is no known reference to the large Piro pueblos of the western sierra in the Pre-Revolt documents, which suggests that Spanish domination was restricted to the river valley.

COLONIAL PERIOD ESTANCIAS AND HACIENDAS IN THE PIRO PROVINCE

It is difficult to ascertain the character of non-ecclesiastic Hispanic settlement in the Rio Abajo Colonial period, due to the fragmentary character of the documentation and the poor preservation of these structures. The Hispanic population of the Piro province in the seventeenth century was probably quite low, even compared with the rest of New Mexico. We have reference to six or seven estancias in the Piro region, but only three are named: Luis López, Acomilla, and San Antonio de Sevilleta. Otermín's itinerary mentions four estancias (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:205), probably including Luis López, as being located in an area between San Pascual and a point some 6 leagues to the north. Three others, Estancia Acomilla, San Antonio de Sevilleta, and the estancia of Alonso Perez Granillo (two leagues from Alamillo; Chávez 1954:88), were located on the northern limits of the province. Encomiendas are listed for Senecú (Chávez 1954:15) and Sevilleta (Hackett 1937:189), but it is probable that other encomienda establishments

were present in the region. Even this sketchy information is of limited value, since there were undoubtedly changes in settlement location and distribution during the era.

Additional references to small Pre-Revolt sites can be found in the 1681 Otermín itinerary (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:205). Also, in 1725, Don Diego Rivera encountered various ruins of "haciendas de labor" on the east bank in his march from San Pascual to Alamillo (Robles 1946:50).

ESTANCIA ACOMILLA

The term "Acomilla" (little Acoma) was applied in the Colonial period to a landmark north of Alamillo and south of Sevilleta. This location is obviously the basalt uplift of the present-day San Acacia area. The earliest reference to the location is a 1631 reference to the "estancia at Acomilla."

Gerónimo Márquez. . . His name runs through all the Oñate annals as an adventurous leader. He was exiled from New Mexico, but he returned—if ever the sentence was carried out. As late as 1631 he was living at his *estancia* at Acomilla in the Río Abajo district [Chávez 1954:69].

Based on the data gathered by the Rio Abajo Survey, we believe that Estancia Acomilla is the site of LA 286 (see Chapter 9), situated at the western base of San Acacia Butte.

There is a reference to Acomilla in the 1681 testimony of Pedro de Leiva, which refers to "the height of the pueblo of Acomilla" as an observation locus employed to gain sight of the Hispanic refugees from Rio Arriba led by Governor Otermín (in Hackett and Shelby 1942II:164). Also, the Auto of Otermín concerning the retreat from the attempted reconquest in February 1682 includes the statement, "we marched from this place [Las Vueltas de Acomilla] in order to ascend the hill of Acomilla and go down to the pueblo of Alamillo" [Hackett and Shelby 1942II:363].

HACIENDA SAN ANTONIO DE SEVILLETA

The hacienda of Captain Don Diego de Guadalajara was situated one league from Sevilleta pueblo (Hackett 1937:189). This may be the hacienda of "San Antonio de Sevilleta" mentioned in the following note:

In 1661 Felipe [Romero] had been accused, although with Bartolomé Gómez Robledo, of killing some cattle that belonged to Alamillo Pueblo. He and his wife, *Jacinta de Guadalajara y Quirós*, lived near this Pueblo at their hacienda of San Antonio de Sevilleta [Chávez 1954:97].

ESTANCIA LUIS LÓPEZ

The estancia of Luis López was established by "an illiterate captain living in Senecú as *Alcalde Mayor* of the Piro in 1667. His *estancia* lay between the old Pueblos of Socorro and Qualacú" (Chávez 1954:58). A summary of the available information concerning the colonial component of the settlement of Luis López is included in the Chapter 12 discussion of the Post-Revolt settlement by the same name. The estancia of Luis López was no doubt one of the "four deserted estancias" noted in the Otermín itinerary in 1681 between the villages of San Pascual and Socorro (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:205). The names of the other estancias are unknown.

PRE-REVOLT PLACE NAMES

LAS BARRANCAS

Las Barrancas appears on the Peñalosa map of 1680 (Figure 11.1) and the Coronelli map of 1688 (Wheat 1957:following p. 48) on the east bank of the Rio Grande south of Nuestra Señora de Socorro and north of San Antonio de Senecú. This strongly suggests the barranca country of the east bank in the central Rio Abajo study area. Indeed, the Las Barrancas on these maps, which

has a dotted symbol similar to that for a settlement, could conceivably be the name of a Piro pueblo or a hacienda in that area.

References to an Estancia de Barrancas in 1661 (Scholes 1937:394), in 1681 by Otermín (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:213), and by Diego de Vargas in 1692 are to the residence of Francisco Gómez (Espinosa 1940:66). This was well to the north of Sevilleta, 10 leagues to the south of Isleta Pueblo.

CHAPTER 12

PLACE NAMES OF THE POST-REVOLT PERIOD

DEFINITION

The Post-Revolt phase spans the era from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 to the present day. The Rio Abajo was abandoned by Pueblo and Hispanic populations during much of this time; the area south of Sabinal was dominated by nomadic Athabaskan groups. Re-settlement of the region by sedentary agriculturalists began in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Rio Abajo was subsequently ruled by three successive governments—the Spanish colonial (to 1821), the Mexican (1821–1846), and the United States (Territorial government, 1846–1912; statehood, 1912–present).

TEMPORAL AFFINITY

The Post-Revolt phase, as the name implies, covers the period from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 to the modern era. The Piro permanently abandoned their pueblos before and during the revolt, choosing to resettle, under Spanish protection, to the south of El Paso. In the eighteenth century, the Rio Abajo was virtually uninhabited, visited only by travelers on the Camino Real and nomadic Athabascans (Apaches and Navajos). Hispanic farming communities began to be established early in the nineteenth century, spreading south through the Rio Abajo over the next 70 years.

Dates for these early nineteenth century communities are not derived from archaeological field investigations but from archival sources. There is little if anything left of these early settlements, since they were constructed in the floodplain of the Rio Grande and have been swept by numerous catastrophic floods. Remains of some Territorial period (1846–1912) sites have yielded artifacts which are temporally diagnostic. These include central Rio Grande Pueblo matte-painted ceramics; Hispanic-produced Carnue ware; earthenwares and porcelains from Mexico, the United States, and Europe; and artifacts of glass and metal.

DISTRIBUTION

Figure 12.1 shows the distribution of Post-Revolt sites in the Rio Abajo. The area was devoid of permanent settlements throughout the eighteenth century, due to the constant threat of Athabaskan Indians and to the inability of Hispanic and Pueblo populations to recolonize and defend the province. Sabinal was the southernmost community in New Mexico during this time (Candelaria 1929:280). The village of Sevilleta was reestablished in 1800; Socorro was resettled in 1817. Ranchos were interspersed between these communities to take advantage of the arable land in the floodplain and of the adjacent grazing lands. In the early 1820s, Pedro Armendaris made an unsuccessful attempt to settle the southern limits of the

province at Valverde. Repeated Indian attacks forced abandonment of the Valverde settlement in 1824 (Levine and Tainter 1982:63). In the late 1840s, the southernmost villages in the region were Parida and Luis López (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93). Successful colonization of the lower river took place with the establishment of Fort Conrad in 1851 and Fort Craig in 1854. Fort Craig was soon surrounded by a series of villages (Valverde, La Mesa, San Marcial, Contadero, Paraje, and Cantarecio). In 1916, with the construction of Elephant Butte Dam, the villages to the south of San Marcial were condemned and abandoned.

SITE CHARACTERISTICS

Most Post-Revolt communities were situated directly adjacent to the active floodplain of the Rio Grande. Apparently most of the inhabitants were not discouraged by the continual flooding, since they often returned to inundated homesites to rebuild. Because of this combination of flood damage and subsequent rebuilding, little is known about early Post-Revolt village organization or architecture.

The Pueblo Revolt had brought an end to the *encomienda* system and the large haciendas of the *encomienderos*. These were replaced in the eighteenth century by farms and ranchos on smaller landholdings, with labor supplied only by the landowners and occasional servants. As was the case throughout the province of New Mexico, the population was rural, dispersed on small ranchos next to fields and gardens. There were two types of village plans, *poblaciones* and *plazas*. A *población* was a community of loosely organized ranchos, often arranged along a waterway or road (Simmons 1969:13). Plaza and double-plaza villages were organized for mutual defense. Dwellings were tightly nucleated around a central plaza with blank, windowless exterior walls. The double plazas of Luis López and Lemitar are fine examples of this village plan.

Fortified single farmsteads, known as *casa corrales*, also date to the nineteenth century. Those recorded at La Joyita and La Parida are of a type found throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Post-Revolt architecture is characterized by large rooms, corner hearths, whitewash, and adobe blocks. Although adobe block was the most common building material during the nineteenth century, jacal construction and sod were not unknown. In the early twentieth century, stone, milled lumber, and railroad ties were added to the nineteenth-century inventory of building materials.

The great public works of a Rio Abajo community were the acequias and the church. The construction and maintenance of

CHAPTER 12

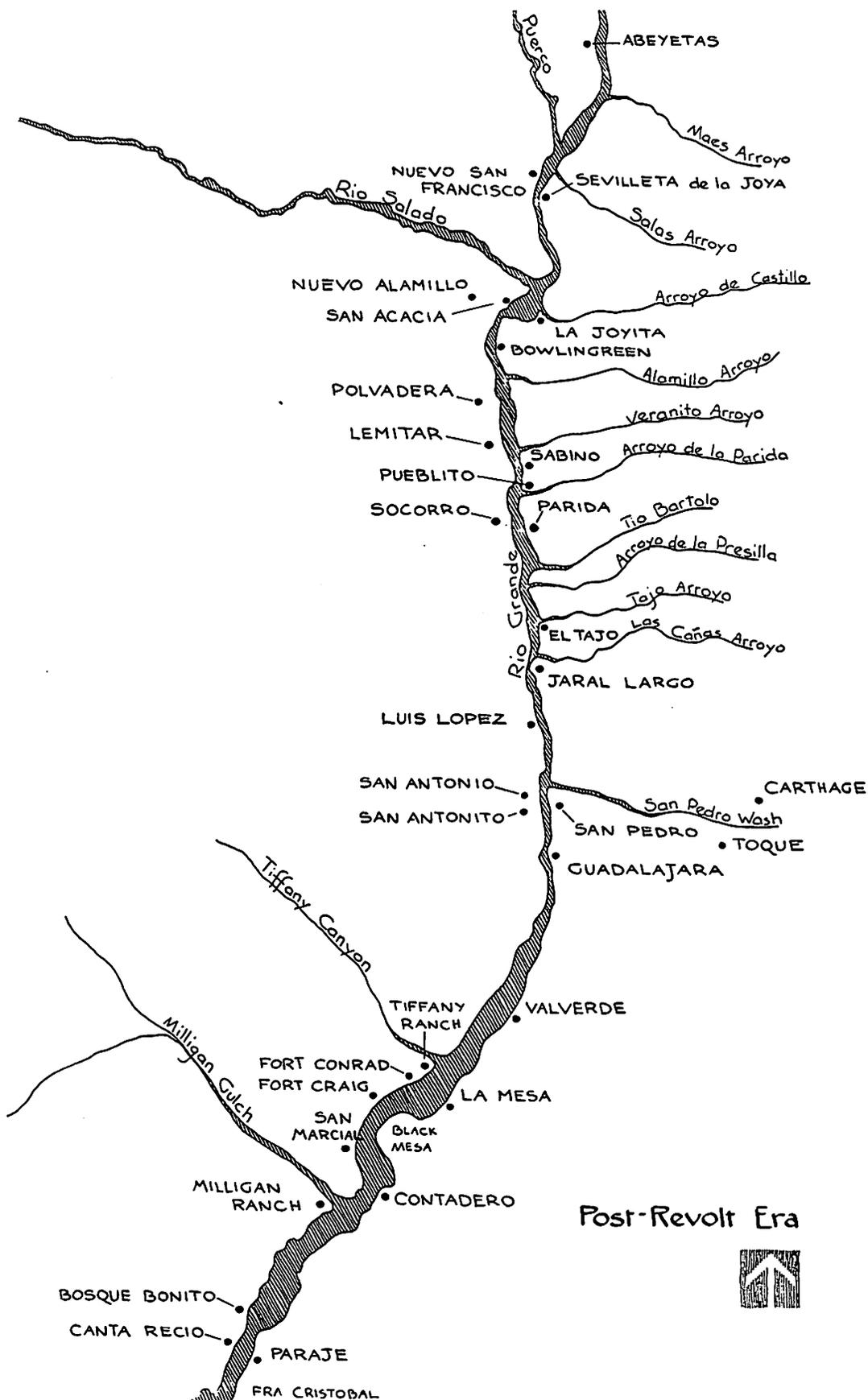


FIGURE 12.1. Distribution of Post-Revolt sites. Illustration—Caren Walt

POST-REVOLT PLACE NAMES

these structures required a great deal of energy and community organization. The work force and the scheduling of acequia construction and maintenance were directed by the mayordomo or ditch boss. Water from the river was diverted into the acequia by the construction of a post-and-brush dam out into the river. When the river was low, teams of men and horses would set posts into the river bed and then back the uprights with horizontal branches and quantities of brush and mud. The destruction of an acequia due to a flood or a major shift in the river bed away from the canal siphon could have catastrophic consequences. Canal siphons were provided with gateways and *descargas* to prevent floodwaters from surging into the ditch system.

When water was first diverted into the acequia in the spring, it was an occasion for celebration. All of the people would gather at the siphon and, with a statue of San Isidro accompanying them in a wagon, they would walk along the ditch following the water to the last farms. The ditches were also the ritual focus of symbolic baptism when, at dawn on June 24 (El Día de San Juan), the people would enter fully dressed into the acequias.

Some interesting insights into the nature of Mexican period life in the Rio Abajo may be gleaned from the papers of Don Juan Gerónimo Torres, citizen and deputy alcalde of Sabinal. Don Juan

and his family lived in a nine-room house which surrounded an interior courtyard. Adjacent to the house was a walled yard; this casa corral settlement included a woodlot, vineyard, and an orchard of peach, apple, and quince trees (Perrigo 1954:32). Table 12.1 is a list of household items which Torres sold to Don Pedro Armendaris in 1820. Don Juan was a relatively wealthy landowner, grazing his 91 head of cattle, 18 goats, 11 yoke of oxen, and 11 horses on four plots of land in Sabinal and neighboring communities. He also had crops under cultivation, on lands fed by an irrigation system maintained by the community (Perrigo 1954:30-31).

Lt. James Bourke was a resident of the Rio Abajo while assigned to the U.S. army post at Fort Craig in 1869. His journals describe a landscape much like that of the Spanish colonial and Mexican periods.

The villages of Paraje, San Marcial, and Contadera, none of them of any size or consequence, gave us an excuse for horse-back rides; the inhabitants were very poor and the houses, of adobe, ill-furnished, the peculiar feature being that the main room was well-supplied with settees and mattresses [*sic*] upon which the men of the house could take their "siesta" in the afternoon, and the walls were covered with cheap looking glasses, as a decoration. The men wore a costume of

TABLE 12.1

List of goods sold by Don Juan Geronimo Torres to Don Pedro Armendaris

Sale of Merchandise

Don Juan Geronimo Torres offers for sale on the account of Don Pedro Armendaris the following goods:

	A S. O	Pesos	Reals
10 pieces of wool, at 10 reals a yard	@ 27½ p.	275.	0
32 fine printed cottons, 2 and ¾ yards each	@ 4 p.	128.	0
24 Native mufflers	@ 4 p.	96.	0
1 piece fine lace edging, 12 yds.	—	60.	0
2 same, nankeen at 1 peso per yd.	11 p.	22.	0
1 same, white cotton, 20 yds.	—	32.	4
49 yards flannel	@ 4 p.	196.	0
5 reams paper, 25 pieces for 9 reals	@ 20 p. 2 r.	101.	2
10 dozen hunting knives at 5 reals each	@ 7½ p. doz.	75.	0
1000 needles at 70 per half	—	6.	2
60 playing cards	@ 4 r.	30.	0
408 yards ribbon, water marked	@ 2½ r. yd.	127.	4
4 muslin gowns, embroidered	@ 20 p.	80.	0
150 yards English chintz	@ 12 r. yd.	225.	0
150 same, from Barcelona	@ 19 r. yd.	281.	2
12 madras handkerchiefs	@ 12 r.	18.	0
12 scissors	@ 4 r.	6.	0
40 yards muslin, embroidered	@ 20 r. yd.	100.	0
50 veils, black ornaments	@ 1 p.	50.	0
60 Chinese combs	@ 2 r.	15.	0
1 piece wide ribbon of 33 yards	@ 1 p.	3.	0
2 same, narrow of 33 yards	@ 6 r. yd.	49.	4
Total		1967.	2

Santa Fe, December 18, 1820
Armendaris

Source: Perrigo 1951:161-162

wide-brimmed sombrero, coarse white cotton shirt, loose pants or drawers of cotton, & moccasins in place of shoes, (altho' the latter of American manufacture were coming into general use).

The women always were attired in loosely flowing robe of calico or gauze and instead of hats or bonnets which were unknown in that part of the Rio Grande valley, at that time, folded a black shawl or "rebosa," around the head and shoulders in such a way as to completely conceal all the face except the left eye. In figure these were, as a rule, tall, slight, straight and graceful, the erectness of figure and graceful undulation of movement being attributed to their constant practice of carrying heavy loads of water upon the head. In person, they were, so far as my observation extended, neat and clean, bathing frequently in the large "acequias" or irrigating canals which conducted the waters of the Rio Grande to the barley fields and vineyards. Frequently, in my rides across country, I came upon beves of women—old matrons and pretty maidens, splashing in the limpid water, the approach of a stranger being the signal for a general scramble until they were all immersed up to their necks. They never seemed to mind it in the least and I may as well admit that I rather enjoyed these unexpected interviews.

One brief paragraph will answer for all the villages on the Rio Grande; they were built in the form of a hollow square, the interior, or "plaza" being the place of rendezvous for every public purpose, markets, religious processions, camping places for travellers—everything of that kind. The houses, all of one story and flat roofed, varied in size from one room to a dozen, according to the circumstances of their owners, were built of sun-dried bricks, with roofs, made of small rafters, covered first with a layer of osier twigs, over which was packed a certain depth of "juse" or lime cement with a mixture of gypsum. This same composition formed the flooring, except in the houses of the very poor who contented themselves with their mother-earth. Where a family was pretentious, a carpet of rough woolen, woven in alternate black and white stripes, called "jerga" was spread out in the "best" rooms, but those in ordinary use went bare.

So far as food was concerned, the New Mexicans were not badly off. Chickens and sheep, pigs and goats were plenty and cheap, beef was not scarce, vegetables grew luxuriantly and fruit of poor quality in considerable quantity. Never have I seen such large onions and beets, the former the diameter of a soup-plate and of a very mild flavor, without acrid pungency. Tomatoes were good, chile excellent, great strings of it drying against the walls and upon the roofs of all the houses; potatoes scarce, but beans, of the black or frijole variety, extremely cheap, and so nutritious as to equal bread in their hunger-staying qualities. Grapes and peaches were the principal fruits and wine in some quantity was made in the valley. The wood used altogether for fuel was mesquite, which exudes a gum equal to that from the acacia; this made so hot a fire that cottonwood had to be added to temper its fierceness. Another curious piece of vegetation was the "amole" or soap-weed, whose roots give a lather like soap and were much employed as a detergent for the scalp.

The means of transportation to be found in the valley, aside from the "Army wagons" belonging to the various military posts, were little "carretas," drawn by one or two mules, the poor animals not much bigger than rats; "prairie-schooners"—immense lumbering things requiring the united force of from 20 to 25 mules to pull them and their cargoes; or the old-fashioned wagon from the San Luis valley, made in the rudest fashion, held together by raw-hide thongs, and running on wheels framed of solid sections of large pine trees [L. Bloom 1934:41-42].

SETTLEMENT HISTORY

The southernmost community in New Mexico during the eighteenth century was Sabinal. It remained the southern frontier of

provincial New Mexico from its establishment in 1741 until the nineteenth century (Candelaria 1929:280). Sabinal marked a hostile frontier threatened by nomadic Athabascans. In 1791, in an unsuccessful attempt to strengthen the frontier, an Apache Reducción was established and encouraged near Sabinal. The plan was apparently abandoned, however, by 1794 (Schroeder 1974:92-94; Spanish Archives of New Mexico [SANM] #1151, #1231, #1290a). To the south stretched an empty wilderness broken only by the Camino Real and the occasional caravan that linked provincial New Mexico to colonial Mexico.

A growing population during the late eighteenth century forced the colonial government of New Mexico to search for a solution to the region's food and land shortages (Simmons 1983; SANM I #1104). Rich, arable land lay to the south, in the Rio Abajo, prompting renewed interest in the region. Thus, in 1800, Governor Fernando Chacón was directed to begin the resettlement of the southern province, specifically the pueblos of Sevilleta, Socorro, Senecú (Twitchell 1914I:248, #1171, 250, #1199; SANM I #1171, #1199), and Alamillo (Twitchell 1914I:345, #1155; SANM I #1155). Sevilleta, a fortified plaza and farming community, was the first to be reestablished (Twitchell 1914I:370, #1266; SANM I #1266). It became the assembly point for caravans preparing for the dangerous 40-day passage to Chihuahua. The crossing was usually scheduled for November and required at least 500 participants for mutual defense. The caravan was inspected and organized at Sevilleta; sentries (at least 100 of them) were appointed; and supplies were accumulated (Carroll and Haggard 1942:106). Travelers would have to cross the uninhabited wilderness of the Rio Abajo and the Jornada del Muerto before reaching the safety of El Paso. The southern frontier was extended to Socorro in 1817; the 70 new residents of that community petitioned for land grant privileges in the same year (SANM I #890, #382). Senecú and Alamillo were never reestablished.

Soon after the successful resettlement of Socorro, Don Pedro Armendaris attempted to establish himself to the south, at Valverde. He received large land grants in 1819 and 1820, built a hacienda on the Valverde grant by 1820, but was forced to abandon his lands by 1824 due to repeated Indian attacks (Levine and Tainter 1982:49-50, 53, 63).

The Rio Abajo remained weakly defended throughout the late Spanish colonial and Mexican periods. Government troops were thinly spread over a vast frontier and unable to protect provincial residents effectively. The garrison at Sevilleta consisted of only seven soldiers (Carroll and Haggard 1942:69). Other communities relied on militias; statutes were enacted forcing individuals to serve in them under penalty of fines (Perrigo 1954:36). A review of the militia at Belen/Sabinal in 1819 listed 50 soldiers armed with guns, lances, and bows and arrows (Table 12.2).

Few new settlements came into existence in the Rio Abajo during the Mexican period. The Escudero Noticias of 1833 lists the rancho of Balverde (in ruins?), Sabinal, Sevilleta, Socorro, and Socorrito, as well as the mail stops of Rancho del Sabinito (Sabino) and Rancho de la Partida (La Parida) (L. Bloom 1913:14-15). Manuel Armijo's list of settlements in 1840 includes Sabinal, Jolla de Sevilleta, Sabino, Parida, Socorro, and Luis López (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93).

With the Territorial period (1846-1912) came new settlements to the south. These grew up around the military outposts of Fort Conrad (1851) and Fort Craig (1854). For the first time, residents

POST-REVOLT PLACE NAMES

TABLE 12.2

Review of Militia, Mayoralty of Belen, November 4, 1819

Classifications Names		Guns	Cartridges	Lances	Bows	Arrows
3RD CO. OF THE 2ND SQUADRON						
Lieutenant						
Don Juan Geronimo Torres	p	1	15	1	—	—
Second Lt.						
Don Juan Jesus Chaves	p	1	15	1	—	—
Sergeants						
Francisco Chaves	p	1	15	1	—	—
Rafael Baca	p	1	15	1	—	—
Corporals						
Jose Antonio Pino	p	1	15	1	—	—
Manuel Pino	p	1	15	1	—	—
Carbineers						
Antonio Jose Torres	p	1	15	1	—	—
Bison Sais	p	1	15	—	—	—
Soldiers						
Vicente Xaraurio	p	—	—	1	1	25
Francisco Padia	p	1	15	—	—	—
Antonio Barela	p	1	15	—	—	—
Pablo Torres	p	—	—	1	1	25
Juan Miguel Santillanes	p	—	—	1	1	25
Juan Trujillo	p	1	15	—	—	—
Antonio Gorge	p	1	15	—	—	—
Jose Antonio Garcia	p	1	15	—	—	—
Estevan Santillanes	p	1	15	—	—	—
Francisco Serna	p	—	—	1	1	25
Juan Jose Martin Baca	p	1	15	—	—	—
Jose Manuel Garcia	p	—	—	1	1	25
Antonio Gurule	p	1	15	1	—	—
Juan Antonio Trujillo	p	1	15	1	—	—
Don Juan Francisco Baca	p	1	15	1	—	—
Juan Silba	p	—	—	—	1	25
Vicente Silba	p	1	15	1	—	—
Dionisio Silba	p	1	15	1	—	—
Hermenegildo Montolla	p	1	15	1	—	—
Lorenzo Padia	p	1	15	1	—	—
Diego Antonio Abeita	p	1	15	1	—	—
Juaquin [sic] Padia, 2nd	p	1	15	1	—	—
Ramon Montoya	p	1	15	1	—	—
Pablo Gallego	p	—	—	1	1	25
Antonio Jose Chaves	p	1	15	1	—	—
Bartolome Romero	p	1	15	1	—	—
Juan Jose Ribas	p	1	15	—	—	—
Juan Montolla	p	1	15	—	—	—
Juan Ribas	p	1	15	1	—	—
Miguel Perca	p	1	15	1	—	—
Rafel [sic] Ribera	p	1	15	1	—	—
Jose Antonio Gutierrez	p	1	15	1	—	—
Antonio Montolla	p	1	15	1	—	—
Antonio Carillo	p	1	15	1	—	—
Manuel Xaramillo	p	1	15	1	—	—
Jose Gamboa	p	1	15	1	—	—
Felipe Padia	p	1	15	1	—	—
Antonio Jofola	p	1	15	1	—	—
Antonio Jose Maldonado	p	1	15	1	—	—
Carlos Romero	p	1	15	1	—	—
Marcos Baca	p	1	15	1	—	—
Lorenzo Salas	p	1	15	1	—	—

(continued)

TABLE 12.2 (continued)

SUMMARY	
Lieutenant	1
2nd Lieutenant	1
Sergeants	2
Corporals	2
Carbineers	2
Soldiers	<u>42</u>
Total	50

Antonio Chaves

Source: Perrigo 1951:159-160

TABLE 12.3

Dates of Rio Grande floods

Date	Description and Documentation
1769	Tomé (Domínguez 1776 in Adams and Chávez 1956:8)
1780	Bandelier 1855 (in Lange et al. 1975:73), taken from fragmentary document written in 1831. Found at San Felipe Pueblo.
1823	
1830	
1828	Cochiti to San Marcial (Carter 1953:44)
1856	Sabinal destroyed (Bandelier 1883 in Lange and Riley 1970:14)
1865	Sabinal and La Mesa (Carter 1953:64)
1874	Flooding from Socorro to San Marcial (Carter 1953:10)
1880	Socorro (Carter 1953:13)
1884	Worst floods in 10 years at Socorro and San Marcial; also wash-outs at La Joya, Valverde, and Alamillo; no rail service (Carter 1953:17; Bandelier 1884 in Lange and Riley 1970:331-332; Kessell 1980:151)
1886	Destruction of Bowling Green, Belen to Socorro, San Marcial (Carter 1953:31). Destruction of the church at Santo Domingo (Bandelier 1886 in Lange et al. 1975:169)
1890	Near Socorro (Carter 1953:36)
1891	La Joya, Valverde, Socorro, and San Marcial (Carter 1953:41)
1895	Socorro (<i>Albuquerque Tribune</i>); Polvadera to Lemitar (<i>Albuquerque Daily Citizen</i>)
1903	Socorro and Albuquerque (Kelley 1969:17)
1904	San Marcial (Calkins 1937; <i>Albuquerque Morning Journal</i> , October 1, 1904)
1905	<i>Santa Fe New Mexican</i> reports flood at Tomé (Kessell 1980:152)
1909	Albuquerque (Kelley 1969:17)
1912	Albuquerque (Kelley 1969:17)
1920	San Marcial (Calkins 1937; Kessell 1980:152)
1921	San Marcial (Calkins 1937)
1922	San Marcial (Calkins 1937)
1929	San Marcial, San Acacia, San Antonio, Val Verde, La Mesa (Carter 1953)
1937	Albuquerque (Kelley 1969:17)
1941	Albuquerque (Kelley 1969:17)

of the Rio Abajo had reliable military protection. Yet raiding and depredations at the hands of Apaches did not cease until the 1870s. Many of the soldiers stationed at Fort Craig were European immigrants. Some were Irishmen escaping the potato famine; others were simply looking for a new life. Some of the soldiers remained in the Rio Abajo to settle in its communities. Census records show a growing number of Irish and other European residents during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Although the population steadily increased during the first 30 years of the Territorial period, it did not increase dramatically until the mining boom of the late 1870s. Socorro grew from a village of 1272 people in 1880 to 4050 in 1885, only to decline again by 1890 and 1900. The end of the short-lived mining boom also affected the surrounding villages; their populations, too, declined by 1890.

In 1881, the railroad made its entry and San Marcial became a railroad town. A great deal of construction took place in San Marcial as a roundhouse and all the facilities accompanying the railroad were built. From 1890 until its destruction in 1929, San Marcial was the second largest community of the Rio Abajo. The railroad also brought large quantities of mass-produced goods to the region for the first time—goods which had hitherto been too expensive to transport over such great distances.

Flooding appears to have increased in frequency and severity during the last few years of the nineteenth century. Systematic flood records were not kept until 1874 (Carter 1953:9), but these describe a sometimes yearly occurrence of massive flooding and destruction (Table 12.3). Yet, time and again, communities would reappear on or near the site of recently inundated homes and fields. Some floods, however, were powerful enough to discourage resettlement. In 1865 a particularly disastrous flood either permanently or temporarily destroyed the villages of Escondida, Pueblita de la Parida, La Parida, Rincon, Luis López, Bosquecito, and San Pedro (Table 12.4). Serious flooding occurred until the damming of the upper Rio Grande during the 1940s. The villages of the lower Rio Abajo, from Valverde south, were either destroyed by flooding in the twentieth century or were condemned by the completion of Elephant Butte Dam in 1916.

The twentieth century has seen a slow depopulation of all the villages of the Rio Abajo except for Socorro, reflecting the movement from rural to urban life.

POST-REVOLT PLACE NAMES

TABLE 12.4
Census figures

Location (north to south)	1740 (1741)	1750	1760	1770 (1776)	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820 (1827)	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1885	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Sabinal	—	x	x	214	x	223	x	x	1060	x	x	602	554	487	357	340	379	317	344	349	282	306	226
Ranchito de la Sabinal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	253	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
San Francisco	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	277	264	105	48	118	123	—	—	—
La Joya (de Sevilleta)	—	—	—	—	—	—	a	x	x	x	x	440	618	495	600	250	280	342	345	354	418	382	206
San Acacia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	350	319	460	225	209	216	274	208
Alamillo	—	—	—	—	—	—	a	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
La Joyita	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x*	186	249	351	460	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bowling Green	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	145	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Polvadera	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	363	497	437	400	261	381	417	300	368	347	505	295
Sabino	—	—	—	—	—	b	—	—	—	x	x*	232	110	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lemitar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	420	780	640	425	793	390	428	458	427	436	542	384
Escondida	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	x	x	99	284	297	250	265	225	387	77
Pueblita de la Parida	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	81	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
La Parida	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	x	168	45	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rincon (de Socorro)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	98	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Socorro	—	—	—	—	—	—	a	—	1383	x	x	565	523	921	1272	4050	2295	1512	1560	1256	2058	3712	4426
(El) Tajo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	129	70	x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Luis Lopez	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	191	206	x	277	216	238	299	231	148	162	318	185
Bosquecito	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	95	x	x	116	71	128	99	59	72	x	—
San Antonio	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	e*	312	99	565	461	459	460	642	434	294	575	760	419
San Pedro	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x	168	223	x	189	210	168	276	85	44	152	124	23
Carthage	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	300	367	x	—	—	—	—	—
Tokay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	128	—	—
Valverde	—	—	—	—	—	—	c	—	d	b	b*	—	90	239	340	359	370	300	255	266	162	59	62
Old San Marcial	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	397	283	580	111	419	500	305	245	90	38
New San Marcial	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	599	695	807	235	x	—
Midway	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	194	135	x	—
San Geronimo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	164	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
La Mesa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	x†	—	—	—	—	267	200	275	61	—	—	—
Contadero	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	514‡	140	100	x	142	147	61	x	—	—
Milligan Ranch	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	83	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paraje (de Fra Cristobal)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	195	527	315	294	261	282	103	4	x	—	—
Canta Recio	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	140	79	193	153	23	x	—	—
Totals	x	x	x	214	x	223	x	x	2443	x	x	3647	4923	5643	6019	9490	7058	7368	6502	5831	5909	7459	6549

x = population present but unknown
a = resettlement order
b = deserted rancho

c = paraje
d = rancho
e = no population figure; settlement is described as consisting of 12 cabins

* = in 1846
† = in 1854
‡ = including Fort Craig

ALAMILLO

The Post-Revolt site of Alamillo (*little cottonwood*) was named after the Piro pueblo of Alamillo, which was to the south of the present location and on the east side of the river. In March 1800 the Spanish provincial governor inspected the country in the vicinity of Pueblo Alamillo for the purpose of determining its suitability for resettlement (New Mexico Land Grants [NMLG], Reel 6, #1155; Twitchell 1914I:345, #1155). Governor Chacón, under instructions from Commandant General Nava, was directed to reestablish Alamillo in June of 1800. He was also instructed to resettle Sevilleta, Socorro, and Senecú (NMLG, Reel 6, #1199; Twitchell 1914I:350, #1199).

When (Gov. Chacón's) appeal for settlers did not bring voluntary response, the governor arbitrarily ordered some sixty families described as "day laborers, servants, gamblers, those living in concubinage, and incorrigible unlicensed traders to the heathens" to move there. Since they lacked resources, he subsidized them until harvest

time and provided military protection against the Apache who roamed the mountains to the west [Reeve 1971:107].

There is no mention of the settlement of Alamillo after 1800, whereas Sevilleta is prominently discussed in 1800 and 1805 (NMLG, Reel 6, #1266; Twitchell 1914 I:370, #1266; Jackson 1966 I:407). It may be that the settlers assigned to Alamillo either fled or felt that Sevilleta appeared more promising. A later village of Alamillo is of Territorial vintage. It is not on any of the 1840s or 1850s maps, but it does appear on the War Department map of 1859 (Figure 12.2) and the Wheeler map of 1873-1878 (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1882). On these maps, the village is shown as the west-bank sister of La Joyita. Alamillo does not appear on the U.S. census records, probably because it was included with La Joyita during the 1870 and 1880 census and with San Acacia thereafter. Reference is made to Alamillo in 1884 as the site of a flood (Carter 1953:17). The map of the Antonio Chaves grant drawn by L.M. Brown in 1894 shows an "Old Alamillo Stage Station" south of the San Acacia meander on the west bank (Be-tancourt 1980:38).

BOSQUE BONITO

A settlement named Bosque Bonito is referred to in the Fort Craig military records. It is also listed in the 1860 census as "Bosquet Bonito" with a population of 26 persons. Various older residents of the area were consulted, but none was familiar with the name.

Marion Grinstead (McKee and Wilson 1973:27) indicates that the name "Bosque Bonito" appears on an 1820 map of the "Ar-mendariz" Grant which was copied by Emit Alexander in 1867 (Figure 12.3). The Bosque Bonito location on that map is a rancho on the west bank of the river. Subsequent reference to Bosque Bonito is made in December 1861:

The companies at Paraje were ordered about two miles north to Bosque Bonito, where they set about repairing the ruined buildings for use as quarters [McKee and Wilson 1973:19, from Fort Craig Returns, AGO, Records Group 94, National Archives Records Service].

Grinstead also notes that "the site name first appears as a corner of the military reserve in Orders No. 3, February 12, 1859" (McKee and Wilson 1973:Footnote 130), and that "when the reservation at Fort Craig was designated in 1869, one point of reckoning was the abandoned town of Bosque Bonito" (McKee and Wilson 1973:27). Her review of the census records from 1860 indicates a population of 28 people of Mexican descent, and she notes that "the census taker listed ten unoccupied buildings" (McKee and Wilson 1973:27).

BOSQUECITO

Reference to the settlement of Bosquecito by Lt. Abert in November 1846 (Abert 1962:121) and the absence of this village from the Escudero list of 1833 (L. Bloom 1913:14-15) and the Armijo list of 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:91-93) indicate that the site was established late in the Mexican period. The early settlement of Bosquecito was probably quite small, since the location is not listed in the 1850 U.S. census records. The Bosquecito location is indicated on the 1855 map by Colton (Figure 12.4) and on the War Department map of 1859 (Figure 12.2). The settlement of "El Bosquicito" appears in the 1860 census records with a population of 95 persons, including three Indians.

The subsequent absence of Bosquecito from the 1870 and 1880 census reports indicates that "Old Bosquecito" was abandoned or suffered substantial decline during the 1860s. The settlement reappears in the special census of 1885 and continues to be present until 1930. Population figures during the occupation of the new community from 1885-1930 range from 59-128 persons. The flood of 1937 may have caused abandonment of the village. Today, there are three occupied homes in the vicinity.

Various rancho-homestead settlements were scattered along the riverside to the north and south of Bosquecito. Locations in this area were known as "Sausal" (*the willows*), "Costales," "El Francisco," and "Ambrosio" (José Olguín, 1982 [Figure 12.5]).

BOWLING GREEN

The village of Bowling Green was apparently established about 1880; it had a population of 145 people at the time of the special U.S. census report of 1885. It is significant that the village of Bowling Green was established coincident with the flooding and abandonment of the nearby community of La Joyita; this suggests that Bowling Green was settled by people displaced from La Joyita.

The derivation of the name of this village is uncertain. On older maps and in primary references, the name is spelled "Bowling-green," although on later maps, after abandonment, it is called "Bowling Green." The population of this community, as listed in the 1885 census, was completely Hispanic and agricultural. It seems unlikely that such a community would select a name derived from a distant town in Ohio or Kentucky. Local residents of the area today refer to the location as "Bolun-guin." It is possible that the term Bowling Green is an American corruption of a local Spanish term, since "bolon" is a Hispanic-American term referring to a rock hill of symmetrical shape (*pedra de cerro de regular tamaño*; Alemany y Bolúfer 1917:262). Indeed, the village is situated directly below a basalt knoll of regular and rounded proportions.

The village of "Bolun-guin" was not long for this world, for in September 1886 it was destroyed by a flood.

The destruction of Bowlinggreen is complete. Not a house is left standing, and over sixty families are perfectly destitute, and are in danger of perishing from famine and exposure. They escaped to the hills with nothing but their lives, and as all the ferry boats were washed away it was impossible to communicate with them up to yesterday morning since when nothing definite has been heard. The people of the towns on this side crowded the river bank, and hundreds of willing hands were eager to render assistance, but it was found absolutely impossible to do so, as the condition of the river was such as to render it certain that anyone attempting to cross it would perish in the attempt. The arroy[o]s north of Bowlinggreen were filled as they never were before, so that communications with La Joya, some fifteen miles above, were entirely cut off. . . . The people of this side who witnessed the terrible scene, say that huge waves swept for hours over the place and as high as tops of the cottonwood trees [Albuquerque Morning Journal, 15 September 1886, as quoted in Carter 1953:232-233].

The village of Bowling Green apparently did not survive the flood of 1886, as it is not listed in the 1890 census records. Many local residents know of the "Bolun-guin" location but can provide no details about the settlement. Juan Miera (1982) recalls hearing that a mill operated on a ditch at Bowling Green.

The adobe dwellings of Bowling Green were scattered in shaded avenues below the black basaltic cliff of El Bolon. Today, most of the village lies concealed below a layer of silt, and only the melted adobes of the western village edge remain, hidden in a thick growth of tamarisk. Stacked rock corrals, tent-base foundations, and small storage rooms appear on the talus slope and tucked among the boulders of the cliff edge. Dates of 1936-1940 with the name "Miguel A. Samora" are inscribed upon the rocks. This cliff-base location was probably used as a sheep camp or homestead site by the Samoras, some 50 years after Bowling Green was destroyed by the Rio Grande.

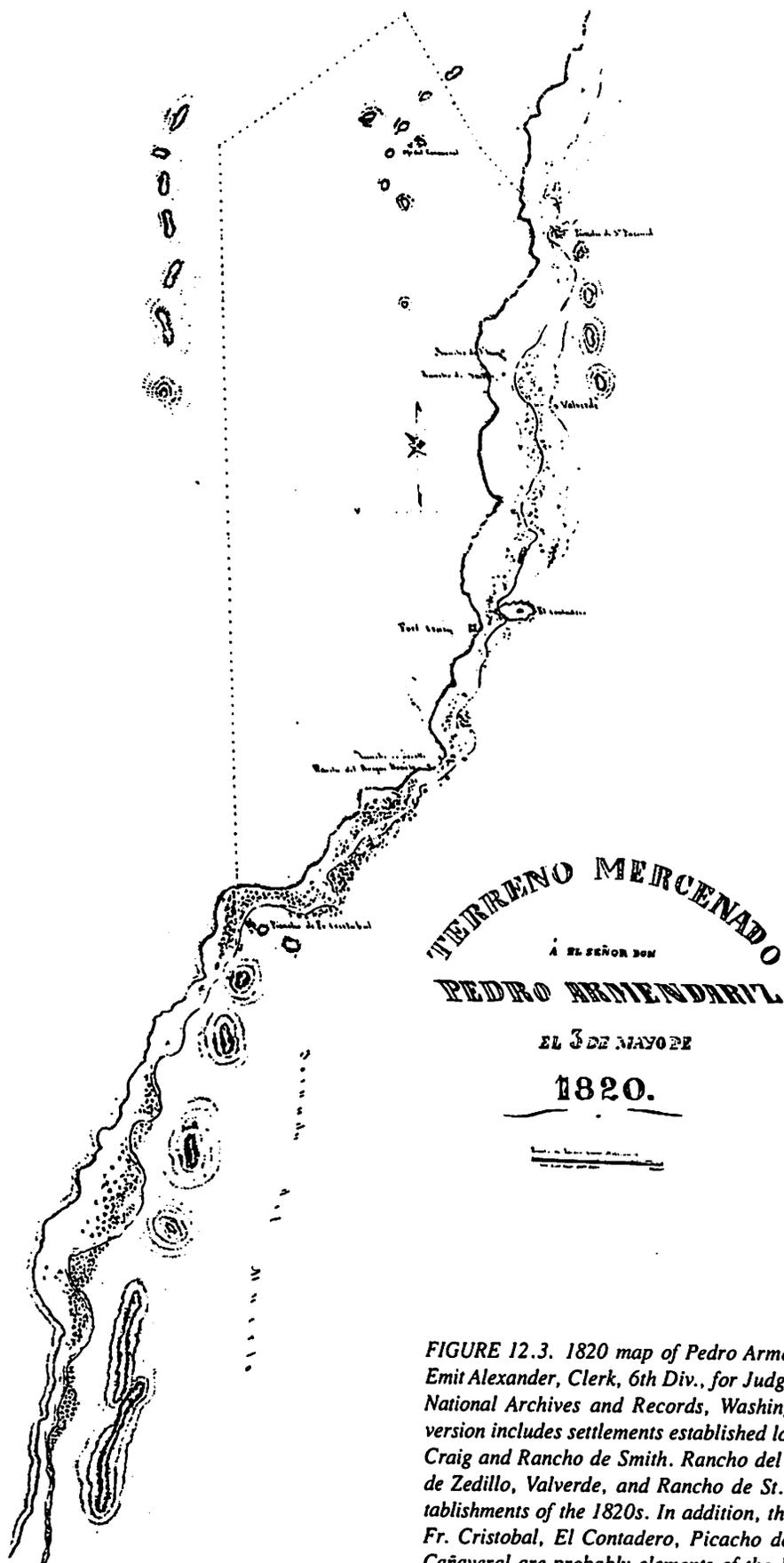


FIGURE 12.3. 1820 map of Pedro Armendariz Grant copied by Emit Alexander, Clerk, 6th Div., for Judge Watts, in August 1867. National Archives and Records, Washington, D.C. Alexander's version includes settlements established long after 1820, i.e., Fort Craig and Rancho de Smith. Rancho del Bosque Bonito, Rancho de Zedillo, Valverde, and Rancho de St. Vrain are probably establishments of the 1820s. In addition, the landmarks Picacho de Fr. Cristobal, El Contadero, Picacho de Sn. Pascual, and Ojo Cañaveral are probably elements of the 1820 map.

POST-REVOLT PLACE NAMES



FIGURE 12.4. Detail of 1855 Map of the Territories of New Mexico and Utah. J.H. Colton, New York.



FIGURE 12.5. José Olguín. Illustration—Charlotte Hollis

CONTADERO

Contadero was named after the paraje of "El Contadero," which existed in the region south of Black Mesa (see Chapters 10 and 13). The village appears in the U.S. census records from 1870–1920. "Contadero was condemned when the Elephant Butte Dam was built, and it was finally flooded out in 1924, when the reservoir filled up for the first time" (Calkins 1937:14). The 1870 census records for the Contadero Precinct list 514 persons; however, examination of the inventory records reveals that Fort Craig and Milligan Ranch were included in the tally. The inclusion of Fort Craig accounts for the high incidence of foreign-born in the populace (140), although a general merchant from Germany, Sheffer Bernard, and a shoemaker from New York, Sawton Duellylo, appear to have been residents of the village itself. Ferrymen Chávez Suciano and William Beverly are also listed in these 1870 records. Contadero also appears on the 1882 General Land Office map.

The population of Contadero declined somewhat after the deactivation of Fort Craig in 1888 but averaged approximately 140 persons during the period from 1880–1910. Juan Miera (1982) recalled that, "the village of Contadero was down in the valley bottom to the west of the railroad track and most of the houses were built with railroad ties." In 1920, 61 persons remained in Contadero despite condemnation proceedings. Those remaining were finally forced out by the inundation of 1924.

In 1910 the New Mexico State Engineer described the Acequia Contadero, the head of which was one-half mile above the railroad bridge, opposite San Marcial (Calkins 1937:19). He noted that "the diversion works are temporary" and estimated that the irrigated area was 1000 acres "near the Plaza Contadero" (Calkins 1937:20). The engineer also states that the river bed had been aggrading, causing the water table to rise, so that "the amount of salt grass pasture is increasing, and the area in cultivated crops is decreasing" (Calkins 1937:20).

Although Calkins (1937:4) notes that "nothing remains of Contadero," there is a large basalt rock ruin nearby, which may be the old church (John Wilson, 1982). A cemetery once existed in the sand hills above the village (Eliseo Gutiérrez, 1982).

CANTARECIO

The name "Cantarecio" (*it sings loudly*) refers to the village's location on the Rio Grande as "the place where the water sings loudly" (M. Bloom 1941:365). Three centuries prior to its application here, the term "Cantarecio" was applied by the Oñate colony of 1598 to pools and springs on the so-called Jornada de Cantarrecio, south of El Paso (Moorhead 1958:17).

The earliest reference to the Cantarecio of the Rio Abajo area is by George Gibson in 1846 (Bieber 1935:294). While camped directly south of Black Mesa, Gibson noted "there was once a settlement here known as the 'Cantarecio,' but not a vestige of it remains that I saw." We know of no other reference to a Cantarecio at this early date; however, an area on the east bank, opposite the village of which Gibson spoke, was later known as the Bosque Contarecio (José Olguín, 1982), and it may be this place name that Gibson heard.

The census records, various maps, and recent artifact samples taken from the village of Cantarecio indicate an occupational span from about 1875–1920. Cantarecio apparently came under the condemnation proceedings for Elephant Butte Reservoir and was subsequently inundated. The decline in its population from 153 in 1910 to only 23 in 1920 mirrors the population pattern of its sister village of Paraje, just across the river. Cantarecio was entirely abandoned prior to 1930. Pearce (1965:26) indicates that "Cantarecio" was the first stop on the stageline from San Marcial to the Black Range mines in the 1880s.

In 1919 Eugene Manlove Rhodes refers to "Cantra Recio" in his article, "No Mean City":

The free cities of Paraje and Cantra Recio lay northwest on the river, between the barren mass of Fra Christobal Mountain and the lava fields, their cattle ranging from the river to Lava and Bitter Springs; thirty brands in all, on the Jornada and the bordering hills; jangling at times between themselves, a fierce unit against all outsiders [Hutchinson 1957:209].

CONTRERAS

The present community of Contreras includes a church and a school built by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), yet does not appear on any census reports or maps. It was apparently named after its founder, Matias Contreras, who raised cattle and sheep (WPA Points of Interest file for Socorro County). Another family member, Alban Contreras, who died in 1919, owned 35,000 sheep and 3000 steers. There were about 50 people in the community during the late 1930s according to the WPA file.

MR. CRABB'S RANCHO

This settlement, noted by W.W.H. Davis in 1854, was located on the east bank of the Rio Grande, approximately 25 miles south of Socorro and north of the ruins of Valverde.

It was about noon when we left camp, and we drove that afternoon twenty-five miles to the rancho of Mr. Crabb, where we stopped for the night. . . . We found accommodations at Mr. Crabb's. A few nights before, a party of Mescalero Apache Indians attacked his corral and carried off his stock. . . . [With reference to an entry at Fra Cristóbal, Mr. Davis noted that] All the way down from Socorro the country is mostly barren, and we saw but one house [Davis 1938:208].

BIGS' RANCHO

The Reverend Hiram Walter Read (1942:135), in his "Home Mission Record," refers to Bigs' Rancho: "Fifteen miles below [Socorro] is Bigs' Rancho, where government stock is pastured." The Reverend Mr. Read also notes that the location is 10 miles north of Valverde and on the west bank (1942:135). This location appears to have been near the later settlement of Elmendorf.

ELMENDORF

Elmendorf is today a lonesome railroad siding on the west bank of the Rio Grande, 4.8 kilometers south of the Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge headquarters. It is on an elevated bench which is locally known as the "Point of Land." Pearce (1965:52) indicates that Elmendorf was the "site of a large general store run by the Elmendorf brothers, serving ranchers of this area. First postmaster, Charles H. Elmendorf. Post Office, 1906-1918." Elmendorf is listed under Footnote 23 in the 1920 census report as having a population of 12 persons. It appears that, rather than being near the present-day railroad siding, the Elmendorf brothers' establishment, which consisted of a large wooden commissary building and adobe rooming houses, was actually located in the bottomland approximately 300 yards north of the present Bosque del Apache headquarters and to the east of the railroad track (Dean Fite, 1982).

Mr. Fite recalls that there was a large farm at Elmendorf and that, for two seasons, large crops of sugar beets were grown there. Marketing problems apparently put an end to this otherwise successful venture. There were also two 3200 foot oil wells drilled in the Elmendorf area during the early 1930s. These wells encountered hot artesian water, to the delight of subsequent bathers. Fite recalls that the Elmendorf structures disintegrated in the flood of 1929.

The "Bigs' Rancho" mentioned by the Reverend Hiram W. Read (see above) appears to have been in the Elmendorf area, and Read may in fact be referring to an early occupation of the site of the subsequent Elmendorf establishment.

EL TAJO

The village of El Tajo (*cut or opening in a mountain*) is located at the confluence of Arroyo de Tajo and the Rio Grande. El Tajo, a narrow and deep rock canyon portion of the arroyo, lies 7 kilometers to the east of the village. There are very few published references to the village of El Tajo. It does not appear in the records or maps of the 1846 period and was apparently not established until the 1850s. A specimen of window glass obtained from El Tajo was identified by Dan Scurlock as a piece manufactured during the period from 1845-1855 (based on Roenke 1978:116). The village appears in the census records of 1860 as "El Tajo," with 129 people including two female Indians, and in the 1870 census as "Tajo" with 70 persons. El Tajo is also indicated on the 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' quadrangle (Figure 12.6). This topographic map is clearly based upon an earlier survey, since El Tajo, Bowling Green, and La Joyita are all shown, even though all had been abandoned by 1906.

The rather extensive remains at El Tajo thus appear to be the result of an occupation which extended from ca. 1855-1875, and the establishment of El Tajo would appear to correspond with the abandonment of La Parida, which is 6 kilometers to the north. The placement of Tajo village upon an elevated, unshaded terrace suggests that the founding fathers of the settlement had recently gained a respect for the floodwaters of the Rio Grande. It was perhaps a sacrifice to build the village on an unwatered bench

exposed to the glaring sun and dust, but the shaded lanes of the bosque floor were dangerous indeed.

There are three architectural features at El Tajo. The northernmost complex is a large adobe edifice composed of a series of linear rooms arranged around a 25 by 35 meter plaza. Reduction of this structure is substantial, and only a low mound covered with small pebbles remains. It is possible that the adobe rooms (an estimated 30 units) form an L-shaped structure, which is open to the southeast, and that the other sides of the plaza were enclosed by an adobe wall. An early twentieth century adobe house, now in ruins, is superimposed over a portion of this complex. The house was occupied by "El Dixton" and his wife, "Fernada," who raised goats (José Olguín, 1982). South of the northern plaza is an L-shaped adobe house which contains an estimated four rooms. Still farther south, approximately 100 meters, is a large, L-shaped complex, with wings 20-30 meters long, which contains an estimated 10 rooms. The melted adobe of this complex is red earth, in contrast to the pale earth of the northern structure. Seams of white interior plaster and burned corner hearths are visible in the south mound. This southern house, unlike the northern plaza, is surrounded by considerable quantities of midden debris. Mounds of trash occur directly adjacent to the house. Native earthenware vessels are common, much more so than glass or ironstone. These middens and the south housemound have been looted; perhaps 25-50 percent of the cultural remains have been disturbed.

EL TRASQUILLA

El Trasquilla (*the shearer*) is a location on the east bank of the Rio Grande in the Bosque del Apache area where sheep were sheared in the spring. Dean Fite and Juan Miera indicate that the area was used during the early twentieth century; there were no structures in the area, other than a corral and temporary ramadas (Juan Miera, 1982). Evelyn Fite relates that the sheep were taken to the Trasquilla Bosque area in the spring to make use of the early plant growth. Horse colts were butchered for chili stew by the participants of the sheep roundup (Dean Fite, 1982). El Trasquilla appears to have been located in the same general area as Mr. Crabb's Rancho (Davis 1938; see above).

ESCONDIDA

Escondida (*hidden or secret place*) has lived up to its name, as there is little trace of its existence in the published historical record. It appears on the 1860 census as "La Escondida"; it is not mentioned on the census of 1870 or 1880, but it reappears in 1885 under its present name. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the nearby villages of Luis Lopez, San Pedro, and Bosquecito are also missing from the 1870 census after being listed previously. Their abandonment may have been due to the flood of 1865, reported from La Mesa to Sabinal (Carter 1953:64). The earliest map on which Escondida is shown is the Wheeler map of 1873-1878 (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1882). It also appears on the General Land Office map of 1882.

CHAPTER 12

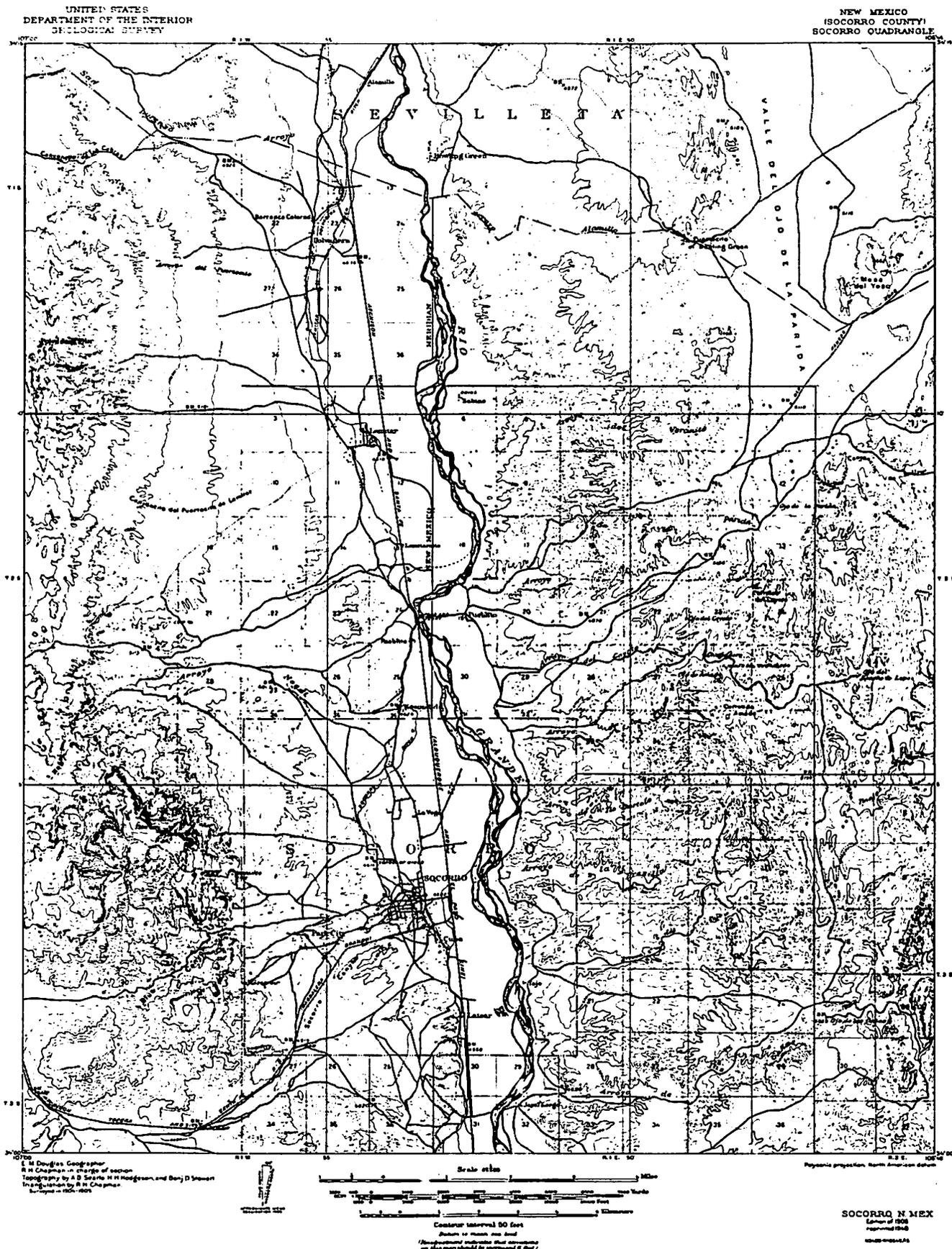


FIGURE 12.6. 1906 Socorro 15' Quadrangle (reprinted 1948). U.S. Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

FORT CONRAD

In August 1851 the garrison of soldiers stationed at Socorro was ordered to dissolve and establish fortifications and residence near Valverde. The settlement of Fort Conrad (named after the Secretary of War, Charles M. Conrad) was established on the west bank of the Rio Grande somewhere in the vicinity of present-day Tiffany siding. The fort was constructed principally of cottonwood, jacal, and tents (McKee and Wilson 1973:3-4). In 1971, John Wilson (Museum of New Mexico site records) identified LA 4464 as Fort Conrad. The Fort Conrad location apparently saw some use as a hay camp for the later military establishment at Fort Craig, and it is perhaps the Beckwith Range which appears on maps of the 1880s. The Army corrals and the Tiffany farm appear in this area on later maps. Fort Conrad appears on the Colton 1855 map (Figure 12.4), but it is shown on the east bank of the Rio Grande, north of Valverde. It subsequently appears on the Military Department map of 1859 (Figure 12.2) on the west bank along with Fort Craig.

FORT CRAIG

Construction of Fort Craig began in 1853, and it was occupied by the garrison which abandoned Fort Conrad on March 31, 1854. The post was named after Captain Louis S. Craig, who was murdered by deserters in California in 1852 (McKee and Wilson 1973:7).

The fort was a large complex of adobe buildings surrounded by an earthen ramp and ditch with five bastions (Figure 12.7). The structures included officer and troop quarters, commissary quartermaster's offices, a hospital, a blacksmith shop, wagon yards, stables, a sutler's store, and other facilities.

We are fortunate in having a graphic description of the fort by Lt. John G. Bourke, who was stationed there in 1869:

Fort Craig was a four company post (occupied by two companies) surrounded by an earthen rampart, with ditch and five bastions; the other company . . . and the band and Hd. Qrs. of the 15th Infantry, occupied the adobe houses built during the war and still in fair condition. My own Qrs. were the worst in the lot and consisted of a

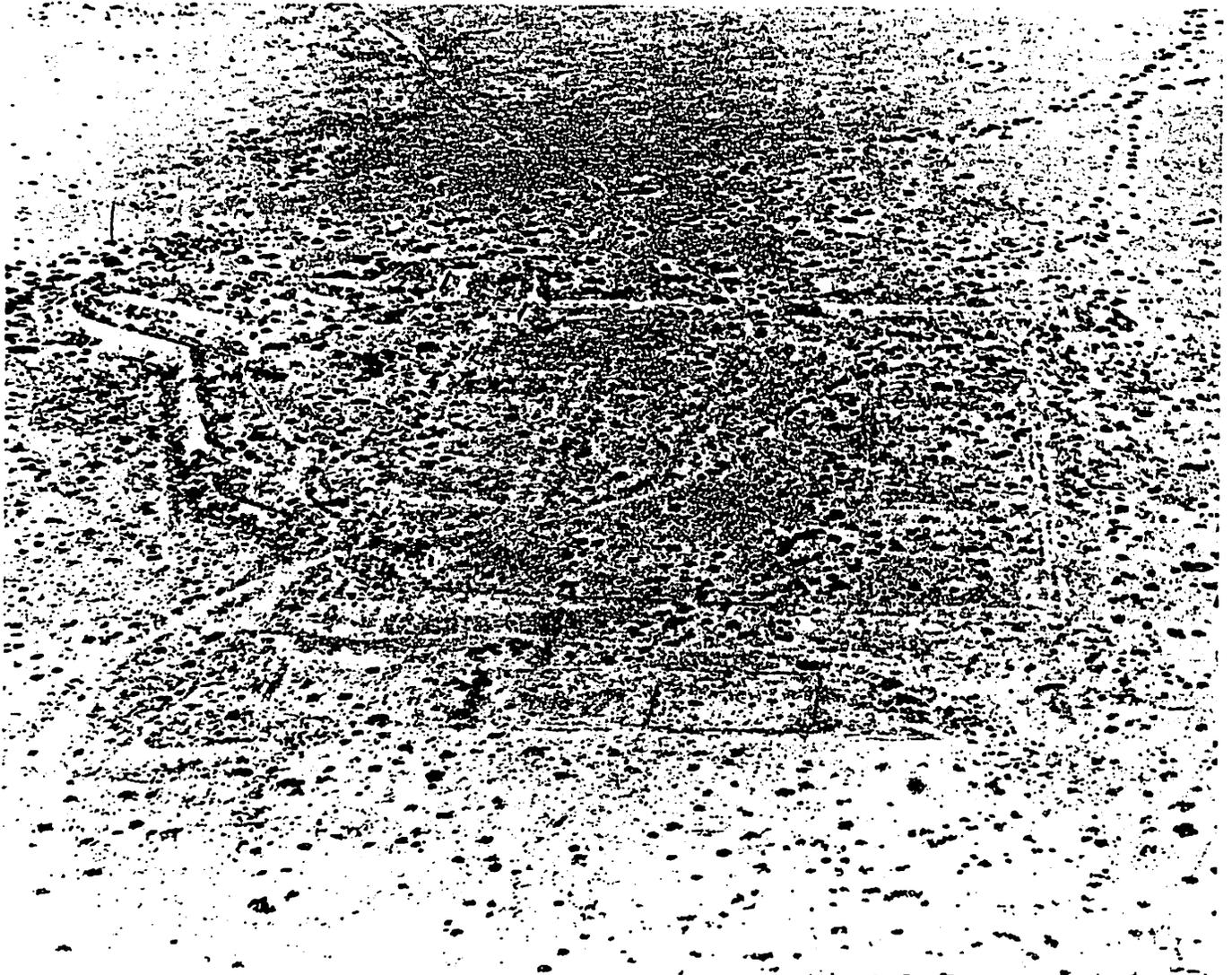


FIGURE 12.7. Aerial view of Fort Craig. Note old roadways indicated by vegetation alignments at upper right. View to the west. Photograph—Henry Walt

single room, quite large, not less than 20 ft. square, with earth floor and roof, the latter caving in but still held in place by an immense cottonwood stanchion bolstering up the principal "viga" or rafter. The apartment was not palatial in any sense. I had a small iron bedstead, a bottle-green glass mirror, a few pegs upon which to hang uniform and sabre, three pine shelves filled with books, a round pine table, near which, seated in one of my two chairs, I used to study by the flickering light of a brace of candles; a wash-bowl, at first of tin and later on as I grew more opulent, of coarse stoneware, and finally a heavy iron poker serving the double purpose of stirring up "Espiridion," the Mexican boy, who, in the wilder freaks of my imagination, I sometimes looked upon as a "valet."

There wasn't much to do; the post was a lonesome sort of a hole maintained at the north end of the "Jornada del Muerto" for the protection of travellers against prowling Apaches [in L. Bloom 1934:40].

The Confederates invaded the area in February 1862; the Battle of Valverde was fought nearby, in the fields and bosque north of Valverde. In 1876 a telegraph station was established at the post; in 1881 the first troops to arrive by train came to the fort. The fort was deactivated in April 1879 but was reactivated in June 1880. In September 1884, it was abandoned by the military for the last time (McKee and Wilson 1973:32). The "Poet Scout," Captain Jack Crawford, who ran the sutler's store, was employed as government caretaker of the property. The remains of Fort Craig were sold at auction on May 1, 1894, to the Valverde Land and Irrigation Company, "the only bidder," who "paid the government the appraised value . . . of \$1,070.50" (McKee and Wilson 1973:33).

The residents of Fort Craig appear in the Contadero Precinct census records for 1870. The majority of the soldiers were foreign-born, principally from Ireland, Prussia, and England, with some Spanish immigrants as well. Others listed as being from New York were probably also foreign-born. European immigrants could always find a job in the U.S. Army, but usually at the cost of being sent to a "lonesome sort of hole" on the edge of the hot and dusty desert. The professions listed in the 1870 census records for the fort include laundress, hospital steward and matron, domestic servant, freighter, surgeon, hotel keeper, butcher, news agent, and soldier. In the list of deaths there is an Indian agent who died of thirst and exposure in the month of June. At that time, the sutler's store was run by a Polish immigrant named J. Lamonsky.

LA JOYA DE SEVILLETA

The village of La Joya (known until approximately 1833 as Sevilleta) appears to have been the first sizable settlement south of Sabinal to be reestablished in the Rio Abajo district after the occupational hiatus of the eighteenth century. There are earlier references to San Antonio, in 1780 and 1790 (Olmsted 1973; Thomas 1932), but this was apparently an outpost-rancho of only six persons.

In 1800 Governor Fernando Chacón had been officially instructed to begin resettlement in the lower region and specifically to resettle the pueblos of Socorro, Sevilleta, and Senecú (NMLG, Reel 6, #1171, #1199; Twitchell 1914I:348, 350). The Post-Revolt village of Sevilleta was presumably established in that year at its present location below and to the south of the former Piro-Hispanic pueblo of Sevilleta (LA 774). A report in July 1800 (NMLG Reel 6, 1266; Twitchell 1914I:370) indicates that a for-

tified plaza had been built at Sevilleta and that garden and forage crops had been planted. Sevilleta is again noted in 1805 in a governor's order to the surgeon, Cristóbal María Larrañaga, to vaccinate children for smallpox (L. Bloom 1924:5, 7). Also see Levine and Tainter (1982) for a summary of early Sevilleta history.

Zebulon Pike, in his journal entries for March 10 and 11, 1806, noted that "Sibilleta" was the southernmost village in the province and described it as follows:

Sibilleta is situated on the east side and is a regular square, appearing like a mud wall on the outside [i.e., fortified garrison construction], the doors, windows, &c. facing the square, and is the neatest and most regular village I have yet seen [Jackson 1966I:407].

In 1812 Pedro Bautista Pino noted the presence of a garrison of seven soldiers at the frontier settlement of Sevilleta (Carroll and Haggard 1942:69). In 1818 Don Miguel Aragón, *alcalde mayor* of Valencia, stated, "before me José Antonio Quintana and Carlos Gavaldón have requisite presentation for themselves, the first resident of the community of Sevilleta and the second of the ranchitos of the same community. . . ." The document in question involved the transfer of land "on both sides of the river" from Sr. Quintana to Sr. Gavaldón for the sum of "one team of oxen and two cows with calves" (Perrigo 1951:162). The following year, Carlos Gavaldón requested grant title for the 68 residents of "Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Sevilleta," and in June 1819 the grant was confirmed (Twitchell 1914I:79, #214).

Escudero's 1833 "Noticias" concerning the history of Chihuahua mentions the settlement of "Plaza Sevilleta," elsewhere called "Pueblo de la Joya" (L. Bloom 1913:15). This appears to be the first reference to the name "La Joya" with respect to the new village of Sevilleta. Manuel Armijo's list of the villages in 1840 includes "Jolla de Sevilleta" (Carroll and Haggard 1942:91-93).

George Wilkins Kendall, in recalling his experiences in 1841 when the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition captives passed the night in La Joya, writes, "A little before sundown we reached the village of Joya, and here our men were allowed a shelter for the night in two or three old and abandoned rooms. A fandango was got up during the evening in the town . . ." (1935I:398). Lt. Abert, on November 8, 1846, wrote a brief note concerning Sevilleta:

After marching four miles we arrived opposite to the mouth of the Rio Puerco, and three miles more brought us to the town of "La Joya de Cibolleta." I was struck with this name when I first heard it, for it is not Cebolleta; but one finds in the name a trace of the ancient kingdom of Cibola. This place is "the jewel of Cibola."

At Joya we purchased some corn for our mules at the rate of \$3 the "fanega" [Abert 1962:118-119].

In the same year, Wislizenus (1969:36) notes the village of "Joya" but reverses "Joya" and "Joyita" in his notes and on his map. In 1854 W.W.H. Davis (1938:201) notes that "La Hoya is situated on the east bank of the Del Norte, a few hundred yards from it, and contains some four hundred inhabitants."

The U.S. census records of 1850 list the village as "El Jollal," with a population of 440 persons. The census records of 1860 term the settlement "Ranchitos de la Holla," with 618 persons, including 12 Indians. The 1870 census terms the village "La Jolla," with 495 persons. From 1870 to the present day, this village is listed in census records as "La Joya." The village of La Joya de Sevilleta appears to have reached its population apex during the

POST-REVOLT PLACE NAMES

period from 1860–1880, with a maximum of 618 persons. The village today contains about the same number of inhabitants as it did when Gavaldón and 68 residents requested grant title.

LA JOYITA

The village of La Joyita was probably established in the late Mexican period, although it is not present in Manuel Armijo's list of July 7, 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:91–93). The earliest references appear in the notes and maps by Lt. Abert (Figure 12.8) and Dr. Wislizenus (1969:following p. 58) in 1846. In July 1846, Wislizenus (1969:35–36) writes, "We passed in the afternoon *Joyita* a small town. . . . Near Joyita, mountainous bluffs reached for the first time the Rio del Norte; they consist of black amygdaloidal basalt." [Note that the doctor has the names of La Joya and La Joyita reversed on his map and in his text.] Lt. Abert, in his notes of November 8, 1946, says,

The course of the river to-day was tortuous [*sic*]; high sand banks closed in on each side, almost obliterating the valley, except at Joya

and Joyeta, where there are fields sufficiently broad for raising corn enough to supply the wants of the people, and to afford grazing grounds for their cattle [Abert 1962:119].

John Garretton, who established the New Mexico Principal Meridian control point in April 1855 on nearby San Acacia Butte, briefly alludes to the village of La Joyita (Beck and Haase 1969:33).

The U.S. census records of 1850 refer to the village of "El Jollital," with a population of 186. In the 1860 census the name "La Hollita de Valencia" appears with a population of 248. In 1870 the name is "La Jollita," with 351 persons, and in 1880 it is "La Joyita," with a population of 460. The village does not appear in the 1885 census records. It is quite probable that La Joyita and the adjacent fields of the "Valle Grande" area were destroyed in the great flood of 1884 (Carter 1953:17). It may be that many of the La Joyita residents resettled at the new villages of Bowling Green and San Acacia. Indeed, these villages appear for the first time in the 1885 census records, with a combined population quite similar to the 1880 La Joyita figure.

See Chapter 13 for a description of the physical remains of La Joyita.

LA MESA (DE SAN MARCIAL)

The village of La Mesa de San Marcial, located at the northern base of Black Mesa, was apparently first established in 1854. Stanley (1960:6) relates that:

Pascual Joyla squatted at a place he called la Mesa de San Marcial, where he built his adobe shack and hoped to sell wood, hay and other commodities to the army locating Fort Conrad.

The village of La Mesa was inundated by the floods of 1865 (Carter 1953:64), and some of its residents moved across the river and established the village of Old San Marcial (Stanley 1960:6). La Mesa does not appear in the U.S. census records until 1910, but it is indicated on the General Land Office map of 1882. The population of La Mesa in 1920 was 275, but after the flood of 1929 only 61 residents remained in the village. The area was abandoned prior to 1940.

The Acequia la Mesa was described by the State Engineer in 1910:

The diversion works are temporary, and consist of a dam across the river bed made by driving posts into the river bed and filling in about them with brush, sod, mud, etc. This dam was partly destroyed, and water could be diverted into the ditch only at flood stages [in Calkins 1937:21].

The Lucien file (n.d.) in the New Mexico State Archives offers the name "Victoria" for La Mesa, possibly in reference to the Victoria Land and Cattle Company, which purchased the Pedro Armendaris Grant from an Englishman named Waddingham.

LA PARIDA

The village of La Parida (*the birth*) was probably established during the early Mexican period. The earliest reference to the village (by Escudero in 1833) is as "Rancho de la Partida," a

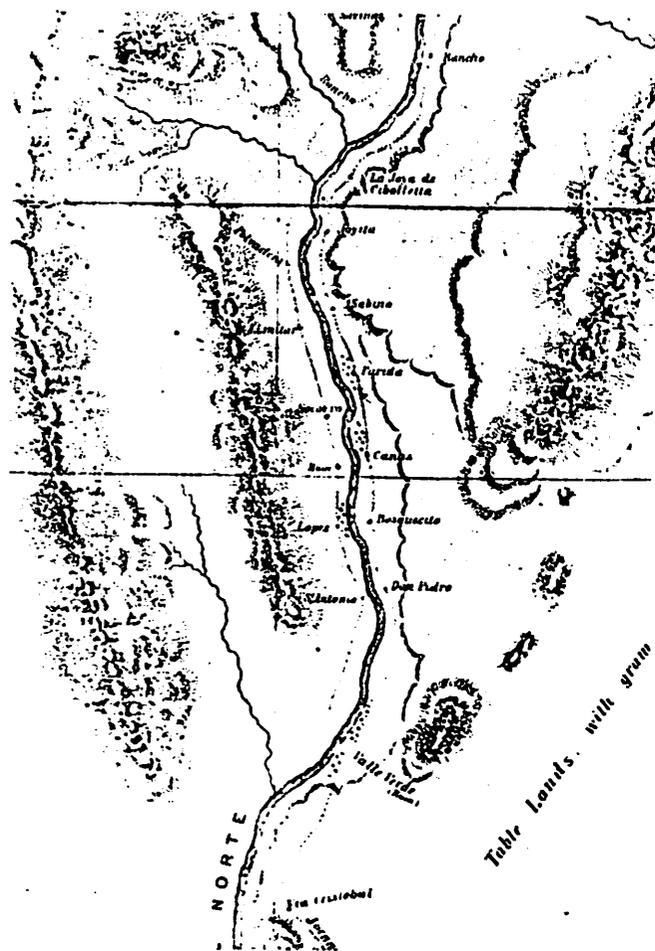


FIGURE 12.8. Detail of 1846–1847 Map of the Territory of New Mexico, made by order of Brigadier General S.W. Kearny under instruction of Lieutenant W.H. Emory, by Lieutenant J.W. Abert and W.G. Peck. War Department, Washington, D.C.

place along the fortnightly mail route between Santa Fe and Chihuahua (L. Bloom 1913:15). An 1852 surgeon's report on Socorro notes that the village of Parida

has been gradually moved a thousand yards east of where it originally stood sixteen years ago [1836]. In 1850, its vineyards, orchards, corn and wheat fields, and acequias were falling into the stream [Hammond 1966:25].

Parida appears in Manuel Armijo's list of villages made in July 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93). George W. Kendall, of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition of 1841, notes that "Parrida" was a small town immediately on the banks of the Rio Grande, and he refers to a plaza where they encamped (Kendall 1935I:399).

Both Dr. Wislizenus and Lt. Abert in 1846 mention Parida in passing, as does the Reverend Mr. Read (1942) in 1851. Various accounts note the presence of high sandy bluffs across the road, approximately two miles below the village (probably Las Cañas Arroyo). Lt. Abert recalls that on the morning of December 10, 1846,

[We] went up to "Parida" [from Valverde], in order to purchase provisions. . . and at dark reached "Parida," where we stopped at the house of the alcalde, Don Miguel Baca. He asked me, if "El Señor Don St. Jogo Polk, no està el Presidente de *nuestra republica*." I found out that he considered himself a citizen of the United States [Abert 1962:132].

In reference to the citizens of La Parida, Abert notes the following:

The kindness of these people was remarkable; they gave us numerous presents of "ponche," or tobacco, and "chili colorado." At 9 o'clock we started, after having embraced the whole household. We were struck with their politeness; they always uncovered their heads when offering a light for our "cigarito;" and, when they made any movement, prefixed it with "con su licenceá Señor." When an old patriarch of the village entered, they all rose and uncovered their heads; he, too, was a Baca [Abert 1962:132].

The "old patriarch" described by Abert was apparently the father or the grandfather of one José Miguel Baca, the only merchant in the village in 1860 (U.S. census records).

James J. Webb, in his *Adventures in the Santa Fe Trade, 1844-1847*, refers to "Parida hill . . . as the worst piece of road between Santa Fé and Chihuahua . . ." (Bieber 1931:189). He also notes that "Socorro was the last settlement on the river on the west side and Parida on the east, until we came to Doña Ana" (Bieber 1931:190).

The village of La Parida appears in the U.S. census records of 1850 and 1860. It was apparently abandoned sometime during the 1860s, although the location appears on Wheeler's map of 1873-1878 (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1882). In the 1850 census it is listed as "Paridal," with a population of 168 persons. In the 1860 census it is listed as "La Parida," with a population of only 45 persons, including one female Indian. It is interesting that the village of "Pueblita de la Parida," with 81 persons, is also listed in the 1860 census, yet it does not appear in the census records after that date. Pueblito apparently grew as the Parida settlement declined, although both suffered greatly in the late 1860s. The decline of both La Parida and Pueblito de la Parida to the status of ranchos was probably the result of the floods. La Parida does not appear in census records after 1860, but the area has been the locus of rancho-homesteads since that time. The Parida area was

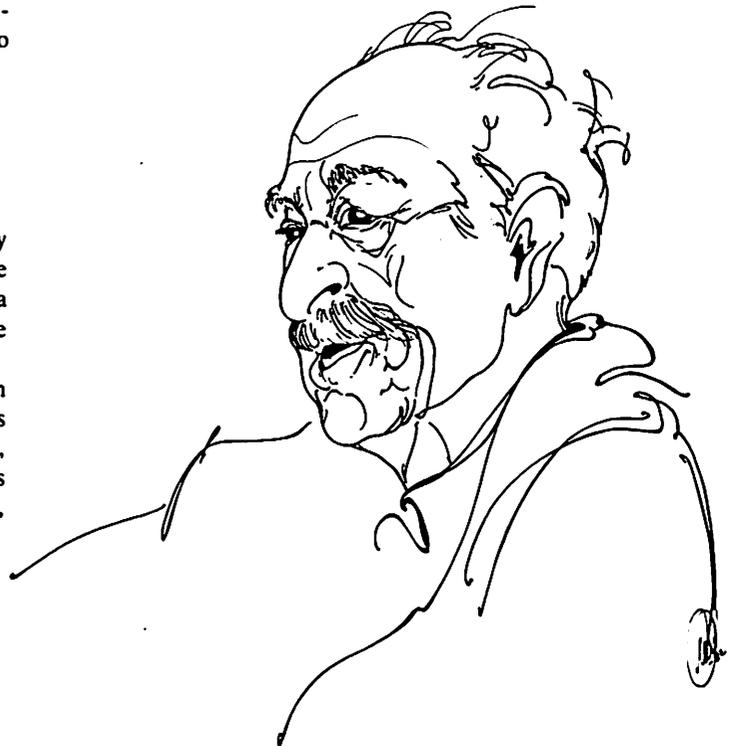


FIGURE 12.9. A.B. Baca. Illustration—Charlotte Hollis

later known as the Bosque de los Pinos (A.B. Baca, 1982 [Figure 12.9]), perhaps in reference to the Pino family at Pueblito.

See Chapter 13 for a description of the ruins of Parida.

LAS HUERTAS

In 1846 Lt. Abert notes the presence of a ruin called "Las Huertas" on the west bank of the Rio Grande, south of Socorro and north of Luis Lopez: "From the hill near which we have encamped there is a fine view of Socorro and the ruins of 'Las Huertas,' four miles below, as well as of Limitar, which is seven miles above" (Abert 1962:119). The location also appears on the Emory, Abert, and Peck map of 1846-1847 (Figure 12.8), where it is designated as a "ruin." It reappears under the same heading on the War Department map of 1859 (Figure 12.2). This Las Huertas ruin appears to have been in the area of the subsequent settlement of Latear.

The Hacienda of Las Huertas, mentioned by de Vargas in 1693 (Espinosa 1940:287), should not be confused with this location, since that hacienda was located north of Sevilleta, between Las Barrancas and Isleta.

LAS CAÑAS AND JARAL LARGO

Las Cañas and Jaral Largo were both small settlements on the east bank of the Rio Grande, to the south of Arroyo de las Cañas. Las Cañas refers to the palma or yucca, and Jaral Largo is either

a large bramble or a clump of reeds (Alemany y Bolúfer 1917:323, 979).

The settlement of Las Cañas is mentioned by Lt. Abert in November 1846 and is located on the Emory, Abert, and Peck map of 1846–1847 (Figure 12.8), where it appears south of Parida and north of Bosquecito. "After passing through the little town of 'Las Cañas,' we encountered another hill of sand" (Abert 1962:121). Las Cañas does not appear to be otherwise documented.

The location of Jaral Largo appears on the 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' quadrangle (Figure 12.6) in the northwest quarter of Section 32, near the location of the earlier Las Cañas. It is not in the census records, probably because it was included with Bosquecito. The settlement name was known to José Olguín (1982). Jaral Largo was the location of a river ford in 1906, and it is used today when the river is dry. A historic road swale enters from the north and is visible as far as the Las Cañas Arroyo area.

A settlement in this area was encountered during the Rio Abajo survey. It consists of four houses on posted private land. The four adobe structures are in various but substantial stages of reduction. The two eastern housemounds, both three-room adobe structures, appear to be of recent vintage, as milled boards and corrugated tin lie scattered about. The older structures to the west consist of a large, 5 by 7 meter room or barn and an L-shaped house, 15 meters on the long axis, which contains four rooms. Purple glass and a ceramic door knob were found in this area. This complex of four houses appears to be the Jaral Largo of the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. The Las Cañas of 1846 was not identified, but it may be overlain by cleared fields in the area directly to the south of the Jaral Largo settlement. José Olguín (1982) recalls that the area was not occupied in the 1930s.

LATEAR—LOS BALEN BUELAS

Both Latear (indicated on the 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' minute quadrangle [Figure 12.6]) and Los Balen Buelas (indicated on the General Land Office map of 1882) are located next to the railroad track south of Socorro and north of Luis Lopez. Los Balen Buelas is an English corruption of "Valenzuelas," which was the name of a family that resided in the area (A.B. Baca, 1982). The colloquial use of the verb "latear" is "to winnow," and the name "Latear" was apparently derived from the presence of a winnowing circle at that location. There were also a few houses and a graveyard at Latear (A.B. Baca, 1982). Mr. Frank Pierce, a resident of Latear, was a veteran of the Civil War.

I recall that he still had his military uniform. He had a full beard and often frequented the local saloon when his pension checks arrived. He rode a big white horse. I would go down to his place hunting the numerous birds that were attracted to the grain in the winnowing yard, and when I got to his house I always had a rabbit or two and a pack full of birds [A.B. Baca, 1982].

The 1882 General Land Office map also lists a "Los Baretas" on the railroad just north of Los Balen Buelas and well to the south of Socorro Station. The ruins of "Las Huertas" noted by Lt. Abert in 1846 appear to have been located in this area (see above).

LEMITAR

The name "Lemitar" is said to be derived from "*lemita*," the squawbush, which was once abundant in the area (Pearce 1965:87). A summary of Lemitar's history has been compiled recently by Dan Scurlock (1982) and should be consulted for specific information regarding the settlement.

Lemitar was apparently established in 1831. The first recorded burial at Lemitar was in 1835 (Scurlock 1982:7). The village does not appear, however, either on the Escudero list of 1833 (L. Bloom 1913:15) or the Armijo list of 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:91–93).

There is a "Limitar" on the Emory, Abert, and Peck map of 1846 (Figure 12.8). The General Land Office map of 1882 name for the location is "Plaza Limitar." The 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' quadrangle (Figure 12.6) refers to the village as "Lemitar," and also notes a "Lemitarcito" on the railroad tracks approximately 2 kilometers to the south.

The 1850 U.S. census records list a population of 420 for the village, including a Frenchman, Victor Bordeaux. Census records in 1860 list a population of 780, 12 of whom were Indians, mostly Navajo servants.

The village of Lemitar was the residence of the last Mexican Governor of New Mexico, Manuel Armijo, from 1848 to 1852. The church at Lemitar is known as Sagrada Familia de Lemitar or Los Dulces Nombres, and the patron saint of the church is San José (Scurlock 1982:17). Lemitar was the county seat from 1854–1867, and a post office was established there in 1866 (Dike 1958). There was a mill in the village powered by water flow in the acequia madre (Scurlock 1982:12).

LUIS LOPEZ

The settlement of Luis Lopez first appears in the literature of the Colonial era during the period from 1660–1682 as the location of the "Hacienda of Luis López" (Hackett and Shelby 1942I:cciv, 1942II:364; Chávez 1954:58). The estancia was named after Luis López, *alcalde mayor* of the Senecú area in 1667, and was probably his residence. The Otermín records of 1682 (Hackett and Shelby 1942II:364) indicate that the hacienda was on the east bank, south of the Vega of the Rio del Norte (opposite Socorro). This would place the hacienda north of "Las Vueltas de Luis López" (Chapter 10). This site was probably within or near the Las Cañas complex of Piro pueblos.

Luis Lopez is also mentioned in 1766–1768 by Nicolas de Lafora:

The first four leagues were over swampy ground with a great deal of coarse grass and reeds up to the ruins of Luis López' houses, which are to be seen on both banks [Kinnaird 1958:88].

Later, Bishop Tamarón, traveling north on the east river margin in 1760, recalled "a short day's journey as far as the site called Luis López because he had an hacienda there before the revolt" (Adams 1953:200).

The Mexican period settlement of Luis Lopez (LA 31748) is on the west bank of the Rio Grande, just to the east of the present

village area (see Chapter 13 for a description of this site). This village was probably established in the mid- to late 1830s, since the location does not appear in Escudero's 1833 "Noticias" (L. Bloom 1913:15) but is present in Manuel Armijo's list of 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93).

Most nineteenth-century accounts and maps placed the village of Luis Lopez on the west bank, near its present location. Dr. Wislizenus (1969:37), however, refers to a "Lopez" on the east bank near present-day Bosquecito. The doctor describes an excursion in which he left Socorro and crossed the river, then continued to the south:

In the afternoon we travelled two miles more over a very sandy road, and camped one mile north of Lopez.

. . . Made on better road this morning six miles; passed *Lopez*, a small town, and halted near a rancho.

Wislizenus then continued south to Valverde. The Wislizenus map (1969:following p. 58) also illustrates "L. Lopez" on the east bank, south of Parida and north of Valverde. Since this is the only nineteenth-century reference to Luis Lopez on the east bank, it is questionable. It is unlikely that Lt. Abert would have missed a "Lopez" on the east bank, since he describes and illustrates the villages of Cañas, Bosquecito, and San Pedro in the same year (1846), none of which were noted by Dr. Wislizenus. Also, given Dr. Wislizenus' reversal of Joya and Joyita in both the text and map, we may suspect that this placement of Luis Lopez on the east bank is a further indication of inaccurate observation.

In December 1846, Lt. Col. Gibson and his men passed the village of Luis Lopez:

where I bought corn and in the face of the citizens drove off seven fat cattle, being compelled to press them into service. We told them we should do so and that the owners might come to camp if they wanted pay; which they did, and I gave them \$93 for the seven [Bieber 1935:291-292].

The village of Luis Lopez is listed on the west bank, opposite the village of Bosquecito, on the Emory, Abert, and Peck map of 1846-1847 (Figure 12.8); on the Colton map of 1855 (Figure 12.4); and on the War Department map of 1859 (Figure 12.2). Curiously, this village does not appear on the Territorial map of the General Land Office in 1908 or on the Enlarged Homestead map of 1918 (U.S. Department of the Interior 1918).

Luis Lopez appears on the U.S. census records from 1850 until the present day, although it is absent from the census of 1870. In both 1850 and 1950 the population is listed as being just short of 200; the maximum of nearly 300 inhabitants appears in 1900. The 1850 census records list "Los Lopis," with 191 persons. The 1860 census lists "Luis Lopez," with 206 persons. The absence of the village in 1870 may reflect a period of abandonment, when the old plaza in the bottomland was reorganized into the new settlement in its present location on a bench above the floodplain.

The old village of Luis Lopez may be found in the "Plat of Small Holding Claims" compiled by George Lynch in 1910. It appears in the central upper frame as an area of multiple land ownership adjacent to the AT&SF Railroad right-of-way (Levine and Tainter 1982:97).



FIGURE 12.10. Jake Vigil. Illustration—Charlotte Hollis

LOS TORREONES

Los Torreones is located on the east bank of the Rio Grande, approximately 3 kilometers south of Bosquecito. Many elder residents of the area (Jake Vigil, 1982; Jim Padilla, 1982; and José Olguín, 1982) know the area as Los Torreones but do not know the details of the settlement. Pearce (1965:94) refers to this location, probably on the basis of oral information collected by the WPA. All informants give a similar location. Jake Vigil (Figure 12.10) recalled a ruin but thought that the site had been engulfed by the sands. This may, in fact, be true, since a wide alluvial plain exists in this area. Careful survey and resurvey have failed to reveal the Los Torreones site, although an unidentified early twentieth-century rancho location exists approximately 500 meters to the south of the apparent Los Torreones locale.

MILLIGAN RANCH

The name "Milligan" appears in various contexts throughout the history of the San Marcial complex. In the 1880 census of Contadero precinct, there is a Mr. William Milligan, 37 years of age and a former resident of Tennessee. Mr. Milligan was apparently a retired soldier from Fort Craig who established residence south of the fort at the confluence of Milligan Gulch and the Rio Grande. The 1880 census records report 83 residents at the "Milligan Ranch" settlement. Curiously, this rather sizable settlement does not appear on any maps of the region.

The ranch should not be confused with the twentieth-century post office at Old San Marcial, which was also known as Milligan.

During the twentieth century the ranch settlement was owned by George and Fred Burner, who built a number of adobe barns there (José Olguín, 1982; Eliseo Gutiérrez, 1982). The former name for Milligan Gulch was "La Cañada de la Cruz" (Juan Miera, 1982).

PARAJE

In 1854, W.W.H. Davis refers to the area that would become the village of Paraje as a camping ground, indicating that not even a homestead had been established there.

Fray Cristobal is a simple camping-ground, and not, as the young traveler would most likely imagine before he arrived there, a respectable-sized village, where he could find entertainment for man and beast [Davis 1938:208].

The village was subsequently established and apparently grew rapidly, because by 1860 Judge Davis would have encountered a respectable-sized village of 195 individuals, complete with entertainment at the hotel of William B. Rufsel and in the tienda of Celso Medino (U.S. census records of 1860).

The village of Paraje was probably established in the approximate location of the earlier Paraje de Fra Cristóbal (see Chapter 10). Indeed, the settlement is in the only area between the Fra Cristobal Range on the south and Black Mesa on the north where the lava flow does not flank the river. Thus, it is the only location adjacent to the Jornada del Muerto where a wagon could pass through the lava and be taken down to the river.

The 1860 census records list the village as "Fra Cristóbal," whereas in later records the village is called "Paraje." The village of Paraje was at its largest from 1870–1880, with 527 and 315 inhabitants, respectively. The 1870 census records indicate that most of the inhabitants were farmers, laborers, and housekeepers. Other occupations listed include mail carrier, carpenter, justice of the peace, freighter, and teamster. Three general merchants are listed: Mr. W.D. Hall from New York; Mr. Raymond Waina, a Swiss gentleman; and a Señor Gonzales. Also listed is the blacksmith, Juan Ábila; the parish priest, Manuel José Chávez; and a musician from Mexico, Juan Casadas.

The early life of Paraje, as well as that of the other villages in the area, was closely linked to the military establishment at Fort Craig. Stanley (1963:81–82) relates a communication dated December 5, 1863:

We have a communication from Fort Craig. . . . It details the proceedings of a public meeting held at Paraje, on the 7th of November to respond to the governor's call for the organization of a militia. . . . The country of Socorro has suffered in many ways. The invasion, the famine, and the Indians, have dealt heavily and hard with the people. . . . At the meeting referred to they formed a company and elected the Hon. Celso Cuellary y Medina captain.

The population of Paraje declined significantly with the deactivation of Fort Craig, ranging from 261–295 during the period from 1885 to 1900. In 1910 the decline continued, and the population dropped to 103 inhabitants. The village was condemned in 1915 because of the construction of Elephant Butte Dam, and it was subsequently inundated by the reservoir (see Yeo 1939:photo 1170). The 1920 census lists only four persons living about the shell of

a partially inundated ghost town. A post office existed at Paraje from 1867–1910 (Dike 1958). José Olguín (1982) recalled that the shell of the church and the campo santo existed to the north of town; the church was considered a place to rest and offer prayer in the deserted village. A brief examination of the village of Paraje as part of this survey failed to reveal a conspicuous church structure, although a graveyard partially enveloped by a dune forms a lonely monument in the southwest corner of the village (see Chapter 13 for a description of the remains of Paraje). According to Stanley (1963:120), the Penitentes in San Marcial shared a morada in Paraje with Cofradía members there.

North of the village in the valley floor was a location known as "La Placita." This was the site of various local festivities. There were rodeos, a chicken-pull, and prizes, as well as great quantities of watermelon wine (José Olguín, 1982). A location south of Paraje, on the east bank and below the steep slope of the Fra Cristobal Range, is known as "Los Parades," after the ruins of a large, adobe-walled structure (Dean Fite, 1982).

POLVADERA

Polvadera has also been called "Polvareda," meaning "dusty" or "cloud of dust." The August 10 fiesta day in Polvadera honors its patron saint, San Lorenzo. The fiesta is said always to be successful in bringing rain (Pearce 1965:124). The earliest reference to the community is in 1846, when it was attacked by the Navajo. It was reported that about 100 Navajo had attacked the village and had driven off a large number of livestock. A retaliatory mission was ordered by the territorial government. In a report filed in 1846, Lt. Emory noted,

Arrived at the town of Pulvidera, which we found, as its name implies, covered with dust, we received full accounts of the attack made on the town by the Apaches the day before [Emory 1848:50].

Polvadera is listed in the U.S. census reports from 1850–1950, and it is still occupied today. Its spelling varied considerably in the early census records—in 1850 it was "Pulvidera," in 1860 "La Polvedera de San Lorenzo," in 1870 "Pulvedero," and in 1880 it appeared in its present form, as it has since that time. A post office was established in 1895, with mail being routed through San Acacia (Dike 1958). Polvadera appears on the Emory, Abert, and Peck map of 1846–1847 (Figure 12.8); the General Land Office map of 1882; and the War Department map of 1859 (Figure 12.2).

PUEBLITO

The settlement of Pueblito came into existence during the 1850s; it was probably settled by inhabitants of the nearby village of Parida, who had lost their homes to the encroaching Rio Grande. The settlement is referred to as "Pueblito de la Parida" in the U.S. census records of 1860. It fails to appear in subsequent census reports, however, so its status as a village was apparently short-lived. The Pueblito area was the location of various homesteads throughout the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries; today, there are approximately 10 inhabited dwellings in the area.

In 1882, A.F. Bandelier visited the location to inspect an ancestral Piro pueblo (LA 287) upon which a portion of Pueblito had been built. He describes the location as the "rancho of Juan Domingo Silva, at the mouth of the Cañada de la Parida; not to be confounded with the Parida proper" (Bandelier 1892II:242).

Pueblito is not present on the 1882 General Land Office map, but it appears on the 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' quadrangle (Figure 12.6) and the General Land Office map of 1908, as well as on the Enlarged Homestead map of 1918 (U.S. Department of the Interior 1918). The first appearance of Pueblito on the maps probably corresponded to increasingly common use of the Socorro-to-Mountainair highway, since the highway crossed the Rio Grande at Pueblito (New Mexico Highway Commission 1915:Map 6).

Prior to the construction of a bridge at Pueblito there was a cable-operated flat-boat ferry run by the Pino family of Pueblito. The Escondida-Pueblito bridge was later constructed near this location. The great floods of the Rio Grande often brought an accumulation of cottonwood logs and brush up against the bridge. These brush jams were dynamited to provide passage for the floodwaters and to preserve the bridge (A.B. Baca, 1982).

SABINAL

The village of Sabinal (*place of the junipers*) was founded in 1741 (Candelaria 1929:280) and was the southernmost settlement in New Mexico for the remainder of the eighteenth century. In this frontier settlement facing the hostile Apaches, the inhabitants must have led a perilous existence during these early days. Sabinal appears in the historical records of 1767 because of a dispute between its residents and those of Belen over pasture and water rights (SANM II #411). Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez described the settlement in 1776:

Four leagues down the road to the south of this place [Belen], on the same meadow, is a settlement of ranchos like the above. It is called *Sabinal* and is 10 leagues from the mission. Their lands are good, even better than those of Belén. They are irrigated with the aforesaid river and yield proportionate crops and harvests. . . .

Census [figures for the community are] 51 families with 214 persons [Adams and Chávez 1956:208].

Sabinal is mentioned by Juan Bautista de Anza, who inspected the communities of the southern frontier in 1780 for the purposes of reopening trade and communications with El Paso del Norte (Thomas 1932:102). The Spanish census of 1790 refers to the community as "San Antonio de Sabinal" and lists a population of 223 people (Olmsted 1973:54-57).

The Gila Apache, Taschenate was encouraged to settle near Sabinal; his Reducción was to act as a buffer between hostile Athabascans and the Hispanic community. The Provincial Governor, Don Fernando de la Concha, was complimented by the viceroy for convincing Captain Taschenate to settle within half a league of the "Puerto del Savinal" with 18 huts of his people. The year was 1791 (Schroeder 1974:92; SANM #1129, #1151-6). In 1792, de la Concha reported that the Apaches were in residence near Sabinal and that they had planted and were faithfully tending three farm plots (Schroeder 1974:92; SANM #1203). But the situation was not to last. In 1793, Pedro de Nava reported hostilities

committed by the Sabinal Apaches (Schroeder 1974:93; SANM #1271), and by the following year the planned presidio at Sabinal was being discouraged because the Apaches "do not work in good faith, they will retire again in spite of good vigilance" (Schroeder 1974:94; SANM #1290a). Further attempts were made to alleviate the Indian problem in 1800; orders were issued to furnish troops to Josef María de la Riva at Sevilleta or Sabinal for the protection of the local population (SANM II #411).

The personal papers of a Sabinal resident, Don Juan Gerónimo Torres, tell us much about the settlement between the years 1819 and 1849. Don Juan had been a lieutenant in the local militia and a deputy alcalde. His papers include an 1819 review of the militia that had been organized for the protection of the community against the ever-present Indian threat (Table 12.2).

In 1827 the population of "San Antonio del Sabinal" had grown to 1060, as reported in the Mexican census of that year (Olmsted 1981:250-260). It is interesting to note that the community was still referred to as "San Antonio del Sabinal" as late as 1827. In 1833, Sabinal was listed as a "plaza" (L. Bloom 1913:14), a larger and more organized type of community than the earlier descriptions of it as a "settlement of ranchos." Sabinal also appears on Manuel Armijo's list of towns in 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93). It seems, from the abundance and consistency of data concerning Sabinal, that from its founding until the end of the Mexican period the settlement was continuously inhabited and, indeed, flourished despite the continued threat of Indians and other dangers. The settlement of Sabinal is still inhabited today, but apparently in a somewhat different location, since Bandelier noted in 1883 that the Rio Grande had "carried off the old town of Sabinal in 1856, cutting through a straight channel" (Lange and Riley 1970:14).

A post office was established at Sabinal and operated intermittently from 1866-1871, from 1880-1902, and again from 1905-1907, with the mail being sent to Bernardo (Dike 1958). Flooding is reported to have partially destroyed the community in 1865 (Carter 1953:64). As previously mentioned, Sabinal appears in the Spanish and Mexican census records of 1776, 1790, and 1827, and it is listed in the U.S. census reports since 1850. The village is called "El Sabinal" in the 1860 census and "Savinal" in 1870, after which it is referred to as "Sabinal." The earliest map to show Sabinal is the Miera y Pacheco map of 1779 (Figure 10.3), which calls it "El Savinal." It also appears on the Emory, Abert, and Peck map of 1846-1847 (Figure 12.8) as "Savinal"; it is consistently represented as "Sabinal" from that time on.

SABINO

In 1780 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza mentions a settlement called "Savina" as a deserted rancho (Thomas 1932:102). This reference clearly concerns a rancho of the Pre-Revolt era, but it is not known whether the "Savina" of de Anza is the Sabino of the nineteenth century.

The first certain reference to the village of Sabino is in Escudero's 1833 "Noticias" (L. Bloom 1913:15), where it appears as "Sabinito"; it is subsequently mentioned in Manuel Armijo's list of July 4, 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93). Dr. Wislizenus (1969:36) describes the location as "a town" in 1846. There was activity against the Navajo at Sabino in 1846; Lt. Abert (1962:119)

describes many men armed with muskets and powder preparing for an expedition against their enemies. In 1854, W.W.H. Davis crossed from the Sabino area to the village of Limitar on a ferry, "an old canoe made out of a cottonwood log, the horses being obliged to swim," run by a ferryman whom he dubs "old Charon" (Davis 1938:202).

The village of Sabino is listed in the U.S. census records of 1850 and 1860; it was abandoned prior to 1870. The 1860 census summary reports 110 persons, including one merchant-farmer named Juan Armijo. Armijo was the brother of the former governor, Manuel Armijo; he is listed as the only man in the village to own a female Navajo servant. There is a legend which says that Juan Armijo buried a treasure near Sabino with the assistance of his slaves, and then killed the slaves to conceal the location (A.B. Baca, 1982).

Sabino village appears on the Emory, Abert, and Peck 1846–1847 map (Figure 12.8); the Wislizenus map of 1846 (1969:following p. 58); and on the Colton map of 1855 (Figure 12.4). On the Wheeler map of the 1873–1878 survey (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1882), "Sabina" is described as deserted. "Sabino" is also listed as in ruins on the 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' quadrangle (Figure 12.6). An old orchard was still standing at Sabino in the 1930s (José Olguín, 1982).

SAN ACACIA

This village is named after "San Acacio," who is represented by santeros as a crucified individual who is dressed in a Spanish military uniform (Pearce 1965:141). Another source links the name to the thorn-covered acacia bush which grows in the vicinity (WPA Points of Interest file for Socorro County). San Acacia apparently came into existence about 1880; the earliest map on which it appears is the General Land Office map of 1882. It may be that former inhabitants of the nearby community of La Joyita, which was destroyed by the flood of 1884, made up the bulk of the population of San Acacia during its early years. A Territorial post office was established at San Acacia in 1881 (Dike 1958). In the 1885 census records, 350 people were in residence. This census includes a boardinghouse owner, a retailer, and a musician. The village was destroyed by the flood of 1929: "The village of San Acacia—population 100—has been swept away completely" (*Albuquerque Journal*, August 14, 1929).

There was a natural swamp or shallow lake in the meander of the Rio Grande at San Acacia, which was known as Lake San Acacia. It was 8–10 feet deep, contained numerous fish, and attracted many forms of wildlife. It was drained by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1929–1930 (A.B. Baca, 1982).

San Acacia appears on the U.S. census records from 1885–1950. The village is still occupied today. A portion of the late nineteenth century village of San Acacia lies to the northeast of the present village, directly north of the cemetery. A brief inspection of this area revealed approximately 10 scattered adobe housemounds and the remains of a northwest-southeast-trending acequia.

A cueva and piedra of Santa Inez del Campo (a beautiful young virgin martyr, the patroness of maidens) existed on the rocky crag of Cerro Indio, directly to the east of San Acacia. Until sometime

in the recent past, the Santa Inez shrine was visited each May by local women who offered flowers and fruit and lit votive candles (A. Jirón, 1982).

SAN ALBINO

San Albino was a small settlement on the east bank of the Rio Grande, not far to the south of Cantarecio. This location does not appear in the census records, but it is indicated on the 1887 correction of the West Boundary Survey of the Pedro "Armendariz" Grant (Figure 12.11). The settlement of San Albino was located at the foot of the Fra Cristobal Range approximately 7 miles south of Paraje. This may be the location known today as "Las Paredes" (*the walls*) (Dean Fite, 1982).

SAN ANTONIO

San Antonio was named after the Piro village and mission of San Antonio de Senecú, which was located on the west bank of the Rio Grande to the south of the modern village. Numerous references to the Piro pueblo have placed it in the same location as the modern village of San Antonio, following the notation by Bandelier (1892II:247), but various colonial records and maps clearly indicate that the Piro pueblo of Senecú was to the south of the present village. The present site of San Antonio may, however, date to the seventeenth century, for there is a 1660 reference to the Estancia de San Antonio (Scholes 1937:451).

George F. Ruxton passed through San Antonio in 1846 and described the community:

Crossing the Del Norte, we proceeded on its right bank ten or twelve miles, encamping in the bottom near the new settlement of San Antonio, a little hamlet of ten or twelve log-huts, inhabited by pastores and vaqueros—shepherds and cattle-herders. The river is but thinly timbered here, the soil being arid and sterile; on the bluffs, however, the grass is very good, being the *gramma* or feather-grass, and numerous flocks of sheep are sent hither to pasture from the settlements higher up the stream [Ruxton 1973:183].

If the San Antonio which Ruxton saw was indeed a recent settlement—and it appears that it was, since this particular San Antonio was not listed by Armijo as a village in 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:91–93)—then there is some question as to whether or not the seventeenth-century estancia referred to by Scholes was located in the immediate vicinity.

Before the Civil War, coal was discovered 10 miles to the east of the village, and it was mined to supply the smelting and heating needs of Fort Craig and its surrounding communities. A post office was established in San Antonio in 1870 (Dike 1958).

The inhabitants of San Antonio, as described in the 1885 census, included farmers, stockraisers, saloon keepers, shepherds, lawyers, a silversmith, cobbler, blacksmiths, boardinghouse owners, railroad station agents, telegraph operators, restaurant owners, and hotel clerks.

The flood of 1929 that destroyed San Marcial also partially destroyed San Antonio, although it did not cause a loss of population (Harper et al. 1943:34). U.S. census records for the com-

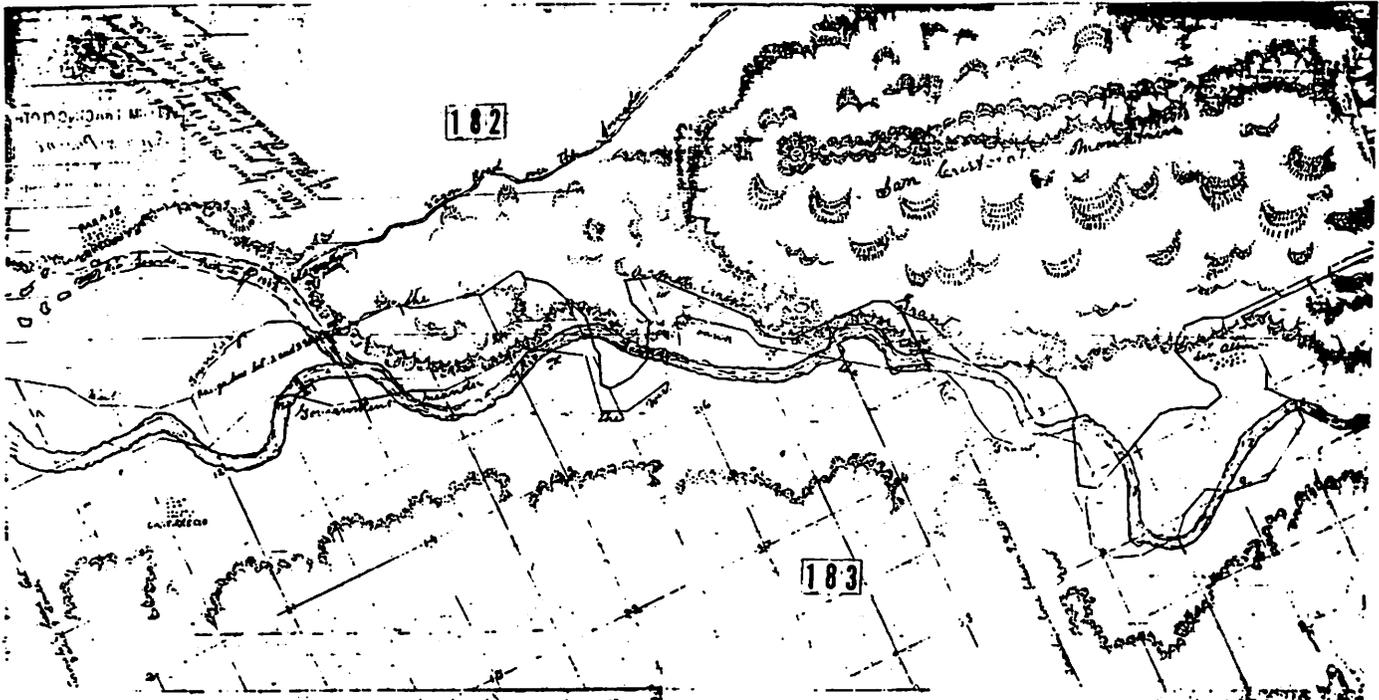


FIGURE 12.11. 1887 Correction of West Boundary Survey of Pedro Armendariz Grant #33. Surveyor General Case 33, File 56, Reel 16. Map on file, State Records Center, Santa Fe. Note "wagon road over the Jornada," upper center, joins Rio Grande approximately 1 mile south of Paraje.

munity exist from 1850 to the present. San Antonio appears on the Emory, Abert, and Peck 1846–1847 map (Figure 12.8); Colton's 1855 map (Figure 12.4); and the 1859 War Department map (Figure 12.2).

of a few houses, now abandoned, and does not appear on the maps or census records. This location should not be confused with the San Gerónimo of the San Marcial area.

SAN FRANCISCO AND SAN GERÓNIMO

The only map reference to San Francisco encountered in this study is from the 1873–1878 Wheeler survey (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1882). This map places the village on the east side of the river, north of La Joya, in the Contreras area. At some later date the community was moved to its present location on the western bank, and the east-bank location was referred to as Los Ranchos de la Joya. The settlement of San Francisco appears in the census reports from 1885–1920, beginning with a population of 264 in 1885, dropping to 48 in 1900, and then increasing to 120 in 1920.

At the time of the Rio Abajo Survey, San Francisco village consisted of a single dwelling occupied by Ramón and Ramona López and son. The former church of Santa Bárbara is in a state of decay and is in use as a barn (Figure 12.12). The melted remains of the old plaza are visible to the north of the López house.

There was a small settlement of a few scattered houses south of present-day San Francisco which was known as San Gerónimo (Ramón López, 1982). This community was across the river from La Joya, just to the north of the Salado sand fields. It consisted

SAN MARCIAL

The village of Old San Marcial appears to have been established after the flood of 1866 by displaced residents from the village of La Mesa de San Marcial (Stanley 1960:6). The village of Old San Marcial first appears in the U.S. census records of 1870. The early development of Old San Marcial and other communities in the area is clearly linked to the protection and economic opportunities offered by the military establishments at Fort Conrad and, later, Fort Craig.

In the 1880s there was a construction boom at San Marcial associated with the development of the AT&SF Railroad and its subsidiary, the New Mexico and Southern Pacific. The town of New San Marcial grew up around the railroad facilities. New San Marcial made its initial appearance on the census in 1890, with a population of 500. Old San Marcial had been cautiously tucked against the bench formation on the west bank, but the railroad company and the San Marcial Land and Improvement Company laid out the lots of New Town in the floodplain, a mile to the northeast of the old village. From 1890–1920 the San Marcial complex was the second-largest community in Socorro County, boasting large mercantile houses, freight depots, a roundhouse, a telegraph building, a Harvey House, lumber yards, newspaper



FIGURE 12.12. The former mission of Santa Bárbara, San Francisco. Photograph—Henry Walt

offices, drug stores, and even a skating rink. The San Marcial Electric Light Works provided illumination for the sidewalks, parks, and offices (Stanley 1960:16–17).

[San Marcial is] one of the garden spots of the Rio Grande valley. Its avenues are lined with rows of large cottonwood trees. [There is] a beautiful park, in which a fountain and a bandstand are located [Socorro Chieftain, January 12, 1902].

A detailed layout of the town with the names of the streets and business establishments is given in the Sanborn map of San Marcial for 1893 (Sanborn-Perris 1893). Fire destroyed the wooden buildings of San Marcial twice—in 1881 and 1893—causing great damage, but the village was promptly rebuilt both times.

On the roadway which linked Old and New San Marcial was a community cluster known as Midway. Midway is plotted on the E.E. Teeter map of 1914 (U.S. Reclamation Service 1914) and appears on the 1920 and 1930 census records. Midway has also been known as Torres Junction (Dean Fite, 1982). The name “Milligan” appears just to the south of San Marcial on the 1908 General Land Office map and the 1918 Enlarged Homestead map (U.S. Department of the Interior 1918). This must have been the post office name for Old Town and should not be confused with Milligan Ranch. Calkins (1937:4) lists a settlement of San Gerónimo along

with Old and New San Marcial on the west bank. Adjacent to and north of San Gerónimo was the suburb of San Elizario (Eliseo Gutiérrez, 1982).

New San Marcial was constructed on a narrow floodplain, where the Rio Grande is constricted by the Black Mesa lava flow. The railroad bed provided a dike between the village and the periodic floods of the river. As early as 1880 the riverbed adjacent to San Marcial had begun to aggrade, and soon the river bottom was above the level of the village. When Elephant Butte Dam was built in 1915, its high waterline was limited by the elevation of San Marcial, while the villages farther down river (Contadero, Cantarecio, and Paraje) were condemned (Calkins 1937:12). The construction of Elephant Butte Dam and the growth of tamarisk and other vegetation around the upper reservoir resulted in an increase in the deposition of silt in the San Marcial area. The floods of 1904, 1911, 1920, and 1927 were contained beyond the railroad levee and fended off by the construction of additional dikes and breakwaters.

The situation at San Marcial in 1928 was summarized by the state Chief Engineer, Joseph L. Burkholder, as follows:

At San Marcial the river channel is almost obliterated by silt. Since 1880 the river bed has raised from 12 to 14 feet, and in consequence

of this raise the channel capacity has been greatly reduced and is decreasing from year to year. At the present time the average elevation of the town and railroad yards is from 2 to 3 feet below the bottom of the river channel opposite. Floods are controlled by small and wholly inadequate levees on each side of the river [1928:129].

In August 1929 the village of San Marcial was destroyed by flood and enveloped in silt, as described in the New Mexico State Engineer's report of 1929 (Calkins 1937:9-10):

[The] flood water formed a large lake over the entire Val Verde Valley. . . .

. . . On the nights of August 10, 11th, and 12th, both arroyos [those to the west of town] discharged large flows which necessitated the breaking of the dikes south of the town to permit the water to flow down the valley. Then when the Rio Grande flooded, backwater from the river entered the town through the broken dikes. . . .

. . . [The] water attained a height of . . . eight feet . . . in some of the lower parts of the town. . . .

A vast amount of silt was deposited on the areas which the flood covered.

The new settlement of San Marcial, once home of nearly 1200 people, became the Pompeii of New Mexico, sealed below a layer of silt. A small, principally Hispanic population continued to farm in the region until 1940. The area was eventually flooded, creating Lake San Marcial, said to have had some of the best catfishing in the state. Today it is an entangled plain of impenetrable red tamarisk below Black Mesa. Only a few melted adobes of Old Town and cemeteries filled with victims of the 1917-1918 Spanish influenza epidemic remain.

SAN PEDRO

San Pedro, the sister village of San Antonio, was established in the early 1840s; Lt. Abert (1962:122) mentions the site in 1846. The village appears as "Don Pedro" on the War Department map of 1859 (Figure 12.2); possibly it was named after Don Pedro Armendaris, a man of considerable influence in the area during the Mexican period. The village is called "San Pedro" on all subsequent maps.

The village of San Pedro appears to have had three periods of florescence and decline, beginning with the early occupation of ca. 1840-1860 (population range 168-223) which was followed by an apparent abandonment by 1870. Reoccupation and another florescence followed from 1880-1900 (population range 168-276), with another decline to 85 people in 1910 and 44 in 1920. A third resurgence occurred in the 1920s and 1930s, with a population of 152 in 1920 and 124 in 1930. The 1940s saw the final decline to a population of 23 in 1950. Today there are two occupied dwellings in the San Pedro plaza and a few houses scattered nearby.

There was a ferry that joined San Pedro to San Antonio before the bridge was built. During the 1880s a railroad bridge was constructed to haul coal across the Rio Grande. During the early twentieth century, grapes were grown in the vicinity; these were described by William Hammel of the Illinois Brewing Company (Lucien file, New Mexico State Archives) as being equal to the finest champagne grapes of France. It is also reported in the Lucien file that 250 barrels of champagne were shipped from San Antonio

in one year. A.H. Hilton and Pierre Allaire sold hardwood wine barrels brought from Mexico and France to the vintners of San Pedro (A.B. Baca, 1982).

There are two acequias visible at San Pedro; they employ parallel and occasionally identical channels. The older, but probably not original, acequia extends 2 kilometers to the north of the village and has an elevated siphon just to the south of a major arroyo. The later acequia, which was probably constructed using mechanical equipment, extends across the lateral arroyo to the Bosquecito area.

The lateral arroyos at Padilla Ranch and Carthage Wash posed considerable problems to the San Pedro irrigation system, because large quantities of silt were transported into the ditch when there was a lateral runoff. The mayordomo of San Pedro, Vivian Tafoya, devised an elevated canal siphon near Padilla ranch to avoid the lateral silting of the northern arroyo (see the description of Acequia Vivian Tafoya [LA 31686] in Chapter 13). By means of this walled canal, water could be carried south along the bench to the farms of San Pedro. The construction date for this siphon is not known, but it probably was built in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. It is said that the terrón canal siphon was a limited success (Jim Padilla, 1982). The technique of utilizing terrones or adobes for acequia construction is not unique to this location. Dean Fite (1982) recalls seeing parallel mounds of "caliche" 2 or 3 feet apart in the Trasuilla area that were thought to be the remains of old Indian acequias.

The second observed San Pedro acequia was probably built after the introduction of mechanized equipment. The old canal and siphon were abandoned, and a new ditch was excavated across the silt-laden arroyo and along the bank margin to the Bosquecito area. It is said that there was a canal siphon at Jaral Largo (José Olguin, 1982), probably used by both Bosquecito and San Pedro. The ditch, now a linear swale clogged with tamarisk, was probably often filled with silt from the Padilla Ranch wash.

The San Pedro irrigation ditch extended south of the village 3 kilometers to the present boundary of the Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge at the residence of Jake and Lorenzo Vigil. Scattered houses and irrigated gardens and fields existed in the vicinity. A constellation of houses, including a school, once existed at the site of the present Vigil rancho. This settlement was known as Guadalajara. Lorenzo Vigil said "Guadalajara is right here, 10 feet down in the mud. The school house was below that windmill. Once a lady came down here who went to school there. She came to look around, but there isn't anything here now, only the graveyard up on the hill." Interment dates on headstones in the Guadalajara cemetery are 1929-1933, which indicates that settlement in the immediate area survived the 1929 flood. There was no church at Guadalajara (Lorenzo Vigil, 1982), and it may be that the settlement was included in the San Pedro census precinct.

The ruins of San Pedro are an excellent example of a typical early Mexican village in the Rio Abajo area. Although most of the structures that remain intact were built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the architectural characteristics of the complex can be considered largely traditional and typical of Mexican and early Territorial styles. Extant structures are superimposed over the salas and churchyard of old "Don Pedro," which long ago melted into low mounds of earth.

In plan the village consists of a gridded matrix of plazas, solares

(house lots), and *suertes* (irrigated farming allotments). The *acequia madre* passes under the old New Mexico Midland railroad grade north of the village and enters into the village proper, continuing south to Guadalajara. Lateral *acequias* run veinlike throughout the village, terminating in old orchards, gardens, and vineyards.

The village is arranged around two adjacent plazas. Around the northern plaza there is a scattered collection of single- and multi-room adobe structures. The south plaza, fronting the church, is nearly surrounded by linear and contiguous rooms. The open doors and windows which face the plaza provided apertures for the social life of the village; the blank walls of the exterior provided insulation from the outside world.

Fragments of earth-covered rock cling tenaciously to the corners of buildings which were constructed using crooked, peeled cottonwood vigas covered with bundles of cane stalks. Walls of double-laced adobe blocks, 20 inches thick, are melting back into the sandy red soil from which they came. Double-terraced nichos plastered in white and pink, which once contained wooden *santos*, appear in many of the rooms. The absence of corner fireplaces and the presence of stove flues and cast-iron stove parts is typical of the late nineteenth/early twentieth century style.

The dilapidated church, framed in acacias, faces north into the southern plaza. An enclosure of rooms adjacent to the church surrounds a small *plazita* or churchyard which is lined with rock-bordered gardens and walkways and contains a well, which was lined with railroad ties. The church consists of a rectangular nave upon which is perched a sagging tin roof with a single frontal cupola. The pine vigas which span the nave are covered with peeled cottonwood *latillas* which are in turn covered by a mat of cane stalks. The pitched tin roof may represent a late addition. The presence of milled lumber in lintel and bond beams suggests a late nineteenth/early twentieth century construction date. An older church probably existed in Don Pedro, but this has yet to be located. The cracked walls of the existing church, which include two windows on each side, are in danger of collapse, and they are in such poor condition that stabilization efforts would be of negligible value. The interior walls were painted with multiple layers of *calcimine*, in blue, rose, green, yellow, brown, lavender, and white. The colors appear to have been solid, with no evidence of *dado* or painted figures. The sanctuary is a pile of rubble; the false milled-board ceiling has fallen to the floor, exposing the beams and cane stalks above. There is an empty, arch-shaped *nicho* in the west wall of the sanctuary area. Wooden pegs driven into the exterior walls of the church hold cement stucco to the surface. Rooms adjacent to the church reveal fragmented evidence of wallpaper.

The plaza is littered with broken fragments of earthenware *ollas*, flow-blue, and feather-edged plates. Little lines of cobbles here and there once framed gardens of yellow *Rosas Castillas*. The metal ring of an oak keg which once contained *Vino de Pata* hangs on the branch of a tree. *Tamarisks* have grown up through the floors of kitchens and bedrooms, and the *acequia-veins* of the village are clogged with earth.

SOCORRO

The Piro pueblo of Pilabó and the seventeenth-century mission of Nuestra Señora de Socorro de Pilabó were abandoned sometime

during the late 1670s, and they were subsequently burned by Governor Otermín in 1681. In 1800 the provincial governor of New Mexico, Fernando Chacón, was given an order to resettle Socorro, Sevilleta, Alamillo, and Senecú (Twitchell 1914:348, #1171; 350, #1199). The new village of Socorro (from *socorrer*, to help or give aid; also *socorro*, a supply of foodstuffs carried by a military troop) was reestablished ca. 1815 over the foundations of the pueblo. The present church of San Miguel was probably constructed on the foundation of the former mission of Nuestra Señora de Socorro. In 1817 the 70 residents in the new community of Socorro petitioned the governor for land-grant rights (Twitchell 1914:115, #382; 266, #890; also see Levine and Tainter 1982:45-49). In Escudero's 1833 "Noticias" concerning the history of Chihuahua, the settlement of Socorro is referred to as a "Pueblo-Ayuntamiento" (L. Bloom 1913:15).

The village of Socorro was described by the captive George Kendall as it appeared to him in 1841:

Socorro, [is] the last settlement before reaching El Paso. . . . That the inhabitants of this frontier town were a pack of thieving, cheating, swindling scoundrels, we ascertained beyond doubt before we had been in the place two hours.

. . . a party of Indians, belonging to the large and powerful tribe of Apaches, were encamped in the vicinity. . . . [They] are ever on horseback. . . . With the inhabitants of the States of Chihuahua and Durango they are at continual and open war . . . yet with the people of New Mexico they are at peace [Kendall 1935:400].

The village of Socorro was described in equally derogatory terms by George Ruxton, who passed through it in 1846.

The appearance of Socorro is that of a dilapidated brick-kiln, or a prairie-dog town; indeed, from these animals the New Mexicans appear to have derived their style of architecture. In every village we entered, the women flocked round us begging for tobacco or money, the men loafing about, pilfering everything they could lay their hands on. As in other parts of Mexico, the women wore the *enagua*, or red petticoat, and *reboso*, and were all bare-legged. The men were some of them clad in buckskin shirts, made by the Indians. Near Socorro is a mining sierra, where gold and silver have been extracted in small quantities [Ruxton 1973:184].

On October 5, 1846, Lt. Emory briefly expressed a more favorable impression of the village:

The town of Socoro, containing about one hundred inhabitants, is prettily situated in the valley of the river, which is here almost circular, and about three or five miles in diameter. The church, as usual, forms the salient point, which meets the eye at a great distance [Emory 1848:51].

The small amounts of gold and silver noted by Ruxton were to have a profound effect on Socorro in the years to come, for there was a mining boom in the vicinity between 1870 and 1893. In the 1880s, Socorro rivaled Las Vegas and Albuquerque as the commercial center of New Mexico. Census figures reflect this boom; between 1860 and 1870 the population of Socorro increased from 523 to 921, reaching a peak during the boom of 1885 with a population of 4050 persons. Precise flood records, which were first kept in the 1870s, vividly document the frequent inundations of Socorro and other villages during the later part of the nineteenth century. Extensive floods occurred at Socorro in 1874, 1884, 1886, and 1891 (Carter 1953:9, 21, 31, 41; see Table 12.3).

Socorro appears on all of the maps of the region made in the nineteenth century, along with various suburbs such as Cuba, Chihuahua, Rincon, La Vega, and La Florida. Cuba was a settlement cluster south of the Magdalena track and below the Cuba smelter. Cuba is mentioned in the *Albuquerque Daily Citizen* in 1895 and appears on the 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' quadrangle (Figure 12.6) in the triangle formed by the AT&SF and Magdalena branch lines. Rincon was on the west side of the tracks north of town. It was south of the present dike, in a triangle formed by the ditch and the river. Rincon appears on the 1882 General Land Office map. La Vega appears on the 1906 U.S.G.S. Socorro 15' quadrangle (Figure 12.6) approximately 1 mile north of Socorro and west of the tracks, apparently in the Rincon area. La Florida is the present name for the neighborhood in the bottomland on the northern margin of the town. The community of Park City, occupied in the late nineteenth century and the site of the Rio Grande Smelting Works, existed just to the west of town, on the creosote slopes below Socorro Mountain (see photographs in Christiansen 1970:23–24).

TIFFANY

Tiffany is today an isolated railroad siding on the west bank of the Rio Grande, approximately 10 kilometers south of the Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge headquarters, but it was once the site of a large farm complex. It was named after one "Monsieur Tiffany," a short man with a red complexion who raised hogs and often obtained discarded food from the Harvey House in San Marcial to feed them (A.B. Baca, 1982). Tiffany was the manager of the farm, which was owned by the Diamond A Cattle Company. He was subsequently transferred and replaced by a Mr. Heffmen (José Olguín, 1982). José Olguín recalls that the Tiffany farm had an extensive orchard of peaches, pears, and apples and a vineyard. The location, which was east of the railroad track, was flooded in 1929 (A.B. Baca, 1982).

Before the establishment of the Tiffany farm, when corrals were the only structures at this location, it was called Army (José Olguín, 1982). Army appears on the Territorial map of 1908 (General Land Office 1908), on the south Bosque del Apache land grant boundary at the approximate location of Tiffany. It should be noted that Fort Conrad and the subsequent "Hay Camp" were in the vicinity as well.

There is an arroyo north of Tiffany which is known as "Arroyo de los Ingenieros" in commemoration of two railroad engineers who were killed there (José Olguín, 1982).

TURATO OR TURUTUTU

Turato, also known as Black Butte, is a massive solitary cone of black basalt on an open plain 11 kilometers west of the Rio Grande in the Bernardo area and 1.5 kilometers south of Highway 60. Various older residents of the region who were consulted were familiar with the name Turututu, but none knew its meaning. The name is perhaps Southern Tiwa, since the butte is a religious landmark to the people of Isleta. Alternatively, the name may relate

to the Spanish stem *tura*, which means "lasting" or "durable" (Alemany y Bolúfer 1917:1625).

Exploration of the Turututu summit revealed the presence of three rectangular masonry rooms and a few early glazeware sherds on the highest summit. Visibility is extensive from the summit. There is a distant but commanding view of Abo Canyon where it emerges from the mountains. The summit of San Acacia Butte, location of Cerro Indio Pueblo (LA 287) and Piedras Negras (LA 2004), can also be seen. It is quite probable that Turututu once served as a lookout station against hostile parties from the east. The communities of the Rio Grande could have been alerted by smoke or fire, and the occupants of the lookout could have escaped before the raiding parties arrived.

VALVERDE

The celebrated location of Valverde is described as a *paraje* in 1805 when a surgeon, Cristóbal María Larrañaga, reported from Sevilleta that, "the four children who were vaccinated at el Paraje de Balverde the 12th of this month arrived at this pueblo with the fluid perfectly taken" (in L. Bloom 1924:5). Perhaps the "paraje" which appears due north of Mesa de Senecu on the Miera y Pacheco map of the 1770s (Figure 10.3) is the then-unnamed Valverde.

Don Pedro de Ascue y Armendaris petitioned for and received the Valverde Land Grant in November/December 1819. Levine and Tainter (1982:50–51) note that:

Armendaris petitioned for additional land in May 1820, claiming that he had already established a large hacienda, outbuildings, corrals and a farm on lands within the original Valverde Grant [Surveyor General Case 33: Reel 16: Frames 36–39].

The hacienda mentioned may have been at Valverde, but the 1820 map of the "Armendariz" Grant copied by Emit Alexander (Figure 12.3) indicates the presence of Rancho Bosque Bonito on the west bank of the river (McKee and Wilson 1973:27). In April 1822 "Balverde" is spoken of as a new settlement (Legislative Journals 1822–1846, in L. Bloom 1913:13).

Don Pedro Armendaris abandoned the grant in 1824 after repeated attacks by Navajos (Levine and Tainter 1982: 53, 63).

Seventy leagues southwest of the capital, on the left bank of the Rio del Norte, there are the ruins of an hacienda named Valverde. It is located on the outskirts of all the settlements and on the edge of the horrible desert [Ojeada of Lic. Antonio Barreiro of 1832, in Carroll and Haggard 1942:78].

In 1844 Josiah Gregg wrote of Valverde, recalling a visit to the area in 1839:

In about ten days' drive we passed the southernmost settlements of New Mexico, and twenty or thirty miles further down the river we came to the ruins of Valverde. This village was founded about twenty years ago, in one of the most fertile valleys of the Rio del Norte. It increased rapidly in population, until it was invaded by the Navajoes, when the inhabitants were obliged to abandon the place after considerable loss, and it has never since been re-peopled [Gregg 1933:258].

In the summer of 1846, Dr. Wislizenus traveled down the river valley and, in passing, noted that "In the evening we travelled six

miles further; passed the 'ruins of Valverde,' (in prosaic translation, the mud walls of a deserted Mexican village)" (Wislizenus 1969:37).

In the late winter of 1846 the ruined settlement of Valverde was alive with activity, as caravans of Santa Fe-Chihuahuan traders, joined by Col. Doniphan and his band of Missouri Volunteers, awaited the invasion of Mexico. This event generated a series of notations regarding the ruins of Valverde and the winter encampments of 1846.

Scattered about were tents and shanties of logs and branches of every conceivable form, round which lounged wild-looking Missourians, some cooking at the campfires, some cleaning their rifles or firing at targets. . . . From morning till night the camp resounded with the popping of rifles, firing at marks for prizes of tobacco, or at any living creature which presented itself [Ruxton 1973:175].

Lt. Abert, in his entry of November 18, 1846, speaks of the abandoned settlement of Valverde and of the occupations of 1820 and 1825.

During the morning, we walked over the ruins of Valverde. They were inhabited in 1820 and 1825, but constant depredations of the Apaches and Navajoes forced the people to desert the village. Nothing now remains but the ruins of some adobe walls, over which stillness reigns. I took a sketch of the town and the river valley beyond, filled with cotton trees; the high, flat "mesa," covered with a sheet of volcanic rock [Abert 1962:125-126].

In his entries of November 25 through December 1, 1846, Lt. Abert also describes the shelters built at Valverde by the traders and soldiers.

This morning we walked down to a trader's camp below us. We found he had made preparations for remaining here some time. His men had constructed a log house, which they had thatched with poles and rushes, so that it was quite comfortable [Abert 1962:127].

Lt. Abert and his men followed suit, for the winter was cold and the Rio Grande was frozen.

[We] at once commenced building houses, having procured adobes for the chimneys from the ruins of Valverde [Abert 1962:128].

This morning we completed our "adobe" chimney, plastering it within and without with mud, and we have now a complete structure, save the roof [Abert 1962:130].

Regarding the ruins of Valverde and the temporary occupation of the area by Americans, George R. Gibson observed on December 16, 1846:

Here we found many marks of the traders' encampment which they recently abandoned, with their huts made of rushes, and of all sorts and kinds. The ruins of Valverde are close by, the walls nearly level with the ground, and no other mark of its existence except an old *acequia* [Bieber 1935:293].

The remains of old Valverde were apparently located just to the north of the present ruins. It is reported that in the 1920s people

came from Albuquerque and excavated in the old ruins. The old village was later removed by floods; inspection of the riverside area north of Valverde failed to reveal any remains. The river bank has migrated substantially to the east, and now lies just to the west of the Catholic church. A flood once made a bank cut near the church, and it was found that the parking lot lay over an old graveyard (José Olguín, 1982).

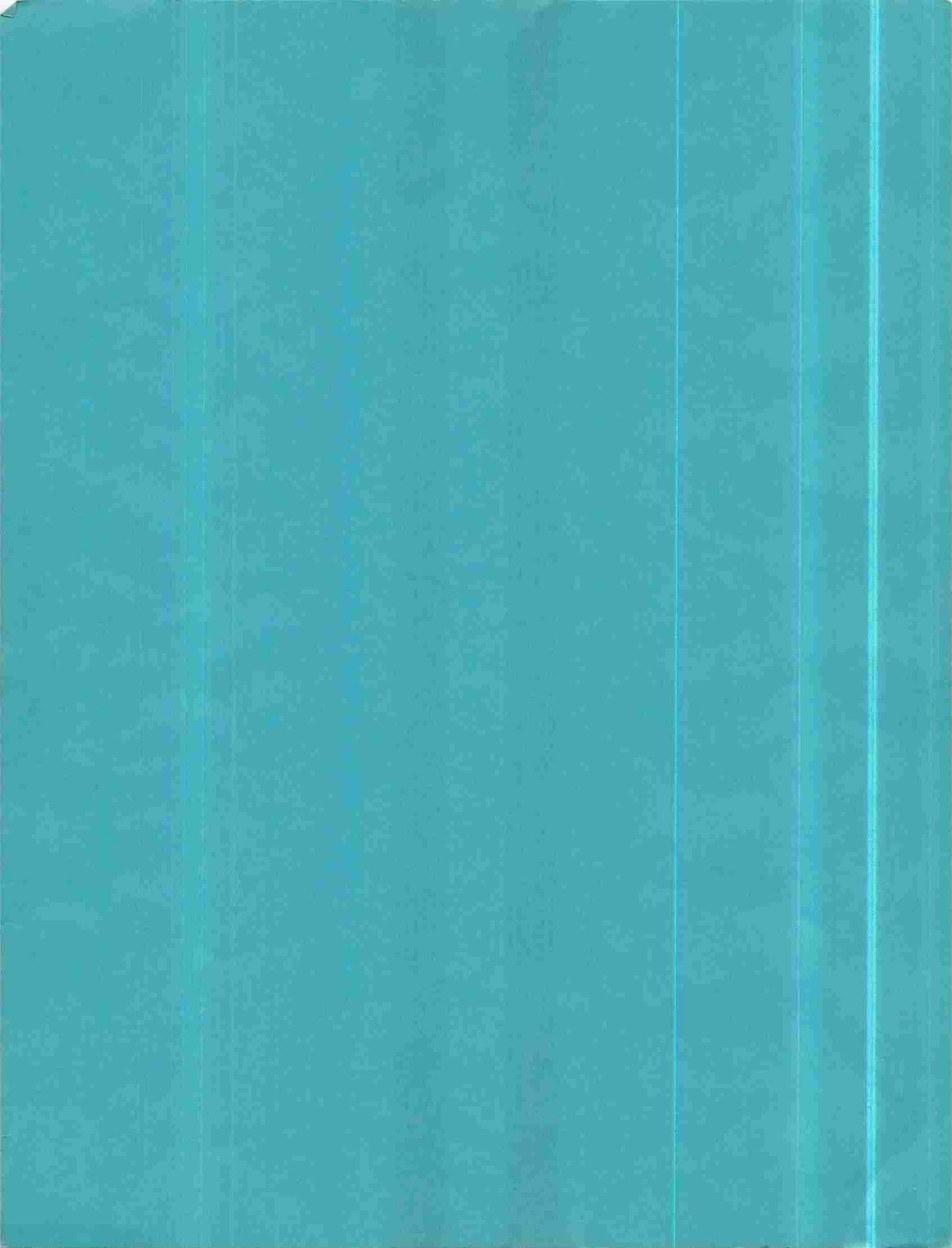
The early history of Valverde was one of temporary encampment and attempted settlement, always at the risk of Apache and Navajo raids. But beginning in the 1850s, the area was to see a century of sedentary village occupation before it was again abandoned. The original impetus to resettle Valverde appears to have come from the establishment of Fort Conrad. In 1853 Col. Robert Stapleton established ranch quarters at Valverde (a popular retreat for military officers) and began the cultivation of the valley (Stanley 1960:6).

The village of Valverde first appears in the U.S. census records in 1860 with a population of 90 people, including one male Indian. The village of Valverde flourished as its economy, founded in the soil and closely linked to the military establishment of 1851-1888, developed. It was further stimulated by the arrival of the railroad at nearby San Marcial in 1881.

The postal station at Valverde during the early twentieth century was called "Clyde," and this name appears on many maps of the region. The *acequia* at Valverde was described by the state engineer in 1910 as a ditch which began 5 miles north of the village with a temporary diversion. The area under irrigation was estimated to be 800 acres. "The date of construction is not learned, but it is old. The report of Mr. Follett gives it as before 1869" (Calkins 1937:21-22).

Informants have contributed bits of new data concerning this location. The Valverde tienda was operated in the 1920s by Alfredo Pacheco. The store and a large barn were located just to the south of the church (Eliseo Gutiérrez, 1982). Señor Pacheco was buried in front of his store (José Olguín, 1982). The bridge from Valverde to San Marcial was built in 1910-1911 (Juan Miera, 1982). The rounded hill on the southern edge of the San Pascual range north-east of Valverde is known as "El Alto de Peña." A small coal mine existed in the south Pascual range, and coal was carried on burros to the town of Valverde from that mine; "it was full of rattlesnakes, even in winter time" (José Olguín, 1982).

Valverde survived the repeated floods of 1884, 1891 (Carter 1953), 1911, and 1920 (Calkins 1937), with a population during this period of approximately 300. The disastrous inundation of August 1929, which destroyed its sister village of San Marcial, damaged the *acequias* and dwellings of Valverde and signaled the end of the settlement. Today the village is abandoned, invaded by dunes as it melts into the earth. "The Abrigos were the last bunch to live down there in Valverde. Guy Ross went down there and buried them both" (Dean Fite, 1982).



ORANGE COUNTY CALIFORNIA
GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

For
R.A.
W.M.
1.5

Rio Abajo

Prehistory and History of a Rio Grande Province

by

Michael P. Marshall and Henry J. Walt

with contributions by

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William Gossett, Charlotte Hollis, Bill Kight,
John Stein, Michael Taylor, and Caren Walt

edited by

Lynne Sebastian
June-el Piper
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Toney Anaya
Governor

Jill Z. Cooper
Cultural Affairs Officer

Patrick H. Beckett
Chairman, Cultural Properties Review Committee

Thomas W. Merlan
State Historic Preservation Officer

New Mexico Historic Preservation Program
Villa Rivera, 228 East Palace
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87503

Historic Preservation Division, Santa Fe
1984

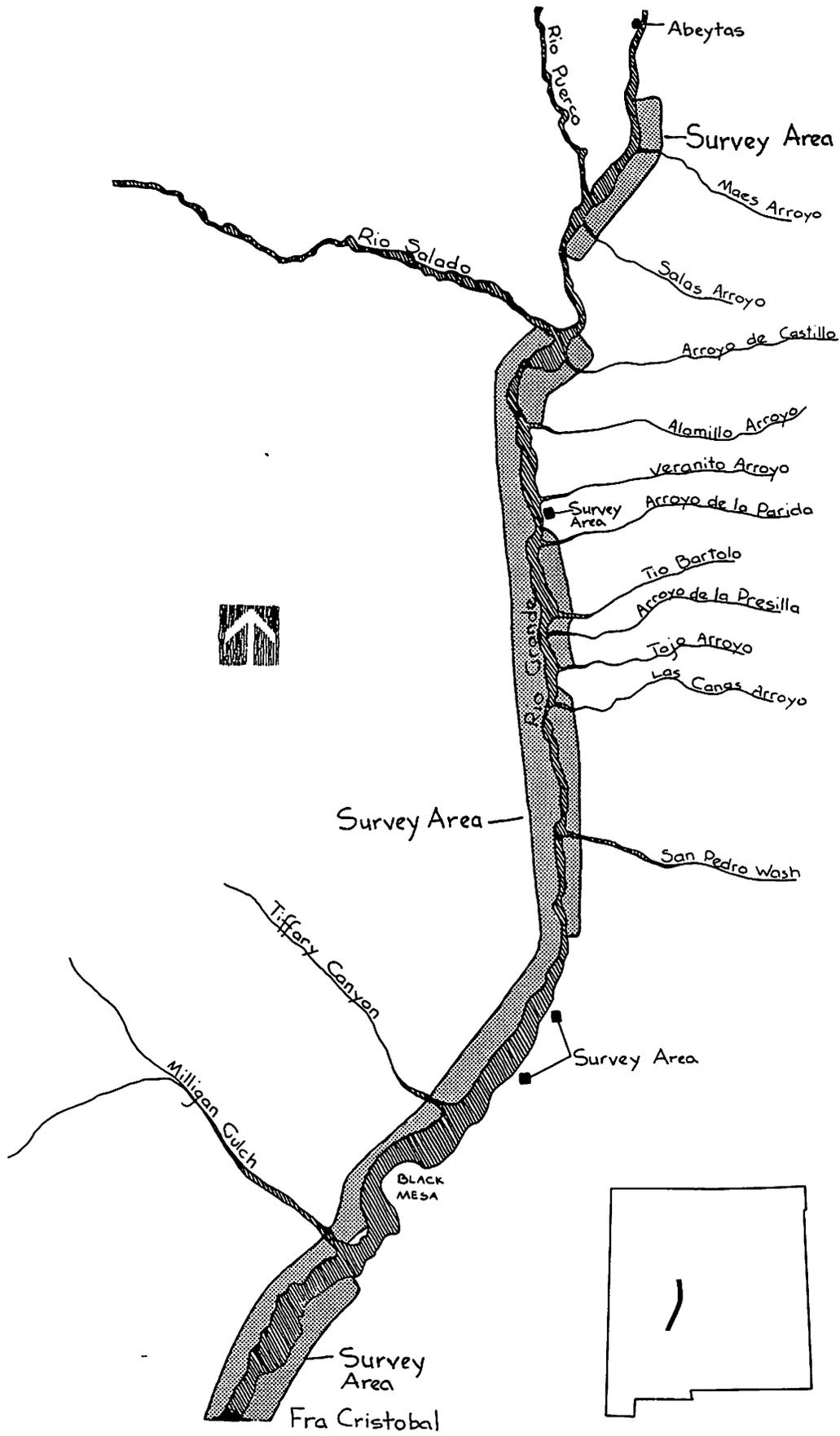


FIGURE 1.1. Location of Rio Abajo Survey area

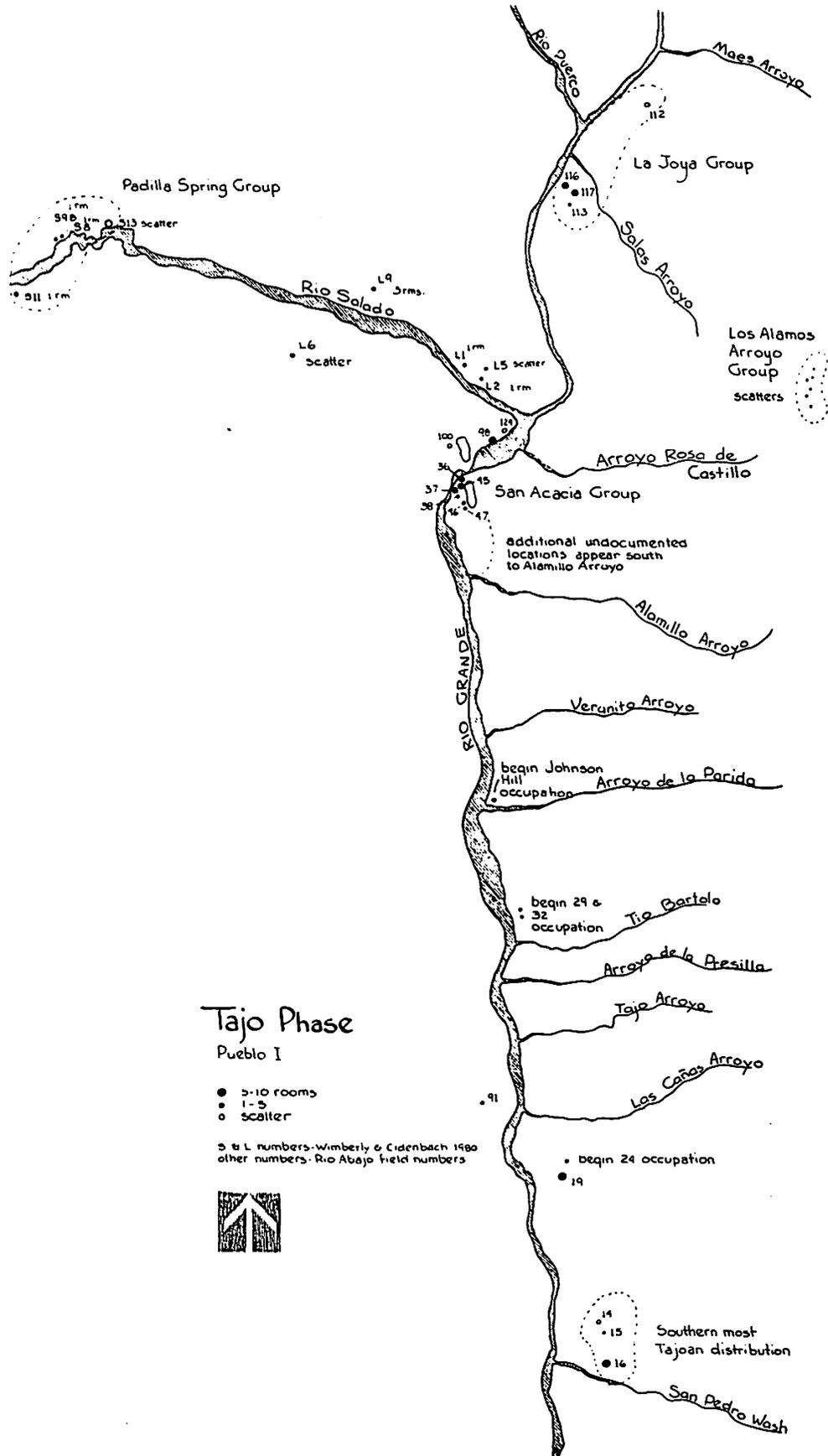


FIGURE 4.1. Distribution of Tajo phase sites. Illustration—Caren Walt

CHAPTER 6

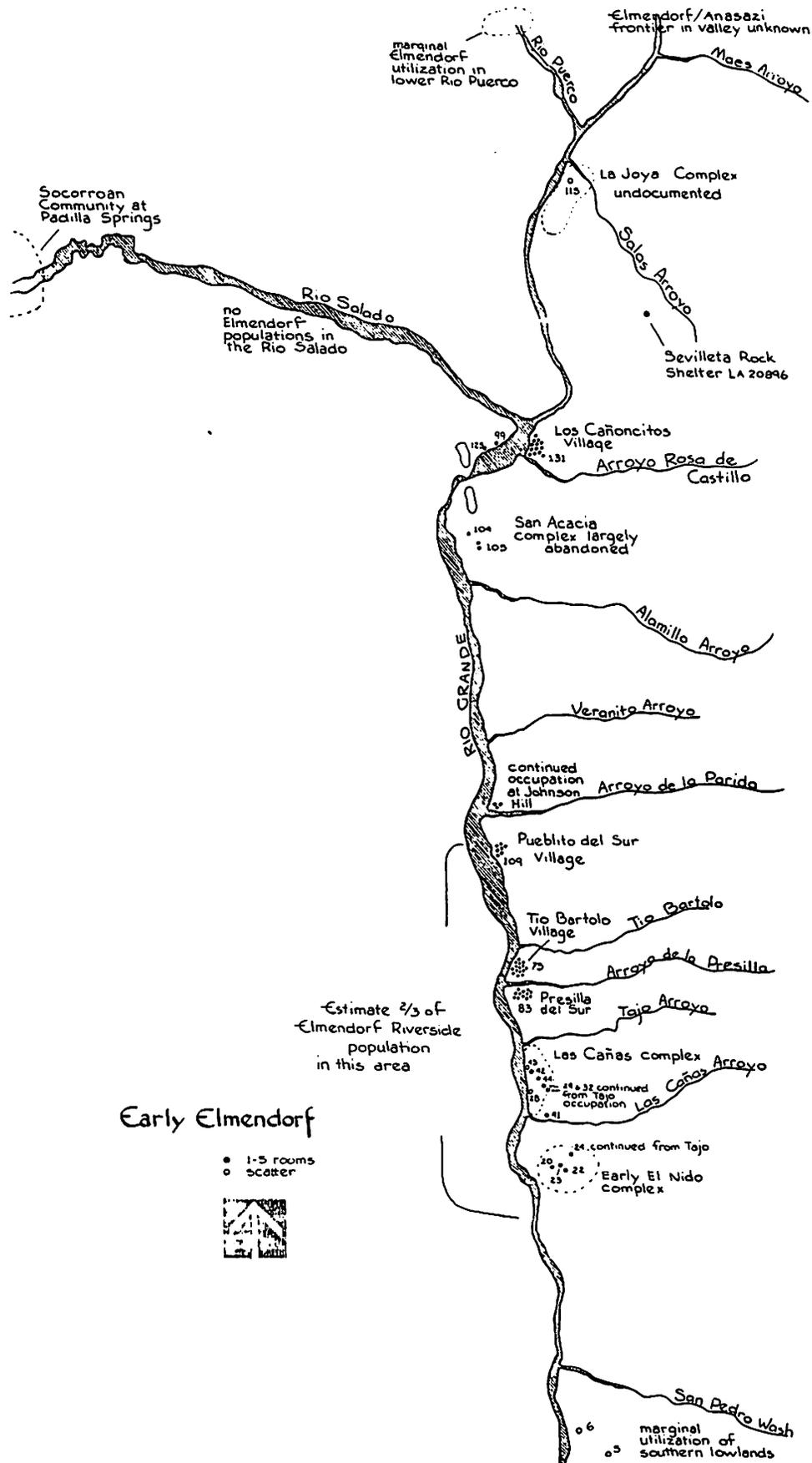


FIGURE 6.1. Distribution of Early Elmdorf phase sites. Illustration—Caren Walt

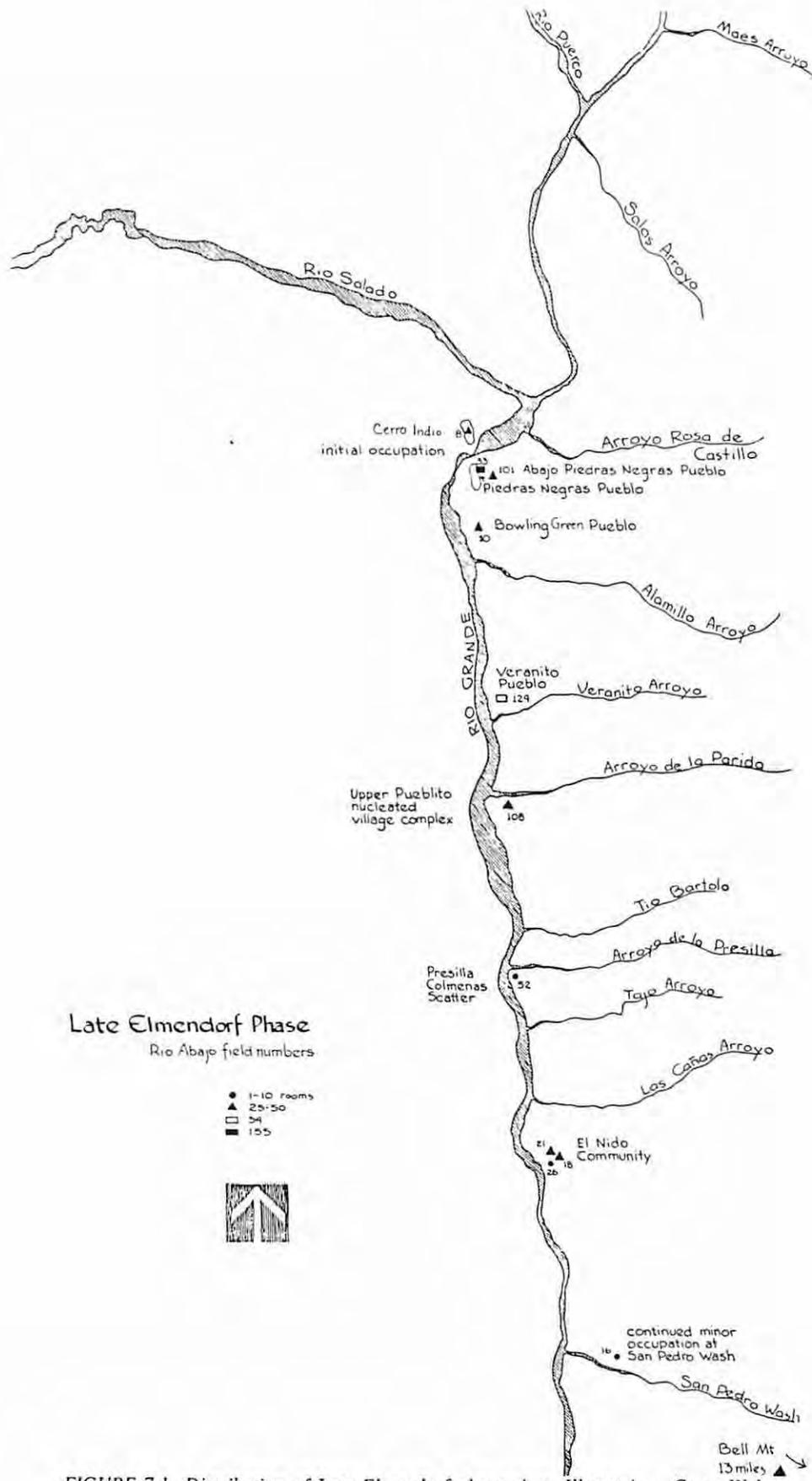


FIGURE 7.1. Distribution of Late Elmendorf phase sites. Illustration—Caren Walt

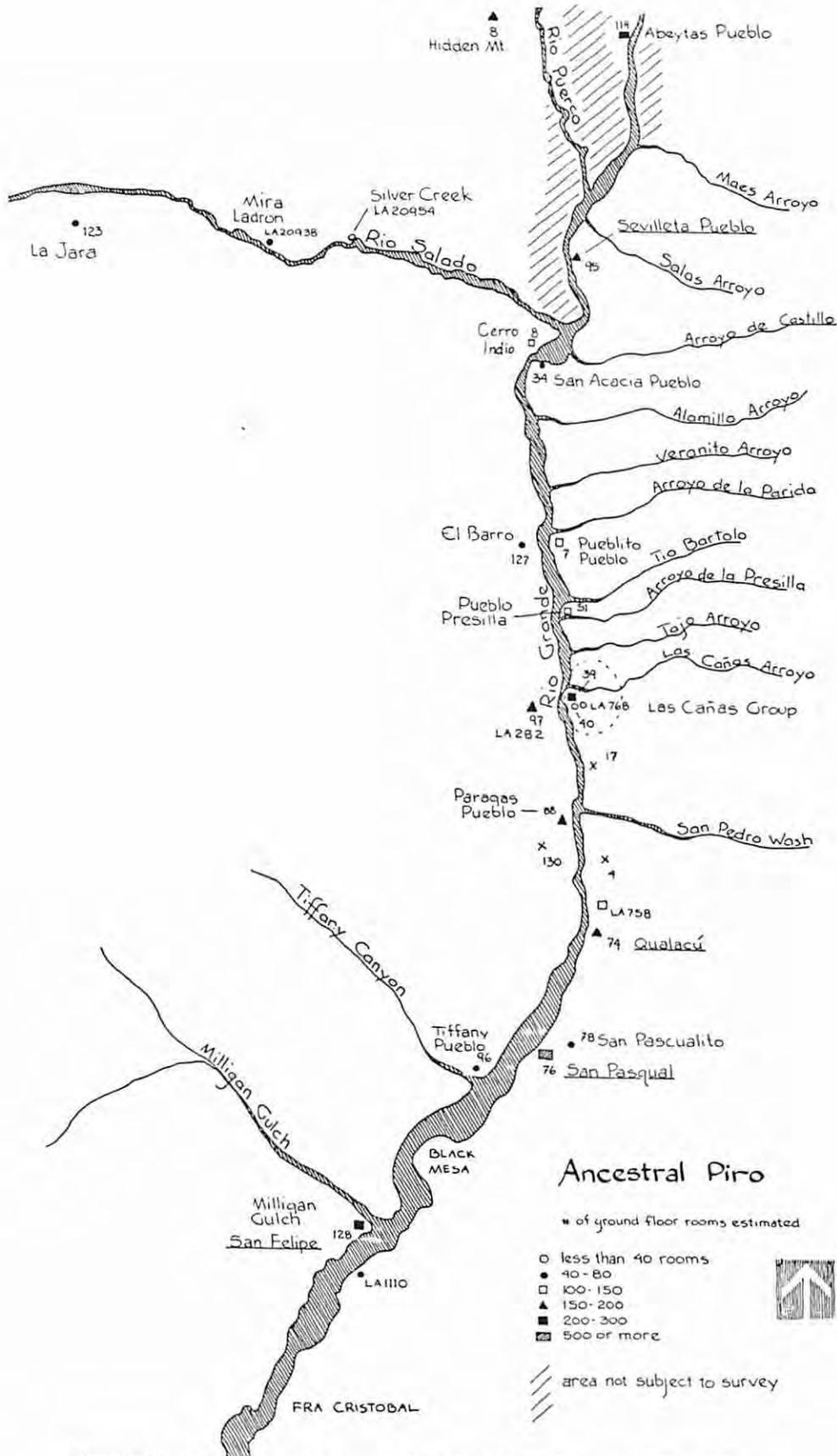


FIGURE 9.1. Distribution of Ancestral Piro phase sites. Illustration—Caren Walt

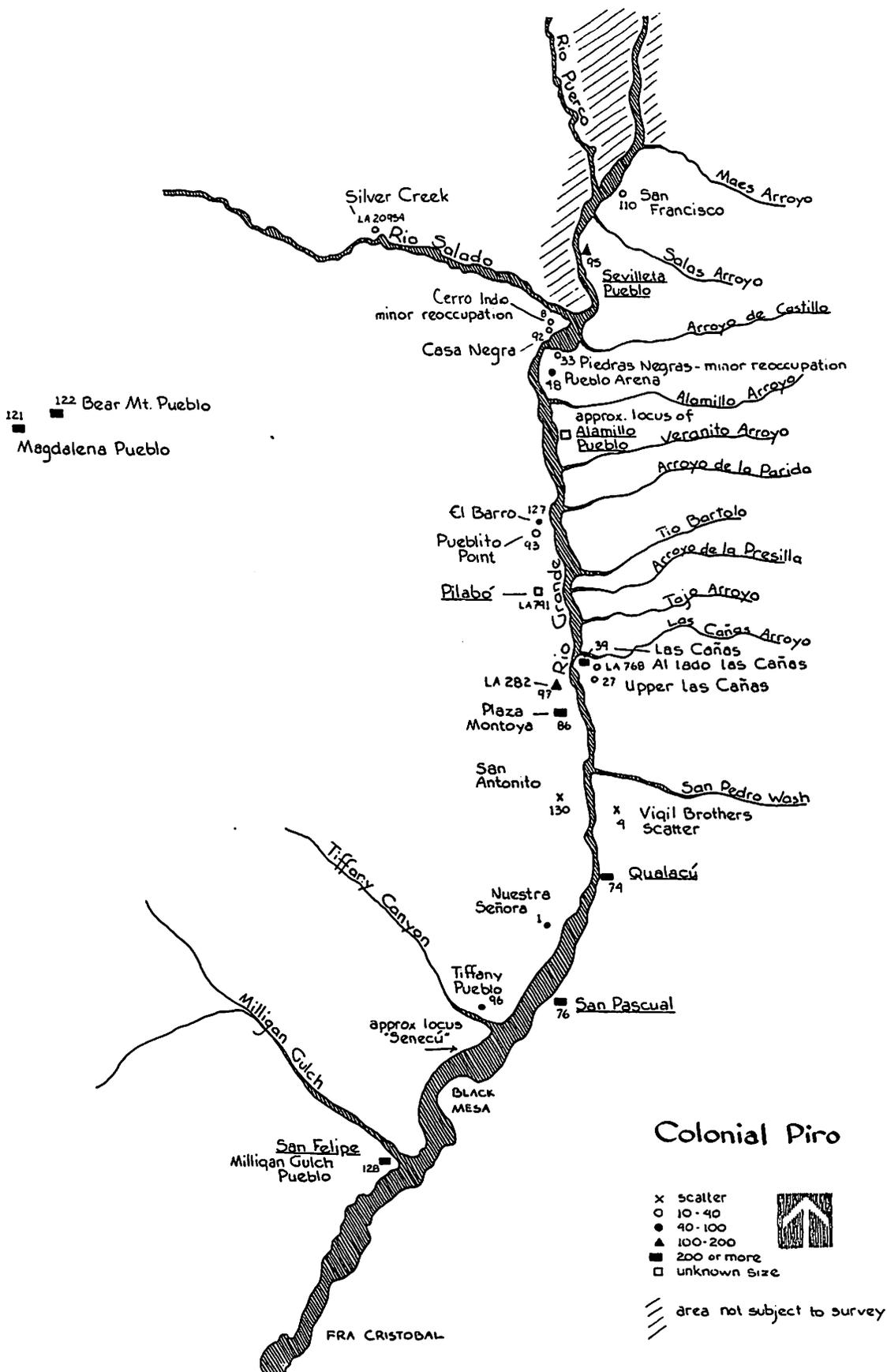


FIGURE 9.3. Distribution of Colonial Piro phase sites. Illustration—Caren Walt

CHAPTER 12

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

NEW MEXICO
SOCORRO COUNTY
SOCORRO QUADRANGLE

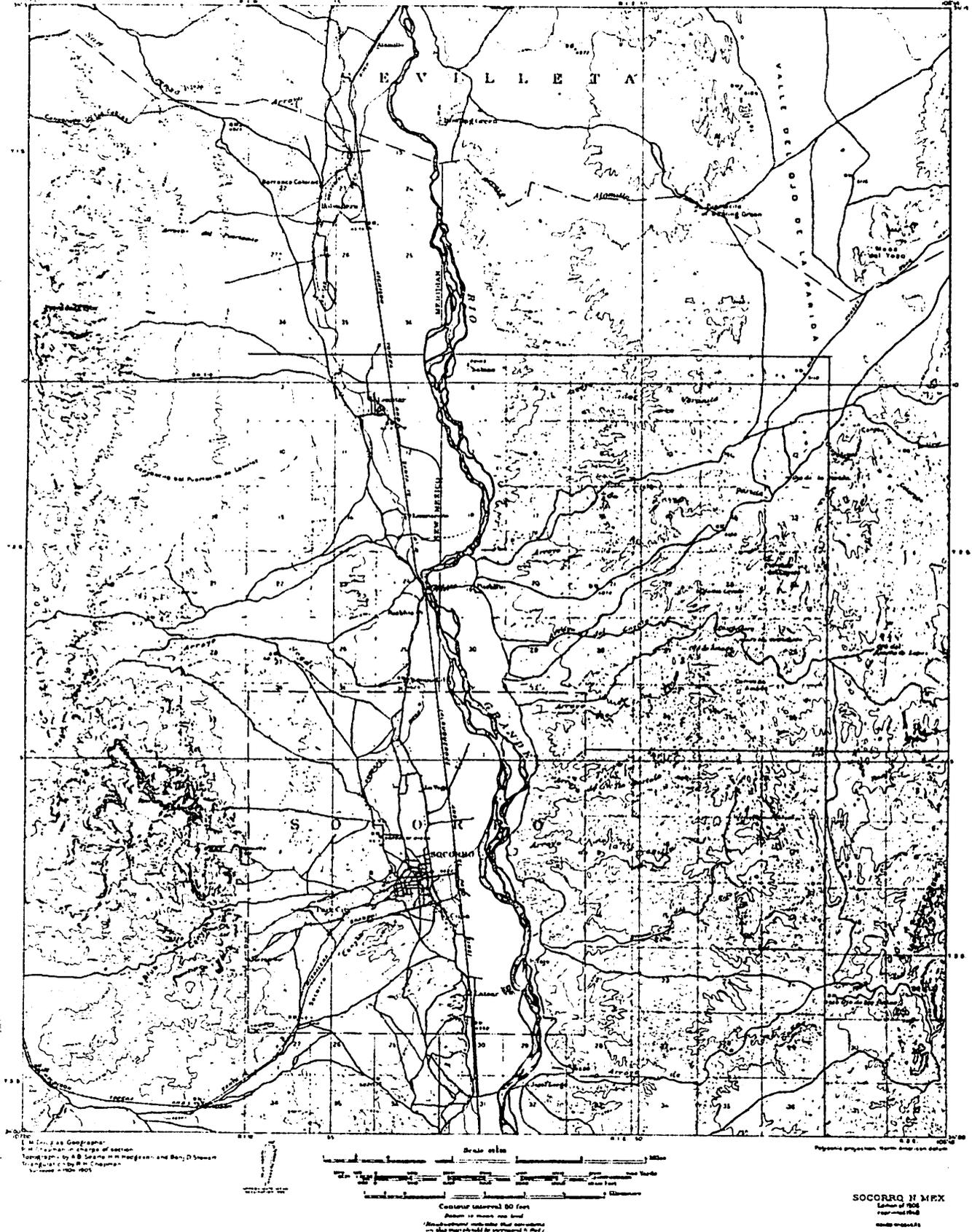
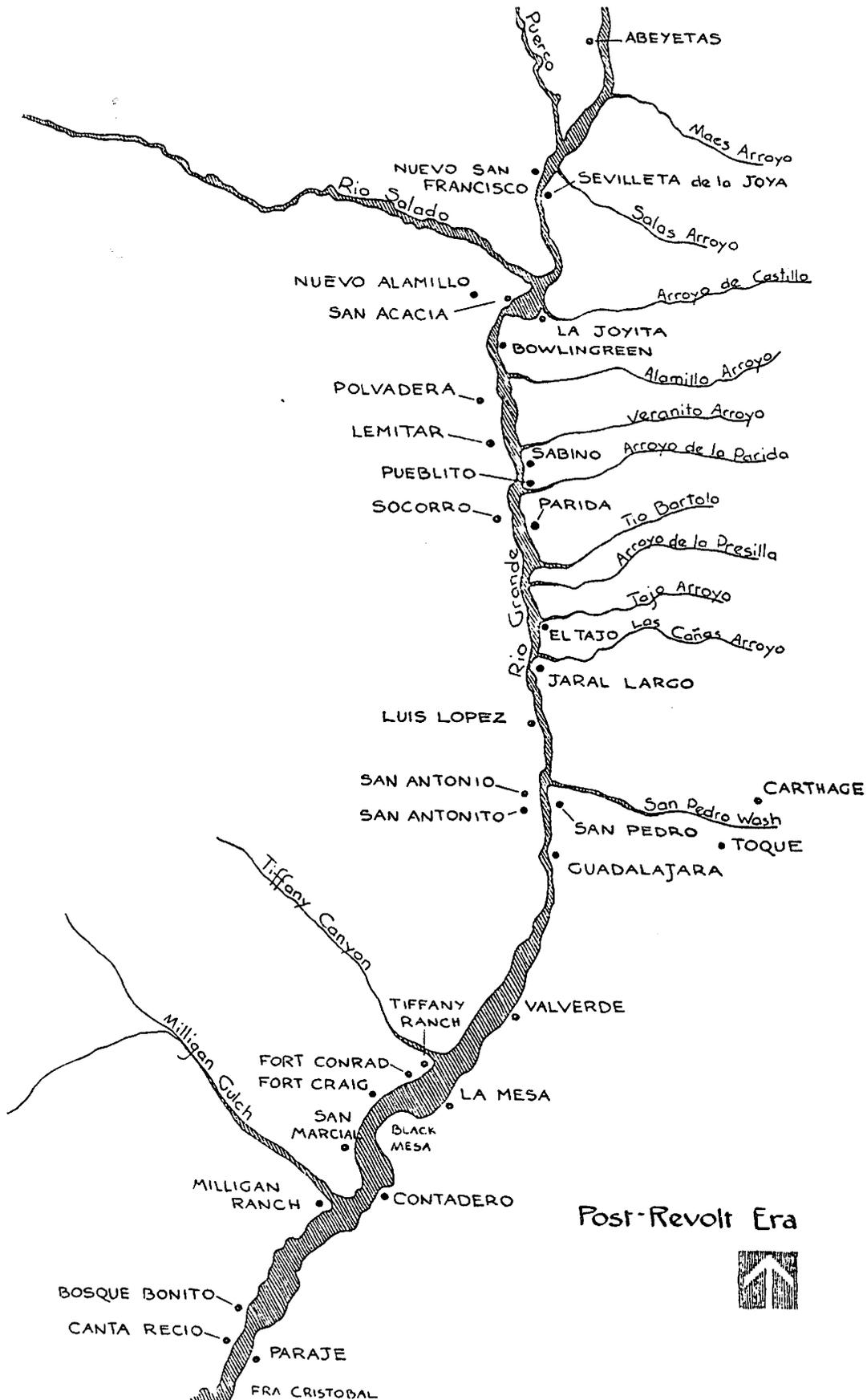


FIGURE 12.6. 1906 Socorro 15' Quadrangle (reprinted 1948). U.S. Geological Survey, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER 12



Post-Revolt Era



FIGURE 12.1. Distribution of Post-Revolt sites. Illustration—Caren Walt

CAMINO REAL PLACE NAMES



FIGURE 10.3. Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco's 1700s map of the Rio del Norte from San Elzeario to the village of San Pascual. Originally published in *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with Other Contemporary Documents* (Adams and Chávez: 1956:264). Used by permission of the University of New Mexico Press.

Historical Atlas of New Mexico.

By Warren A. Beck
and Ynez D. Haase

Univ. of Oklahoma Press 1969.

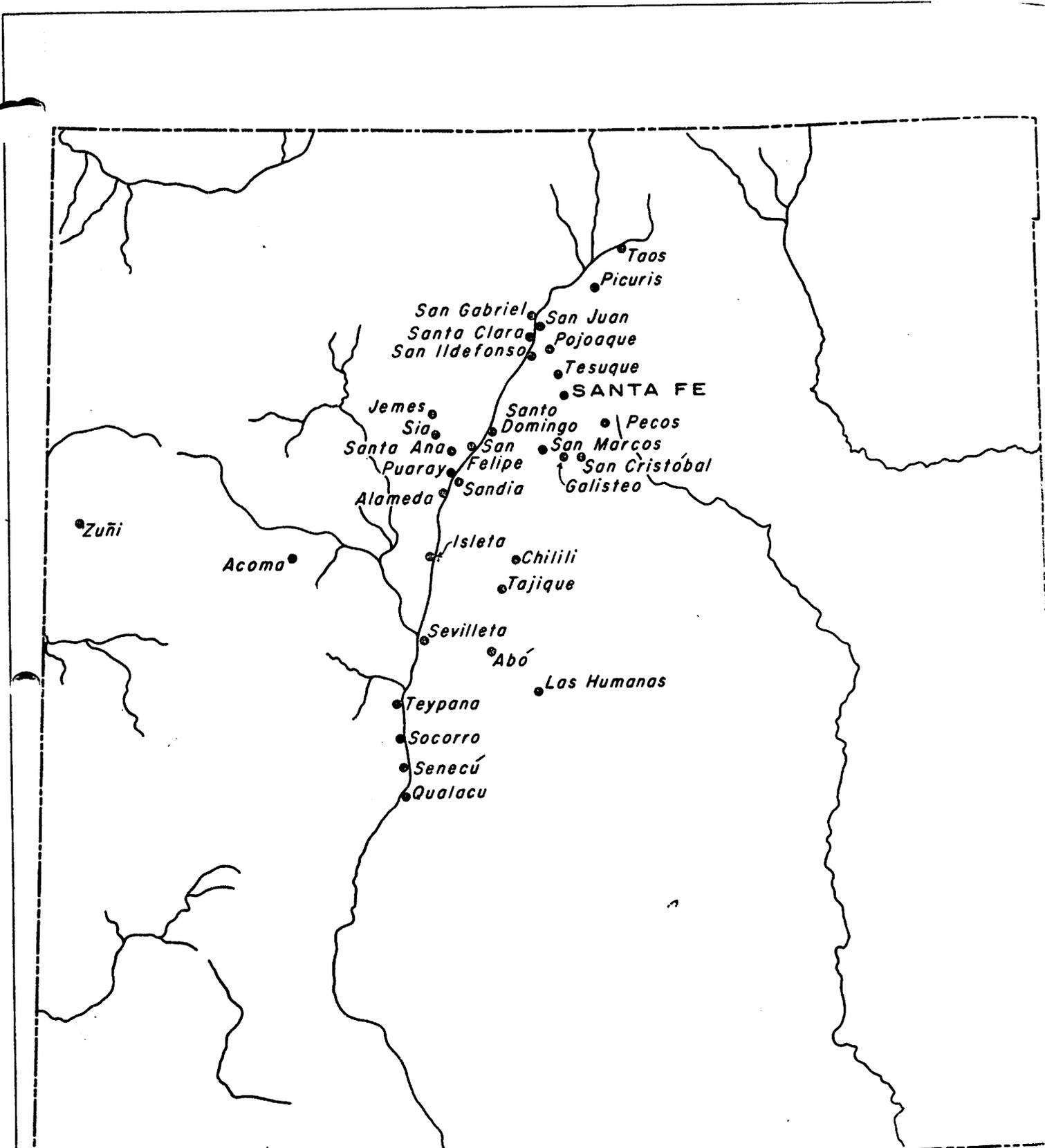
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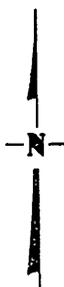
G

1506

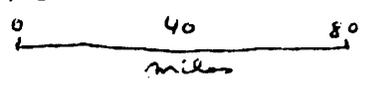
S1B4



El Paso



Not till early 11th c. expand settlement beyond the Rio Grande Valley. Here water + less likely attack by hostile Indians. Also easier communication with Mexico.

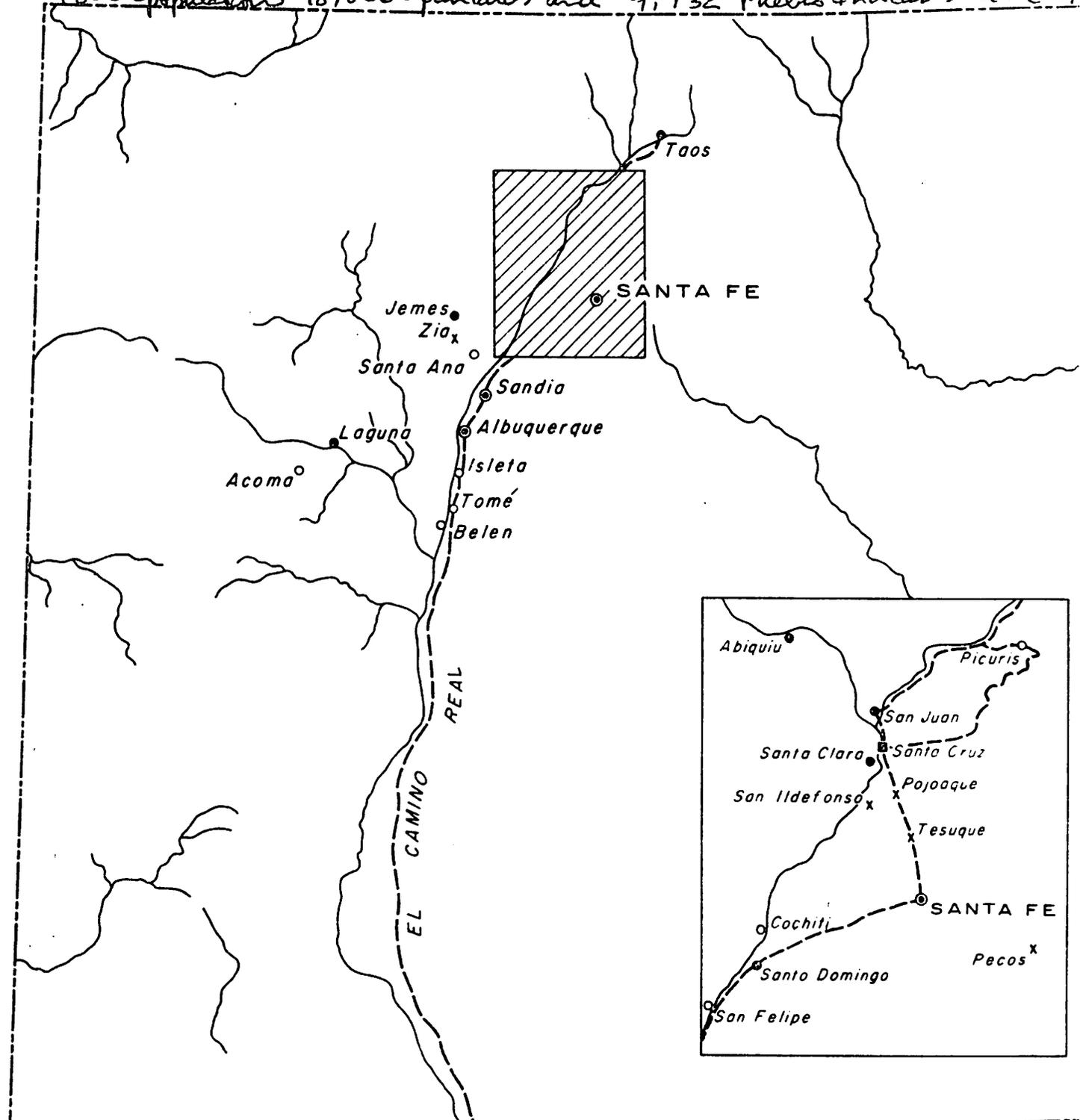


#17

These conquests by DeBazquez caused the depopulation of many pueblos and thus made available improved lands which Spaniards took to use.

Wool + hides, main items of commerce shipped southward, but most New Mexicans were self-sufficient.

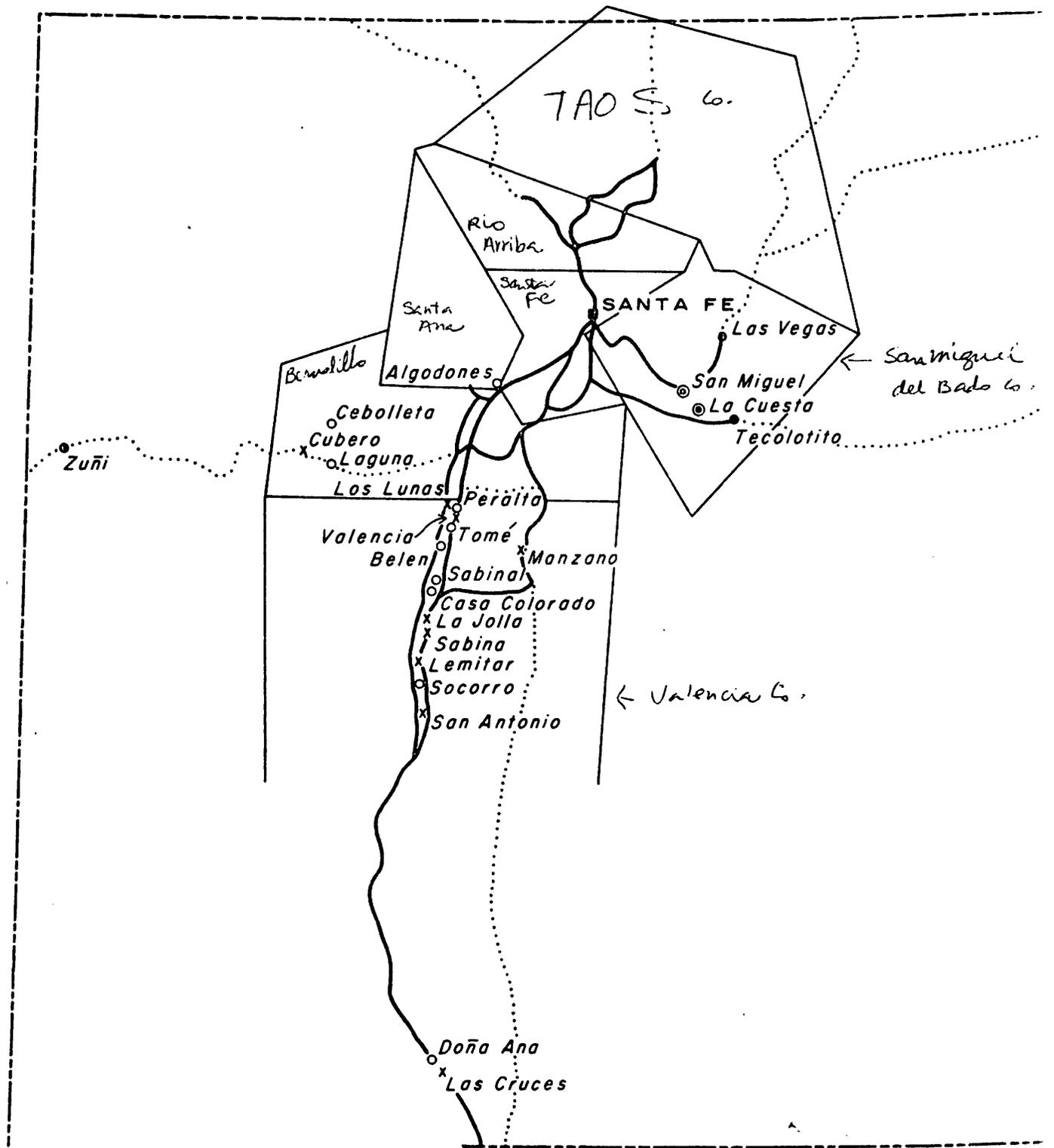
1800 population 18,826 Spaniards and 9,732 Pueblo Indians in the Territory



Principal towns and Road - 1800

- POPULATION
- x 200 - 500
 - o 500 - 1000
 - 1000 - 2000
 - ⊙ 2000 - 4600
 - 8430

1850 - pop. 61,547 in all the territory of N.M. (included -- not Indians)
 1827 - pop. 43,433 both Indians + whites.

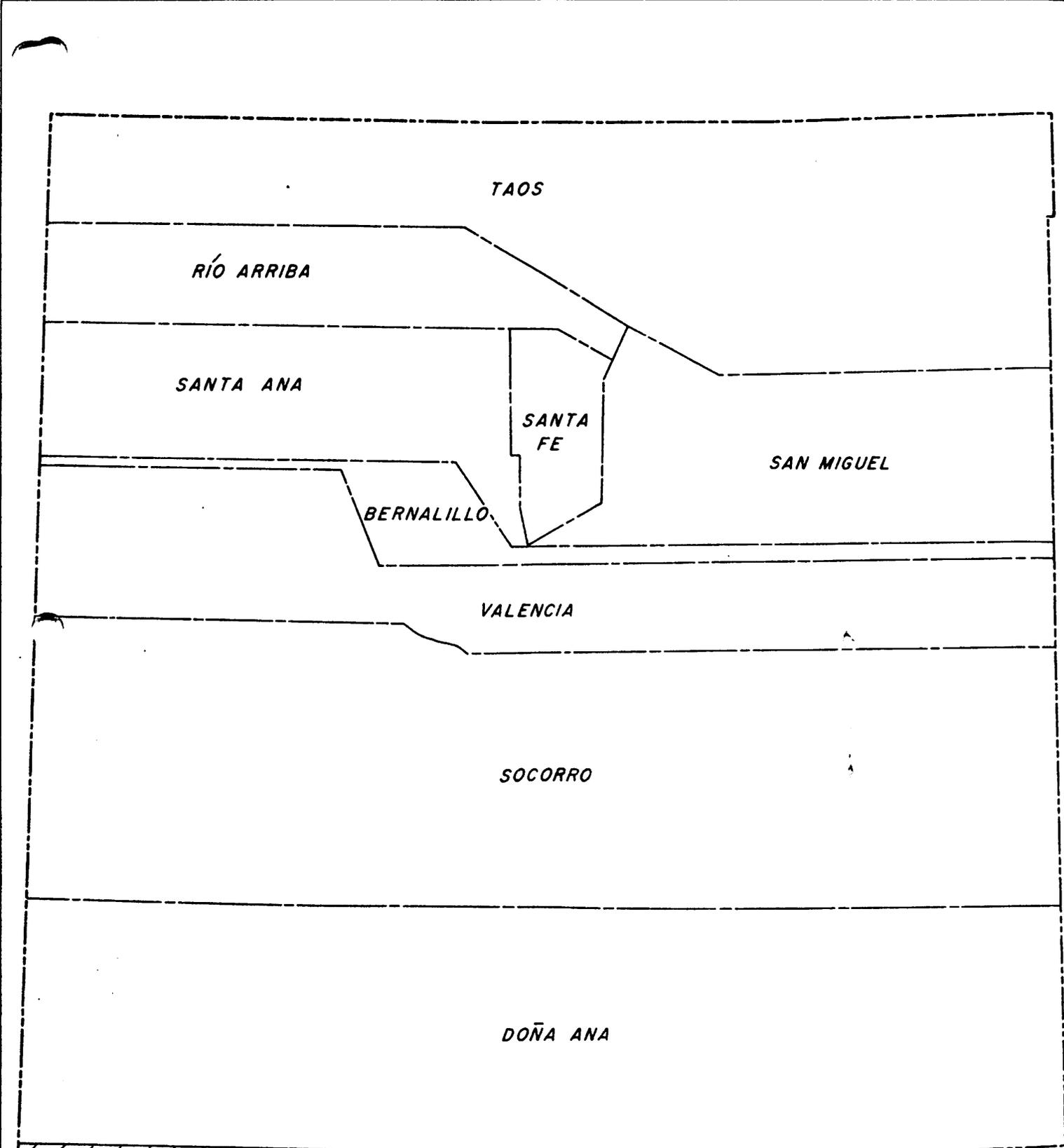


POPUL.	
x	200 T
o	500 T
•	1000 T
⊙	2000 T
■	4832 T

PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND CART ROADS
 1850



#27
~~236~~



TAOS

RÍO ARRIBA

SANTA ANA

SANTA FE

SAN MIGUEL

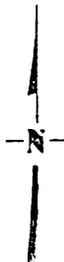
BERNALILLO

VALENCIA

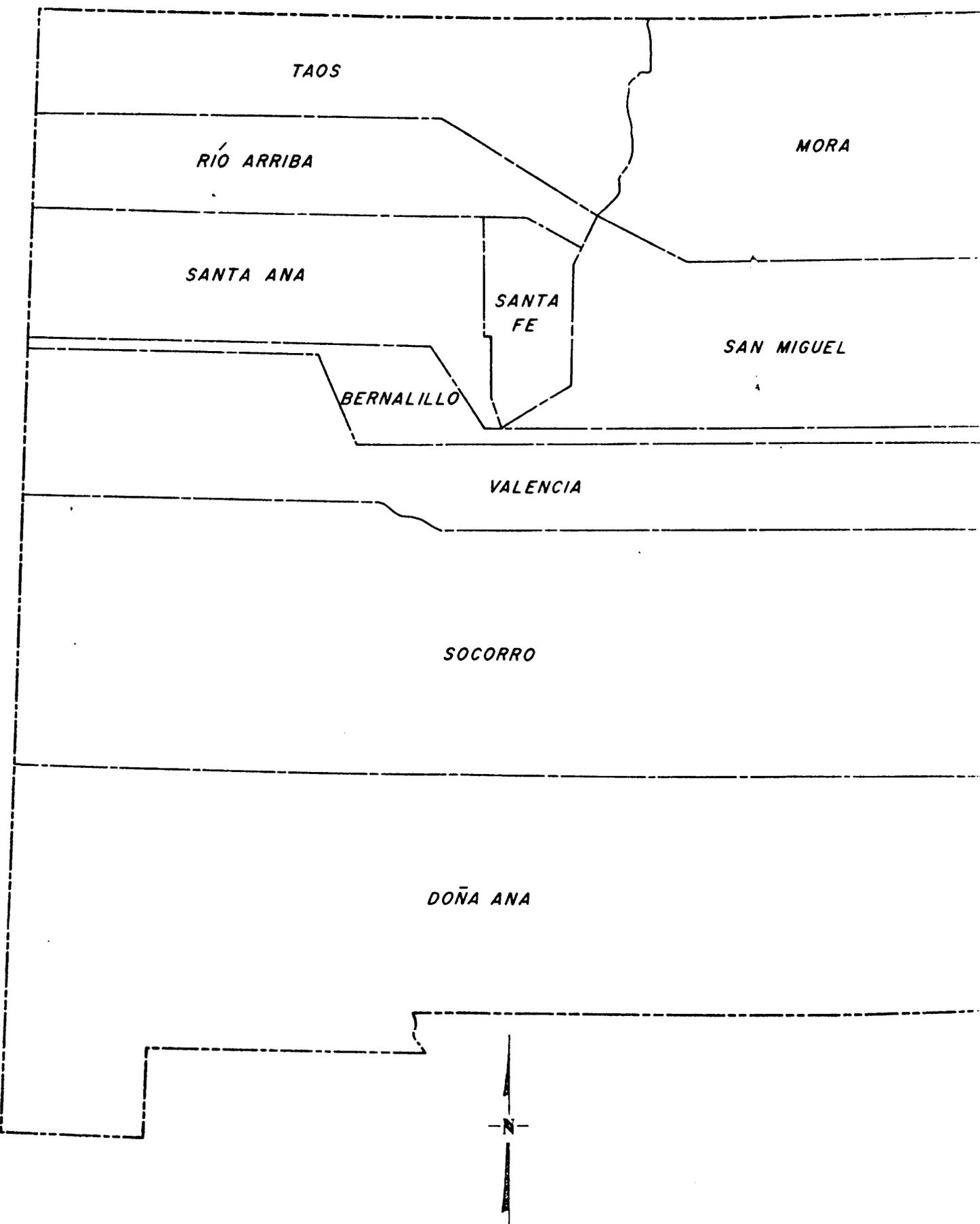
SOCORRO

DOÑA ANA

County Boundaries of
1852

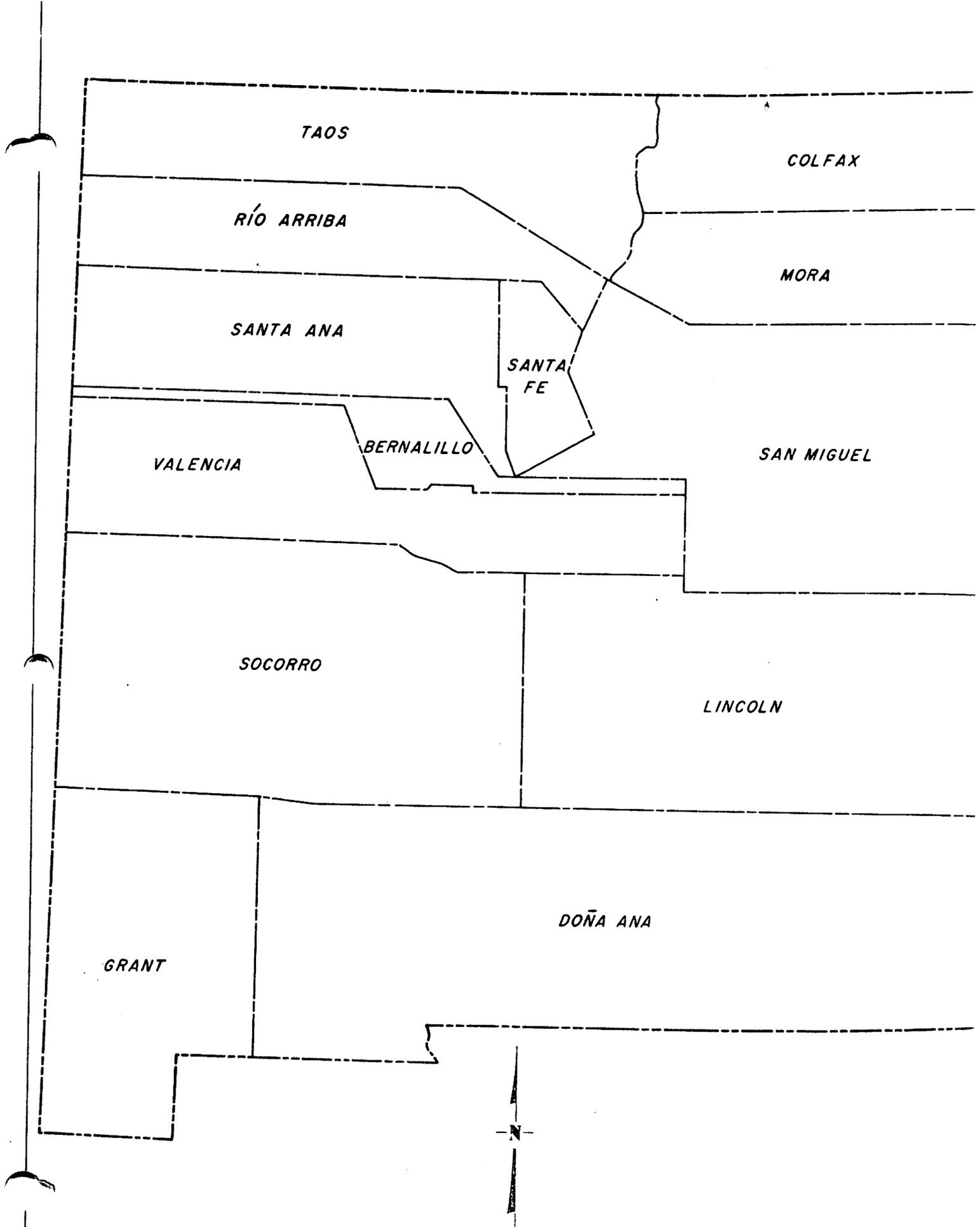


DISPUTED AREA BETWEEN
MEXICO AND UNITED STATES



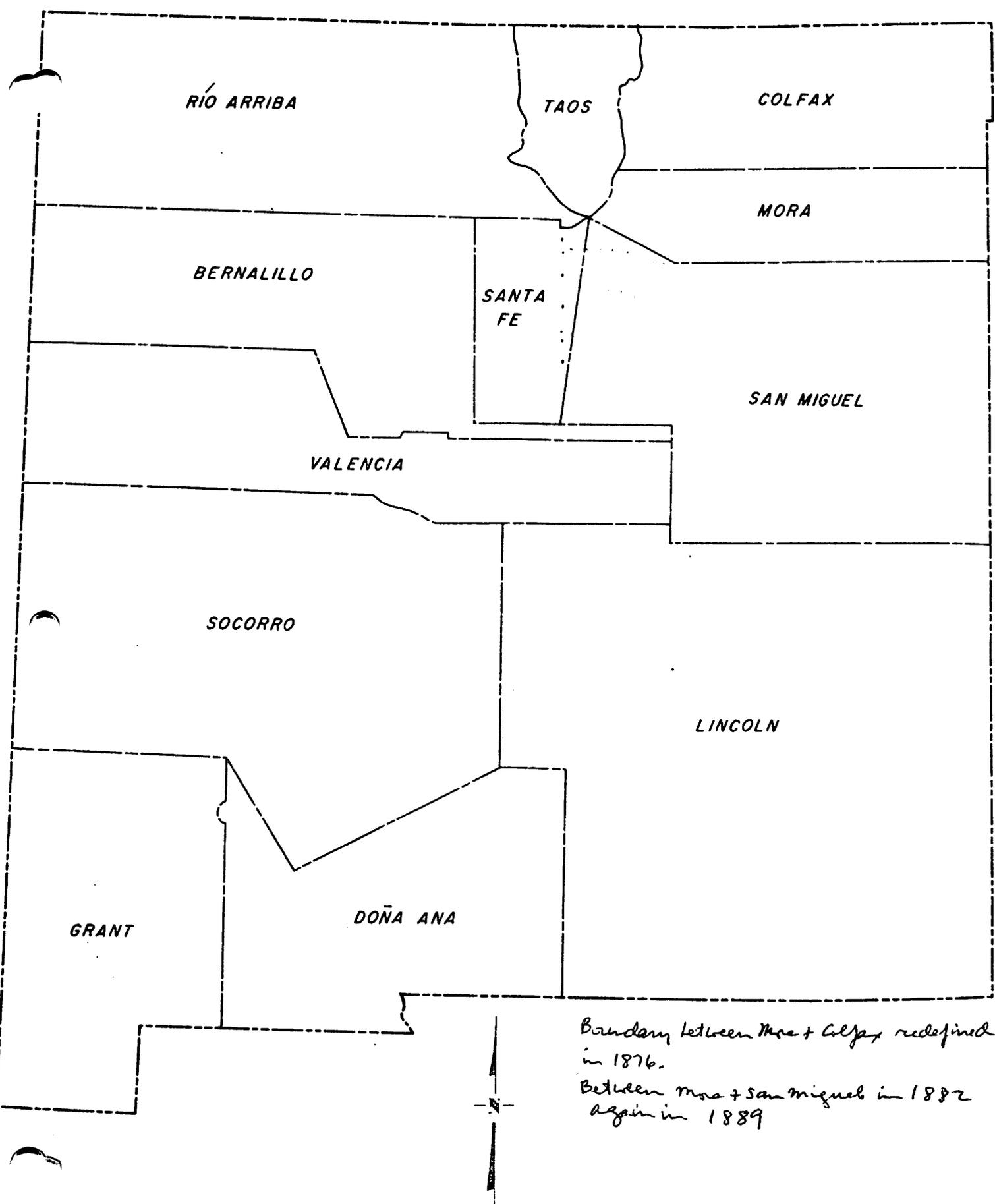
COUNTY BOUNDARIES OF 1860

#43.



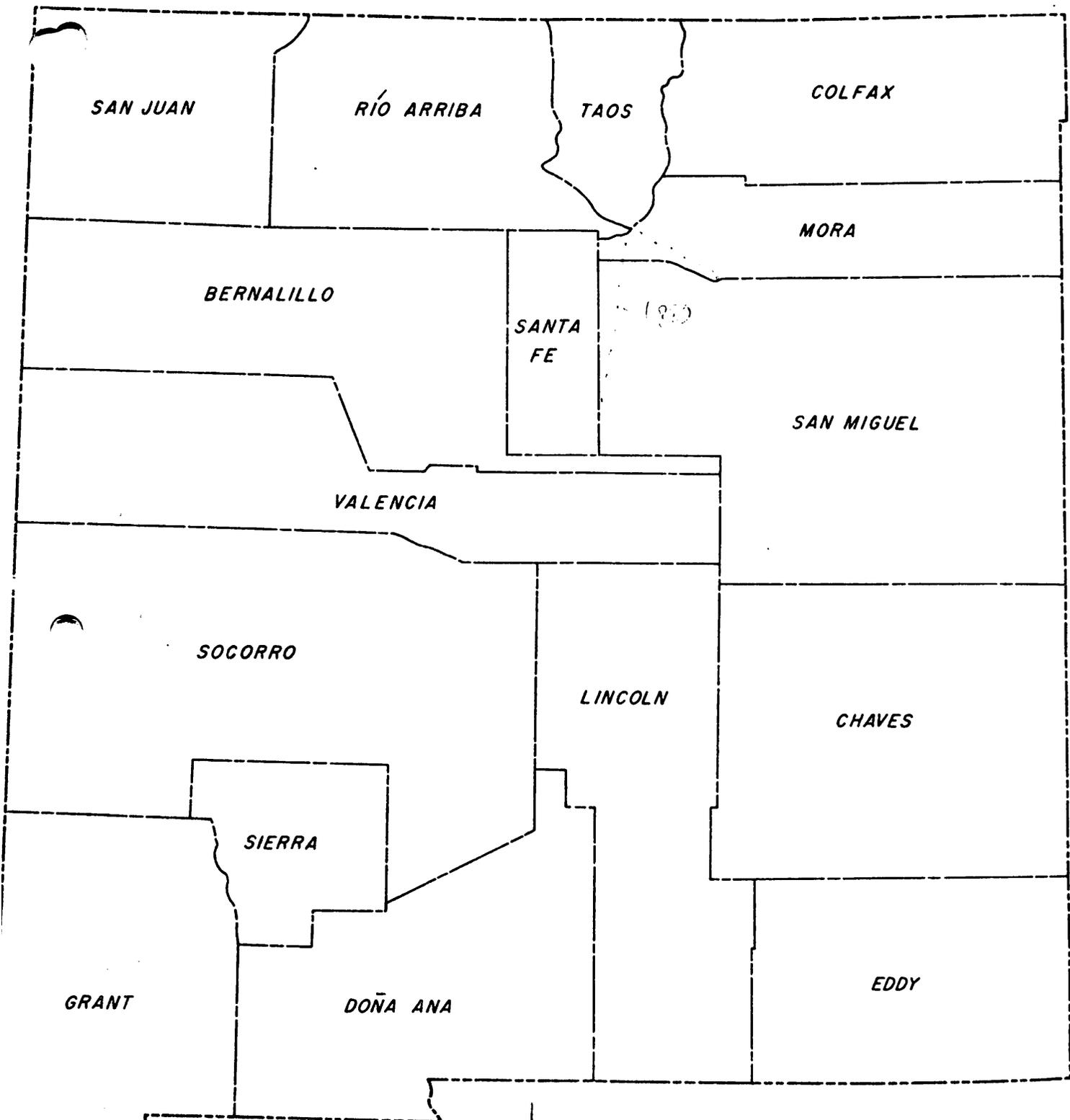
COUNTY BOUNDARIES OF 1870

#44



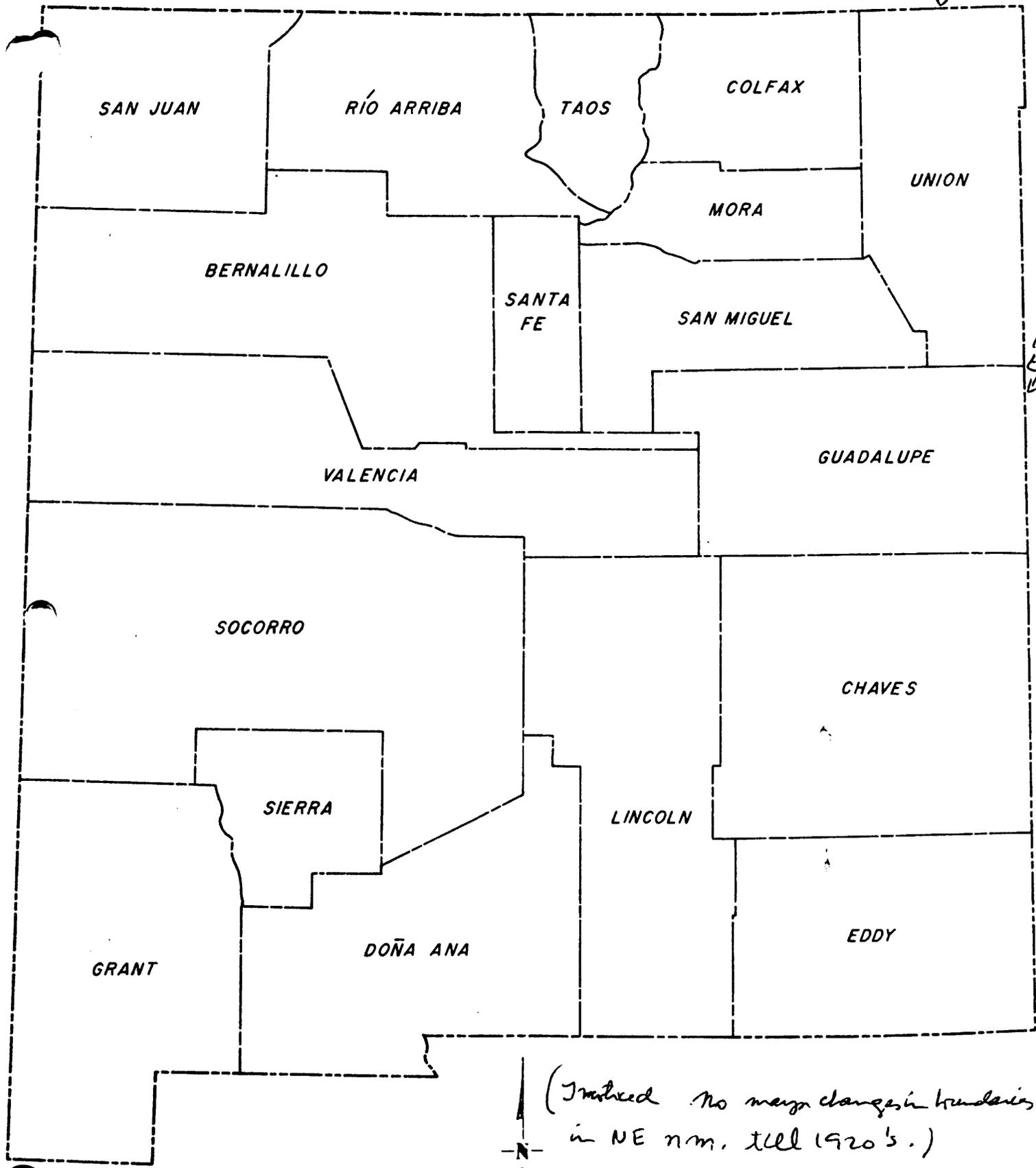
COUNTY BOUNDARIES OF 1880

#45.



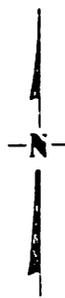
COUNTY BOUNDARIES OF 1890

1893 wanted
↓



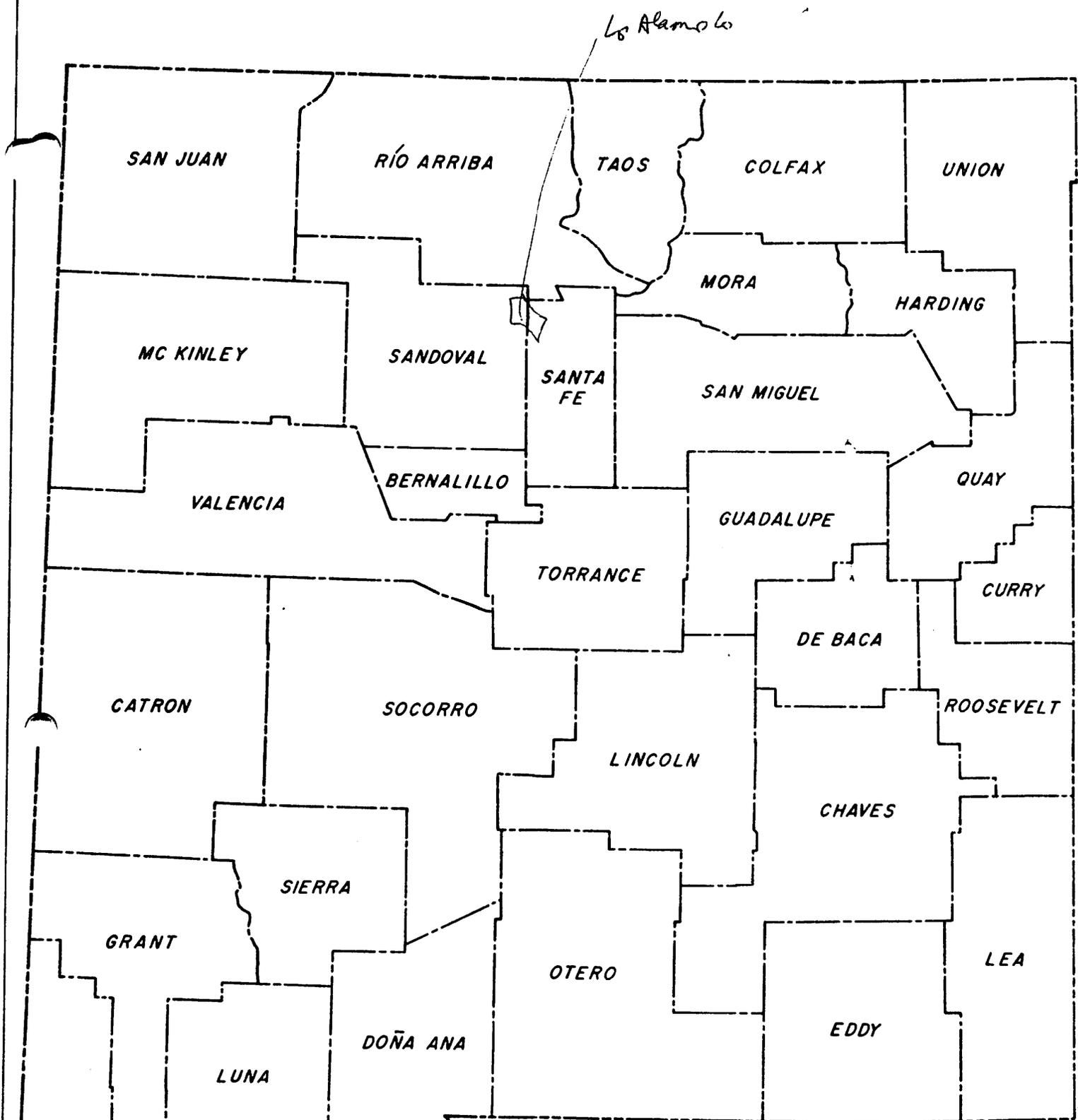
18
↓

(Included no major changes in boundaries
in NE nm. till 1920's.)



#47

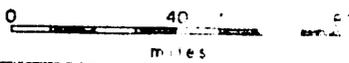
COUNTY BOUNDARIES OF 1895

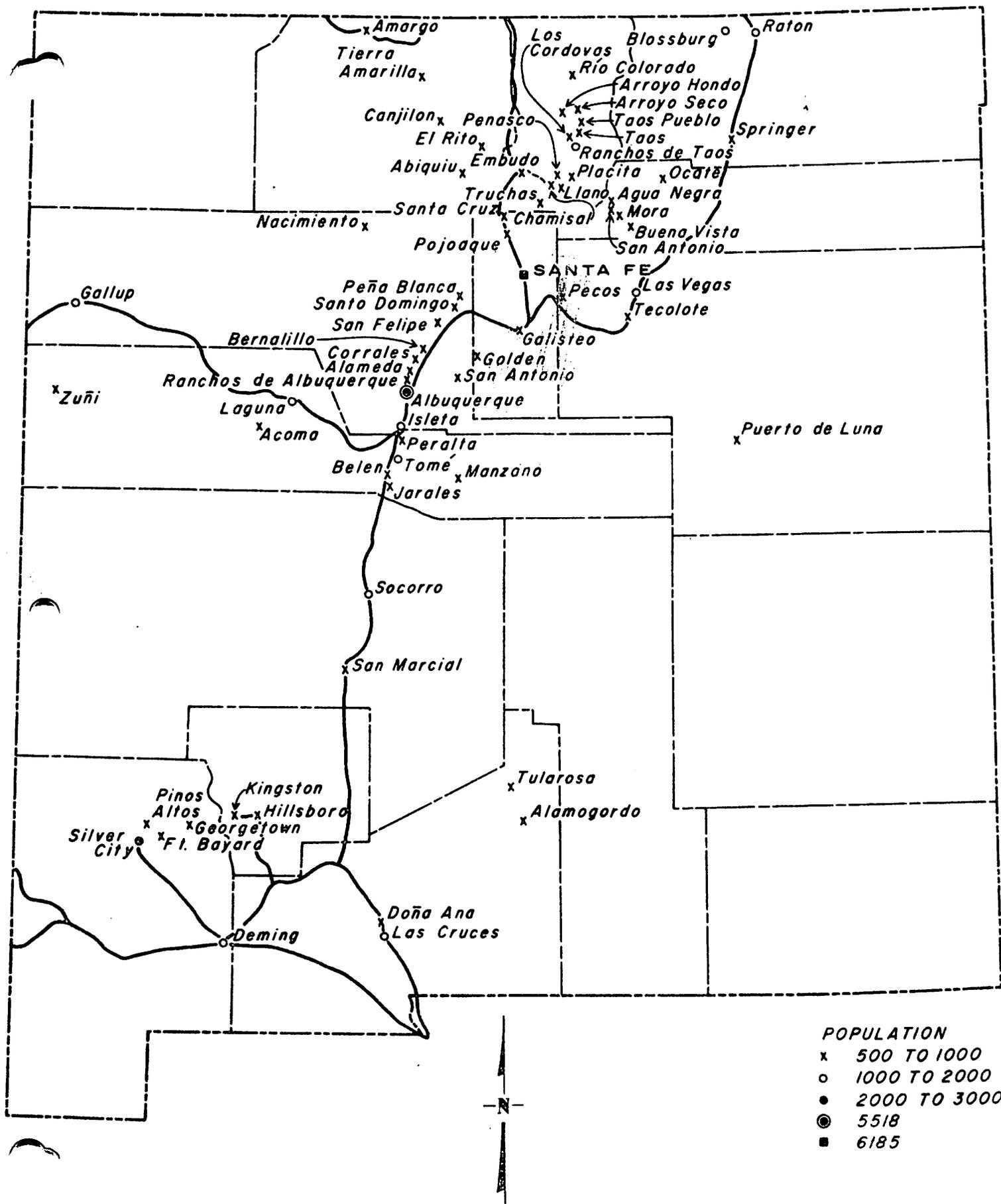


Harding created 1921.
 Los Alamos county created 1949 \bar{p}
 WWII - Fed. Gov. returned area
 of Los Alamos atomic energy
 project.

COUNTY BOUNDARIES OF 1921

51





- POPULATION**
- x 500 TO 1000
 - o 1000 TO 2000
 - 2000 TO 3000
 - ⊙ 5518
 - 6185

PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND RAILROADS 1890

53. PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND RAILROADS, 1890

By 1890 the traditional pattern of New Mexico's populace clinging to the banks of the Río Grande and its tributaries began to shift. Although most people still were to be found in the areas populated by their fathers, new forces were prompting a change.

The coming of the railroad made it feasible to transport men and goods into areas once relatively inaccessible. The railroads themselves created new towns, such as Raton, Gallup, Deming, and others.

Mining was also a compelling force, causing people to move to previously uninhabited parts of New Mexico. Gold mining in Colfax, Taos, Mora, and other counties was the magnet that drew people into these areas. Silver mining in Sierra and Grant

counties and coal mining near Raton and Gallup were equally magnetic. But in spite of these changes the state's population remained overwhelmingly rural, 93.8 per cent of the people falling into that classification. The eastern third of the state remained virtually unpopulated. The area could not be effectively settled until the railroad came.

The coming of the railroad to New Mexico in 1879 reduced reliance upon cart roads and trails which had served the state since the Spanish came in 1598. Stagecoaches and freight wagons remained as feeder transportation, serving areas not yet reached by the railroad. Some of these lasted until the motor vehicle replaced them.

1930's-

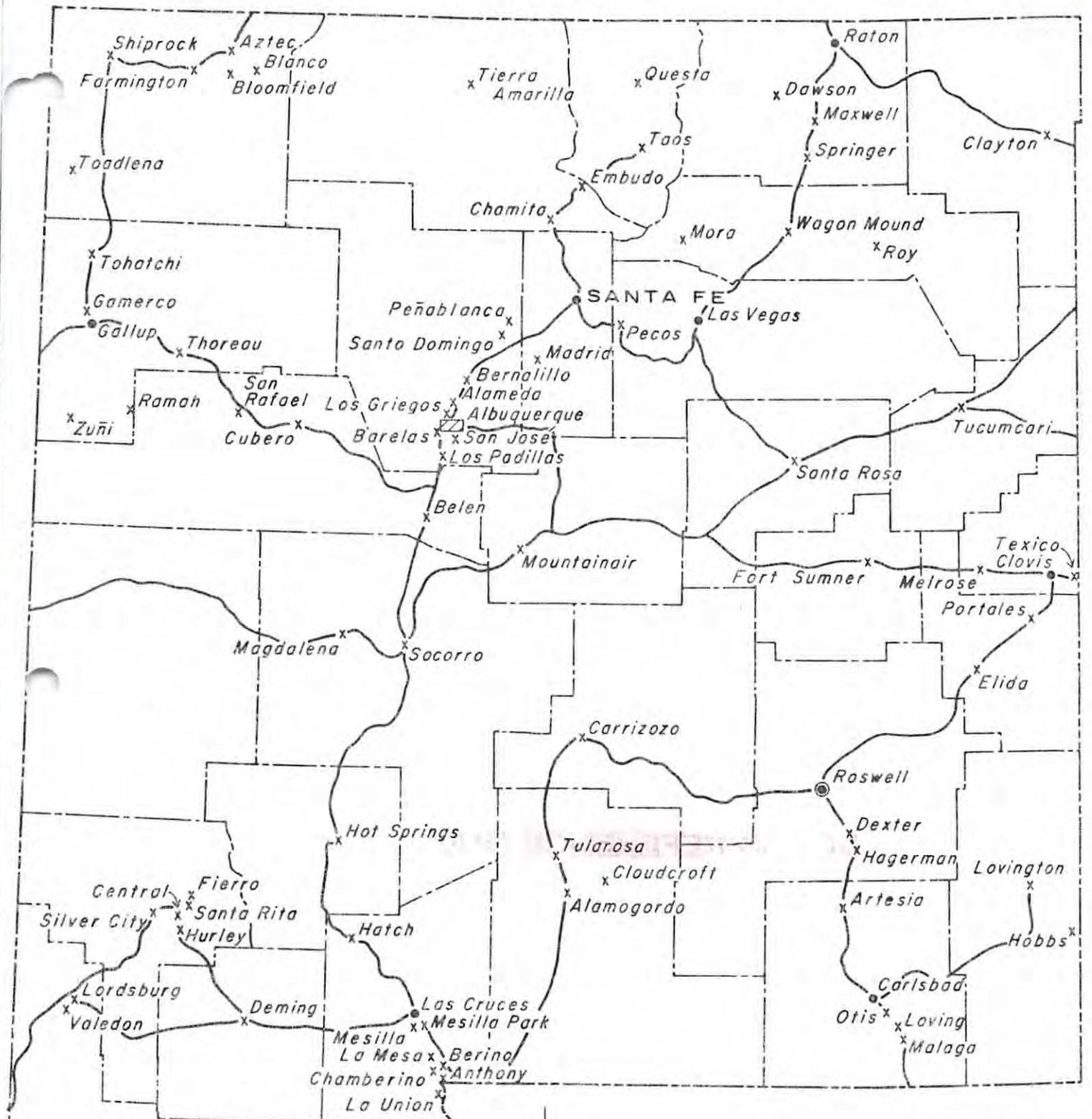
urbanization

counties & farming + ranching economic base, pop. decline

74.5% of pop. rural

advent of motor car in 1930's + highways improved transportation

#54



POPULATION
 x 1-5,000
 • 5-10,000
 ⊙ 10-15,000
 ▨ 26,570

#54

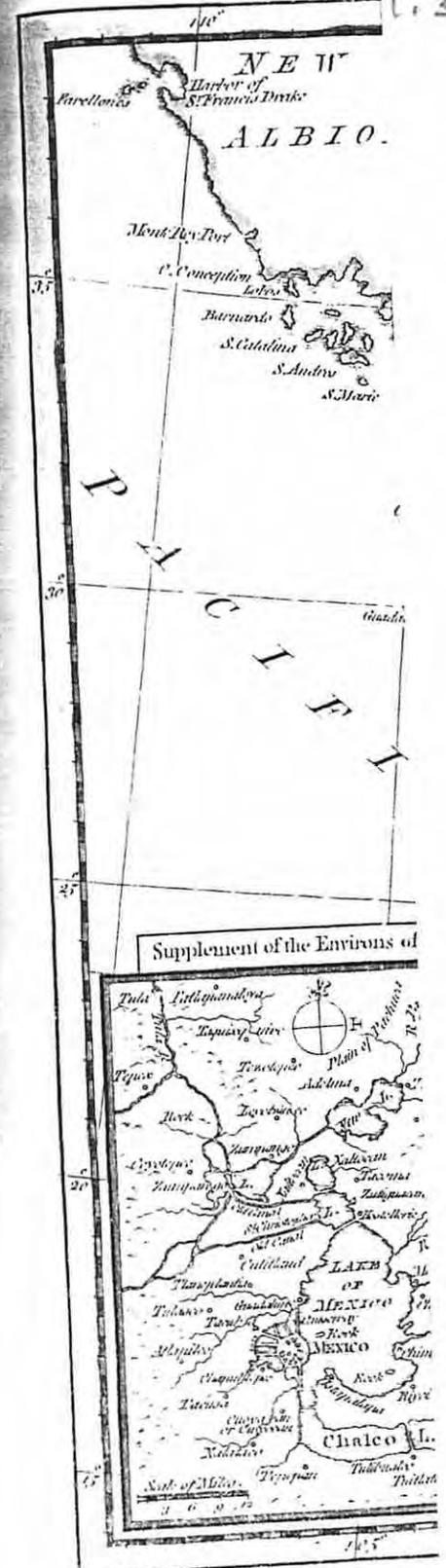
PRINCIPAL CITIES AND ROADS 1930

0 40 80
 miles

THE FOUNDING SPANISH FAMILIES OF NEW MEXICO - 1598

Research by Antonio Gilberto Espinosa
Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission, 1939-1940

Acebo	González	Rascón
Algecira	Griego	Requimo
Alonso	Guzmán	Reyes
Amiura	Guillén	Rio
Arechuleta	Guevarra	Rivas
Ayrdi	Hernandez	Rivera
Bañulids	Herrera	Robledo
Baradna	Heredia	Rodriguez
Benchuma	Hinojos	Roja
Bernal	Holguin	Romero
Barrios	Jorge	Rua
Brito	Lara	Rijato
Bocanegra	Ledesma	Saldivar
Bustillo	León	Sanchez
Brondate	Lizama	Santillán
Cabinillas	López	Sarinana
Cáceres	Lucas	Segura
Cadimo	Lucero	Serrano
Carvajal	Manzoneda	Simón
Castro	Márquez	Sosa
Castellano	Martín	Tavora
Catalán	Martínez	Torres
Calvo	Medel	Tordesillas
Carrasco	Melgar	Treviño
César	Mexia	Trujillo
Chaves	Montesinus	Vaca
Cogedo	Montaño	Valencia
Colodro	Montoya	Vanda
Cortéz	Monzón	Varela
Cruz	Morales	Vargas
Cordero	Morán	Vásquez
Díaz	Moreno	Vayd
Diez	Munuera	Vega
Donis	Naranjo	Velasco
Duran	Olague	Velman
Escalante	Oñate	Vido
Escarramad	Ortega	Villagrà
Espinosa	Pedraza	Villalba
Farfán	Peñalosa	Ximenes
Fernandez	Pérez	Xuarze
Flores	Pineiro	Xranze
Francisco	Quesada	Ysasti
García	Ramirez	Zaldivar
Gomez	Rangel	





ison

S DUTIES

Executive power of the state and sees that laws are in the state's constitution and statutes include but are

Appointment of all officers whose appointment or

for all crimes except treason and except in cases

state; legislature no later than the 25th day of each

ite government, including economic development energy and emergency planning;

occur in the office of the United States Senate, an judge until an election is held;

ember of the Supreme Court and for each judge

seat of state government and declaring an emergency accordingly;

ction and instituting martial law; forces are insufficient or calling the New Mexico tion, invasion, riot, breach of the peace or

of certain violations; and Council and the Land Commission and as an ex of each state university.

Governor
 Capitol
 Mexico 87503
 -3026 1-800-432-4406

GOVERNORS BEFORE STATEHOOD

UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SPANISH CROWN

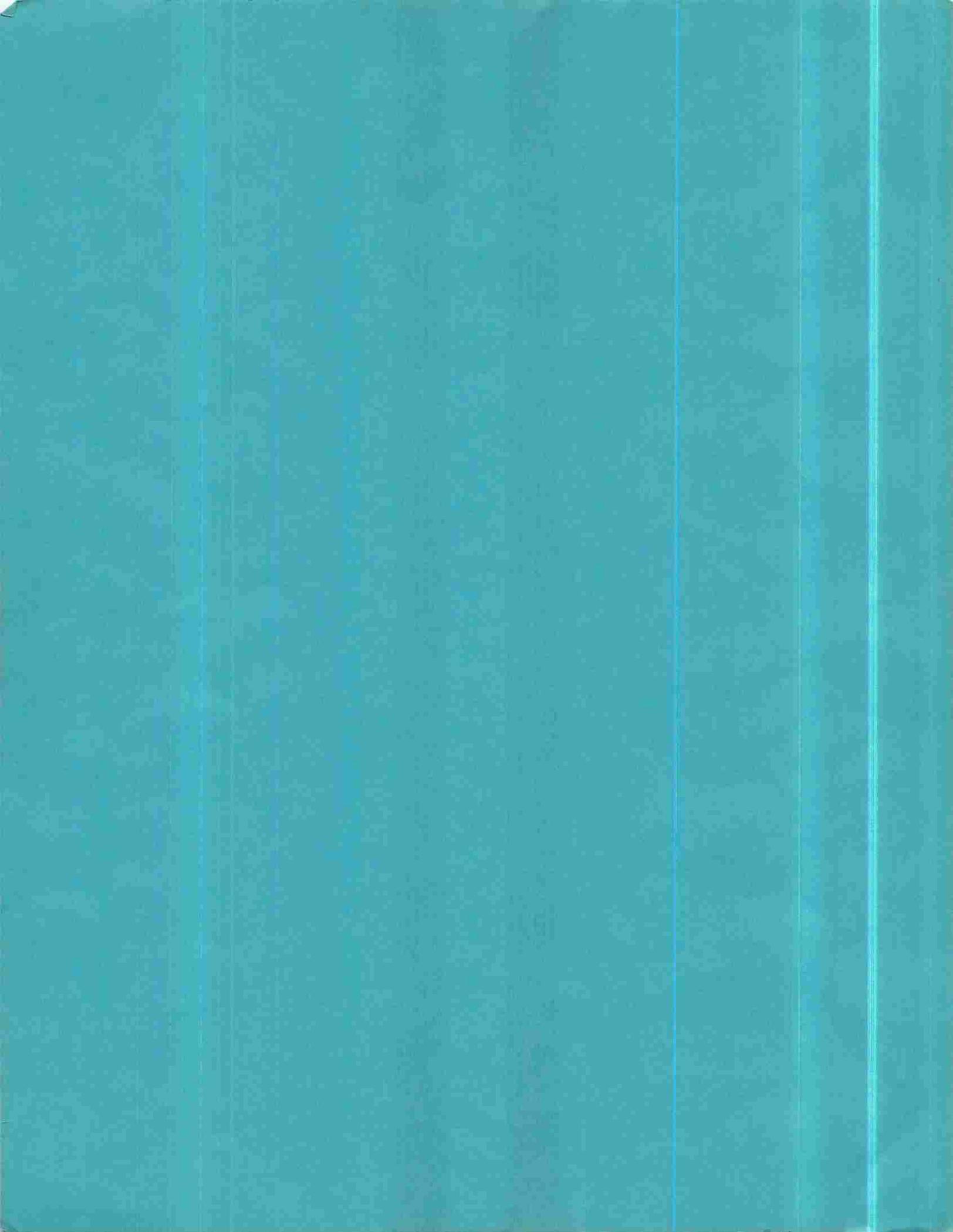
1598-1608	Juan de Oñate	1691-1697	Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León
1608-1610	Bernardino de Ceballos	1697-1703	Pedro Rodriguez Cubero
1610-1614	Pedro de Peralta	1703-1704	Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León
1614-1618	Bernardino de Ceballos	1704-1705	Juan Páez Hurtado
1618-1625	Juan de Eulate	1705-1707	Francisco Cuervo y Valdés
1625-1629	Phelipe Sotelo Ossorio	1707-1712	Joseph Chacón Medina Salazary Villaseñor
1629-1632	Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto	1712-1715	Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon
1632-1635	Francisco de la Mora y Ceballos	1715-1717	Felix Martinez
1635-1637	Francisco Martinez de Baeza	1717	Juan Paez Hurtado
1637-1641	Luis de Rosas	1717-1722	Antonio Valverde y Cossio
1641	Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdés	1722-1731	Juan Domingo de Bustamante
1641-1642	Francisco Gómez	1731-1736	Gervasio Cruzat y Góngora
1642-1644	Alonso de Pacheco de Heredia	1736-1739	Henrique de Olavide y Micheleña
1644-1647	Fernando de Arguello Caravajal	1739-1743	Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza
1647-1649	Luis de Guzmán y Figueroa	1743-1749	Joachin Codallas y Rabál
1649-1653	Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha	1749-1754	Tomas Veles Cachupin
1653-1656	Juan de Samaniego y Xaca	1754-1760	Francisco Antonio Marin del Valle
1656-1659	Juan Mansso de Contreras	1760	Mateo Antonio de Mendoza
1659-1661	Bernardo López de Mendizabal	1760-1762	Manuel del Portillo Urrisola
1661-1664	Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa Briceño y Berdugo	1762-1767	Tomas Veles Cachupin
1664	Don Thomé Dominguez de Mendoza, interim governor	1767-1778	Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta
1664-1665	Juan Durán de Miranda	1778	Francisco Trebó Navarro
1665-1668	Fernando de Villanueva	1778-1788	Juan Bautista de Anza
1668-1671	Juan de Medrano y Mesia	1788-1794	Fernando de la Concha
1671-1675	Juan Durán de Miranda	1794-1805	Fernando Chacón
1675-1677	Juan Francisco de Treviño	1805-1808	Joaquin del Real Alencaster
1677-1683	Antonio de Otermin	1808	Alberto Maynez
1683-1686	Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate	1808-1814	Jose Manrique
1686-1689	Pedro Reneros de Posada	1814-1816	Alberto Maynez
1689-1691	Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate	1816-1818	Pedro Maria de Allande
		1818-1822	Facundo Melgares

UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO

1822	Francisco Xavier Chávez	1835-1837	Albino Pérez
1822-1823	José Antonio Viscarra	1837-1844	Manuel Armijo
1823-1825	Bartolomé Baca	1844	Mariano Chávez
1825-1827	Antonio Narbona	1844	Felipe Sena
1827-1829	Manuel Armijo	1844-1845	Mariano Martinez de Lejanza
1829-1832	José Antonio Chaves	1845	José Chavéz y Castillo
1832-1833	Santiago Abreú	1845-1846	Manuel Armijo
1833-1835	Francisco Sarracino	1846	Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid

UNDER UNITED STATES OCCUPATION, 1846-1850

1846-	Brigadier Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny (Aug.-Sept.)		
1846-1847	Charles Bent (assassinated Jan. 19, 1847)		
1847-1848	Donaciano Vigil (Civil)	Col. Sterling Price (Military)	
1848-1849	Col. John M. Washington	1849-1851	Col. John Munroe



Acc
N. H.
MIS
1.9

THE OÑATE-MOCTEZUMA-ZALDIVAR FAMILIES
OF NORTHERN NEW SPAIN

Donald Chipman

Historians are aware of the accomplishments of Juan de Oñate and the Zaldivar brothers, Juan and Vicente, in the Spanish conquest and settlement of New Mexico. Oñate and the Zaldivars were members of two families which ranked at the top of the silver aristocracy and the primeros conquistadores of New Spain's northern frontier. Pioneering work on the Oñates and Zaldivars and their intricate relationships may be found in Jose Ignacio Davila Garibi's *La sociedad de Zacatecas en los albores del regimen colonial* (1939); and additional information on them is a tangential part of Peter Bakewell's fine monograph, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas 1546-1700* (1971). My own interest in the Oñates and Zaldivars stems from research on Nuño de Guzman and more recently on the descendants of the royal Aztec emperor Moctezuma II. Extensive work in Mexican and Spanish archives in 1975-76 has unearthed new information which I feel is of interest to readers of the *New Mexico Historical Review*.¹

With the fall of Tenochtitlan to Hernan Cortes and his lieutenants in 1521, Cortes became the de facto guardian of the surviving heirs of Moctezuma II. Children of the royal Aztec emperor included by Indian standards an illegitimate son christened don Pedro and two illegitimate daughters, doña Mariana and doña Maria. All legitimate heirs of Moctezuma II, with the single exception of a daughter named Tecuichpotzin, had perished in the Noche Triste disaster or succumbed to disease during the siege of Tenochtitlan.² Tecuichpotzin had been captured from the retreating Spaniards on the night of June 30, 1520, and was quickly wed to her uncle Cuitlahuac. After Cuitlahuac's death from smallpox she was then wed to her cousin Cuauhtemoc and was with her husband in a large canoe when it was captured by the Spaniards in August 1521. Because of her youth (she was probably born in 1509) it is generally assumed that neither of Tecuichpotzin's Indian marriages were consummated.

Tecuichpotzin was christened doña Isabel and remained in Mexico City while her husband accompanied Cortes on the fatal march to Honduras. Widowed a second time by Cuauhtemoc's death; doña Isabel was married to Alonso de Grado when Cortes returned to Mexico in 1526. By 1528 Grado had died of undetermined causes, whereupon Cortes moved the young and childless widow under his own roof. There she joined the ranks of his numerous mistresses. In 1529, while pregnant with a child sired by Cortes, Isabel Moctezuma entered her

ORANGE COUNTY CALIFORNIA
GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

second Christian marriage as the bride of Pedro Gallego de Andrade. Cortes subsequently acknowledged his paternity of a daughter born to doña Isabel, named the child doña Leonor, and placed her in the home of Licenciado Juan Altamirano.

Altamirano was related to Cortes by his marriage to the Conqueror's cousin. He was sent to the Indies to conduct the residencia of Diego de Velasquez in Cuba and subsequently became chief administrator of the Marquesado. Altamirano established holdings of his own in Mexico which formed the foundation of a noble house and accepted the guardianship of Cortes's daughter by Isabel Moctezuma.³

In 1550 doña Isabel drew up her last will and testament. She named as heirs, doña Leonor Cortes Moctezuma, who was still living in the home of Altamirano, and six other children born from her second and third Christian marriages.⁴ Thus doña Leonor though born out of wedlock was acknowledged and provided for, in a manner not unique in high Spanish society, by both her parents- Hernan Cortes and Isabel Moctezuma. At age 21 doña Leonor was a marriageable young woman with the most noble of blood lines in the colony of New Spain. It became the task of her guardian, Licenciado Altamirano, to find for his ward a husband worthy of her rank and status.

In the early 1550's, Altamirano made contacts in Zacatecas with Juan de Tolosa, discoverer of the mountain of silver known as La Bufa. A suitable dowry was presumably arranged, and then doña Leonor, in the company of her half brother Luis Cortes, was packed off to Zacatecas to become the bride of Tolosa. The marriage of Juan de Tolosa and Leonor Cortes Moctezuma was obviously a significant social event in the frontier town of Zacatecas. Some forty years later another charter member of the silver aristocracy, Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos, recalled the presence at the wedding.⁵

Of Juan de Tolosa surprisingly little is known prior to his historic discovery of rich silver deposits in 1546. Called Barbalonga by those who knew him, Tolosa is to have been a native of the Basque province of Guipuzcoa.

The exact place and date of his birth, however, is not known. Davila Garibi maintains that Tolosa had an active roll in the conquest of New Galicia under Nuño de Guzman, but don Juan does not appear as a prominent witness in Guzman's residencia as governor of that province, nor is he mentioned as a citizen within the major towns of New Galicia. He may have well fought in the Mixton War, as Davila Garibi asserts, and he must have been considerably older than his young wife.⁶ Tolosa and doña Leonor bore three children, an unusually small family by sixteenth century standards. Their only son entered a monastic brotherhood and became the Vicar of Zacatecas; one daughter, Isabel de Tolosa Cortes Moctezuma, married into the Onate family; and the other Leonor Cortes Moctezuma (the second to use this name), wed into the Zaldivar clan.⁷ I shall deal with the Onates first, and then turn to the Zaldivars.

No name, with the possible exception of Ibarra, figures more prominently in the early history of New Spain's northern frontier than that of Onate. The Onates were natives of Vitoria in the Basque province of Alava.⁸ Cristobal de Onate, later patriarch of the family in New Spain, was probably born in 1504 or 1505. He came to the Indies in 1524 as an assistant of the treasury official Contador Rodrigo de Albornoz. His office placed him in close contact with another royal official, Factor Gonzalo de Salazar. Salazar would later become a confederate of Nuño de Guzman and the father-in-law of don Cristobal. In the conquest of New Galicia, don Cristobal was joined by his brother don Juan de Onate. Both served in important roles under Nuño de Guzman, but they seemingly could not have been more different in character and personality. When Guzman was brought to trial in 1537 for his rule as governor of New Galicia, Juan de Onate had left the province for Peru.⁹ He was, accordingly, beyond the reach and jurisdiction of the judge of residencia, and it is possible that witnesses in order to exonerate and protect themselves attributed an incredible litany of crimes to an exile beyond the bar of justice. I am inclined to reject this argument, for the same witnesses consistently contrasted the fairness and honesty of Cristobal de Onate with the disreputable conduct of his brother; they were likewise not reticent in denouncing Guzman who was on trial. In any event, Juan de Onate appears in the residencia as a person without scruple or

restraint. He regularly beat and hanged Indians, feeding the corpses to his mastiffs. On one occasion, don Juan marched into an encomienda town of one Maximiliano de Angulo and rounded up 400 to 500 Indians. The Indians were told they must carry food supplies for Spaniards, but outside the pueblo they were enslaved and branded.¹⁰

In contrast, throughout residencia proceedings for New Galicia, Cristobal de Oñate appears as an example of a conquistador-administrador who consistently respected and enforced laws that protected the Indians under difficult frontier conditions. Oñate is also credited with founding the original site of Guadalajara as well as distinguished service in a generally grim conquest. He evidently received no sentence in the residencia, and was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the province under the governorship of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. During Coronado's expedition to the Southwest, Oñate as acting executive of New Galicia was immediately responsible for the suppression of a major Indian uprising in April 1541 known as the Mixton War. The magnitude of the Chichimeca revolt required the assistance of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza who led troops in person. Oñate apparently cooperated with the Viceroy in bringing temporary quiet to the northern frontier in 1543. In the same year, Oñate turned his efforts to prospecting for minerals. He discovered the rich ores of Espiritu Santo and Xaltepec near Compostela and mines of lesser importance at Xocotlan, Huachmango, and Etzatlan.¹¹

Shortly thereafter came Juan de Tolosa's discovery of La Bufa in 1546. Oñate became one of the "big four" who directed the development of silver mines in the environs of Zacatecas.¹² On April 16, 1550, some two years after the founding of Zacatecas, an alguacil mayor of mines, Alonso de Santacruz, was ordered by the Visitador General of New Galicia to count the houses and stamp mills of Zacatecas. Of the sixty-one mine owners recorded by Santacruz, the comparative status of Juan de Tolosa and Cristobal de Oñate is of interest. Tolosa owned only one stamp mill and one smelter. Oñate, on the other hand, possessed a total of thirteen stamp mills and smelters. He also owned 101 houses of slaves to Tolosa's seven, his own residence, and a church or chapel. Indeed the pre-eminent position of Oñate in comparison to other mine

owners is underscored by his entry in the alguacil's roster as "Cristobal de Oñate y compañía."¹³ Despite auspicious beginnings in mining, as we will see, Oñate apparently mismanaged his investments and died without providing financial security for his heirs.

At approximately the same time of the Santacruz inventory in Zacatecas, Cristobal de Oñate married Gonzalo de Salazar's daughter, Catalina de Salazar y de la Cadena. This is a most interesting union and a comment on sixteenth century mores and marital practices of women. Davila Garibi states that doña Catalina was the widow of a Ruy Diaz de Mendoza, and that she joined her parents in Mexico where in 1549 or 1550 she wed Cristobal de Oñate.¹⁴ Much of this is true, and it was entirely reasonable for Davila Garibi to have assumed that doña Catalina sought a new life after the death of her husband. There is, nevertheless, incontrovertible evidence that Ruy Diaz de Mendoza was still alive in 1572. In that year he was the spokesman for a delegation of twenty-four relatives in Granada, Spain. The Mendoza clan gathered in the chapel of the convent of San Francisco, a chapel belonging to Factor Gonzalo de Salazar and his wife, Catalina de la Cadena. Ruy Diaz de Mendoza stated that his own wife, also named doña Catalina for her mother, had simply gone to the Indies "habia mucho tiempo" and resided in Mexico City. The Mendozas were seeking to legitimize themselves and presumably remove the family stigma of a wife who abandoned her husband in Granada after bearing at least one child, a daughter, for a new life in the Indies.¹⁵ It is unfortunate we do not know more of doña Catalina's status at the time of her marriage to Cristobal de Oñate. Like Davila Garibi, I will risk an assumption, mine being that doña Catalina was a bigamist. The 1572 probanza by the Mendozas makes no mention of a marriage annulment, only that Ruy Diaz de Mendoza's wife had been absent from Granada for many years.

The marriage of Cristobal de Oñate to Catalina de Salazar y de la Cadena produced six children, one of whom was Juan de Oñate, the future adelantado and governor of New Mexico. Don Juan's wife was Isabel de Tolosa Cortes Moctezuma.¹⁶ Doña Leonor, to reiterate, was the illegitimate daughter of Hernan Cortes and Isabel Moctezuma. Thus the Oñates had mixed their blood with that of Tolosa,

Moctezuma II
1st Aztec emperor



Cortes, and the Aztec royal family. Their relationship with the Zaldivars is so tangled that a discussion of it will be of interest only to the most dedicated genealogist.

The patriarchs of the Zaldivars were Juan and Vicente Zaldivar Onate. They were the sons of Ruy Diaz de Zaldivar and Maria Perez de Onate, the sister of Cristobal de Onate. Don Juan also figured prominently as a soldier in the conquest and settlement of New Galicia under the command of Nuño de Guzman. It appears he became a settler in Guadalajara, and he is credited by Mota Padilla as the founder of the first wind driven mill in that city.¹⁷ He later joined the rush of prospectors and miners to Zacatecas and is associated in later years with various business enterprises of that community. Davila Garibi is apparently correct in this claim that don Vicente arrived in New Galicia somewhat later than his brother. He fought in the Chichimeca wars of the second half of the sixteenth century; and was appointed Teniente de Capitan General for New Galicia by Viceroy Martin Enriquez in 1570. He received a second commission to this post by Viceroy Luis Velasco II in 1594, and a third, by the Conde de Monterey in 1596.¹⁸ His marriage, however, had further complicated the Onate-Zaldivar family relationship almost beyond understanding. Don Vicente wed Magdalena de Mendoza y Salazar, the daughter of Ruy Diaz de Mendoza of Granada and his runaway wife, Catalina de Salazar. In 1594 Vicente de Zaldivar was a key witness in a petition submitted to the Crown by the children of Juan de Tolosa, which I will discuss later. He was asked the usual question in the interrogatory, "Did he know Juan de Onate?" The Capitan General replied, perhaps wryly, that he indeed knew Juan de Onate, for Onate was his brother-in-law (actually the half brother of Zaldivar's wife) and his first cousin (Onate and Zaldivar were children, respectively, of Cristobal de Onate and his sister, Maria Perez de Onate).¹⁹ As if this were not complicated enough, one son of Vicente de Zaldivar, Cristobal de Zaldivar Mendoza, had married the other daughter of Juan de Tolosa and doña Leonor, the second Leonor Cortes Moctezuma. Two other sons of Vicente de Zaldivar, Vicente and Juan, were Maestres de Campo with Juan de Onate in New Mexico. Don Juan, of course, lost his life in the celebrated Acoma revolt of 1598, but don Vicente, like Onate, survived his experiences in New Mexico. Both became knights in the royal Order of Santiago in the 1620's.²⁰ For those who are still interested, the

relationship of Juan de Oñate to the Maestres de Campo was an uncle and second cousin.

Despite being heirs, by blood and marriage, to the accumulated wealth of two members of the "big four" silver aristocracy, Juan de Tolosa and Cristobal de Oñate, the children of Tolosa and the first Leonor Cortes Moctezuma were in apparent financial difficulty by the 1590's. As Bakewell has indicated, Cristobal de Oñate mismanaged and lost an astonishing fortune in the second half of the sixteenth century.²¹ The same may be said of Juan de Tolosa. In some 10,000 microfilmed folios of documentation which I have collected on the descendants of Moctezuma II, there is no evidence that the son and two daughters of Tolosa and Leonor Cortes Moctezuma ever pressed their claim as great grandchildren of the Royal Aztec Emperor until 1594. The change in that year was evidently occasioned by financial need and certainly by news that Philip II, after more than half a century of litigation on the part of Moctezuma's heirs, had arrived at a general settlement with the family in 1590.²² That settlement, unfortunately, did not include Isabel de Tolosa Cortes Moctezuma, the wife of Juan de Oñate; or Brother Juan de Tolosa y Cortes Moctezuma, or Leonor Cortes Moctezuma, the wife of Cristobal Zaldivar Mendoza and daughter-in-law of Capitan General Vicente Zalvidar Oñate. The three great grandchildren of Moctezuma II resorted to legal action in 1594. They presented a copy of the probanza of merits and services of Juan de Tolosa, previously drawn up in Nochistlan in June 1550, and a second petition drafted in Guadalajara in May 1594. The first petition had won Tolosa no reward from the Crown: the second stressed the wealth that had accrued to the royal coffers by his discovery of mines, and the fact that Tolosa's children were descendants of the Aztec Emperor.²³ The second entreaty proved to be no more successful than the first. And it is apparent that the heirs of the first Leonor Cortes Moctezuma never established their claim as heirs of Moctezuma, nor were they successful in their attempts to gain admission to military orders in Spain.

Despite leaving the governorship of New Mexico under a cloud of controversy, Juan de Oñate apparently lived out the remainder of his life in the vicinity of Zacatecas; and in 1625 he was admitted to the prestigious royal

Order of Santiago. At that time, his residence was Las Minas de Panuco, a site two leagues from Zacatecas. Oñate's nephew and cousin, Maestre de Campo Vicente de Zaldivar, resided in Zacatecas and became a knight of Santiago in the following year 1626. The successes of Juan de Oñate and Vicente de Zaldivar no doubt prompted the efforts of a junior relative to seek recognition as an heir of Moctezuma, albeit a distant one, and admission to the Order of Santiago.

In 1627 Juan de Zaldivar Cortes Moctezuma, petitioned the Council of the Indies in his own behalf. Don Juan, an alcalde ordinario of Zacatecas, sought the habit of Santiago and one thousand pesos in perpetual rents from the royal treasury in Mexico.²⁴ Supporting petitions were submitted in 1627 and 1628 by don Juan's father. He stressed his own accomplishments in the pacification of the Chichimecas and Guachichiles and his appointment as Teniente de Capitan General by the Marques de Salinas, Viceroy of New Spain. Don Cristobal reminded the Council that the king had seen fit to bestow mercedes on the other descendants of Moctezuma II. He also made reference to the successful petitions of Juan de Oñate and Vicente de Zaldivar for admission to the royal Order of Santiago. Finally, don Cristobal maintained that revenue from mines discovered by Juan de Tolosa had amounted to 6,388,000 pesos from 1575 to 1614. The Council was not impressed.²⁵

In surprisingly blunt consultas dated September 3 and 13, 1629, the Council of the Indies urged the king to proceed with caution in making additional concessions, "a los naturales de aquellas provincias," despite the fact that settlers needed encouragement in that area due to the "infestacion de enemigos."²⁶ It would appear that Philip IV accepted the recommendation of his Council.

Juan de Zaldivar Cortes was denied admission to the Order of Santiago, and I have not seen evidence that descendants of Moctezuma II in northern New Spain were ever successful in their quest of mercedes as heirs of the Emperor.²⁷ Their failure may be attributed to the fact that Leonor Cortes Moctezuma was immediately accepted as a daughter by Cortes and cared for by his family until her marriage to Juan de Tolosa in the early 1550's. At that point she enjoyed prestige and wealth as the wife of a silver aristo-

crat. The daughters of doña Leonor were heirs of Tolosa and they married into the prominent Oñate and Zaldivar families. Their financial position seemed unassailable, but this was evidently not the case by the 1590's. The loss of incredible wealth by Cristobal de Oñate and to a lesser extent by Juan de Tolosa persuaded the daughters and their brother to take up too late their claim as Indian nobility. The Oñates and Zaldivars are a case study of the decline in fortunes of the silver aristocracy of New Spain's northern frontier. My approach here has been to present a segment of their family histories in personal terms.

N O T E S

1. Acknowledgement: continuing support from the Faculty Research Committee of North Texas State University and a Grant-in-Aid (1976) from the American Philosophical Society.

2. A detailed treatment of the heirs of Pedro Moctezuma is the subject of a doctoral dissertation in progress at North Texas State University by Ann Hollingsworth. Mrs. Hollingsworth and I plan to combine our research into a monograph dealing with the principal descendants of Moctezuma II in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

3. I am indebted to Dr. G. Michael Riley of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee for sharing information from his research on Licenciado Juan de Altamirano. Letter to author (October 9, 1974).

4. Ricardo Ortega y Perez Gallardo, Historia genealogica de las familias mas antiguas de Mexico, 3 vols. (Mexico, 1908-1910), 3:48-49. The third Christian marriage of Isabel Moctezuma was to Juan Cano.

5. Informacion de los meritos y servicios de Juan de Tolosa, uno de los conquistadores de la ciudad de Zacatecas, y del Capitan Cristobal de Zaldivar . . . Este estuvo casado con Da. Leonor Cortes Moctezuma hija del Marques Hernando Cortes y de Da. Isabel Moctezuma hija del emperador y señor de Nueva España, May 2, 1594, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Patronato 80, R. 1, No. 5 Luis Cortes remained in the Zacatecas area for some time, and cooperated with Tolosa in the discovery of important mineral deposits; see Peter J. Bakewell, Silver Mining

and Society in Colonial Mexico Zacatecas, 1546-1700 (Cambridge, 1971); p. 23.

6. Jose Ignacio Davila Garibi, *La sociedad de Zacatecas en los albores del regimen colonial* (Mexico, 1939), p. 29. Residencia tomada a Nuño de Guzman al tiempo que fue gobernador de la Nueva Galicia, 1537, AGI, Justicia 337 and 338.

7. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society*, p. 11; also see genealogical table within this article.

8. Genealogical information regarding the ancestors of Adelantado Juan de Oñate may be found in his "Prueba de Caballero," 1625, Archivo Historico Nacional (AHN), Madrid. Ordenes Militares-Santiago, Exp. 5925. The paternal grandparents are listed as Juan Perez de Narria (not Narriahondo) and Osana Martinez de San Vicente natives of Narria and Oñate.

9. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society*, p. 9; Residencia . . . a Nuño de Guzman, AGI, Justicia 338.

10. Donald Chipman, "Enslavement of Indians in Colonial New Spain," p. 13. Unpublished paper presented in Atlanta (1975) at the American Historical Association's annual meeting.

11. Residencia . . . a Nuño de Guzman, AGI, Justicia 338; J. Boyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya* (Durham, N.C., 1927), pp. 32-35.

12. Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver* (Berkeley, 1952), pp. 10-12; the "big four," coined by Powell, included Juan de Tolosa, Cristobal de Oñate, Diego de Ibarra, and Baltasar Temiño de Bañuelos.

13. AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara 5.

14. Davila Garibi, *La Sociedad de Zacatecas*, p. 44.

15. AHN, Ordenes Militares-Santiago, Exp. 5925.

16. Davila Garibi, *La Sociedad de Zacatecas*, pp. 45-46.

17. Davila Garibi, *La Sociedad de Zacatecas*, pp. 42-43;

Matias de la Mota Padilla, *Historia de la conquista de la Nueva Galicia* (Mexico 1870), p. 197.

18. AHN, Ordenes Militares-Santiago, Exp. 9070.

19. AGI, Patronato 80, R. 1, No. 5.

20. AHN, Ordenes Militares-Santiago, Exp. 5925 & Exp. 9070.

21. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society*, p. 10.

22. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Escudos y Arboles Genealogicos 212 y 213.

23. AGI, Patronato 80, R. 1, No. 5.

24. AGI, Patronato 80, R. 1, No. 5.

25. AGI, Patronato 80, R. 1, No. 5.

26. AGI, Audiencia de Mexico 762.

27. See Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Los Americanos en las ordenes nobiliarias (1529-1900)* 2 vol. (Madrid, 1947); and Vicente Vignau and Francisco R. de Uhagon, *Indice de pruebas de los caballeros que han vestido de habito de Santiago desde 1501 hasta la fecha* (Madrid, 1901).

A MUNICIPAL MUSTER, PARRAL 1686

**PAULINE CHAVEZ BENT
21672 DIRIGO CIRCLE
HUNTINGTON BEACH CA 92646-8206
714/965-3291**

A Municipal Muster, Parral 1686

Not all frontier defense was in the hands of presidios. Any place of significant population maintained some sort of militia. These often comprised only a handful of men at any given time but the effort superseded effect. Major mining towns and administrative centers nearly always had men available on call. The number and quality varied depending on need, motivation, and leadership. Parral's importance in colonial Nueva Vizcaya was seldom challenged, and its size, central location, and economic and administrative control made it by far the dominant metropolis in the province.

General Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla,¹ Justicia Mayor, Lieutenant Governor and Captain-General of this Realm and Province of Nueva Vizcaya for His Majesty.

Inasmuch as it is necessary to be vigilant and ready, as is required for the operations of war which may occur against the Indians who have rebelled against the royal crown in this realm, its environs, and jurisdictions, because many people have left these places while the governor and captain-general² of this province seeks out the enemy.

By these presents I hereby command and order all the inhabitants of this real and its jurisdictions, including the merchants and shopkeepers who may be in it,

That from this day forward each person is to have a mule or horse, a pound of powder, a pound of shot, and other suitable weapons according to the needs of war for whatever action may be taken against the aforesaid hostile Indians.

In order to ascertain that everyone has these things, I order that within three days from the publication of this proclamation, all inhabitants shall appear before me with all their weapons and horses as they have been commanded.

All of this shall be done under the penalty of a fine of 100 pesos in reales, which will be used for the war expenses of this realm.

Moreover, so that everyone will come to this assembly so convened, I order that this proclamation be published to the sound of a war drum. Against any pos-

1. Juan Hurtado de Castilla had been lieutenant governor under Diego Guajardo Fajardo in 1653 and served in various alcaldías mayores to at least 1689.

2. The governor at the time was Gabriel José de Neyra y Quiroga.

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sible disobedience and so that no one may pretend ignorance, I am ordering this done and that the statement calling attention to all be placed below.

Given in San Joseph del Parral, March 24, 1686, by order of his grace,

Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla

Miguel de Aranda,³ royal secretary

Proclamation

In the real de minas of Parral on March 24, 1686, as secretary to his grace, in the public plaza of this town by the voice of Joseph, a black man who acted as crier, I published the above proclamation before a gathering of many people.

Witnesses: Don Lucas Vizcaino Francisco de Escárcega⁴ Don Agustín Herbante de Camino⁵

Sworn to by,

Miguel de Aranda, royal secretary

Muster-roll:

In the mines of San Joseph del Parral, on the 27th day of March, 1686, General Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla, lieutenant governor and captain-general of this province, at the doors of the royal houses and in my presence as secretary, made a list in the following form and manner for the purpose of ascertaining what weapons were possessed by the inhabitants of this real. Done in conformity with the previously published proclamation.

First: Captain Rafael de Iburguen⁶ with his arms and horse.

Alférez Lorenzo García Jalón with his arms and horse.

Captain Juan de Echevarría⁷ with his arms and horse.

Antonio de Larrazolo with his arms and horse.

Alférez Andrés de Montenegro with his arms and horse.

Sebastián Delete with his arms and horse.

Joseph de Rivera with his arms and horse.

Luis Simón with his arms and horse.

Don Lucas de Sola Vizcaino with his arms and horse.

Pedro de Olaer with his arms and horse.

Don Lucas de Norriaga with his arms and horse.

Pedro de Madariaga with his arms and horse.

Joaquín de Selayandia with his arms and horse.

Francisco Antonio de Iscárrega with his arms and horse.

3. Miguel de Aranda was a merchant in Parral and a captain in the militia. He had been in the area since the 1640s.

4. Escárcega was a Parral merchant and in 1678 held the position of assayer and weight master.

5. Herbante del Camino was a maestro de campo in 1693.

6. From the following list, the twenty-three who can be identified were merchants and/or mine owners.

7. Echevarría y Ylarduya, a native of Vitoria, Alava, Spain, married Josepha de Morales of Parral and had two children. He died in Parral in 1688.

Francisco García with his arms and horse.
 Marcos de Loranca with his arms and horse.
 Captain Francisco de Renedo Vélez with his arms and horse.
 Manuel Gómez with his arms and horse.
 Juan Leal with his arms and horse.
 Juan de Albirdi with his arms and horse.
 Francisco Correa [de Silva]⁸ with his arms and horse.
 Juan de Ayala with his arms and horse.
 Bernardo García de Arguelles with his arms and horse.
 Juan Antonio Trasviña with his arms and horse.
 Domingo González⁹ with his arms and horse.
 Hernán de Matarana with his arms and horse.
 Antonio Machargo with his arms and horse.
 Diego García de Salder with his arms and horse.
 Don Cristóbal de Carbajal with his arms and horse.
 Pedro de Oyanguren with his arms and horse.
 Antonio López¹⁰ with his arms and horse.
 Don Agustín de Quirós with his arms and horse.
 Joseph de Estrada with his arms.
 Sebastián de Mendoza with his arms and horse.
 Joseph Rosete with his arms.
 Gabriel Pérez Domínguez with his arms.
 Juan de Loya with his arms.
 Salvador de Alvirdi with his arms.
 Joseph de Sepúlveda with his arms and horse.
 Juan de Sepúlveda with his arms and horse.
 Francisco González with his arms and horse.
 Francisco de la Peña with his arms and horse.
 Don Diego Ramos de la Vega with all arms.
 Lorenzo de Gruziaga with arms and horse.
 Juan Gutiérrez Ortiz with his arms and horse.
 Juan de Arámburu with his arms and horse.
 Nicolás de Bejarano with his arms and horse.
 Juan del Río with his arms and horse.
 Pedro Chaparro with his arms.
 Don Diego de Landavoso with his arms and horse.
 Juan de Barrios¹¹ with his arms.

8. Corea de Silva was a native of Lisbon. He married Juliana Machado of San Francisco del Oro and died there in 1668.

9. González was Portuguese, born in Tangier in 1592. Married in Parral and the father of three sons, he was a merchant and miner.

10. López, the son of a Portuguese settler, was born in Valle de San Bartolomé in 1619. He held the rank of alférez in the militia muster of 1651.

11. Barrios, son of a Portuguese immigrant, was born in Valle de San Bartolomé in 1612 and worked as a miner.

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Don Diego Alvarez Salgado¹² with his arms and horse.

The above-listed persons obediently passed muster. By orders of his grace they were notified to be prepared for any act of war that might occur, and they were to be called up for duty under the penalty imposed in the proclamation made on the above day, month, and year.

Signed by his grace,

Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla

In my presence, Miguel de Aranda, royal secretary

Original in the Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, microfilm 1662A, fr. 213-217

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

El general Juan Hurtado de Castilla, justicia mayor y teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad.

Por cuanto es necesario estar con la prevención y vigilancia que se requiere para las operaciones de guerra que se pueden ofrecer contra los indios rebeldes a la real corona así en este real como en sus contornos y jurisdicciones, por haber salido mucha gente de ellas con el señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino en busca del enemigo, por tanto por el presente ordenó y mandó a todos los vecinos estantes y habitantes de este real y sus jurisdicciones, mercaderes y tenderos que en ella se hubieren que desde hoy día de esta fecha en adelante tengan cada uno una bestia, mulas o caballos, una libra de pólvora, otra de balas y demás armas convenientes a usanza de guerra para lo que se pudiere ofrecer contra dichos indios enemigos; y para reconocer si cada uno tiene todo lo referido mandó que dentro del término de tres días a la publicación de este bando se manifiesten ante mí con todas las armas y caballos como se les manda todo lo cual cumplan pena de cien pesos en reales aplicados para gastos de guerra de este reino y además de que se pasará a la demostración que convenga contra los inobedientes y para que llegue a noticia de todos y ninguno pretenda ignorancia, mandó se publique este bando a son de caja de guerra y se ponga razón de haberlo hecho al pie de él. Dado en el real y minas de San Joseph del Parral en 24 de marzo de 1686.

Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla. Por mando de su merced. Miguel de Aranda, escribano real.

Pregón. En el real de minas del Parral en 24 del mes de marzo de 1686 años, el escribano de su majestad estando en la plaza pública de este real por voz de Joseph, negro, que hizo oficio de pregonero hice pregonar el bando de arriba en concurso de mucha gente; testigos don Lucas Vizcaíno, Francisco de Escárcega y don Agustín Herbante de Camino. Doy fe.

Miguel de Aranda, escribano real.

12. Salgado was a hacienda owner.

Muestra. En el real de minas de San Joseph del Parral en 27 de marzo de 1686 años el señor general don Juan de Hurtado de Castilla, teniente de gobernador y capitán general de este reino para efecto de reconocer las armas de los vecinos de este real en conformidad de lo mandado en el bando publicado estando en las puertas de las casas reales presente su majestad y por ante mí el escribano se pasó muestra en la forma y manera siguiente: Primeramente el capitán Rafael de Iburguen con sus armas y caballo.

El Alférez Lorenzo García Jalón con sus armas y caballo.
 El Capitán Juan de Echevarría con sus armas y caballo.
 Antonio de Larrazolo con sus armas y caballo.
 El Alférez Andrés de Montenegro con sus armas y caballo.
 Sebastián Delete con sus armas y caballo.
 Joseph de Rivera con sus armas y caballo.
 Luis Simón con sus armas y caballo.
 Don Lucas de Sola Vizcaíno con sus armas y caballo.
 Pedro de Olaer con sus armas y caballo.
 Don Lucas de Norriaga con sus armas y caballo.
 Pedro de Madariaga con sus armas y caballo.
 Joaquín de Selayandia con sus armas y caballo.
 Francisco Antonio de Iscárrega con sus armas y caballo.
 Francisco García con sus armas y caballo.
 Marcos de Loranca con sus armas y caballo.
 El Capitán Francisco de Renedo Vélez con sus armas y caballo.
 Manuel Gómez con sus armas y caballo.
 Juan Leal con sus armas y caballo.
 Juan de Albirdi con sus armas y caballo.
 Francisco Correa con sus armas y caballo.
 Juan de Ayala con sus armas y caballo.
 Bernardo García de Arguelles con sus armas y caballo.
 Juan Antonio Trasviña con sus armas y caballo.
 Domingo González con sus armas y caballo.
 Hernán de Matarana con sus armas y caballo.
 Antonio Machargo con sus armas y caballo.
 Diego García de Salder con sus armas y caballo.
 Don Cristóbal de Carbajal con sus armas y caballo.
 Pedro de Oyanguren con sus armas y caballo.
 Antonio López con sus armas y caballo.
 Don Agustín de Quirós con sus armas y caballo.
 Joseph de Estrada con sus armas.
 Sebastián de Mendoza con sus armas y caballo.
 Joseph Rosete con sus armas.
 Gabriel Pérez Domínguez con sus armas.
 Juan de Loya con sus armas.
 Salvador de Alvirdi con sus armas.
 Joseph de Sepúlveda con sus armas y caballo.
 Juan de Sepúlveda con sus armas y caballo.
 Francisco González con sus armas y caballo.
 Francisco de la Peña con sus armas y caballo.

Don Diego
 Lorenzo de
 Juan Gutiérrez
 Juan de Ar
 Nicolás de
 Juan del R
 Pedro Cha
 Don Diego
 Juan de Ba
 Miguel de
 Don Diego

Y en esta conf
 dato de su ma
 guerra que se
 y fecho en dic
 Don J
 públic

Municipal Muster in Parral

Don Diego Ramos de la Vega con todas armas.
Lorenzo de Gruziaga con armas y caballo.
Juan Gutiérrez Ortiz con sus armas y caballo.
Juan de Arámburu con sus armas y caballo.
Nicolás de Bejarano con sus armas y caballo.
Juan del Río con sus armas y caballo.
Pedro Chaparro con sus armas.
Don Diego de Landavoso con sus armas y caballo.
Juan de Barrios con sus armas.
Miguel de Beguiristáin con sus armas y caballo.
Don Diego Alvarez Salgado con sus armas y caballo.

Y en esta conformidad se pasó muestra de las personas referidas a quienes de mandato de su majestad se les notificó estén prevenidos para cualquiera operación de guerra que se ofrezca y fueren llamados so la pena impuesta en el bando publicado y fecho en dicho día, mes y año y lo firmó su majestad, de que doy fe.

Don Juan Hurtado de Castilla. Ante mí. Miguel de Aranda, escribano público real.

54b, consisting of 57 folios, numbered 31 to 87; one page of 81 and all of page 82 are blank; the first date appears at folio 35, November 18, 1693, and the last date, folio 85, is December 10, 1693.

54c DE VARGAS, DIEGO. Re-conquest; operations of 1693; desertions; report to the viceroy; list of families sent from Mexico as colonists.

This archive, with no title, lacks the first three folios; it is dated September 1, 1693, and contains a list of the settlers accompanying De Vargas on the second *entrada*.

These original settlers (*vecinos*) at the time of the *entrada*, according to this archive, received, per family, sums varying from three hundred to three hundred and twenty dollars each. After each entry appears the following:

"The first of September, 1693, this family received from the hands of the treasurer, Señor Don Joseph de Urrutia, three hundred dollars, which the government held ready to give them to provide necessaries for the journey."

The phrase "aquiline face" used so frequently in the descriptions, means "a long face having an aquiline or hooked nose."

In the various ecclesiastical records of New Mexico, the genealogy of the descendants of these families and first settlers may be found. The list, of course, does not include the names of those who had been driven out of the country in 1680 and were now returning, nor are the names of the officers, soldiers, and frayles mentioned.

The first name appearing in this archive is:

SIMON DE MOLINA, son of Tomás, a native of Mexico, at San Juan, forty years of age, more or less, medium height, pock-marked, large eyes and rather thick nose.

MICHAELA DE MEDINA, wife of the above, daughter of Cristobal, native of San Juan, thirty years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, large eyes.

NICOLAS FRANCISCO DE MOLINA, son of the aforesaid, native of Mexico, of the same quarter (*San Juan*), one year old, white and fair, large eyes.

MARIA TERESA DE MOLINA, also child of the above mentioned, native of Mexico, same quarter, four years old, broad face, swarthy color, large eyes, thick nose.

PAULA ANTONIO DE MOLINA, daughter and sister of the aforesaid, native of Mexico, same quarter, three years old, round face, swarthy color, large eyes, and thick nose.

ANDRÉS DE BETTANCOS, widower, son of Dn. Geronimo,

native of Mexico, San Agustin, forty years, medium height, round face, bald, large eyes, and Greek nose.

FRANCISCO DE BETTANCOS, son of the above named, native of Mexico, San Francisco, twenty years, able-bodied, aquiline face, broad forehead, and rather thick nose.

SANTIAGO DE BETTANCOS, son and brother of the above mentioned, native of Mexico, aged nineteen, able bodied, chestnut hair, small nose, and a mole on the cheek.

ANTONIO DE MOYA, son of Juan, native of Mexico, at Santa Teresa's, twenty-one years of age, broad face, large eyes and forehead, rather wide nose.

FRANCISCA DE MORALES, wife of the above mentioned, daughter of Juan, native of Mexico, at the Little Stairs (*a las escalerillas*), seventeen years of age, able-bodied, round face, large eyes.

MANUEL RODRIGUEZ, son of Juan, native of Mexico, Calle de Velos, twenty-seven years old, tall, round face, large eyes, and sharp nose.

MARIA DE LA INCARNACION, wife of the above, native of Lameda (?), daughter of Antonio de Palacios, medium height, large face pockmarked, circles under the eyes, and swarthy color.

JOSEPH DE ATIENZA, Sevillian, son of the same, native of Mexico, at the Arch of San Agustin, seventeen years of age, medium height, aquiline face, white, and a mole on the left cheek.

(Of) the family TRUJILLO, wife of the above, daughter of Nicolas, native of Mexico, Calle Real, seventeen years of age, able bodied, round face, large eyes, and small nose.

JOSEPH DAMIAN TRUJILLO, brother of the foregoing, native of Mexico, same quarter, seven years of age, fat face, large eyes.

JUAN FERNANDEZ DE ATIENZA LADRON DE GUEBARA, son of the same, native of Puebla, twenty-five years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, large eyes and forehead.

TERESA FERNANDEZ, wife of the above, daughter of Martin, native of Puebla, twenty-two years of age, round face, large forehead and eyes, thick nose.

SANTIAGO MANUEL FERNANDEZ DE ATIENZA, son of the foregoing, native of Mexico, at Orbillo (?), four years of age, aquiline face, large eyes, and broad nose.

MARIA DE RIBERA, widow, mother of the said Teresa, native of Puebla, forty years of age, tall, large eyes.

FRANCISCO DE LA ROSA, son of Don Antonio, native of

Espinosa, J. Manuel,
Crusaders of the Rio
Grande, Chicago,
J. H. Tuttle & Co. # 3,
1942, p. 189
states... Twitchell is wrong
when... he refers to this
list as being the settlers
who accompanied De Vargas
on his second entrada. It
is a list of 1693 arrivals of
two families @ 50 on sum of
27, including the 3 Frenchmen
Espinosa cites 4 known
kids of these settlers.

Guejocingo, twenty-six years of age, able bodied, swarthy, large forehead and eyes, rather thick nose.

ANTONIO DE LA ZERNA, native of Mexico, in the street of Don Antonio de la Vergara, twenty-four years of age, able bodied, large eyes.

ANTONIO SAYAGO, son of Juan, native of Mexico, twenty-five years of age, aquiline face, swarthy color, large forehead and eyes.

MARIA SAMORRA, wife of the above, daughter of Don Bartolomé, native of Mexico, thirty years of age, medium height, broad face, mole on the right cheek.

SANTIAGO DE ARROYO, son of Simon, husband of the said Maria's first marriage, Calle de Merced, nine years of age, red-skinned, large eyes, and small nose.

JUAN DE SAYAGO, nephew of the said Antonio de Sayago, and Maria Samorra, native of Tezcuco, four years of age, swarthy, and marked with smallpox.

NICOLAS JIRON, called *Jeda*, son of Tomas, native of Mexico, in the street of the Ropemakers, fifteen years of age, able bodied, round face, white, and some moles on the face.

JOSEPHA SEDANO, wife of the above, daughter of Pedro, native of Queretaro, thirteen years of age, medium height, aquiline face, white and fair, large eyes.

TOMAS DE ITTA (*ZITA* ?), son of Nicolas, native of Mexico, at Carmen, twenty-four years old, tall, dark hair, large eyes, and in the chin on the right side the mark of a wound.

ANTONIA GUTIERREZ, wife of the above, daughter of Mateo, native of Mexico, sixteen years of age, tall, broad face, brown hair and eyes.

SANTIAGO JIRON DE TEJEDA, son of the same, native of Mexico, twenty-six years of age, swarthy, large forehead and eyes, rather snub nose.

MARIA DE MENDOZA, wife of the above, daughter of Graviel, native of Mexico, twenty-two years of age, able bodied, broad face, large forehead and eyes.

JOSE JIRON, called *Jeda*, child of the before mentioned, native of Mexico, two years of age, white and reddish, large gray eyes.

GERTRUDES JIRON DE TEJEDA, daughter and sister of the above named, native of Mexico, four years of age, broad face, swarthy, large black eyes, and small nose.

JOSÉ JARAMILLO NEGRETTE, son of Nicolás, native of Mexico, thirty-eight years old, able bodied, aquiline face, broad forehead, and a mole on the left side.

MARIA DE SOTOMAYOR, wife of the above, daughter of Mateo, native of Mexico, thirty years of age, able bodied, large eyes, and a mole on the left eye-brow.

PEDRO JOSÉ DE JARAMILLO NEGRETTE, child of the same, native of Mexico, six years of age, white, dark hair, forehead and nose small, eyes large.

MARIA DE ANTONIA JARAMILLO NEGRETTE, child of the above named, three years of age, aquiline face, large eyes, and small nose.

ANTONIO DE YSASSI Y AGUILERA, son of Mateo, native of Mexico, thirty-eight years of age, medium height, large eyes, and a wound on the nose.

GERTRUDES HERNANDEZ, wife of the above, daughter of Mateo, native of Mexico, twenty-eight years of age, medium height, round face, swarthy color.

JOSÉ BENITO YSASSI Y AGUILERA, the supposed child of the above named, native of Mexico, three years of age, round face, small eyes, and rather flat-nosed.

ANTONIO RINCON DE GUEMES, son of Don Andrés, native of Mexico, thirty-six years of age, tall, aquiline face, large eyes, swarthy color.

ANTONIO VALENZUELA, wife of the above, daughter of Juan, native of Mexico, twenty-eight years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, and sharp nose.

JOSÉ RINCON, child of the above named, native of Mexico, eight years of age, round, reddish face, large eyes, and broad nose.

MARIA RINCON, child of the above, native of Mexico, five years of age, round face, large eyes and forehead.

MANUEL RINCON, child of the above, native of Mexico, one year old, swarthy, forehead and eyes large, nose small.

JOSÉ VELASQUEZ CORTEZ, son of Antonio, native of Seville, thirty-six years of age, tall, broad face, marked with smallpox, broad forehead, and deepset eyes.

JUANA DE GARAS, wife of the above, daughter of Francisco, native of Puebla, thirty years old, medium height, broad swarthy face, large eyes.

MARIA VELASQUEZ CORTEZ, child of the above, native of Guamantla (*Guatemala*), three years old, round face, small eyes and nose.

JOSÉ MASCAREÑAS, son of Felipe, native of Mexico, twenty-six years of age, medium height, large eyes, and on the eyebrow and moustache the mark of a wound.

MARIA DE ACOSTA, wife of the above, daughter of Nicolás,

native of Mexico, eighteen years of age, medium height, swarthy, large eyes, and small nose.

JOSEPHA MELCHORA MASCAREÑAS, child of the aforesaid, native of Mexico, eight years of age, broad face, large eyes, and thick nose.

CHRISTOBAL MARZELINO, son of Bartolomé de Guerra, native of Usuña (?), in the kingdom of Castile, eighteen years of age, able bodied, round face, forehead and nose large.

JUANA DE GONGORA, wife of the above, daughter of Juan, native of Mexico, fourteen years old, medium height, aquiline face, and large eyes.

JOSÉ DEL VALLE, son of Juan, native of Seville, thirty-eight years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, forehead, eyes and nose large.

ANA DE RIBERA, wife of the above, daughter of Layga, native of Tezcuco, twenty-eight years of age, able bodied, broad face, large eyes, and on the left side of the nose a mole.

BERNARDINO DEL VALLE, reputed son of the above named, native of Mexico, nine years of age, round and swarthy face, large eyes, and thick nose.

FRANCISCO DE LIMA, bachelor, miner and quicksilver smelter by trade, son of Antonio, native of Villafranca, fifty years of age, able bodied, broad face, narrow forehead, and grizzled hair.

One hundred and fifty dollars was given to him.

PETRONILA DE LA CUEVA, widow of Juan de Gongora, daughter of Lorenzo, native of Mexico, thirty-three years of age, medium height, aquiline face, large eyes, and on the lower part of the left cheek a scar.

CHRISTOBAL DE GONGORA, son of the above named, native of Mexico, twenty years of age, white, marked around the eyes by smallpox, three moles on the left cheek.

MARIA GERTRUDES DE GONGORA, daughter of the same, native of Mexico, eight years of age, broad face, large eyes and forehead.

FRANCISCA DE GONGORA, daughter of the same, and sister of the above named, native of Mexico, six years of age, aquiline face, large eyes, and thick nose.

GREGORIA DE GONGORA, sister of the above named, native of Mexico, three years of age, white, ruddy, large black eyes.

JUAN DE GONGORA, son and brother of those above named,

native of Mexico, one year old, white and ruddy, large gray eyes.

SEBASTIAN DE SALAS, son of Bernardino de Salas, native of Sma. (*Salamanca*), twenty-five years old, medium height, swarthy, large eyes, and mark of a wound on the forehead.

MARIA GARCIA, wife of the above, daughter of Nicolás, native of Puebla, twenty-three years of age, able bodied, white, small nose, rather deepset eyes.

JOSÉ CORTEZ, son of Pedro, native of Puebla, forty years of age, medium height, aquiline face, large eyes and forehead, and under the nose a scar.

MARIA DE CARBAJAL, wife of the above, daughter of Ygnacio, native of Queretaro, twenty-one years of age, able bodied, broad face, white, large eyes.

RAFAELA CORTÉZ, child of the above, native of San Miguel el Grande, five years of age, round face, large eyes and forehead.

LIONISIO DANIEL CORTÉS, also child of the above, native of Mexico, large eyes and forehead.

ANTONIO GODINES, son of Don Francisco, native of Mexico, thirty-three years of age, medium height, eyebrows joined, narrow forehead, large eyes.

MARIA LUISA GODINES, daughter of the same, native of Mexico, fourteen years of age, able bodied, round face, large forehead and eyes.

JOSÉ NUÑEZ, son of Nicolás, native of Mexico, twenty-two years of age, round face, a mole on the chin.

GERTRUDES DE LA CÓNDE DE JARIAGERRERA, wife of the above, daughter of Tomás, native of Zelaya, twelve years of age, medium height, swarthy, marked with smallpox, large eyes.

JOSÉ RODRIGUEZ, son of Juan, native of Santa Maria Real de Nicua (?), forty years of age, medium height, round face, broad nose, and a large number of moles on the face.

MARIA DE SEMANO, wife of the above, daughter of Juan, native of Mexico, twenty-eight years of age, medium height, swarthy, large eyes, small sharp nose.

GERTRUDES RODRIGUEZ, daughter of the above named, native of Mexico, six years of age, large eyes and forehead, small nose, and chestnut hair.

JUAN ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ, son of the same, native of Mexico, four years of age, round reddish face, large eyes, and small nose.

JUANA RODRIGUEZ, daughter of the above named, native of Mexico, two years old, round and reddish face, large eyes, small nose.

MANUEL VALLEJO GONZALES, son of Juan, native of Acazingo, thirty-three years of age, tall, swarthy, bald, large eyes.

MARIA LOPEZ DE ARTEAGA, wife of the above, daughter of Bernabe, native of Tacubaia, thirty-one years of age, medium height, black hair, white, large eyes and forehead.

ANGELA TERESA VALLEJO GONZALES, daughter of the first marriage of the said Manuel Vallejo, native of Mexico, seven years old, swarthy, large eyes and forehead, thick nose.

FRANCISCO DE PORRAS, son of Juan, native of Madrid, forty years of age, able bodied, broad forehead, and blind in the right eye.

DOÑA ANA GONZALES, wife of the above, daughter of Santiago, native of Mexico, thirty years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, high forehead, and broad nose.

MARIA DE PORRAS, daughter of the above, native of Mexico, thirteen years of age, able bodied, broad face.

JUAN DE MEDINA, son of Melchor, native of Mexico, twenty years of age, able bodied, tall, long face, large eyes, and thick nose, scar on the left cheek.

JUANA MARQUEZ, wife of the above, twenty-six years of age, medium height, aquiline face, swarthy color, large eyes.

NICOLAS TRUJILLO, son of Antonio, native of Cuba, forty years of age, strong, growing gray, large forehead, and somewhat deep-set eyes.

MARIA RUIZ DE AGUILAR, native of Mexico, wife of the same, daughter of Nicolás, thirty-four years of age, able bodied, large eyes, and eyebrows joined.

MARIA DE GUADALUPE, daughter of the same, native of Mexico, thirteen years of age, medium size, aquiline face, swarthy color.

JUANA TERESA TRUJILLO, daughter of the above named, native of Mexico, seven years of age, round face, rather flat nose, and a scar on the forehead.

MICHAELA ANTONIA TRUJILLO, daughter of the same, native of Mexico, two years old, broad face, small broad nose, and high forehead.

PEDRO DE AGUILERA, son of Rodrigo, native of Mexico, twenty-seven years of age, able bodied, white, large nose, small eyes.

JUANA DE TORRES, wife of the above, daughter of Francisco, native of Mexico, twenty-eight years of age, able bodied, round face, high forehead, and small nose.

RODRIGO DE AGUILERA, son of the aforesaid, native of Mexico, six years old, broad face, eyes large and rather deep-set, flat nose.

MARIA CASIMIRA DE AGUILERA, child of the above, native of Mexico, eleven years of age, medium size, aquiline face, gray eyes, and small nose.

MARIANA DE AGUILERA, daughter of the same, native of Mexico, five years of age, round face, white, high forehead, small eyes.

JOSÉ MARIA DE AGUILERA, son of the same, native of Mexico, one year and a half old, high forehead, large eyes, and small forehead [evidently meant for "nose"].

SANTIAGO MARQUEZ DE AGUILA, son of Don Juan, native of Zelaya, nineteen years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, large eyes, the left one rather dark.

MARIA DE PALACIOS, wife of the above, daughter of Antonio, native of Vera Cruz, fifteen years of age, able bodied, round face, white, and large eyes.

JUAN DE MEDINA, son of José, native of Mexico, twenty years of age, medium height, eyebrows meeting, eyes and nose large.

ANTONIA SEDANO, wife of the above, daughter of Pedro, native of Queretaro, fourteen years of age, able bodied, white, pitted with smallpox, and on the left eyebrow a scar.

FRANCISCO DE ESPINOSA, son of Don Antonio, native of Genoa, forty-seven years of age, tall, red-faced, low forehead, a mole on the left side of the throat.

MARIA DE LAS HERAS, wife of the above, daughter of Don Andrés, native of Tenango, in the Valley, thirty-five years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, broad forehead, small nose.

CATERINA DE ESPINOSA, daughter of the above named, native of Mexico, thirteen years old, white and fair, large eyes.

MARIA MAGDALENA ESPINOSA, daughter of the above, native of Mexico, ten years of age, round face, rather broad and flat nose, large eyes and forehead.

JUANA ANTONIA ESPINOSA, daughter of the above named, native of Zacatecas, eight years of age, aquiline face, white and fair, eyes and forehead large.

✓ ANTONIO DE SILVA, son of Salvador, native of Quere-
taro, twenty years of age, able bodied, round face, swarthy
color, large eyes, sharp nose.

✓ GREGORIA RUIZ, wife of the above, daughter of Juan, na-
tive of Mexico, twenty-two years of age, able bodied, broad-
face, pockmarked.

✓ GERTRUDES DE SILVA, daughter of the above named, na-
tive of Mexico, three years of age, round face, large eyes,
and small nose.

✓ GABRIEL DE ANSURES, son of the same, native of Puebla,
thirty-eight years of age, able bodied, aquiline face, large
eyes, rather deep-set.

✓ PHELIPA DE VILLA VINCENCIO PEREZ LACHUGA, wife of
the above, daughter of Domingo, native of Mexico, twenty-
one years of age, able bodied, round face, large eyes and
forehead, small nose.

JOSÉ DE ANSURES, child of the above (*Gabriel*) by second
marriage, nineteen years of age, tall, native of the city of
Oaxaca, round face, swarthy, meeting eyebrows, and low
forehead.

MARIA DE ANSURES, child of the above named, native of
Mexico, nine years old, white, freckled, eyes and forehead
large.

✓ NICOLÁS ORTIZ, son of the same, native of Mexico, forty
years old, medium height, sharp nose, large eyes, and bald.

✓ MARIANA CORONADO, wife of the above, daughter of Fran-
cisco Hernandez, native of Jimiquilpa, twenty-eight years
of age, able bodied, broad face, and a mole on the cheek.

✓ JOSEPHA ORTIZ, child of the above named, native of
Pachuca, fourteen years of age, aquiline face, swarthy
color, high forehead, sharp nose.

✓ MANUELA ORTIZ, child of the above, native of Mexico,
three years of age, aquiline face, ruddy, black eyes, and
small nose.

✓ NICOLÁS ORTIZ, child of the same, native of Mexico, ten
years of age, aquiline face, freckled, high forehead, and
broad nose.

✓ ANTONIO ORTIZ, child of the above named, native of Mex-
ico, eight years old, bright, reddish color, and rather thick
nose, large eyes.

✓ LOUIS ORTIZ, child of the above named, native of Mexico,
six years of age, bright red color, large eyes, small flat nose.

✓ FRANCISCO ORTIZ, child of the above named, native of

Mexico, one year old, aquiline face, white and ruddy, large
eyes.

MIGUEL DE FIGUEROA NUÑEZ DE CHAVEZ, son of Santiago,
native of Puebla, thirty-six years of age, medium height,
broad face, large eyes and forehead, thick nose, and on the
left cheek a mole.

MARIA DE MIRABAL, wife of the above, daughter of Juan,
native of Mexico, fifteen years of age, able bodied, aquiline
face, white and fair, large eyes, and sharp nose.

ANTONIA DE TORREZILLAS, widow of Juan Lopez de Mira-
bal and mother of the above named Maria de Mirabal, na-
tive of Mexico, thirty-six years of age, able bodied, broad
face, large eyes and forehead, sharp nose.

JOSÉ DE MIRABAL, child of the said Juan Lopez de Mira-
bal and the said Antonia de Torrezillas, native of Mexico,
ten years of age, aquiline face, white and red, large eyes
and forehead.

MANUEL DE CERVANTES, son of the same, native of Mex-
ico, eighteen years of age, able bodied, round face, and on
the right side of the chin a scar.

FRANCISCA RODRIGUEZ, wife of the above, daughter of
Juan, native of Mexico, fifteen years of age, medium size,
aquiline face, and on the right side of the forehead a mole.

MIGUEL DE LA VEGA Y COCA, son of Christobal de la Vega,
native of Mexico, sixteen years of age, able bodied, aquil-
ine face, white, eyes small.

MANUELA DE MEDINA, wife of the above, daughter of
Alonzo, native of Mexico, sixteen years of age, able bodied,
swarthy color large eyes, and rather thick nose.

JOSEPHA DE CABRERA, widow of Alonzo de Medina, mother
of the said Manuela, native of Mexico, thirty years old,
aquiline face, large eyes, and small nose.

MANUEL MARTINEZ DE GAMBOA, son of Nicolás, native of
Mexico, eighteen years of age, able bodied, round face, and
on the right side of the forehead and the left side of the
head a scar.

YSABEL CABO MONTESUMA, wife of the above, daughter of
Don Manuel de Proenza, native of Mexico, sixteen years of
age, able bodied, large eyes, sharp nose.

MIGUEL DE QUINTANA, son of José, native of Mexico,
twenty-two years old, able bodied, round face, small fore-
head, large eyes, and a hole in the chin.

GERTRUDES DE TRUJILLO, wife of the above, daughter of

Nicolás, native of Mexico, fifteen years of age, medium height, aquiline face, large eyes, and small nose.

JUAN MANUEL MARTINEZ DE CERVANTES, son of the same, native of Mexico, twenty-seven years of age, round face, swarthy, large eyes, and broad nose.

CATERINA DE LOS ANGELES, wife of the above, daughter of Francisco Collacos, native of Mexico, twenty-four years of age, aquiline face, swarthy color, large eyes and forehead.

AZALIA DE LA CRUZ, servant of the above, thirty-six years of age, able bodied, broad face, large and sharp nose, swarthy color.

JOSÉ SANCHEZ, son of Lucas, native of Mexico, tall; round face, meeting eyebrows, rather flat nose, twenty-six years of age.

JOSEPHA GOMEZ DE RIBERA, wife of the above, daughter of Alonzo, native of Mexico, twenty-one years of age, middle size, aquiline face, and on the left cheek two moles.

YGNACIO DE ARAGON, son of Juan, native of Mexico, thirty-two years of age, middle height, aquiline face, high forehead, and small sunken eyes.

SEBASTIANA ORTIZ, wife of the above, daughter of Nicolás, native of Mexico, twenty-seven years old, aquiline face, large eyes and forehead, small sharp nose.

MARIA DE ARAGON, daughter of the above, native of Mexico, eight years of age, aquiline face, high forehead, black eyes, and small nose.

JUAN ANTONIO DE ESQUIBEL, son of Francisco, native of Mexico, thirty years old, broad face, swarthy, and between the brows a scar.

MARIA DE SAN NICOLÁS, wife of the above, daughter of Francisco Vangel, native of Mexico, twenty-one years old, swarthy color, large eyes and forehead, and sharp nose.

MAGDALENA DE ESQUIBEL, child of the above named, native of Mexico, twelve years of age, round face, pockmarked, and swarthy.

JOSÉ GARCIA JURADO, son of Fernando, native of Mexico, forty years of age, tall, broad forehead and nose, small deep-set eyes.

JOSEPHA DE HERRERA, wife of the above, daughter of Agustin Mazin, native of Oricana, thirty years of age, middle height, large eyes, low forehead, and heavy eyebrows.

ANTONIO GARCIA JURADO, son of the said José Jurado, native of Puebla, seventeen years of age, able bodied, high forehead, small eyes, scar below the chin.

RAMON GARCIA JURADO, brother of the aforesaid, native of Puebla, thirteen years of age, broad face, large eyes, small nose, and on the left cheek a scar.

ANDRÉS DE CARDENA, son of the church, native of Puebla, forty-six years of age, able bodied, swarthy, high forehead, small eyes, and a scar on the upper part of the forehead.

JUANA DE AVALOS, wife of the above, daughter of Nicolás, native of Mexico, thirty years of age, swarthy, right eye sightless.

PETRONA MARIA DE CARDENAS, daughter of the above named, native of Mexico, eleven years of age, swarthy, and on the left cheek a mole.

MARIA TERESA DE CARDENAS, sister of the above described in the preceding paragraph, native of Mexico, two years old, aquiline face, and high forehead.

JUAN DE GAMBOA, son of Santiago, native of Puebla, thirty-four years old, able bodied, small eyes, sharp nose, and pockmarked.

MARIA DE ZEPIDIA, wife of the above, daughter of the church, native of Mexico, thirty years old, middle height, aquiline face, high forehead, small deep-set eyes.

JUAN DE GAMBOA, child of the above named, native of Mexico, eleven years of age, swarthy, high forehead, small nose.

JUANA DE GAMBOA, daughter of the aforesaid, native of Mexico, eight years of age, swarthy, aquiline face, and three moles on the face.

CATARINA DE GAMBOA, sister of the foregoing, native of Mexico, one year old, swarthy, large eyes, small nose.

JUAN LUJAN, son of Estevan Barba, native of the Province of New Mexico, thirty-four years of age, able bodied, swarthy, rather deep-set eyes, and under the left eye a scar.

PETRONA RAMIREZ, wife of the above, daughter of Isidor, native of Parral, thirty years of age, reddish skin, round face, large eyes.

JUAN LUJAN, son of the above, native of the town of Parral, four years old, red skin, and round face.

JUAN RUIZ CORDERO, son of Geronimo, native of Medina Sidonia, twenty-two years old, swarthy, and a scar on the left side.

MARIA NICOLASA CARILLO, wife of the above, daughter of Nicolás, native of Mexico, twenty years old, middle height, swarthy, large eyes, rather flat nose, and large mouth.

MIGUEL GERONIMO DEL AGUILA, son of Nicolás, native of Caeza, thirty years old, able bodied, large eyes, sharp nose, and a scar at one side of the right eye.

GERONIMA DIAS FLORIDO, wife of the above, daughter of Ignacio, native of Mexico, twenty-three years old, able bodied, large eyes, two moles on the face.

JOSEPHA ANTONIA DE AGUILA, daughter of the above named, native of Mexico, Calle Virtud, ten years of age, pockmarked, and large eyes.

JUAN CORTÉZ, son of Don Fernando, native of Mexico, at San Lorenzo, thirty-six years of age, medium height, swarthy, sharp nose, and rather sunken eyes.

MARIA DE RIBERA, wife of the above, daughter of Juan, native of the town of Los Angeles, thirty years old, small, freckled, small nose, and large eyes.

ANDREA CORTÉZ, daughter of the aforesaid, native of Mexico, at Santa Clara, rather broad nose.

SANTIAGO CORTÉZ, child of the above named, native of Mexico, at Santo Domingo, twelve years of age, chestnut hair, white, large eyes.

JUANA CORTÉZ, also child of the above named, native of Mexico, at Santa Clara, eleven years of age, broad face, flat nose, and pockmarked.

JOAQUIN CORTÉZ, son and brother of the above named, native of Mexico, three years of age, white, and bright red complexion, and large eyes.

TOMAS PALOMINO, son of Fernando, native of the port of Santa Maria, twenty-six years old, middle height, white, pockmarked.

GERTRUDES BAUTISTA OLIVARES, wife of the above, native of Mexico, Calle de Veloz, twenty years of age, daughter of Martin Bautista, medium height, aquiline face, high forehead, and small nose.

MANUEL PALOMINO, son of the above, native of Mexico, fourteen years of age, white, large eyes, nose rather broad.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LUNA, nephew of the above named (*Gertrudes*), son of Tomás, native of San Juan Teoteguacan, eighteen years of age, swarthy, narrow forehead, broad nose, and pockmarked.

JUAN DE PAZ BUSTILLOS, son of Francisco, native of Mexico, Calle de Vergara, twenty-nine years of age, medium height, high forehead, deep-set eyes, and sharp nose.

MANUELA ANTONIA DE ALAMIAS, wife of the above, daugh-



PORTRAIT OF THE CÓNDE DE GALVEZ
Viceroy of Mexico, 1692

ter of José, native of Istlehuaca, twenty-eight years of age, medium height, aquiline face, scar on forehead.

JOSEPHA ANTONIA DE LA PAZ BUSTILLOS, daughter of the above named, native of Mexico, Calle de Alameda, nine years of age, round, rather muddy face, and flat nose.

ANTONIA DE LA PAZ BUSTILLOS, son of Antonio Javier, brother of the above named, seven years of age, native of Mexico, Calle de Veloz, round face, large eyes, and thick nose.

SANTIAGO DE SALAS, son of Antonio, native of Mexico, at San Francisco, nineteen years of age, able bodied, round face, swarthy color, and mole on the right cheek.

MARIA LUISA DE SENORGA, wife of the above, daughter of Santiago, native of Mexico, at Santa Catalina Martyr, fifteen years of age, medium size, large eyes and forehead, sharp nose.

SANTIAGO SENORGA, son of the same, and brother of the above mentioned (*Maria*), native of Mexico, seventeen years of age, middle height, high forehead, small eyes.

CRISTOBAL DE VALVERDE, son of Juan, native of Mexico, a La Merced, nineteen years of age, able bodied, swarthy, large eyes, broad nose, three moles on the right side of nose.

YNEZ DE ASPINA, wife of the above, daughter of Bartolomé, native of Mexico, at Santa Catalina, seventeen years of age, able bodied, swarthy, large eyes, and sharp nose.

MIGUEL RUIZ, brother of the aforesaid, Cristobal, native of Mexico, ten years of age, curly hair, large eyes.

TERESA MARIA, daughter of the above named couple, two years of age, native of Mexico, white, black hair, eyes, and eye-brows.

[This] agrees with the footing of the list which was made for recruiting and aiding the sixty-seven families mentioned in it, together with the amount of help and accoutrement for the journey which they made to the Province of New Mexico, which is in each case named in the record by the hand of Señor Dn José de Urrutilla, treasurer, chief official of the Royal Exchequer; be it known to this court and the said City of Mexico that the original remains in the office of the chief clerk or [*Notary*] of the said Exchequer, to which I refer [*y p*]. The which said sixty-seven families put themselves into the hands of Captain Christobal de Velasco, head commissary appointed by the Most Worthy Señor Viceroy, Cónde de Galves, to lead and

deliver them to Señor *Santiago* [*Diego*] de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon, Governor and Captain General of said Provinces of New Mexico, and to certify to the said Señor Governor, I give this present in the City of Mexico, the ninth of September, 1693. Witnesses being:

JUAN DEL PUERTO, CRISTOBAL DE HERRERA and MANUEL DE MIRANDA, citizens of Mexico. — *entre vs — en — ttoo — y — p — entre — us — the City of Mexico — ue.*

I give my seal [rubric] in testimony of the truth,
JOSÉ DE ANGULO ss.

The ceremonies and incidents of the entry of the Spaniards into the City of Santa Fe are described by General De Vargas in his Journal, as follows:

“December 1, 1693

“Entry into this Town of Santa Fe by said Governor and Captain General:

“On the 16th day of the month of December, date and year above, I, the said governor and captain general, about the eleventh hour of said day, made my entry into this *Villa of Santa Fe*, and coming in sight of the *walled village* where the *Teguas* and *Tanos* reside, with the squadron on the march and in company of the very illustrious corporation of this the said town and kingdom, its high sheriff and color-bearing alderman, the captain, Don Bernardino Duran y Chaves, carrying the standard referred to in these acts, and under which this land was conquered, we arrived at the plaza where we found the said natives congregated, the women apart from the men, all unarmed and abstaining from any hostile demonstration, but instead behaving themselves with great composure, and on proffering to them our greeting, saying ‘Praise to Him’ several times, they answered ‘Forever’; and seeing the approach, on foot, of the Very Reverend Father Custodian, Fray Salvador de San Antonio, and in his train the fifteen monks, priests and reverend father missionaries and the lay brothers of our father St. Francis, chanting on their march divers psalms, I dismounted from my horse and my example was followed by the said corporation, corporals and officers of war and by the ensign of the royal standard in company with the said high sheriff and color-bearing alderman, all having gone out with the purpose of receiving the said reverend fathers, who, in unison with their very reverend father custodian, came singing in processional order, and then I made due obeisance as I was passing on my way to the entrance of said village and town and the same was done by my fol-

lowers, and in the middle of the plaza, where all present knelt, and prayers, including the *Litany of Our Lady*, and the *Litany of the Holy Spirit*, were sung. The Custodian, attuning his voice, sang the *Te Deum* in honor of Our Lord God and His Most Holy Mother, and he had sung the hymn three times, I then said to the Very Reverend Father Custodian that notwithstanding at the time of my request last year I had given possession to the Very Reverend Father President Fr. Francisco Corvera and the fathers, who at that time came as chaplains, and which said Reverend Father President had accepted, and in this manner and in the name of His Order, and in favor of his sacred religion, would do it again, and would grant it to him anew, with great pleasure, considering the great resignation with which all, together with their very reverend father, do so heartily and freely agree to employ themselves in the ministration of the holy sacraments in this newly conquered kingdom; to which the said very reverend father replied, tendering his thanks for himself and all of his Order, and that by the use of said grant, invested and given by me, the said governor and captain general, they had enough for the maintenance of their rights, much more than when they entered immediately into the administration of the missions above mentioned; and then I addressed the said corporation and told them I restored to them the possession of their city, and that likewise they ought and should give to me, the said governor and captain general, testimonials of having taken the same, entering again therein, and of the pacification of said Indians and their submission to the divine and humane Majesty; in the same manner, to the said natives, in the plaza of said *villa*, I told and repeated what the king, our lord, had sent me on receiving the news I gave his royal majesty of their surrender last year, with orders that this kingdom should be re-peopled; that with the information I had given of my having pardoned them and of their obedience, which was the cause for said pardon, all of his displeasure had vanished and that he would again call them his children, and for that reason he had sent many priests in order that they might again become Christians, and that likewise he had sent me with the soldiers whom they saw for the purpose of defending them against their

LUIS DE CARVAJAL COLONISTS

From Actas, July-September 1977, Journal published
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CARVAJAL'S COLONISTS **

The following list is of the people who, in 1580, came from Spain with Captain Luis de Carvajal de la Cueva, to found "el Nuevo Reyno de Leon", now (roughly speaking) the State of Nuevo Leon in Mexico. Those of you with early Texas roots, or recent ancestors from northern Mexico, could very possibly trace your lineage to one or more of these people. Keep in mind that, chronologically (and with some overlapping), Coahuila was founded later with a majority of the colonists coming from Nuevo Leon. Tamaulipas, even later, in the mid-eighteenth century, drew colonists from both Nuevo Leon and Coahuila, so that Nuevo Leon remained the root-stock. West Texas, or at least west of the Guadalupe mountains, was part of New Mexico until after the Mexican-American war, and their colonists came mainly from Chihuahua, and to a lesser extent, from Durango, which together (as Nueva Viscaya) preceded even Nuevo Leon chronologically.

This list is doubly exciting (genealogically speaking) because it gives the birth place and the names of the parents of the adult colonists. You will note that many of the colonists' surnames do not match those of their fathers, in fact, they frequently do not jibe with the name of either parent. As many of us have discovered, this was a common occurrence in the earliest records and through the the seventeenth century. (It was not unknown in the eighteenth century for that matter). Both men and women, even from legitimate marriages, adopted the surname of their mothers with impunity, and often (to the despair of latter-day genealogists) decided on the surname of one of the grandmothers or even that of an earlier ancestor. Havelock Ellis, one of the British pioneers in psychology, writes in The Soul of Spain:

We may associate this position of women in Old Spain with the recognition that was accorded under many circumstances to unmarried mothers and the relative absence of the social stigma elsewhere generally attached to illegitimate children. This was doubtless a survival of primitive matriarchal conditions, but it was adhered to with great tenacity by Spaniards, and even the not uncommon practice of a legitimate son preferring to use the name of his mother rather than that of his father shows the absence of any ostentatious preference for paternal descent. This is a remarkable feature in the domestic life of mediaeval Spain, which has left an impress on the laws even today, and it is interesting to observe how the women of what is commonly regarded as the most bigoted Catholic country succeeded in preserving a freedom and privilege which even in the free Protestant countries has never yet been established and only of late claimed.¹

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¹Havelock Ellis, The Soul of Spain, page 85. Constable and Company, Ltd., London, 1908.

Because the roster only gave the names of the cities or small towns that each colonist came from, I have included in parenthesis, the location and/or province in Spain, where possible. Also, the original list is not numbered but I felt numbering it would make it easier to refer back to it.

1. Juan de Saucedo, native of Guadalupe (in Caceres, Estremadura), son of Pedro de Saucedo and Maria Nunez. His wife, Catalina de Espinosa, native of the same villa, daughter of Bartolome Garcia de Suero and Pasquela Martinez. Four children: Geronimo, Juan, Gracia Guiomar and Pedro.
2. Bartolome Martin, native of Villa de Lobon (Badajoz, Estremadura), son of Alonso Martin and Maria Andres. His wife, Olalla (Olaya) Garcia, native of the same villa, daughter of Miguel Sanchez de la Vara and Isabel Rodriguez. Five Children: Miguel, Maria, Isabel, Francisco and Juan.
3. Francisco Ortiz, native of the villa de Almendralejo (Badajoz, Estremadura), son of Alonso Hernandez and Leonor Ortiz. His wife, Maria Esteban, native of the same villa, daughter of Gonzalo Hidalgo and Olaya Rangel. Five children: Maria, Esteban, Juan, Leonor and Francisco.
4. Alonso Garcia del Corro, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Nuño Gonzalez and Maria Lopez. His wife, Francisca de Guzman, daughter of Geronimo de Guzman and Dona Mayor de Bustos, residents of Frejenal (Badajoz, Estremadura). Three (sic) children: Maria and Martin, Juan Salado and Andres, bachelors.
5. Andres del Aguila, native of Almaden de los Azogues (Cuidad Real in Castilla la Nueva), son of Bernabe Martin and Maria Sanchez. His wife, Francisca Nunez, native of Cuidad Rodrigo (Salamanca, Leon), daughter of Pedro Vicioso and Ines Pacheco.
6. Pedro Alonso Enriquez, native of Fuente El Maestro (Badajoz, Estremadura) son of Alonso Guerrero and Catalina Enriquez. His wife, Ana de Porras, native of Villa de Zafra (Badajoz, Estremadura), daughter of Francisco de Porras and Leonor Mejia. One daughter, Elvira Mejia.
7. Pedro de Rojas, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Pedro de Vergara and Maria de los Angeles (surname?). His wife, Maria de la O, native of Moron (Sevilla, Andalucia), daughter of Juan Rodriguez and Leonicia de Cervantes. Three children: Maria de laencinsion (sic), Pedro Agustin and Isabel.
8. Juan de Nava, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Diego Hernandez de Nava and Catalina de Espinosa. His wife, native of same city, Ana Munoz, daughter of Pedro Munoz and Ana Garcia. One son, Juan.
9. Mateo Gomez, native of Ocaña (Toledo, Castilla la Nueva), son of Alonso Martinez de Noblejas and Mari Gomez. His wife, also a native of Ocaña, Geronima Lopez, daughter of Alonso Robledo and Maria Lopez. One son, Antonio, a bachelor.
10. Francisco Rodriguez, native of Santiago de Sotordey (Lugo, Galicia), son of Pedro Gonzalez and Ines Rodriguez. His wife, native of same villa,

Maria Rodriguez, daughter of Diego Rodriguez and Maria Gonzalez. Two sons: Antonio and Juan.

11. Pedro Hernandez, native of villa de Zafra (Badajoz, Estremadura), son of Juan Hernandez and Leonor Diaz. His wife, Elvira Sanchez, daughter of Pedro Sanchez and Maria Estevez. (Wife's birthplace not noted). Eleven children: Maria Hernandez; Maria Estevez, Juan; Ana; Gomez; Leonor; Francisco; Manuel; Isabel; Catalina and Luis.

12. Diego de Madrid, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Alonso de Madrid and Isabel Gonzalez who are residents of Fuente el Encina (location?). His wife, Ana de los Reyes, also native of Sevilla, daughter of Juan Rodriguez and Ana Perez. One son, Diego.

13. Andres de Herrera, native of Medina del Campo (Valladolid, Castilla la Vieja), son of Antonio de Herrera and Maria de Ortega. His wife, Maria de la Barrera, native of Olivares (Valladolid, Castilla la Vieja), daughter of Ascencio Hernandez and Florentina Diaz. Four children: Simon, Maria, Ines and Francisca.

14. Francisco Jimenez, native of Granada (Andalucia), son of Gonzalo de Aguilar and Ana Jimenez (Ximenez). His wife, Maria Hernandez, native of Ecija (Sevilla, Andalucia), daughter of Pedro Hernandez and Catalina Perez. One daughter, Isabel.

15. Juan Izquierdo, native of Villa de Arineno in Aragon (I haven't a more precise location), son of Juan Izquierdo and Isabel Cegarra. Rufina Rodriguez, his wife...native of villa de Ferce in Galicia (Orense, Galicia), daughter of Alonso Rodriguez and Francisca Gonzalez.

16. Juan Diaz, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Pedro Diaz and Francisca Juarez (Xuarez). His wife, Catalina Rodriguez, also of Sevilla, daughter of Diego Lopez and Ana Rodriguez.

17. Luis Gonzalez, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Diego Martin and Maria Hernandez. His wife, Ana Rodriguez, also of Sevilla, daughter of Diego Lopez and Ana Lopez.

18. Miguel Rodriguez, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Juan Rodriguez and Catalina Perez. His wife, Violante Rodriguez, also of Sevilla, daughter of Antonio Rodriguez and Margarida (sic) Hernandez.

19. Pedro de Salas, native of Salamanca (Leon), son of Martin de Salas and Maria Perez. His wife, Ana de Heredia, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), daughter of Hernando de Aguilar and Leonor de Eslava.

20. Pedro Rodriguez, native of Pasarlon (Caceres, Estremadura) near Placencia, son of Pedro Rodriguez and Mari Gomez. His wife, Catalina Diaz, native of Almares (Salamanca, Leon), daughter of Francisco Lopez and Catalina Diaz. Five children: Catalina, Isabel, Cristobal, Ines and Diego.

21. Agustin Rodriguez, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Juan Rodriguez

- and Catalina Rodriguez. His wife, Isabel de Espinosa, daughter of Diego Hernandez and Juana de Espinosa.
22. Benito Esteban, native of Mallorca (an island), son of Nicolas and Maria (no surnames). His wife, Leonor de Mota, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), daughter of Hernan Nunez and Margarita de Mota. Their children, Juan and Maria.
23. Juan Beltran, native of the villa de San Juan del Puerto (Huelva, Andalucia), son of Melchor Martin and Catalina Martin. His wife, Francisca Hernandez, from the same villa, daughter of Juanes de Arteaga and Catalina Ramirez. Their sons: Lope and Bartolome.
24. Andres Velasco, native of San Juan del Puerto (see #23), son of Andres Garcia and Elvira Ximenez. His wife, Elvira Beltran, dau of Melchor Martin and Catalina Martin. Their son: Pedro. (Wife's birthplace not noted but she was a sister to Juan Beltran in #23).
25. Bernardino de Bardales, native of the villa del Barco de Avila (Avila, Castilla la Vieja), son of Macias de Bardales and Francisca Hernandez. His wife, Isabel Rodriguez, native of Fuente de Cantos (Badajoz, Estremadura), daughter of Rodrigo Sanchez and Elvira Sanchez. Their children: Hernando, Francisco, Juan and Maria.
26. Joan (sic) Rodriguez Matalobos, native of Frejenal (Badajoz, Estremadura), son of Lorenzo Hernandez and Elvira Garcia. His wife, Catalina Sanchez, also from Frejenal, daughter of Hernan Vazquez and Ines Garcia. Two children: Catalina and Juan.
27. Francisco Hernandez, native of Jerez de los Caballeros (Badajoz, Estremadura), son of Pedro Hernandez and Inez Gonzalez. His wife, Maria de Tuesta, native of Granada (Andalucia), daughter of Pedro Martinez and Maria de Tuesta. Children: Francisco, Pedro, Ines and Maria.
28. Melchor de Serdeno, native of Medina del Campo (Valladolid, Castilla la Vieja), son of Jacome Serdeno and Luisa del Aguila. His wife, Mariana Gomez, native of Alcala de Henares (Madrid, Castilla la Vieja), daughter of Cristobal Gomez (mother's name not noted). One daughter, Lorenza.
29. Francisco Rodriguez, native of Benavente (Zamora, Leon), son of Baltazar Rodriguez. (Mother's name not noted). His wife, Doña Francisca de Carvajal, daughter of Gaspar de Carvajal and Doña Catalina de Leon. Their children: Baltazar; Macias; Luis; Francisco; Miguel; Doña Isabel; Doña Catalina; Doña Maria; Doña Leonor and Doña Ana. (Francisca de Carvajal's birthplace not given but she was the sister of the Captain, Luis de Carvajal y Cuevas).
30. Gonzalo Perez, native of Medina del Campo (Valladolid, Castilla la Vieja), son of Juan Rodriguez and Felipa Rodriguez. His wife, Doña Catalina de Leon, daughter of Antonio Marquez and Isabel de Leon. (Catalina's birthplace not given but see #31, below...she was a sister of Ginebra Marquez... note different names for the two daughters of the same parents).

31. Jorge de Leon, native of Medina del Campo (Valladolid, Castilla la Vieja), son of Juan Rodriguez (mother not noted). His wife, Doña Ginebra Marquez, native of the same villa and a daughter of Antonio Marquez and Isabel de Leon.

BACHELORS

32. Francisco de Porras, native of Medina del Campo (see #31), son of Francisco Rayas de Porras and Dona Ana de Porras.
33. Diego de Valladar, native of lugar de Isca (Iseca?) near Laredo (see Santander, Castilla la Vieja), son of Juan Maartinez de Valladar and Mari Sanchez.
34. Pedro Salvador (surname?), native of Alcala de Guadaira (Sevilla, Andalu-
lucia), son of Pedro Sanchez and Estevania Hernandez.
35. Francisco Gutierrez, native of Alcala de Guadaira (see #34), son of Diego de Torres and Juana Perez.
36. Juan del Hoyo, native of Llerena (Badajoz, Estremadura), son of Alonso Martin and Catalina Alonso.
37. Gabriel Ballesteros, native of Toro (Zamora, Leon), son of Blas Ballesteros and Maria Trabazos.
38. Juan Lopez Urbano, native of Hornachuelos (Cordoba, Andalucia), son of Nicolas Ruiz and Isabel Hernandez.
39. Andres Burbano (sic), native of Hornachuelos (see #38), son of Nicolas Ruiz. (Mother not noted).
40. Gomez Fernandez Salgado, native of San Martin de Nuguera (Orense, Galicia), son of Alonso Hernandez and Aestanza Rodriguez.
41. Hernando Mexia, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Melchor Ortiz and Doña Ambrosia Xuarez.
42. Alonso Copete, native of Alcantara (Caceres, Estremadura), son of Alonso Copete and Francisca Duran. (Durana)
43. Francisco Ortiz, native of Torrecilla del Duque de Najera (Zamora, Leon), son of Juan Ortiz and Maria Tejada.
44. Domingo Rodriguez, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Simon Rodriguez and Blanca Rodriguez.
45. Roque Gil, native of Torrija (Torrijos?) (Toledo, Castilla la Vieja), son of Juan Gil and Isabel de Cuevas.
46. Pedro Gonzalez de Paredes, native of Amusco, tierra de Campos (Palencia, Castilla la Vieja), son of Pedro Gonzalez and Marta Alvarez.

47. Alonso Rodriguez de Jaque, native of Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca, Leon), son of Juan de Paz and Dona Madalena Rodriguez.
48. Juan Lopez, native of Santa Cruz de la Zarza (Toledo, Castilla la Vieja) son of Hernan Lopez Gomez and Catalina Alonso,
49. Martin Gomez, native of Santa Cruz de la Zarza (see #48), son of Juan Gomez and Catalina Sanchez.
50. Antonio Lopez, native of Santa Cruz (see #48), son of Juan Gomez and Catalina Sanchez. (Obviously a brother of #49 and yet note his surname).
51. Francisco Mazo, native of Carrion de los Condes (Palencia, Castilla la Vieja), son of Francisco Mazo and Felipa de Escobar.
52. Domingo Martinez, native of Garnica (sic for Guernica in Vizcaya), son Pedro Martinez de Sierreta and Juana Gomez.
53. Martin de Sagasti, native of Garnica (see #52), son of Juan Sagasti and Maria Ochoa.
54. Bartolome de Bea, native of Sayas de Bascones (no information on location), son of Bartolome de Bea and Maria de Tapia.
55. Pedro Lopez de Mendoza, native of Laredo (should be Santander, I think but my source says Zamora, Leon), son of Melen (?) de Mendoza and Teresa Rodriguez.
56. Alonso Garcia, native of Laredo (see #55), son of Alonso Garcia Mendoza and Teresa Hernandez.
57. Juan Ximenez, native of Laredo (see #55), son of Gonzalo de Mendoza and Maria Sanchez.
58. Pedro Iniguez, native of Pazaron (Caceres, Estremadura), son of Alonso Iniguez and Juana Iniguez.
59. Rafael Sanchez, native of Pazaron (see #58), son of Alonso Sanchez and Catalina de Arroyo.
60. Luis Tascon, native of Villalpando (Zamora, Leon), son of Alvaro Tascon and Catalina Hernandez.
61. Hernando de Medina, son of Luis Ardillonos and Isabel de Medina. (Birthplace not noted).
62. Gaspar de Rojas, native of Guadalajara (Castilla la Nueva), son of Pedro el Rojo and Leonor Perez.
63. Andres Duarte de Figueroa, native of Xerez de la Frontera (Cadiz, Andalusia), son of Duarte Rodriguez and Dona Isabel Gonzalez.

64. Don Juan de Portugal, native of Mexico City, son of Don Hernando de Portugal and Doña Madalena Pinelo de Villegas.
65. Luis Pimentel, native of lugar de Villada from the archbishopric of Burgos (Palencia, Castilla la Vieja), son of Enrique Pimentel and Isabel de Carvajal.
66. Diego Hernandez, native of Benavente (Zamora, Leon), son of Gerome (sic) Hernandez and Maria Rodriguez.
67. Felipe Nuñez de Ribera, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Andres Nuñez and Gracia Nunez.
68. Nicolas de Heredia, native of Adamuz (Cordoba, Andalucia), son of Bartolome Gomez and Maria Gonzalez.
69. Juan Rodriguez, native of San Juan del Puerto (Huelva, Andalucia), son of Juanes de Unceta and Catalina Garcia.
70. Vicente Nuñez, native of Sevilla (Andalucia), son of Geronimo Nuñez and Leonor Mendez.
71. Gaspar Delgado, native of Cordoba (Andalucia), son of Francisco Delgado and Isabel Rodriguez.
72. Pedro de Valdez, native of Burgos (Castilla la Vieja), son of Juan de Valdez and Madalena Ortiz.
73. Francisco de Madrid, native of Cordoba (Andalucia), son of Gereonimo Ruiz and Maria de Madrid.
74. Antonio de Alcega, native of Nuestra Señora de Aranda in Vizcaya, son (should be Nuestra Senora de Erandio...Bilboa, Vizcaya), son of Juan de Alcega and Dona Mayora (or Mayor) de Alcega.
75. Baltazar Carrillo, native of the villa de Villel (Teruel, Aragon). Parents not noted).
76. The said Luis de Carvajal, native of Benavente (Zamora, Leon), son of Gaspar de Carvajal and Dona Catalina de Leon. (This was Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva, leader of the above group and first Governor of the Nuevo Reyno de Leon. He was actually born in Mogadouro, Portugal and the family moved to Benavente in later years).

THE 1598 NEW MEXICO COLONISTS OF DON JUAN DE ONATE

By
George A. Sanchez

In 1598 Don Juan de Onate led a group of men, women, and children into New Mexico. On August 18, 1598 Onate and a small group of his followers reached the site of the Indian pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros, the present pueblo of San Juan, where he established his temporary headquarters. This site is considered the first capital of New Mexico. The main body of his army arrived there on September 8, 1598 and it was then that the governor and his soldiers and colonists took over the Indian pueblo of Yunque on the east bank of the Chama River. It was there that San Gabriel, the first permanent capital of New Mexico, was established.

This list of the male soldiers/colonist and religious who accompanied Don Juan de Onate to New Mexico in 1598 was taken from material that was researched and compiled by Antonio Gilberto Espinosa*. I merely alphabetize and retyped the names, changed the name "Herman" to "Hernan", and underlined the rank or title of some of the men for clarity.

Pedro Sanchez de Amiura, son of Pedro Sanchez de Rivadeo, 21 years of age, native of Sombrete in New Spain.

Luis de Araujo, son of Juan Lopez de Araujo, 30 years of age, native of Ybar in the province of Vascongada, Spain.

Diego de Ayardi, son of Bartolome de Ayardi, native of Guadalajara in New Spain.

Alvaro de Barrios, son of Luis Gonzales, 40 years of age, native of Coimbra in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Martin Bibero, 34 years of age, native of Spain.

Diego de Blandin, son of Diego Gonzales, 26 years of age, native of Coimbra in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Capitan Bionicio Banuelos, 40 years of age, (Name does not appear in any muster rolls.)

Capitan Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, son of Alonzo de Cuenca, native of Villa de los Infantes in the province of Ciudad Real, Spain.

Capitan Joseph Brondate, son of Clemente Gregorio Brondate, 25 years of age, native of the province of Aragon, Spain.

Juan Perez de Bustillo, son of Simon Perez, 49 years of age, native of New Spain.

Juan Velasquez de Cabanillas, son of Cristobal de Hidalgo Cabanillas, 24 years of age, native of Zalamea de la Serena in the province of Estremadura, Spain.

Pedro Lopez Calvo, son of Alvaro Lopez Calvo, 20 years of age, native of Molina Seca in the province of Estremadura, Spain.

Juan Camacho, son of Antonio Sanchez, 50 years of age, native of Trigueros in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Juan Lopez del Canto, son of Pedro Lopez del Canto, 25 years of age, native of the City of Mexico, New Spain.



Alferez Juan de Victoria Carabajal, son of Juan de Carabajal, 37 years of age, native of Ayetepetl in New Spain.

Martin Carrasco, son of Martin Carrasco, 30 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Gonzalo de la Carrera, son of Lope de la Carrera, 26 years of age, native of Alcala de los Henares in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Capitan Barnabe de las Casas, son of Miguel de las Casas, 25 years of age, native of Teneriffe, Canary Islands.

Francisco de Castaneda, son of Bartolome Martinez, 18 years of age, native of Berganza, Spain.

Diego Castilla, son of Juan Castilla, 19 years of age, native of Sevilla in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Miguel Montero de Castro, son of Agustin Castro, 25 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Juan Catalan, son of Pedro Cadino, 36 years of age, native of Valle de Toluca in New Spain.

Capitan Gregorio Cesar, son of Cesar Cesar, 40 years of age, native of Cadiz in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Alferez Diego Nunez de Chavez, 30 years of age, native of Guadacanal in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Juan Velarde Colodro, son of Juan Velarde Colodro, 38 years of age, native of Madrid in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Francisco Hernandez Cordero, son of Rodrigo Fernandez Cordero, 22 years of age, native of Guadalajara in New Spain.

Marcos Cortez, son of Juan Martinez, 30 years of age, native of Zalamea de la Serena in the province of Estremadura, Spain.

Antonio de la Cruz, 32 years of age, native of Barcelona in the province of Catalonia, Spain.

Juan de la Cruz, son of Juan Rodriguez, 19 years of age, native of Valle de Toluca in New Spain.

Manuel Diaz, son of Manuel Diaz, 20 years of age, native of Talavera in the province of Old Castile, Spain.

Juan Perez Donis, son of Francisco Perez Careno, 58 years of age, native of Valle de Haro in Old Castile, Spain.

Capitan Felipe de Escalante, son of Juan de Escalante Castilla, 48 years of age, native of Laredo in the province of Old Castile, Spain.

Juan de Escarramad, son of Don Juan Escarramad, 26 years of age, native of Murcia in the province of Murcia, Spain.

Capitan Marcelo de Espinosa, son of Antonio de Espinosa, 21 years of age, native of Madrid in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Isidro Suarez de Figuerroa, son of Pedro Suarez de Figuerroa, 20 years of age, native of Jerez de los Caballeros in the province of Estremadura, Spain.

Manuel Francisco, son of Francisco Perez, 30 years of age, native of Portugal.

Francisco Garcia, son of Martin Garcia, 36 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Marcos Garcia, son of Tome Garcia, 38 years of age, native of San Lucar de Barrameda in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Capitan Marcos Farfan de los Godos, son of Gines Farfan de los Godos, 40 years of age, native of Sevilla in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Hernan Martin Gomez, son of Hernan Martin Gomez, native of Valverde de la Reina in the province of Old Castile, Spain.

Juan Griego, son of Lazaro Griego, 32 years of age, native of Negroponte in the Kingdom of Greece.

Alferez Bartolome Gonzales, son of Juan Gonzales, 29-years of age, native of Corral de Alamaguer in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Francisco Hernandez Guillen, son of Hernan Perez, 50 years of age, native of Sevilla in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Cristobal Guillen, son of Diego Guillen, 20 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Geronimo de Heredia, son of Diego Hernandez de Heredia, 38 years of age, native of Cordova in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Antonio Hernandez, son of Francisco Simon, 33 years of age, native of Braga in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Gonzalo Hernandez, son of Pedro Alonso Falcon, 50 years of age, native of Coimbra in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Antonio Conde de Herrera, son of Antonio Conde de Herrera, 18 years of age, native of Jerez de la Frontera in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Bartolome de Herrera, son of Miguel de Herrera, 20 years of age, native of Sevilla in the Province of Andalucia, Spain.

Cristobal de Herrera, son of Juan de Herrera, 19 years of age, native of Jerez de la Frontera in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Hernando de Hinojosa, son of Juan Ruiz, 36 years of age, native of Cartaya in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Alferez Antonio Nunez de Hinojosa, son of Alonso de Santiago, 29 years of age, native of Palencia in the province of Extremadura, Spain.

Alferez Domingo de Ledesma, son of Juan Fernandez Ledesma, 25 years of age, native of Talavera de la Reina in the province of Old Castile, Spain.

Juan de Leon, son of Antonio de Leon, 30 years of age, native of Cadiz in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Cristobal Lopez, son of Diego Lopez de Aviles, 40 years of age, Native of Avila in the province of Old Castile, Spain.

Juan Lucas, son of Juan Lucas, 28 years of age, native of Puebla in New Spain.

Francisco Martin, son of Bonifacio Gomez, 69 years of age, native of Ayamonte in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Francisco Martin, son of Antonio de San Martin, 25 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Pedro de San Martin, son of Antonio de San Martin, 25 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Hernan Martin, son of Hernan Martin Serrano, 40 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Hernan Martin, son of Hernan Martin Gomez, 20 years of age, native of Verlanga.

Hernan Martin, son of Hernan Martin Gomez, 60 years of age, native of Valverde de la Reina in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Alonso Martinez, son of Benito Diaz, 46 years of age, native of Higuera de Vargas in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Juan Mendel, son of Fernan Mendel, 43 years of age, native of Ayamonte in the province of Andulucia, Spain.

Capitan Alonzo Gomez Montesino, son of Gonzalo Gomez, 28 years of age, native of Villa Nueva de los Infantes in the province of Ciudad Real, Spain.

Juan Moran, son of Juan Moran, native of Mora del Toro.

Lorenzo de Munuera, son of Gil de Munuera, 28 years of age, native of Villa Carillo in New Spain.

Baltazar de Munzon, son of Baltazar de Munzon, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Alonzo Naranjo, son of Diego Carrasco, 42 years of age, native of Valladolid in New Spain.

Francisco de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, 19 years of age, native of Panico in New Spain.

Juan de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, 19 years of age, native of Panico in New Spain.

El Adelantado Don Juan de Onate, son of Cristobal de Onate, 48 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Cristobal de Onate, son of Don Juan de Onate, 10 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Juan Pedraza, son of Alonso Gonzales, 30 years of age, native of Cartaya in the province of Andaluca, Spain.

Capitan Alonso de Sosa Penalosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Albornos, 48 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Alferez Real Francisco de Sosa Penalosa, son of Francisco de Penalosa, 60 years of age, native of Avila in Old Castile, Spain.

Alferez Juan Pineiro (Pereiro), son of Manuel Pineiro, 30 years of age, native of Frenegal in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Andres Perez, son of Andres Perez de Cabo, 30 years old, native of Tordesillas in the province of Leon, Spain.

Capitan Alonzo de Quesada, son of Pedro de Quesada, 32 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Francisco Ramirez, son of Gomez de Salazar, 24 years of age, native of Cartaya in the province of Andaluca, Spain.

Francisco Ramirez, son of Gomez de Salazar, 24 years of age, native of Puerto Real (Cadiz) in the province of Andaluca, Spain.

Martin Ramirez, son of Juan Leal, 32 years of age, native of Lepe in the province of Vascongada, Spain

Juan de Requermo, son of Juan de Rivas, 24 years of age, native of Puebla de los Angeles in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Juan Ortiz Requelmo, son of Juan Lopez Ortega, 28 years of age, native of Sevilla in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Pedro de los Reyes, son of Sabastian de los Reyes, 18 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Alonso de Rio, son of Esteban Arias, 28 years of age, native of Puerto Real in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Lorenzo Salado de Rivadeneyra, 23 years old, native of Valladolid in the province of Leon, Spain.

Pedro de Rivas, son of Juan de Rivas, native of Puebla in New Spain.

Pedro de Rivera, son of Franciso Miguel de Rivera, 19 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Alonso Robledo, son of Pedro Robledo, 21 years of age, native of Cimapan in New Spain.

Francisco Robledo, son of Pedro Robledo, 18 years of age, native of Valladolid in New Spain.

Alferez Pedro Robledo, son of Alejo Robledo, 60 years of age, native of Maqueda in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Pedro Robledo, son of Pedro Robledo, 18 years of age, native of Temascaltepeque in New Spain.

Antonio Rodriguez, son of Silvestre Juan, 28 years of age, native of Lisboa in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Juan Rodriguez, son of Gonzalo Gonzales, 40 years of age, native of Oporto in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Juan Rodriguez, son of Geronimo Sanchez, 23 years of age, native of Sombrerete in New Spain.

Sabastian Rodriguez, son of Juan Ruiz, 30 years of age, native of Cartaya in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Alferez Bartolome Romero, son of Bartolome Romero, 35 years of age, native of Corral de Almaguer in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Capitan Juan Moreno de la Rua, son of Hernando Moreno de la Rua, 27 years of age, native of Salamanca in the province of Leon, Spain.

Juan de Salas, son of Alonso Sanchez, 20 years of age, native of Niebla in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Contador Alonso Sanchez, son of Alonso Marquez, 50 years of age, native of Niebla in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Alonso Sanchez, son of Alonso Sanchez, 22 years of age, native of La Puana in New Spain.

Cristobal Sanchez, son of Geronimo Sanchez, 27 years of age, native of Sombrerete in New Spain.

Francisco Sanchez, son of Diego Sanchez, 36 years of age, native of Cartaya in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Francisco Sanchez, son of Geronimo Sanchez, 24 years of age, native of Sombrerete in New Spain.

Matias Sanchez, son of Geronimo Sanchez, 15 years of age, native of Sombrerete in New Spain.

Pedro Sanchez, son of Hernan Martinez de Monroy, 30 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Antonio de Sarinana, son of Pedro Sanchez de Amiero, 19 years of age, native of the province of Galicia, Spain.

Hernando de Segura, son of Francisco de Diaz de Vilaborez, 27 years of age, native of San Juan del Pueblo, Spain.

Sebastian Serrano, son of Juan Alonso, 28 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Esteban de Sosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Penalosa, 27 years of age, native of Condado de San Juan de Pueblo, New Spain.

Francisco Yllan de Sosa, son of Francisco Sosa, 24 years of age, native of Valle de Atillo in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Gaspar Lopez de Tavora, son of Gaspar Lopez de Tavora, 30 years of age, native of Lisboa in the Kingdom of Portugal.

Lucas de Tordesillas, son of Juan de Torodesillas, 30 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Leonis de Trevino, son of Baltazar de Banuelos, 26 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Alonso Varela, son of Pedro Varela, 30 years of age, native of the province of Galicia, Spain.

Pedro Varela, son of Pedro Varela, 32 years of age, native of Santiago in the province of Galicia, Spain.

Juan Gonzales de Vargas, son of Francisco Martinez, 22 years of age, native of Carmona (Sevilla) in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Francisco Vasquez, son of Alonso Alfran, 28 years of age, native of Cart6yaya in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Tesodero (Treasurer) Luis Gasco de Velasco, son of Luis Ximenez Gasco, 38 years of age, native of Cuenca in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Rodrigo Velman, son of Francisco Velman, 30 years of age, native of Flanders.

Francisco Vido, son of Geronimo Vido, 20 years of age, native of the City of Mexico in New Spain.

Capitan Gaspar Perez de Villagra, son of Hernan Perez de Villagra, 43 years of age, native of Puebla de los Angeles in the province of New Castile, Spain.

Francisco de Villalba, son of Juan Miguel Galindo, 20 years of age, native of Cadiz in the province of Andalucia, Spain.

Miguel Rodriguez de Villaviciosa, son of Juanes de Villaviciosa, 20 years of age, native of Renteria in the province of Verona, Spain.

Juan Ximenez, son of Francisco Ximenez, 30 years of age, native of Trujillo in the province of Estremadura, Spain.

Ysidro Xuarez, son of Pedro Xuarez Montano, 20 years of age, native of Jerez de los Cabelleros, Spain.

Capitan Pablo de Aguilar Ynojosa, son of Juan de Ynojosa, 36 years of age, native of Valle de Haro in the province of Old Castile, Spain.

Leon de Ysasti, son of Juanes de Ysasti, native of Valle de Haro in the province of Old Castile, Spain.

Diego de Zubia, son of Juan de Zubia, 36 years of age, native of Guadalajara in New Spain.

Sargento Vicente de Zaldivar, son of Vicente de Zaldivar, 25 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Maese de Campo Juan de Zaldivar, son of Vicente de Zaldivar, 28 years of age, native of Zacatecas in New Spain.

Rodrigo Zapata, son of Francisco Hernandez Zapata, native of Azuga in the province of Estramedura, Spain.

**FRANCISCAN FRIARS AND LAY BROTHERS
WHO WERE AMONGF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF SAN GABRIEL**

Fray Juan Carlos

Fray Andres Corchado

Fray Pedro de la Cruz

First Comisario Fray Rodrigo Duran

Fray Luis de Escolona

Fray Francisco de Escobar

Fray Gonzalo de Herrera

Fray Lupe Izquierdo

Fray Alonso de Lugo

Comisario Fray Alonso Martinez

Fray Alonso de la Oliva

Fray Gaston de Peralta

Fray Juan de Rozas

Fray Cristobal de Salazar

Fray Juan de Frias Salazar

Fray Francisco de San Miguel

Fray Juan de Santa Maria

Fray Francisco de Zamora

* This information was on a poster that was given to me at a meeting of the Hispanic Genealogical Society of New Mexico in Albuquerque this past year. The poster was published by Huge Formhals using the design and publishing services of Rocky Mountain Press.

