

Families, 40, 189, 359, and 360; AGN, Inquisición, vol. 425, exp 23, f. 633r–636r, Acusación presentada por Apolonia Varela, 1641; Kessell, Hendricks, Dodge, *To the Royal Crown Restored*, 54; John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, Larry D. Miller, and Richard Flint, eds. *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694–97*, Book 2 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 1143. (E & S)

5. Juan González appears to have also been known as Juan González Bas, who was married to Nicolasa Zaldívar Jorge. Very little is known about this man, except that he had a son named Juan González Bas, who settled in the Río Abajo area after 1693. This son held many civil and military positions of prominence, including alcalde mayor of Albuquerque. Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families*, 189. (E & S)

6. In seventeenth-century New Mexico, *manta* referred to rough cotton cloth woven by Pueblo Indians and used by them and settlers as garments and bedding. Individual mantas, or squared pieces, were a common article of tribute under the encomienda system in New Mexico. (E & S)

Document 21

*Documents Concerning Provisions and Livestock
Given by the Conventos for an Expedition against the Apaches*

June 16–July 4, 1669¹

[To] Very Reverend Father Preacher Fray Juan de Talabán, custodian and ecclesiastical judge of these provinces. June 16, 1669.

Today, Sunday, which is the sixteenth of the present month, at about the hour of the Angelus, I received two letters, one from the reverend father definator fray Fernando de Monroy, and the other from Captain Francisco Xavier.² Both inform me that a great ambushade of Apache enemies hurled themselves on the pueblo of Acoma and killed twelve persons of the said pueblo, carried off two women alive, eight hundred head of *ganado menor*, sixty head of cattle, and all the horses there were in the pueblo.³ After the said Francisco Xavier had left the [pueblo], the father definator, as is shown by a paper of his, asked him for aid; and, having gone out to encounter the enemies, they fought valorously, and nevertheless the [enemy] killed Captain don Cristóbal de Chaves.⁴ The father definator informs me that the province is lost and that the neighboring ones should be aided and defended because the Apaches are very audacious. Captain Francisco

Xavier tells me the same and that unless reprisal is made and the milpas of these rapacious enemies cut down, they will undoubtedly destroy this kingdom, for thus the said Apaches proclaim at the top of their voices and in the Spanish language. And the [Apaches] and the Salineros have congregated with those of Casa Fuerte.⁵ They also wounded four soldiers and many horses.

I have decided to do what is possible to remedy the situation and to be in the pueblo of San Diego de Jemez on the second of the coming month of July, and I have designated it as the plaza de armas from which I shall set out with fifty soldiers and six hundred Christian Indians.

The land is so impoverished as a result of such great famines and misfortunes, as your fathership knows, and it is necessary that this force have food. In the name of His Majesty I am notifying your very reverend fathership in order that you may give permission to the fathers, preachers, and guardians who might have any provisions to relieve such urgent need with them and with some head of cattle and livestock. This should be ready in the pueblo of Jemez for the second day of July, for, if there were any supplies in the kingdom, my soul, which belongs to God, is the only thing I would not give to buy them. There are none, as your very reverend fathership knows. Therefore, I give you this information and I am certain that as a faithful and loyal vassal of His Majesty you will assist on an occasion of such great urgency. In [reply to] another letter which I wrote to your very reverend fathership in April with regard to making an expedition to punish the enemy, in which I asked for the same supplies, you suggested that there were some in the pueblo of Jemez and in that of Pecos, and that I should take them. I live in such great anxiety that if your very reverend fathership were not aware [of the situation], it would be useless [to try to remedy it]. I am also taking thirty head of cattle from Maestre de Campo Francisco de Valencia and from Maestre de Campo Tomé Domínguez [de Mendoza] and from Captain Alonso García, who are those who have herds.

Let your very reverend fathership appoint the friar whom he considers most suitable and appropriate to go as chaplain and accompany me on this expedition. And he also is to be in the pueblo on the second day of July. I trust that your very reverend fathership will act in every way in accordance with your great obligations, apprising me of the receipt of this letter. God keep your very reverend fathership. Santa Fe, today, June 16 of the year 1669. Your servant kisses the hand of your very reverend fathership.

Juan de Medrano Messía (rubric).

[To] Don Juan de Medrano Messía, governor and captain general of these provinces.

Yesterday, the seventeenth of this month, after the Angelus, I received a letter from your lordship, dated the sixteenth of the same, in which you inform me of the calamitous event, ambushade, and the death of Cristóbal de Chaves, and of the strength of the enemy, whose arrows doubly wound my heart, both because I am aware of their audacity and because I find every day that the ministrations of these converted should become nearer to impossible as a result of the robberies they have committed in the convents of [the Río] Abajo, and now in that of Acoma. And I feel not only this harm done by the enemy, but also that which the friendly and domesticated Indians have committed in the poor convents, stealing and killing herds, the extremes of kindness and supreme charity which this *custodia* has shown them having been insufficient [to deter] them. The herds are kept for the sole purpose of maintaining these ministers and to obtain what adornment is possible for these temples, for no one succors them and God alone supports them. This *custodia* has spent most of what little it has in sustaining the natives, and it has been necessary to give succor to the convents of Senecú and Socorro, and now to that of Acoma. And the convents of Nambé, [San] Ildefonso, and San Juan are in such desperate straits that it is absolutely necessary for me to help them as best I can so that those souls may not lack ministers. Although this is so, and it is obligatory to alleviate such urgent want, and although the cattle which this *custodia* has are so insufficient in number for such great consumption, and there is no hope of relief since the Order of St. Francis has no door to which to go in the hope of receiving alms; nevertheless, considering only the straits and extremity which your lordship makes known to me, and that the war is defensive, the measure to be employed being the destruction of grain fields of the enemy, with the sole intention of cooperating in what is just, remaining aloof from every other aid foreign to what I owe to my state, [acting] in accordance with what has been decided by the sacred councils, sanctions, canons, and determinations of the Holy Church, of which I make protestations in the form in which I must and can in the safety of my own conscience and that of my subjects, I say that the most I can do is to succor the expedition with 160 ewes, 40 sheep, and 24 head of cattle, which amounts in all to the number of the 224 head of livestock. With regard to the supply of grain, I say that the famine had affected this *custodia* no less than the rest of the kingdom because it has continued for two years and something more, and the ministers have

been giving sustenance to all the Indians at the sound of the bell, as well as giving them seed to sow in order to remedy in this way the total ruin threatened by such great need. If they had not done so, no Indians would be alive now, since, as is shown by the books and dispositions of the convents, the consumption in this way has been great. I have seen that the friars have done this charity to the Indians in person, and I myself have done so. Moreover, since your lordship entered this unhappy kingdom in the month of November of the past year and found the scarcity of food, this custodia has relieved it insofar as it has been able to do so, taking from the convents of Santo Domingo, Jemez, Pecos, Taos, Picurís, Socorro, and Senecú the wheat and maize they have been able [to give]. As a result, all of them have so little today that it is insufficient for their needs. Although I said in the month of April that the convent of Jemez had some provisions, today it needs them, because father fray Tomás de Alvarado gave succor of wheat and maize from there to your lordship during Holy Week of this year. And on a second occasion father definito Trujillo, guardian of the same convent, gave wheat and maize to your lordship. And the convents of Galisteo, Sandia, and Sía [Zía] have been aided from there, and at present it is giving food to the Indians, who are dying without human means of remedy. The conclusion to be drawn from what has been said is that there is no recourse whatsoever there. I find that only from Pecos can twenty fanegas of wheat be given, and this means taking their own sustenance from them. All of which I did with a very good will so that God and His Church and His Majesty and his lands may be defended. Without its serving as a precedent for another occasion, if it please your lordship, you may send to Pecos for the wheat because if it is entrusted to the Indians, they will steal it.

Your lordship will find the friar whom your lordship tells me to appoint as chaplain in Jemez, as you suggest in your letter to me. God keep your lordship many years. Sandia, June 18 of the year 1669. Your servant and chaplain kisses the hand of your lordship. Fray Juan de Talabán (rubric).

Very Reverend Father Preacher Fray Juan de Talabán, custodian and ecclesiastical judge of these provinces.

It is necessary for me to reply to your letter in accordance with what your reverend fathership writes me. By it and the experience I have had of your procedure, I am certain and sure that the calamities sadden you, both the robberies and killings of soldiers and Christian Indians which the Apache enemies have committed, and the general disaster of the famine which has

provoked the Christian Indians to ruin the convents by killing their herds and animals; ignorant people, for I know with what love and charity their hunger has been relieved in all the convents with what there has been and is in them. I am also aware that because of the robberies of cattle which the Apaches have committed in Socorro and Senecú, your very reverend fatherhood has succored these convents as well as that of Nambé and those of San Ildefonso and San Juan in order to sustain the ministers who assist in them, and that what the convents have is very little in proportion to such great expense. And because of the poverty of these provinces it is certain that the friars of my father St. Francis will not find alms. God knows I would rejoice to have much to give them.

Your very reverend fatherhood says in your letter that only considering the straits and extremity I describe to you, and that the war is defensive, the means I intend to use being the destruction of the grain fields of the Apache enemies, without other intent, you will cooperate in what is just, holding yourself aloof from every other aim and aberrant intention and [acting] only in accordance with what your very reverend fatherhood owes to your state and with what has been determined by the sacred councils, canons, and decisions of the Holy Church; and that in the form in which you must and can your very reverend fatherhood makes protestation of them with safe conscience for yourself and your subjects. [And you say] that the most you can do to aid the expedition is to give 160 ewes, 40 sheep, and 24 head of cattle. All this amounts to 224 head of livestock and twenty fanegas of wheat, for which, in the name of His Majesty, I give thanks to your very reverend fatherhood who acts in every way as his faithful vassal and as a virtuous pastor and a charitable and benevolent father.

For my part, I will live so grateful for such an action that I will put it as a blazon on the doors of my house, not forgetting the succor of provisions this holy custodia has given in such necessity for the sake of His Majesty (God keep him) and me as his governor and captain general of these provinces, and the soldiers and natives who go with me on this expedition to cut down the sowings of the Apache enemies and punish them wherever I find them. In no way does cooperation in this expedition lay a burden on the conscience of your very reverend fatherhood nor on that of any of your subjects. I also have a clear conscience, and my men do, because my sole purpose in going forth to carry out [the expedition] is the service of God, our Lord, for the defense of this kingdom, without other interest than defending it and preventing its holy

temples, churches, and priests from being vituperated and outraged by such barbarous enemies. Moreover, the reverend father definator fray Fernando de Monroy writes that by a miracle the ambushade which attacked the pueblo of Acoma did not enter it and destroy the church although the livestock was carried off. My intention in [making] this expedition, as I have said, is to see whether I can remedy the situation so that these voracious enemies will cease to afflict this wretched land, for as long as they are [quiet] and leave us alone, I will never seek out nor disturb them for any private ends.

I beg your very reverend fathership to be good enough to order that the livestock be ready in Jemez for the second day of July, and I will send to Pecos for twenty fanegas of wheat. Let me know about your health. And in the said pueblo of Jemez, as plaza de armas, I will certify to the succor which your very reverend fathership and this holy custodia have given to aid us in the service of God, without its serving as a precedent hereafter.

God keep your very reverend fathership many years. Santa Fe, June 19, 1669, June 19 of the year 1669. Your obedient servant kisses the hand of your very reverend fathership. Juan de Medrano Messía (rubric).

Captain don Juan de Medrano Messía, governor and captain general of this kingdom and provinces of New Mexico for His Majesty.

I certify that because of the great need and famine there is in this kingdom, and [the need to make] reprisal against the Apache Indians, common enemies, who during the seven months I have been governing have killed six Spanish soldiers and 373 Christian Indians, stolen more than two thousand horses, mares, and mules, and more than two thousand head of ganado menor, the property of the convents of this holy custodia and of the citizens and inhabitants of these provinces, keeping these [provinces] so ravaged and destroyed, that it is a miracle anyone remains in them. In order to remedy the situation as far as possible I decided that an expedition consisting of fifty Spanish soldiers and six hundred Christian Indians should be made to the lands of the said Apaches to punish them and cut down their sowings. And in order to be able to carry it out in spite of the lack of provisions, so great that the Christian Indians are dying of hunger on the roads, feeding on hides, herbs of the field, and vermin, while the Spaniards and other civilized people sustain themselves only with little meat and milk; and in view of the great lack of resources to make it possible to go forth to inflict said punishment, I

wrote a letter to the very reverend father preacher, fray Juan de Talabán, custodian and ecclesiastical judge of these provinces, so that aid might be given by the convents of this holy custodia with some provisions and meat for the sustenance of the fifty Spanish soldiers and six hundred Christian Indians.

Then, well-armed and in accordance with military usage, they passed muster in this pueblo of San Diego de Jemez where, by order of the very reverend father custodian, the Reverend Father Joseph Trujillo, defintor of this holy custodia and guardian of the said pueblo, handed over to me twenty fanegas of biscuit, two hundred head of ganado menor and twenty-four head of cattle, amounting in all to 224 head. All this was handed over to Maestre de Campo Francisco de Madrid, whom I have appointed head and commander of the expedition, reprisal, and destruction which it has been possible to undertake as a result of this succor. The said reverend father custodian and the other friars of this holy custodia have only given it so that the lands of the enemy may be laid to waste and with no intention of cooperating in effusion of blood, but solely to reduce the strength of the enemy so that they may not do so much damage. I consider it a pious, charitable work. And making it possible by means of said aid for these fifty soldiers and six hundred Indians to set out is a very special service, worthy and deserving of high estimation, in which I hold it. In the name of His Majesty I give thanks to the very reverend father custodian, fray Juan de Talabán, and the reverend fathers defintors and other fathers preachers and guardians of this holy custodia. And in order that it may be on record, I issued the present writing signed by my name and countersigned by the secretary of government and war.

Done in the pueblo of San Diego de Jemez on the fourth day of the month of July of the year 1669. Juan de Medrano Messía (rubric). In my presence, Francisco del Castillo Betancur, secretary of government and was (rubric).

Notes

1. Biblioteca Nacional de México, leg. 1, no. 32.
2. *Ganado menor* is the general term for small livestock such as sheep and goats. *Ganado mayor* is the term for large livestock such as cattle and horses.
3. Francisco Xavier, born circa 1628, came to New Mexico in the company of Governor don Bernardo López de Mendizábal in 1659. By 1663 he was married to Graciana Griego, a daughter of Juan Griego, the younger, and Juana de la Cruz. Graciana's maternal grandmother, Beatriz de los Ángeles, was a Mexican Indian who was denounced to the Inquisition during the late 1620s and early 1630s for making potions and casting spells against others. Francisco Xavier occupied