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PLAINS INDIANS IN NEW MEXICO

THE GENÍZARO EXPERIENCE

RUSSELL M. MAGNAGHI

The colonial period in American history must include not only the English experience on the Atlantic shore but the Spanish story in the Southwest and the approaches to the Great Plains.¹ Part of the New Mexican story is the emergence of a new people who become part of our multicultural experience, the detribalized Indians of the Plains and Mountains who were given the name *genízaros* and were eventually absorbed into Pueblo-Spanish society.² The Spanish had tried to implement their Indian policy on the Great Plains, but frustrated by the environment and the native people, they remained in their New Mexican settlements and watched as Plains Indians involuntarily came to them.

INDIAN SLAVES AND SERVANTS

The Spanish position on Indian slavery

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helped determine the character of Indian relations along the New Mexican frontier. From the time of Columbus's return to Spain there had been a debate over enslaving Indians. Between 1503 and 1510 the Spanish crown had authorized the enslavement of Caribbean Indians who practiced cannibalism, engaged in warfare, or rebelled against the Spanish. A royal decree dated 17 November 1526 instructed Spanish explorers to read the *Requerimento* (Requirement) to Indians they encountered in all new territories. If the Indians did not submit, the resulting warfare was considered just and the Indians could be enslaved. The utopian-minded New Laws of 1542, which prohibited the enslavement of Indians, were all but ignored. Ultimately the "just war" provided the mechanism whereby non-Christian Indians were enslaved.³ The Spanish carried this concept and practice with them after they left the valley of Mexico and marched northward.

When Spaniards under Francisco de Coronado reached the Great Plains in the 1540s, they found an inhospitable environment. The Plains Apaches dominated the area from the Nebraska Sandhills to the Pecos River in West Texas until the close of the seventeenth century.⁴ These nomadic people disappointed the Spanish, who

were seeking stable and cohesive communities of Indians upon whom Spanish institutions could be imposed. Many of the Spanish governors who went to New Mexico after the beginning of Spanish settlement in 1598 were ineffective leaders who regarded their appointments as opportunities for personal gain.⁵ As a result the Spanish exploited the Pueblo Indians and often attacked and enslaved the Plains Apaches, whom they perceived as uncivilized. These Indian captives were one of the few profitable commodities that could be sent southward to the labor-starved silver mines of Nueva Vizcaya.⁶

TRADE IN INDIAN CAPTIVES

The relationship between the Spanish and the Indians was further altered with the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the promulgation of the colonial legal code known as the *Recopilación* of 1681. The Pueblo Revolt rendered the Spanish reluctant to enslave or exploit the Pueblos. The *Recopilación* carefully spelled out the Christian obligation to ransom captive Indians enslaved by other Indian tribes, a principle given further royal sanction in 1694, after a group of Navajos killed their Pawnee captives in front of the Spaniards who refused to ransom them.⁷

As these policy changes were being institutionalized in the early eighteenth century, the Comanches appeared, far from their homes in north central Colorado and determined to make the southern Plains their new home. They proceeded to drive the Utes and Plains Apaches from their territory and by midcentury dominated the Plains with French firearms and ammunition readily available through Wichita middlemen. In their encounters with the Plains Apaches and later with the Comanches, the poorly equipped and undermanned Spaniards found that the Indians acted individually and would not enter into peace negotiations as a political entity. As a result both Indian and Spanish settlements of New Mexico came under constant attack.⁸

The Spanish duty to ransom any and all captives who entered New Mexico quickly created

a market for Comanche prisoners, including not only Spanish and Pueblo people but Plains Indians who stood in the way of Comanche expansion. The trade in captives took place at traditional Indian fair sites such as Taos, Pecos, and elsewhere. In 1744 Fray Miguel Menchero observed that Taos's importance lay in the fact that non-Christian Indians entered the pueblo to sell captives, who were such an important commodity that Fray Pedro Serrano referred to them as the "gold and silver and richest treasures for the governor" or anyone else who might want to trade. Prices varied according to the sex of the captive. In 1776 a female Indian between twelve and twenty years of age was traded for either two good horses and trifles or a mule and a scarlet cover. Males were worth half as much as females.⁹

The Plains Indians who were introduced into New Mexico came from tribes throughout the region: the Plains Apache, Comanche, Jumano, Kiowa, Pawnee, and Wichita. The Pawnees were commonly taken as slaves throughout the colonial era and were found in both French and Spanish communities on the eastern and western edges of the Plains. Jumano and Pawnee contact with the Spanish began in the seventeenth century although their baptismal entries begin in 1702-03. The Kiowas begin to show in the records in the late 1720s. The Comanches are first listed in the Spanish records in the early eighteenth century. A final group of Indians who first appear in the Spanish church records in 1742 are the A or Aa Indians. Although scholars have thought they were Skidi Pawnees, Dolores Gunnerson has identified them as Crows.¹⁰

THE FIRST GENÍZAROS

The captives who remained in New Mexico were divided into two groups: *índios sirvientes* (Indian servants) and *índios genízaros* depending on their status. Indian servants were non-Christian Indians who were allotted to the settlers after having been ransomed at the fairs. According to the *Recopilación*, it was the duty of the Spanish owner to acculturate them and their

duty to work off their ransom payment.¹¹ The process of hispanic acculturation began immediately and was expected to be thorough enough to place these Indians within the hierarchy of Spanish society. Through baptism they entered the Catholic faith and received Christian names. Being of unknown parentage, these Indians were listed in baptismal records as “of the house of,” “servant of,” or “adopted by.” Their surnames were taken from the households they were attached to, from their godfathers, or, if the Indians were females, occasionally from their godmothers.¹² As part of the indoctrination process these Indians learned a simple form of Spanish. Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez noted in 1776 that *genízaros* were not very fluent in Spanish, and, continuing in a critical tone, that he did not believe that even with practice they would become so.¹³ Originating from diverse tribes with varied languages, the *genízaros* adopted Spanish as their *lingua franca*. Since any hope of returning to their own people was out of the question, these unfortunate Indians were forced to acculturate into Spanish society. They mixed European values with their own, dressed in Spanish clothes, and followed the customs of the dominant society.

The practice of keeping Indian servants under even these circumstances frequently led to abuses among the Spanish. For instance in 1763 two *genízaras* appealed directly to Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín against their masters. The women complained that they had been improperly cared for and not instructed in the Christian faith. Furthermore they were sent out to tend sheep, which was considered a male occupation, and in the process one of them was raped. The governor removed them from their masters and placed them in homes “where they might be instructed in Christian doctrine and customs, and be fed and clothed through household chores appropriate to their sex.”¹⁴ At other times when these servants did not receive the proper satisfaction large numbers fled the settlements, and many lived as “apostates” with the Apaches in the mountains. In an effort to remedy abuses, the provincial government in-

tervened and if mistreatment could be proven removed abused Indians from their masters.¹⁵

Once these Indian servants had paid their debts they were free to leave the Spanish household and then became known as *genízaros*. Although over the years a number of meanings have been given to this term, Fray Agustín Morfí, referring to the *genízaros* of the *barrio de Analco* in Santa Fe in 1779, gave a precise and correct definition of *genízaro*: “This name is given to the children of the captives of different [Indian] nations who have married in the province.”¹⁶ This term was used by the local Hispanic people to identify these people through the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth centuries. Known by the New Mexicans as “children of the enemy,” *genízaros* lacked social status because they were not Spanish, Pueblo Indian, or hostile Indian. Because of this lack of status they could not be admitted into the *pueblos* and legally obtain land. As Fray Damian Martínez wrote in 1792, they were reduced to living without “land, cattle or other property with which to make a living except their bows and arrows.”¹⁷

GENÍZAROS IN FRONTIER OUTPOSTS

At first the *genízaros* naturally congregated in the *barrio* of Analco in the southern section of Santa Fe, while others sought acceptance in Pueblo villages. Their lack of legal status and the increased population pressures on land in the Río Grande valley in the eighteenth century made their settlement difficult.¹⁸ At the same time, however, raids by hostile Indians—Apaches, Comanches, Navajos, and Utes—made it imperative that the frontier regions be settled for defense. As a result many *genízaros* were relocated in frontier districts to serve as buffers for the settlements.¹⁹

In the Río Abajo region (south from La Bajada and Cochiti Pueblo), Belén was settled early by the *genízaros* and by 1740 they were protesting attempts by the local *alcalde mayor* to seize their lands. In 1790 the *genízaros* were living throughout the community but were con-

centrated in Plaza Number Three, called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Genízaros.²⁰ By the late eighteenth century the settlement contained a large, varied population and was raised to the status of a district. The pueblos of Valencia and Cerro de Tomé, located thirty leagues to the south of Santa Fe, were established by Governor Gáspar Domingo de Mendoza in 1740 after forty families of genízaros applied to be resettled there. They farmed and scouted and defended the frontier with bravery and diligence. By the mid-1770s at the mission of Socorro near El Paso there was a community of Apache genízaros. San Miguel del Vado, east of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and Pecos, was originally settled in 1794 as a frontier outpost against Plains Indians. It was constructed for defense with its plaza surrounded by houses and a church. Genízaro soldier-farmers were its first residents, but after 1799 they were joined by mestizos and other genízaros who were seeking arable land. Eventually a few pacified Comanches and some Pueblo Indians from Nambé joined the population.²¹

In the Río Arriba region to the north of Santa Fe, other genízaro settlements began to appear. Ojo Caliente, in the direct path of raids, was created by order of Governor Joachim Cordallos y Rabál in an attempt to halt Comanche and Ute incursions and depredations. Unfortunately even the tenacious genízaros who formed the majority of the population were forced to abandon the settlement. San Tomás de Abiquiú was established in 1748 and by 1752 Governor Vélez Cachupín noted that there were 108 genízaros living there with thirty-nine men bearing arms. Governor Mendinueta sought to use genízaros scattered without fixed residences in the Río Puerco region to assist in the reestablishment of the settlement of San Miguel de Carnue in the Sandía Mountains. It had been established in 1763 to help curb Apache raids into the Albuquerque region but was abandoned in 1771. In order to attract genízaros to the enterprise, they were promised an equal footing with the Spanish settlers, but continued Apache raids forced the governor to abandon the resettlement plans.²²

GENÍZARO POPULATION

Incomplete or missing documentation has rendered accurate data on the genízaro population unavailable, and available data must be augmented to include the servant population as well, since they were in the process of becoming genízaros. The 1750 census of New Mexico shows a genízaro population of 154 and a servant population of 693, for a genízaro-servant population comprising 13.2 percent of the total. Within Albuquerque alone this combination rose to 28.7 percent. In 1758 Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco noted that the population was divided into Spanish and genízaro portions. Of the latter he noted that there were fifty-eight heads of families or 225 individuals. An anonymous report written in 1765 indicated that there were 191 genízaro families or 677 individuals living in New Mexico. By 1776 forty-two genízaro families or 164 individuals, comprising 12.25 percent of the population of Santa Fe, lived in the barrio of Analco, where they had their own church. Genízaros not only resided in their own communities or in barrios like Analco but were scattered in Pueblo villages as well. In 1790 they could be found at Taos, San Juan, Santa Clara, and Nambé pueblos. Although the genízaros came from various, hostile tribes and, according to Spanish observers, would have been enemies in their native state, they lived together in peace in New Mexico.²³

Throughout colonial Spanish American society there was a great concern for racial classification.²⁴ In New Mexico the population was classified in the 1790 census according to the following ethnic derivations: Spanish; Indian; *mestizo* (generally understood to be a mixture of Spanish and Mexican Indian); *coyote* (a mixture of Spanish and of New Mexican Indian); *mulato* (sometimes used with its usual connotation and sometimes used by the friars to indicate a mixture of Spanish and Indian); *genízaro*; *color quebrado* (literally "broken color"; the exact meaning of this term is disputed, but it denotes a racial mixture, possibly of white, Indian, and black or any combination of the

three); and *lobo* (racial mixture). The population was “whitened” by upward economic mobility and marriage, as children took the status of the mother. The 1790 census shows that *genízaro* males were married to women of varied racial origin: *mestiza* (24), *genízara* (11), Indian (9), *coyote* (3), and two each *color quebrado*, Spanish, and *mulatta*. Two *genízara* married Pueblo Indians from Socorro near El Paso who had moved into their wives’ community at Belén. The *genízaros* were blending into the local society where racial mixture was tolerated.²⁵

GENÍZARO OCCUPATIONS

The *genízaros*’ occupations changed with their status. The first *genízaros* were referred to in the Spanish records as the “servants” but never as the “slaves” of the Spaniards who had ransomed them. Those who were released from their debt were usually forced into menial tasks and were considered the poorest residents of the community. Later others became skilled and ingenious craftsmen, making baskets, pottery, and shields.²⁶ In 1776 Fray Francisco Dominguez critically evaluated the role of the *genízaros* that he encountered on his tour of New Mexico. He did not note the occupations of those he met in Santa Fe but recorded finding many servants in other Spanish communities and ranches. Some *genízaros* at Abiquiú were starving in the midst of good farm land, but to the south, at Los Jarales, some were farming small plots of arable land.²⁷ By 1790 most *genízaros* were farmers (28.6 percent) and day laborers (25 percent), occupations characteristic of the local economy. Weaving woolen blankets, a “very ordinary cloth,” and cloth for coats, serge, serapes, baize, sackcloth, carpeting, and stockings was a common cottage industry throughout the province, where sheep were plentiful and cloth was considered a medium of exchange. As a result, 15.3 percent of the *genízaro* work force found employment as carders, spinners, and weavers. The remainder were occupied as muleteers, carpenters, shoemakers, builders, sweepers, and shepherds.²⁸

Located in frontier settlements, many *gen-*

ízaros became traders with Plains and Mountain Indians during periods of peace. At Abiquiú Ute Indians arrived in late October or early November to trade deerskins for horses and broad knives (*belduques*) and jerked deer and buffalo meat for corn flour at the annual trade fair. There was also a small trade in captive children.²⁹ After the Anza-Ecuera-capa treaty of 1786 between the Spanish and Comanches, the Indians and Spaniards of New Mexico, especially the “indigent and rude classes of the frontier villages” known as *comancheros*, could venture onto the Plains and trade with the Comanches. Many of the *genízaros* knew Plains Indian languages, and with a very small investment in “a few trinkets and trumperies of all kinds, and perhaps a bag of bread and maybe another of *pinole*,” they could become involved in trade that might net them a mule or two.³⁰ Spanish and Mexican officials promoted such trade to maintain knowledge of the territory, the Indians, and foreign intrusion.

The Spanish governments had inadequate military forces and finances for guarding the New Mexican frontier and relied on Indian auxiliaries, both Pueblos and *genízaros*, who went on expeditions with their own resources. *Genízaro* military equipment was basic because the Spanish did not supply them with arms. In the late 1750s sixty-three *genízaros* in the province were armed with the traditional bow and arrow and eleven lances, but only three had muskets.³¹

The Spanish hoped that the *genízaro* farmer-soldiers settled where the Apache, Comanche, and Ute raiders entered the province would stop these raids, and in many cases they acted with bravery and zeal. The government utilized *genízaro* troops for offensive operations as well. They could bring the struggle to their traditional enemies—the people who had seized them—and halt, at least temporarily, the constant raids against New Mexican settlements. Although pay was non-existent, the *genízaros* took such booty as captives, horses, livestock, and foodstuffs.³²

The *genízaros* were effective frontier fighters. During the summer of 1777, fifty-five *genízaros* successfully fought the White Mountain Apaches. Their reputation grew with their suc-

cesses and at times local commanders specifically requested their presence on a military mission. The genízaro fighting force was officially recognized and formally organized in 1808 when the governor created the *tropa de Genízaro*, commanded by a corporal from their own ranks. Unfortunately the history of this unit has been lost.³³

Genízaros' fluency in Plains Indian languages made them excellent scouts and interpreters. In 1776 at Ranchos de Taos the Indians spoke Spanish, the Taos language, and "to a considerable extent the Comanche, Ute and Apache languages."³⁴ In the summer of 1800 when Josef Miguel led an expedition from New Mexico to the Missouri River he took along four genízaro interpreters.³⁵ Although individual genízaros were trusted as scouts or interpreters, as a group they were regarded as potentially traitorous and on a number of occasions some of them were tried for sedition.³⁶

GENÍZARO LEADERS AND OUTCASTS

Through intermarriage with mestizos and economic mobility, genízaros were able to enter Spanish society and some individuals played leadership roles. At El Paso in 1765 ten genízaro families had acquired the status of citizens, a sign of upward mobility among Indians. When the genízaro-dominated barrio of Analco at Santa Fe was threatened with destruction, Ventura Bustamente, a genízaro, traveled to Arizpe in 1780 to protest this action.³⁷ Other genízaros played important roles in the religious life of the communities. In 1812 José Cristobal Guerro, a San Miguel del Vado genízaro of Comanche extraction, led a drive for a resident priest. His petition to the bishop of Durango was so persuasive that the bishop thought that the town would become one of the most populous in New Mexico. The lack of secular priests in the late eighteenth century caused many Spanish and genízaro communities to turn to penitential confraternities (*cofradías*) to administer religious affairs. This movement continues with certain modifications into the present century.³⁸

Although many genízaros found occupations

and status within Hispanic society, many others stayed at the bottom of the social ladder. Numerous court records show that genízaros were common thieves, stole horses and livestock, and cheated Indians at trade fairs. Some were picked up as vagabonds as far south as Chihuahua and returned to New Mexico. Others spent their time gambling and engaging in petty theft. In one instance a genízaro and his wife allegedly killed Fray Ordoñez y Machado, the parish priest at Abiquiú, by witchcraft.³⁹

AMERICANS AND ASSIMILATION

In the nineteenth century Mexican independence and the arrival of Americans down the Santa Fe trail gradually erased the distinction between genízaro and Spaniard. The Plan of Iguala, which preceded Mexican independence in 1821, stated that the government was no longer concerned with the racial origins of its citizens. After independence there was little influence from Mexico and the genízaros coexisted with their Spanish and Pueblo neighbors but continued to be viewed as a different element within provincial society. When Americans first went to New Mexico they were unfamiliar with the local social traditions and in many instances were unable to make a clear distinction between Spaniards, Pueblo Indians, and genízaros. Thus in 1821 when the American trader Thomas James left San Miguel del Vado, primarily a genízaro community, he wrote that he was joined by "the alcalde and a company of *Spaniards* [emphasis added] bound for Santa Fe." On these and other occasions James used the terms "Spaniards," "Spanish Indians," and "Mexican Indians" when he was probably referring to genízaros. More than a decade later Josiah Gregg noted that the population consisted of white creoles, "mestizos or mixed creoles," and Pueblo Indians. In his estimation of the population (70,000) of New Mexico, "mestizos or mixed creoles" accounted for 84.2 percent of the total population. It was in this class the genízaros would have fallen.⁴⁰

The genízaro population continued to follow earlier settlement patterns. They had already

settled San Miguel del Vado and early in the century they continued the process down the Pecos valley and settled San Jose del Vado, La Cuesta and, around 1822, Antón Chico, which remained the eastern gateway to New Mexico until the 1860s.⁴¹

In these frontier locations the *genízaros* continued to play an active role with the Indians and the commerce of the Plains. Their employment as *comancheros*, interpreters, and hunters (*ciboleros*) continued until the 1870s. The frontier settlements of the *genízaros* also attracted some Comanche and Kiowa settlers who provided an important link with the Comanche and possibly spared New Mexico the disastrous raids that befell Durango and Chihuahua to the south. With the development of the Santa Fe trade, *genízaros* joined the caravans and traveled to St. Louis and back as guides and interpreters. The Missouri demand for New Mexican-made blankets created opportunities for others in the weaving industry.⁴²

The disputed identity of José Angel Gonzáles highlights the possible depth of the assimilative process in New Mexico and the incomplete historical record. In August 1837 the Hispanics and Pueblo Indians in Río Arriba rose in revolt and acclaimed Gonzáles governor. Was Gonzáles, the buffalo hunter from Taos, actually the son of a Pueblo mother and *genízaro* father, with close ties to the people who revolted? Or was he a Pueblo Indian from Taos or a *vecino* from Ranchos de Taos, as some sources indicate? When the insurrection was crushed after the battle of Pojoaque, Gonzáles and others were captured and executed. Although Governor Manuel Armijo called him a "*genízaro*" when he asked Padre Antonio Martinez to hear his final confession, the controversy over Gonzales' origins—Hispanic, Pueblo, or *genízaro*—cannot be settled by the existing primary source describing his death and origins. If he was a *genízaro* he was the first and only person of his class to be governor of New Mexico.⁴³

The *genízaro* people are unique in the history of Native Americans in the United States. By the time Anglo-Americans reached New Mexico, the *genízaro* people had been amalgamated

into Pueblo Indian life or into the lower social and economic strata of Hispanic society. The term "*genízaro*" fell into disuse and remains only in colonial documentation. Yet it has been estimated that by the late eighteenth century *genízaros* constituted one-third of the population of New Mexico.⁴⁴ They were an enduring human legacy of the cultural conflict on the Plains between the Spaniards and the Indians—Indians who became an integral part of Hispanic society in New Mexico and part of the American experience.

NOTES

1. Two critical studies of Borderland historiography are Gerald E. Poyo and Gilberto M. Hinojosa, "Spanish Texas and Borderlands Historiography in Transition: Implications for United States History," *Journal of American History* 75 (September 1988): 393-416; and David J. Weber, "John Francis Bannon and the Historiography of the Spanish Borderlands," *Journal of the Southwest* 29 (Winter 1987): 331-63.

2. The term *genízaro* had its origins in Spain where it designated a Spaniard of mixed European parentage. The contemporary spelling is *jenizaro* meaning "one begotten by parents of different nations or composed of different species" or merely mixed, hybrid. The word is of Turkish origin, *yeni cerci* new troops. In English, *janizary* refers to Christian boys, primarily from Albania, Bulgaria, and Bosnia, who were seized as annual tribute, instructed in the Muslim faith, and trained and enrolled as salaried infantry in the sultan's personal guard and in the main part of the army. Their discipline and loyalty made them one of the most formidable fighting forces in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They were eliminated in a series of reforms in 1826. (Fray Angélico Chávez, "Genízaros," *Handbook of North American Indians, Southwest* 9 [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979]: 198).

3. Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 38; Clarence H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1947), p. 7; Russell M. Magnaghi, "The Indian Slave Trader: The Comanche A Case Study" (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1970), pp. 13-19.

4. Coronado to the King, 20 October 1541, in *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542, Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, ed. George Winship (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), pp. 364, 367-69. For a brief survey of Spanish intrusions onto the Great Plains see Noel

M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 16-27; for the Plains Apache, see Karl H. Schlesier, "Rethinking the Dismal River Aspect and the Plains Athapaskans, A.D. 1692-1768," *Plains Anthropologist* 17 (May 1972): 101-33; and Michael B. Collins, "A Review of Llano Estacado Archaeology and Ethnohistory," *Plains Anthropologist* 16 (May 1971): 92-95.

5. France V. Scholes, *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937), p. 70.

6. Philip W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952); Robert C. West, *The Mining Community in Northern New Spain: The Parral Mining District* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), p. 52; Peter J. Bakewell in *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 122-29 stresses the widespread use of free wage labor in and near Zacatecas rather than the use of Indian slaves.

7. *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias. Mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Majestad católica del rey don Carlos II*, (Madrid, 1681), libro VII, título VII, leyes II and XVII; Alfred B. Thomas, ed., *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), pp. 13-14.

8. Catherine Price, "The Comanche Threat to Texas and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century and the Development of Spanish Indian Policy," *Journal of the West* 24 (1985): 34-45. The classic work on Comanche life is Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); Juan de Ulibarri, "The Diary of Juan de Ulibarri to El Cuartelejo, 1706," in Thomas, ed., *After Coronado*, p. 113. For an overview of these developments see Magnaghi, "The Indian Slave Trader," pp. 78-90.

9. Fray Alonso de Posada, "The Report of Fray Alonso de Posada in Relation to Quivira and Tequayo," trans. S. Lyman Tyler and H. Daniel Taylor, *New Mexico Historical Review* 33 (October 1958): 301-03; Cheryl Foote, "Spanish-Indian Trade along New Mexico's Northern Frontier in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the West* 24 (1985): 22-33; Fray Miguel Menchero to José Villaseñor, Informe, circa 1744, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (AGN) *Historia*, vol. 25, folio 231; "Report of . . . Serrano," in *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, ed. Charles W. Hackett (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1937) 3:486; Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, eds. and trans., *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray*

Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, with Other Contemporary Documents (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), p. 252. For a detailed study of the pre-hispanic trade between the Plains and Pueblo Indians see Charles L. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); for a thorough study of the captive trade fairs see: Magnaghi, "The Indian Slave Trader," pp. 135-43.

10. David M. Brugge, "Some Plains Indians in the Church Records of New Mexico," *Plains Anthropologist* 10 (1965): 181-89; James H. Gunnerson and Dolores A. Gunnerson, *Ethnohistory of the High Plains* (Denver: Colorado State Office, Bureau of Land Management, 1988), pp. 49-50.

11. *Recopilación de leyes. . .* (Madrid, 1681), libro VII, título VII, leyes III, XVII.

12. Colin M. MacLachlan and Jaime E. Rodriguez O, *The Forging of the Cosmic Race: A Reinterpretation of Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 208-9, 223-28; New Mexico Genealogical Society, comp., *Albuquerque Baptisms, Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1706-1850* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1983), pp. 2, 4, 8, 13, 15, 17, 35, 36, 39, 51-55.

13. Adams and Chávez, *Missions of New Mexico*, p. 42.

14. "Diligencias seguidas por querrela de dos Yndias Genízaras sirbientes contra sus amos," 12-15 October 1763, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (SANM), Santa Fe, microfilm reel 9, frames 524-26.

15. Pedro Alonso O'Creouley, *A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, rpt. trans. and ed. Sean Galvin (1774; rpt. San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1972), p. 52; Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:401; Fray Joachim Rodriguez, *San Ildefonso, Complaint*, 14 April 1766, SANM, reel 9, frames 949-51.

16. Alfred B. Thomas, ed. and trans., *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 91-92.

17. Fray Damian Martínez to Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, 1792, AGN *Historia*, vol. 25, folio 138.

18. *Ibid.*; Robert R. Miller, "New Mexico in the Mid-eighteenth Century: A Report Based on Governor Vélez Cachupín's Inspection," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 79 (October 1975): 171.

19. Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians, North of Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907-1910) 1:489.

20. Virginia Langham Olmsted, comp., *Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses of New Mexico, 1790, 1823, 1845* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society, Inc., 1975), pp. 42-44.

21. Henry W. Kelly, "Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760," *New Mexico Historical Review* 16 (January 1941): 68; Florence H. Ellis, "Tome and Father J.B.R.," *New Mexico Historical Review* 30 (April 1955): 93; "Declaration of Fray Miguel de Menchero, Santa Barbara, May 10, 1744," in Hackett, *Historical Documents*. . . , 3:401-2; "Description of . . . El Paso del Río del Norte, as Given by One of Its Citizens, after Seven Years Residence There, September 1, 1773," in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:506-8; O'Crouley, *A Description*, p. 51; Oakah L. Jones, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), pp. 116-17; Kenner, *History of New Mexico-Plains Indian Relations*, p. 63.
22. Eleanor B. Adams, ed., *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), p. 57; Miller, "New Mexico in the Mid-eighteenth Century," p. 176; Robert Archibald, "Cañon de Carnue: Settlement of a Grant," *New Mexico Historical Review* 51 (October 1976): 316, 319.
23. Virginia Langham Olmsted, comp., *Spanish and Mexican Censuses of New Mexico, 1750 to 1830* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society, Inc., 1981), pp. 1-97; John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540-1840* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1979), p. 512; Donald C. Cutter, trans., "An Anonymous Statistical Report on New Mexico in 1765," *New Mexico Historical Review* 50 (1975): 349-51; O'Crouley, *A Description*, pp. 58-59. There are few citations for *genízaros* in their early communities, Belén, Tomé, and Abiquiú, because they had been baptized before they arrived and were probably listed as Spanish in burial records.
24. For a definitive study on racial classification, see Magnus Morner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967).
25. Olmsted, *Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses*, p. i; Olmsted, *Censuses of New Mexico, 1790, 1823, 1845*; SANM, 1790 census, reel 12.
26. Albert H. Schroeder, "Rio Grande Ethnohistory," *New Perspectives on the Pueblos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), p. 62; Alfred B. Thomas, ed., "An Anonymous Description of New Mexico, 1818," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 33 (July 1929): 61.
27. Adams and Chávez, *Missions of New Mexico*, p. 42.
28. Thomas, "An Anonymous Description," p. 59; Miller, "New Mexico in the Mid-eighteenth Century," p. 178; Marc Simmons, trans., "The Chacon Economic Report of 1803," *New Mexico Historical Review* 60 (January 1985): 85; Olmsted, *Censuses of New Mexico, 1790, 1823, 1845*; SANM, 1790 census, reel 12.
29. Adams and Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico*, p. 252.
30. Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Milo Milton Quaife (New York: The Citadel Press, 1968), p. 219.
31. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross and Crown*, p. 512; Miller, "New Mexico in the Mid-eighteenth Century," p. 176.
32. "Declaration of . . . Menchero . . . 1744," Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:402; Oakah L. Jones, *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 175.
33. Report of Caballero de Croix. Mexico, 2 July 1777, SANM, reel 10, frame 925; [Chacon] "Extracto de las novedades ocurridas en la Provincia del Nuevo Mexico desde 4 de octubre haron 29 de noviembre . . . 1800," Santa Fe, 24 November 1800, SANM, reel 14 frame 652. Santa Fe, 24 November 1800, SANM, reel 14, frame 652; Joseph Manuel de Ochoa, Ojo de Anaya, 30 November 1800, SANM, reel 14, frames 658-59; Comandante General Salcedo to Governor Maynez, Chihuahua, 12 August 1808; Governor Maynez/Manrique to Comandante General Salcedo, Santa Fe, 20 June 1809, SANM, reel 16, frames 596, 907-9.
34. Adams and Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico*, p. 113.
35. [Chacon to Pedro de Nava], Santa Fe, 10 June 1800, SANM, reel 14, frames 548-49.
36. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), p. 213; trial of *genízaros* for sedition, Santa Fe-Chihuahua, 9 December 1807 to 28 March 1808, SANM, reel 15, frames 1099-1117.
37. Olmsted, *Censuses of New Mexico, 1790, 1823, 1845*; SANM, 1790 census, reel 12; Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 2 vols.* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914), 1:1138.
38. Kenner, *A History of New Mexico-Plains Indian Relations*, p. 64; Jones, *Los Paisanos*, p. 149; for studies of penitentes, see Lorayne Horka-Follick, *Los Hermanos Penitentes: A Vestige of Medievalism in Southwestern United States* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969); Fray Angélico Chávez, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 (April 1954): 97-123.
39. Adams and Chavez, *The Missions of New Mexico*, pp. 126, 259, 336.
40. Thomas James, *Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 80, 58, 71, 108, 68; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, p. 142.
41. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations*, p. 63.
42. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican-Plains In-*

dian Relations, pp. 63, 79; James, *Three Years*, pp. 108, 110; Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, p. 157.

43. The controversy over Gonzales' origins is best traced in Janet Leconte, *Rebellion in Río Arriba, 1837* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), pp. 36-75; Fray Angelico Chavez, "José Gon-

zales, Genízaro Governor," *New Mexico Historical Review* 30 (1955): 190-94, takes the position that Gonzales was a genízaro. He states that Gonzales escaped after the battle Pojoaque and died several months later.

44. Schroeder, "Rio Grande Ethnohistory," p. 62.