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France V. Scholes

Lansing B. Bloom

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FRIAR PERSONNEL AND MISSION CHRONOLOGY 1598-1629

By FRANCE V. SCHOLLES and LANSING B. BLOOM

IN THE PAST, students of the early mission history of New Mexico have depended very largely on five major sources. These are (1) the *Relaciones* of Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, (2) the 1630 *Memorial* of Fray Alonso de Benavides, (3) the two *Relaciones* of Fray Estevan de Perea, (4) the *Teatro Mexicano* of Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, and (5) the *Bezerro General* of Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa.

The first, written about 1629 by a friar who had served in New Mexico from 1621 to 1626, deals to a great extent with geography and exploration and actually contains little about missionary developments.¹ Benavides' *Memorial* of 1630, of which the Ayer-Hodge-Lummis edition is well known, describes conditions at the end of the third decade of the seventeenth century.² In 1634 Benavides presented a revised version to Pope Urban VIII which contains some additional data. A translation of this second edition, with numerous appendices and elaborate notes, is now in press.³ Perea's two reports, published in 1632-1633, deal with events of the year 1629.⁴

Vetancurt was a chronicler of the Franciscan province of the Holy Evangel in New Spain, of which the New Mexico missions formed a part. His work, originally published in 1697-1698,⁵ records a certain amount of material not avail-

1. *Relaciones de todos las cosas que en el Nuevo-Mexico se han visto y sabido . . . desde el año de 1588 hasta el de 1626, por el padre Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron.* Published in *Documentos para la historia de México, Tercera serie* (México, 1856).

2. *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*; tr. by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer; annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis (Chicago, 1916).

3. The manuscript of Benavides' *Memorial* of 1634 is in the archive of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. This version, translated and edited by F. W. Hodge, G. P. Hammond and A. Rey, and now in press, will comprise Vol. VI of the *Coronado Historical Series*, edited by G. P. Hammond.

4. English translation by L. B. Bloom in *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1933), pp. 210-235.

5. Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano* (4 pts., México, 1697-98). Second edition in 4 vols., México, 1870-71, in *Biblioteca histórica de la Iberia*, vols. 7-10.

able elsewhere, but it contains many inaccuracies and consequently is not entirely trustworthy. Rosa Figueroa was archivist of the province of the Holy Evangel in the eighteenth century, and his *Bezerro General* attempts to list the friars who had been enrolled in the province, beginning with the first Franciscans who came to New Spain in the 1520's. It provides valuable data concerning the nationality or place of birth of the friars, when and where they made their profession, and interesting details about the lives of outstanding missionaries.⁶

But the material recorded in these sources does not give adequate information for the early history of the New Mexico missions and their founders. Consequently it is necessary to glean many facts from the mass of manuscript sources that have been made available during the past quarter-century by the investigations of various scholars. Some of these supplementary data have been presented in George P. Hammond's *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1927). The authors of the present paper have recorded other facts in their respective publications. But the story is still incomplete.

It is our purpose here to set forth the available information concerning friar personnel and mission chronology from 1598 to 1629. This was the most important period of early New Mexico mission history. By the end of the decade of the 1620's missions had been established in all parts of the Pueblo area.

1. FRIAR PERSONNEL IN THE OÑATE PERIOD

Ten Franciscan friars, eight priests and two lay brothers, accompanied the Oñate expedition to New Mexico in 1598. The eight priests were Fray Alonso Martínez, Fray Juan Claros, Fray Andrés Corchado, Fray Alonso de Lugo, Fray Juan de Rosas, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, Fray Francisco de San Miguel, and Fray Francisco de Zamora. The lay

6. *Bezerro General Menológico y Chronológico de todos los Religiosos que . . . ha Avido en esta S.^{ta} Prov.^a del S.^{to} Evang.^o desde su fundación hasta el pres.^{to} año de 1764 . . . Dispuesto y elaborado . . . por Fr. Fran.^{co} Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa . . . MS in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.*

brothers were Fray Juan de San Buenaventura and Fray Pedro de Vergara. Three *donados* (Mexican Indians who were not professed friars) named Juan de Dios, Francisco, and Martín, were also in the party. Father Martínez served as commissary, or prelate, of the entire group.⁷

In the spring of 1599, when Oñate sent dispatches to the viceroy, Martínez left for New Spain in order to make a report to his superior prelates and to seek additional friars for the province. He was accompanied by Fray Pedro de Vergara,⁸ who served as his companion and aid, and by Fray Cristóbal de Salazar. The latter, who was aged, was probably returning for reasons of health, for he died during the journey.⁹ Thus seven friars, six priests and one lay brother, remained in the province, and Fray Francisco de San Miguel appears to have been appointed to serve as commissary during the absence of Martínez.¹⁰

As a result of the favorable reports presented in Mexico City, a new group of Franciscans were enlisted for service in Mexico. There is evidence that Martínez planned to return with them,¹¹ but sometime before their departure he withdrew and Fray Juan de Escalona was named commissary in his place. The treasury accounts, which record expenditures for food and supplies for this group, show that nine friars were provided for.¹² Deducting Martínez, the other eight were: Fray Juan de Escalona, Fray Lope de Izquierdo, Fray Luis Mairones, Fray Alonso de la Oliva, Fray Gastón de Peralta, and Fray Francisco de Velasco, all of them priests; Fray Damián Escudero, lay brother and physician; and Fray Pedro de Vergara, the lay brother who had

7. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate*, p. 92, note 346.

8. Hammond (*ibid.*, pp. 124-25 and note 468) indicates some doubt whether Vergara made the journey. But statements in the treasury accounts in Archivo General de Indias (cited hereinafter as A. G. I.), Contaduría, leg. 697-98, prove beyond doubt that Vergara accompanied Martínez.

9. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

10. In the summer of 1600 a probanza of the services of Vicente de Zaldívar was drawn up at San Gabriel. Father San Miguel was one of the witnesses and he is described as "comisario." A.G.I., Patronato, leg. 22.

11. A.G.I., Contaduría, legs. 697-98, 700.

12. A.G.I., Contaduría, leg. 700.

accompanied Martínez to Mexico in 1599 and now returned to New Mexico.¹³

Fray Alonso de la Oliva left in advance of the others and arrived in New Mexico in September, 1600. The others arrived a day or two before Christmas of that year.¹⁴ This new group of eight friars and the seven remaining in the province in the spring of 1599, as noted above, give a total of fifteen to be accounted for in the events of 1601 which culminated in the withdrawal of most of the friars and a large number of the colonists in the autumn of that year.

In March, 1601, a group of soldiers left New Mexico with dispatches for the viceroy, and after their arrival in Mexico City in the following summer they gave testimony concerning conditions in the province at the time of their departure. They testified that when they set out in March there were only nine friars, six priests and three lay brothers, left in New Mexico.¹⁵ This is exactly the number that can be accounted for in the documents relating to the desertion in the autumn of 1601 and to Oñate's expedition to the eastern plains in that year. They were: Fray Juan de Escalona, the commissary, and five other priests, Fray Lope de Izquierdo, Fray Gastón de Peralta, Fray Francisco de San Miguel, Fray Francisco de Velasco, and Fray Francisco de Zamora; and three lay brothers, Fray Damián Escudero, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, and Fray Pedro de Vergara.¹⁶

What had happened to the six others? The testimony of the soldiers given in Mexico City in the summer of 1601 indicates that Fray Alonso de Lugo, Fray Luis Mairones, and Fray Alonso de la Oliva had returned to New Spain, apparently in the spring of 1601 with the soldiers.¹⁷ With regard to Fray Juan Claros, Fray Andrés Corchado, and Fray Juan de Rosas, the fact that no mention of them is made in any of the 1601 documents causes us to surmise that

13. Compiled from Hammond's list (*op. cit.*, p. 130) and the manuscript sources for the period 1600-1601. See note 28 below.

14. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

15. Copia de una información . . . , 1601. A.G.I., México, leg. 26.

16. Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo, 1601, A.G.I., México, leg. 26; Información y papeles que envio la gente que alla quedo . . . 1601, in *ibid.*

17. Copia de una información . . . , 1601. A.G.I., México, leg. 26.

they had died before March, 1601. If not, they also must have returned to New Spain at that time or earlier.

At the time of the desertion in the autumn of 1601 Fray Juan de Escalona, the commissary, remained at his post in San Gabriel. Fray Francisco de Velasco and Fray Pedro de Vergara were with Oñate on the plains expedition and returned with him to San Gabriel a short time later. The six others—Escudero, Izquierdo, Peralta, San Buenaventura, San Miguel, and Zamora—left the province with the deserting colonists. Thus only three—Escalona, Velasco, and Vergara—remained in New Mexico at the end of 1601.¹⁸

According to letters of the viceroys and the treasury accounts, four friars were sent out in 1603 and two more in 1605.¹⁹ Fray Francisco de Escobar was leader of the 1603 group and in 1604 he assumed office as commissary.²⁰ Another of the 1603 group was evidently Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, lay brother, who went out with Oñate in 1598 and returned to New Spain in 1601, for he accompanied Escobar and Oñate on the expedition to the South Sea in 1604-1605.²¹ Of the four others who went to New Mexico in 1603-1605, we can positively identify three who are mentioned in the documents of the Oñate period. They are Fray Lázaro Ximénez and Fray Isidro Ordóñez, priests,²² and Fray Alonso de San Juan, lay brother.²³ The fourth was

18. The fact that no others remained is confirmed by a letter of Viceroy Monterey to the king, México, December 12, 1602, in which the statement is made that only "two or three" friars remain in New Mexico. A.G.I., México, leg. 26.

19. Monterey to the king, México, May 28, 1603, A.G.I., México, leg. 25; Montesclaros to the king, México, October 28, 1605, A.G.I., México, leg. 27; also accounts in A.G.I., Contaduría, legs. 704, 707, 842A. Torquemada (*Monarchia Indiana*, ed. 1723, vol. 1, p. 678) implies that all six went out in 1603. The Contaduría records indicate, however, that two of them went two years later.

20. Escalona resigned after the desertion of 1601. Escobar was named commissary to succeed him, but with the provision that Fray Francisco de Velasco should serve for a year before Escobar took office. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana* (ed. 1723), vol. 1, p. 678. This arrangement was evidently carried out, for we learn from another source that Velasco held the title of "comisario apostolico" in the early part of 1604. (See Scholes' article on Juan Martínez de Montoya in this issue of the Review.) But prior to departure of Oñate and Escobar to the South Sea in October, 1604, the latter had assumed office as commissary.

21. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

22. A.G.I., México, leg. 27.

23. San Juan is mentioned in a New Mexico document of 1606-1607 in Archivo General de la Nación, México (hereinafter cited as A.G.N.), Inquisición, tomo 467, ff. 342-353.

probably Fray Cristóbal de Quiñones, for although we find no reference to him in the contemporary records, Vetancurt states that he died in New Mexico in 1609.²⁴ There is also evidence that a certain Fray Joseph Tavera was in New Mexico toward the end of the Oñate regime.²⁵

We have also the names of four friars—Fray Pedro de Carrascal, Fray Bernardo de Marta, Fray Roque de Figueredo, and Fray Pedro de Salmerón—mentioned by certain writers as possibly being in New Mexico in the latter part of the Oñate period. No one of them, however, is named in the contemporary sources.

Bancroft suggests that Carrascal and Salmerón may have been members of the group that went out with Escobar in 1603.²⁶ Vetancurt tells us that Carrascal served for a time in New Mexico, but gives no dates, and that he returned to New Spain, where he died in 1622.²⁷ We doubt, however, that he was in New Mexico during the time of Oñate, and it seems likely that he came at a later date.²⁸

With regard to Fray Pedro de Salmerón, Vetancurt states that he accompanied Oñate and Fray Francisco de Velasco on an exploring expedition in 1604 and that he made a report of this entrada to his prelates.²⁹ From the nature of Vetancurt's account it appears that what the author has in mind is Oñate's journey to the South Sea in 1604-1605, although he evidently confuses it to some extent with the plains expedition of 1601, in which Fray Francisco de Velasco did take part. There is no evidence in the contemporary records that a Fray Pedro de Salmerón participated in the 1604 entrada, and we suspect that the Salmerón report, to which Vetancurt refers, is actually the narrative of the

24. Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, ed. 1870-71, vol. 4, p. 137.

25. Lo ultimamente proveido . . . , México, September 28, 1609. A.G.I., México, leg. 27.

26. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 154, note 14.

27. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4 p. 293.

28. It is unlikely that Carrascal was in the group of friars who arrived with Escalona in 1600, since Rosa Figueroa (*Bezerro General*, p. 124) shows that he was not incorporated in the Province of the Holy Gospel until that year.

29. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 374-75.

South Sea journey which Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmerón incorporated in his *Relaciones* of 1629.

In a note to the Ayer edition of Benavides' *Memorial*, Hodge states that Fray Bernardo de Marta came to New Mexico in 1605 and cites Vetancurt.³⁰ According to the Vetancurt account, Marta and his brother Juan sailed from Spain in 1605, and the following year, when they were about to set out for the Philippines, Fray Bernardo was ordered to go to New Mexico.³¹ Rosa Figueroa relates that Marta came to Mexico with his brother in 1605 and was enrolled in the province of the Holy Evangel; he also states that Fray Bernardo wished to go to the Philippines with his brother, but was prevented from doing so by his prelate, who sent him to the convent of Puebla, "doubtless as *vicario de coro* or organist, because he was an excellent musician." Later he asked to go to New Mexico, where he died in 1632.³² (Vetancurt gives the date of his death as 1635.) It is evident from the foregoing that Marta did not go to New Mexico in 1605, and if he served for a time at Puebla, as Rosa Figueroa indicates, then it seems likely that he was not in the province during the time of Oñate. The first reference to him in the early manuscript sources is for the year 1613,³³ and he was probably a member of the group of friars who came with Fray Alonso de Peinado in 1609-1610.

According to the bibliographer, Beristain y Souza, Fray Roque de Figueredo "accompanied the captain general, D. Juan de Oñate, in the year 1604 on the expedition to those provinces." On this point Hodge writes: "Bandelier (*Doc. Hist. Zuñi Tribe*, 93) states that Figueredo did not accompany Oñate, and Bancroft does not include him in his list of Oñate's associates in 1598, but this is no indication that Fray Roque did not join Oñate later."³⁴ We find no evidence, however, in the contemporary documents, that Figueredo was ever in New Mexico prior to 1629, when he came with

30. *Memorial* (Ayer ed.), p. 198.

31. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 328.

32. *Bezerro General*, p. 126.

33. *Relacion Verdadera q. el p^e predicador fr. Fran.^{co} Perez Guerta . . . hizo al R^{mo}, Commiss. Gen.^l . . .*, [1617]. A.G.N., Inquisición, tomo 316, ff. 149-74.

34. Benavides, *Memorial* (Ayer ed.), p. 197.

the band of thirty friars who were brought by Fray Estevan de Perea in that year.

Thus it would appear that from 1601 to the end of the Oñate regime there were only ten friars in New Mexico at one time or another. These were Fray Juan de Escalona, Fray Francisco de Velasco, Fray Pedro de Vergara, Fray Francisco de Escobar, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, Fray Lázaro Ximénez, Fray Isidro Ordóñez, Fray Alonso de San Juan, Fray Cristóbal de Quiñones, and Fray Joseph Tavera.

According to Vetancurt, Escalona died in New Mexico in 1607 and Quiñones in 1609.³⁵ Ximénez took dispatches to the viceroy in the autumn of 1607 and then returned to New Mexico in the following year. In the autumn of 1608 he again went to New Spain, together with Fray Isidro Ordóñez, taking new reports which prompted Viceroy Velasco to appoint Pedro de Peralta as governor of the province and to send out a new group of friars with Fray Alonso de Peinado as commissary.³⁶ Peralta and Peinado arrived in New Mexico early in 1610. Fray Francisco de Velasco evidently left New Mexico in 1607 with Ximénez, for a letter of the *audiencia* dated June 23, 1608, reveals that he was then in Mexico City and about to leave for Spain.³⁷ Although he later returned to Mexico and became provincial of the Order in 1629, he never went back to New Mexico. Fray Alonso de San Juan was in the province in 1607,³⁸ but he must have gone to New Spain that year or the next, for we have evidence that he was a member of the Peinado group that went out to New Mexico in 1603.³⁹ Tavera is recorded as bringing dispatches from Oñate in the summer of 1609.⁴⁰ It appears, therefore, that not more than three friars were left in New Mexico at the end of the Oñate period, viz., Fray Francisco

35. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 137, 207-09.

36. A.G.I., México, leg. 27; Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.

37. Audiencia to the king, México, June 23, 1608. A.G.I., México, leg. 72.

38. Cf. note 23, *supra*.

39. In a dispatch to the Holy Office, dated September 18, 1622, Fray Estevan de Perea states that Fray Alonso de San Juan "came with me" to New Mexico. A.G.N., Inquisición, tomo 486. Since we know that Perea was a member of the Peinado group, it is evident that San Juan also journeyed to New Mexico at the same time.

40. Lo ultimamente proveído . . . , September 28, 1609. A.G.I., México, leg. 27.

de Escobar, the commissary, and two lay brothers, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura and Fray Pedro de Vergara. Indeed, there may have been only two, for Torquemada seems to imply that Escobar died while holding office as commissary.⁴¹ He was still alive in 1608,⁴² but his death may have occurred sometime during the following year.

2. MISSIONARY PROGRESS IN THE OÑATE PERIOD

In the summer of 1598 Oñate established provincial headquarters at the pueblo of San Juan. Construction of a church was started on August 23 and the dedication services were held on September 8. The first mission assignments were made by Father Martínez on September 9, as follows: Taos and Picurís, Fray Francisco de Zamora; Tewa pueblos, Fray Cristóbal de Salazar, aided by the lay brothers, San Buenaventura and Vergara; Tano area and the Keres pueblos on the Río Grande, Fray Juan de Rosas; Pecos and the Tiwa and Tompiro pueblos of the Salinas area, Fray Francisco de San Miguel; Tiwa pueblos of the middle Río Grande and the Piro area, Fray Juan Claros; Jémez district, Fray Alonso de Lugo; Sia, Acoma, and the Zuñi and Hopi areas, Fray Andrés Corchado.⁴³ Unfortunately the contemporary sources record relatively little information concerning missionary activity during the next three years. Certain facts, however, can be gleaned from the printed documents for 1598-1599 and from the manuscript sources for the year 1601.⁴⁴

The base from which missionary work was carried on was at first the pueblo of San Juan, and later the pueblo of San Gabriel to which Oñate transferred his headquarters sometime in 1599 or 1600. The first baptisms were performed at San Juan soon after the arrival of the friars in 1598, and throughout the Oñate period the Tewa pueblos,

41. Torquemada, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 598

42. We are told that Escobar approved the action of the *cabildo* of San Gabriel in electing Cristóbal de Oñate as governor in 1608. Velasco to the king, February 13, 1609, A.G.I., México, leg. 27.

43. Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104, and sources cited.

44. "Ytinerario," in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos* . . . , vol. 16, pp. 228-276; H. E. Bolton, *Spanish exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916), pp. 212-267; and MS sources cited in notes 15 and 16, *supra*. Cf. also Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-49.

being nearest the provincial capital, undoubtedly received the greatest attention. At the time of the desertion in 1601 there were convents (friar-residences) and churches in San Gabriel and San Ildefonso. The priests in charge were Fray Lope de Izquierdo and Fray Francisco de San Miguel respectively.

Father Zamora visited the Taos-Picurís area in the autumn of 1598, but probably remained there a relatively short time. There is evidence, however, that one of the *donados* was at Picurís during the period prior to the desertion in 1601.

Father San Miguel, accompanied by the *donado* Juan de Dios, went to Pecos in 1598. After a short stay San Miguel apparently returned to provincial headquarters, leaving behind the *donado* who remained for a while longer. We have no evidence that San Miguel ever visited the pueblos of the Tiwas and Tompiros in the Salinas district which also comprised part of his mission assignment. After the departure of Martínez in 1599, he served as commissary, with headquarters at San Juan and later at San Gabriel. As noted above, he was guardian of the convent in San Ildefonso in 1601, probably having been assigned to that pueblo after the arrival of the new commissary, Fray Juan de Escalona, in December, 1600.

The documents of 1601 record that Father Lugo and one of the *donados* labored for a time among the Jémez Indians, and we also have reference to a church where the Indians came for instruction. Lugo returned to Mexico in March, 1601. The *donado* may have remained with the Jémez for a longer period, but the year 1601 probably marks the end of effective work in that area for many years.⁴⁵

Fathers Rosas, Claros, and Corchado may have visited parts of their respective mission fields in the autumn of 1598, but we have no record of their activities thereafter. This lack of information is an argument in favor of the surmise, stated above, that they died in New Mexico prior to March, 1601.

45. See Scholes, "Notes on the Jemez missions in the seventeenth century," *El Palacio*, XLIV (1938), 62-63.

We learn that two of the friars who came in 1600, Fray Alonso de la Oliva and the lay brother, Fray Damián Escudero, labored at Santo Domingo, apparently with the aid of one of the *donados*. After the departure of Oliva in the spring of 1601, Escudero may have stayed on at Santo Domingo until the following autumn, when he left the province with the other friars who withdrew at that time.

Information is also very inadequate for the period from 1601 to 1610. Such evidence as is available indicates that missionary activity was concentrated in the Tewa and Río Grande Keres districts. A convent was maintained at San Gabriel, from which the nearby pueblos of San Juan and Santa Clara were undoubtedly administered. From time to time the friars probably visited the other Tewa settlements, but we have no evidence that friars maintained continuous residence in any of them. After he relinquished office as commissary, Escalona devoted himself to the conversion of the Río Grande Keres. It is recorded that he was serving in Santo Domingo in 1604,⁴⁶ and he apparently remained there until his death in 1607. Vetancurt attributes the founding of a convent, church, and infirmary at San Felipe to Fray Cristóbal de Quiñones.⁴⁷ But there can be little doubt that the San Felipe foundations were established at a later date by Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, for whose services Vetancurt mistakenly gives the credit to Quiñones. It is possible, however, that Quiñones worked among the Keres prior to his death in 1609.

If the estimate of seven thousand conversions reported to the viceroy in 1608⁴⁸ is correct, or even partially so, it may be inferred that missionary activity had been extended to other districts besides those of the Tewa and Río Grande Keres. The most likely areas in which the work would have been carried on are the Tano district, the pueblos of Sia and Santa Ana, and possibly the Tiwa pueblos in the region of modern Bernalillo. We have no positive evidence, however, to

46. A.G.N., Provincias Internas, tomo 34, exp. 1.

47. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 137.

48. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 176. Torquemada, *op. cit.*, vol. 8, p. 478, has "more than 8,000."

substantiate this inference. With only two or three friars left in New Mexico at the end of 1609, it may be assumed that missionary activity was at a minimum when Oñate's government came to a close.

3. FRIAR PERSONNEL, 1610-1616

As we have noted in section 1, there were apparently only two or three friars left in New Mexico at the end of 1609. As the result of reports brought to Mexico City toward the end of 1608 by Fray Lázaro Ximénez and Fray Isidro Ordóñez, the viceroy decided to provide additional support for the missions. Supplies and transportation were provided for nine friars⁴⁹ who left Mexico City in the spring of 1609 and arrived in New Mexico early in the following year.⁵⁰ The leader of this group was Fray Alonso de Peinado, who served as commissary, or local prelate, from 1610 to 1612. In 1611 Fray Isidro Ordóñez, who had returned with Peinado, went back to New Spain to obtain supplies and additional recruits for the missions. A group of eight new friars was enlisted and accompanied Ordóñez to New Mexico, arriving in August, 1612.⁵¹ On his return Ordóñez assumed office as commissary and served as head of the missions until the end of 1616. Counting the friars who remained in New Mexico at the end of the Oñate period, the nine who came from Mexico in 1609, and the eight brought by Ordóñez in 1612, we have a maximum total of twenty to account for between 1610 and the end of 1616, when the next group arrived.

On the basis of various sources,⁵² we are able to compile the list of twenty friars, as follows:

1. Fray Francisco de Escobar, former commissary. If

49. The accounts for the supplies and transportation are in A.G.I., Contaduría, legs. 711, 712, 850.

50. Fray Joseph Tavera, who brought dispatches from Oñate in 1609, was sent by Velasco as messenger to deliver supplementary instructions to Governor Peralta, then en route to New Mexico. A.G.I., Contaduría, leg. 712. There is no evidence, however, that Tavera actually went on to New Mexico at this time.

51. Accounts for supplies furnished to this group are in A.G.I., Contaduría, legs. 714, 715, 850.

52. The most important source is the *Relación Verdadera of Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta*. Cf. note 33, *supra*.

he was still alive when Peinado arrived in 1610, he must have died within the next year or two, for he is not mentioned in the record of events of 1612 *et seq.*

2. Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, lay brother.

3. Fray Pedro de Vergara, lay brother. He went to New Spain sometime after 1610 and returned to New Mexico in 1613 or 1614.⁵³

The Peinado group of 1609

4. Fray Alonso de Peinado. Commissary, 1610-1612.

5. Fray Lázaro Ximénez. He is not mentioned in the record of events subsequent to 1612, so we assume that he had gone back to New Spain or had died prior to that time.

6. Fray Isidro Ordóñez. Commissary, 1612-1616.

7. Fray Andrés Baptista.

8. Fray Agustín de Burgos.

9. Fray Bernardo de Marta.

10. Fray Estevan de Perea.

11. Fray Cristóbal de Quirós.

12. Fray Alonso de San Juan, lay brother. As noted in section 1, he had previously been in New Mexico. He went back to New Spain again, probably in 1614, but returned to New Mexico with the new group of friars who arrived at the end of 1616.

Friars who came with Ordóñez in 1612

13. Fray Cristóbal de Asumpción, lay brother. He probably returned to New Spain in 1613, and is not mentioned again in New Mexico.⁵⁴

14. Fray Pedro de Haro de la Cueva.

15. Fray Jerónimo de Pedraza, lay brother.

16. Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta.

17. Fray Andrés Perguer.

18. Fray Juan de Salas.

19. Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez).

20. Fray Luis de Tirado.

53. In A.G.I., Contaduría, leg. 717, we find record of a payment of 50 pesos, executed September 27, 1613, to assist Vergara to return to New Mexico.

54. Ordóñez sent a friar with dispatches to Mexico in 1613. By a process of elimination, we find that Asumpción was probably the person selected to serve as messenger. He is not mentioned again in the contemporary sources.

4. MISSIONARY PROGRESS, 1610-1616

As a result of the increased number of friars in New Mexico during the years 1610-1616, there was a marked expansion of the missionary program, although progress was retarded to some extent by a prolonged controversy between Fray Isidro Ordóñez, who took office as local prelate in August, 1612, and the provincial governors. The chief source of information for this period is an account (*Relación Verdadera*) written by Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta, one of the friars who came with Ordóñez in 1612.⁵⁵ A few details also are found in Benavides' *Memorial* of 1634 and in Vetancurt.

After the founding of Santa Fé in 1610, the convent that had been maintained at San Gabriel during most of the Oñate period was transferred to the new provincial capital. We have no information about the actual founder of the Santa Fé convent and church, nor do we know the names of the friars who served in the villa from 1610 to 1612. When Ordóñez arrived in 1612, he assigned Fray Luis de Tirado, one of the friars who came in that year, as guardian of the Santa Fé convent, and this friar served as parish priest in the villa until the end of 1616.⁵⁶

Although missionary activity was carried on at San Ildefonso from time to time during the Oñate period, the founder of the permanent mission was Fray Andrés Baptista, who came to New Mexico with Peinado in 1610. He served as guardian of the convent of San Ildefonso until 1632.⁵⁷ There was also a convent at Nambé as early as May,

55. Cf. note 33, *supra*.

56. Other friars who served at Santa Fé prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Bernardo de Aguirre (1617 and 1622-23), Fray Ascensio de Zárate (1622), Fray Pedro de Horteiga (1626-29), Fray Tomás de San Diego (1629-32), Fray Jerónimo de Segovia (1634-35), Fray Antonio de Ibargaray (1635), Fray Domingo del Espíritu Santo (1636-37 and 1641), Fray Juan de Vidania (1637-41), Fray Antonio de Aranda (1639), Fray Antonio Pérez (1641), Fray Juan Juárez (1643), Fray Nicolás Hidalgo (1643), Fray Miguel Sacristán (1659 *et ante*), Fray Diego Rodríguez (1659 or 1660), Fray Nicolás de Freitas (1661), Fray Miguel de Guevara (1662), Fray Nicolás de Enríquez (1663-64), Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena (1665-69, 1679-80), and Fray Juan del Hierro (1672). (In this list and those which follow, we have not included lay brothers.)

57. Other friars who served at San Ildefonso prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Diego Franco (1640), Fray Miguel de Guevara (1661), Fray Felipe Rodríguez (1667), Fray Andrés Durán (1672), Fray Luis de Morales (1680).

1613. The founder of this mission was Fray Pedro Haro de la Cueva, a member of the group brought by Ordóñez in 1612. The same friar is recorded as being at Nambé in 1628, and he probably remained there for another five or six years. Fray Andrés Suárez, who came to New Mexico in 1610, was guardian of Nambé in 1635 and continued to serve the mission until at least 1647.⁵⁸ There is evidence that there was a church in San Juan prior to 1616, possibly the structure erected by Oñate and his associates in 1598. This pueblo and the other Tewa settlements were evidently administered from San Ildefonso and Nambé.

The first permanent mission among the Tanos was established at Galisteo sometime during the years 1610-1612 by one of the friars who came with Peinado, but his name is not known. In August, 1612, after the arrival of Ordóñez, Peinado was named guardian of Galisteo, but soon thereafter he was removed and sent to San Ildefonso to assist Baptista. Fray Bernardo de Marta was guardian of Galisteo in 1615, and Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta was in charge of the mission for a time in the early part of 1616. A second Tano mission was founded at San Lázaro as early as 1613, for we learn that Fray Andrés Perguer was guardian of the convent in June of that year. Fray Agustín de Burgos was guardian there in 1614. We shall see, however, that San Lázaro convent was not a permanent foundation.

The Santo Domingo mission, established in the Oñate period, became the ecclesiastical capital when the headquarters of provincial government were transferred from San Gabriel to Santa Fé. Peinado resided in Santo Domingo when he was not out on trips of inspection in other areas, and it was there that Ordóñez held a chapter meeting of friars on his arrival in 1612. The name of the friar who served there as guardian prior to 1612 is not recorded. Fray Bernardo de Marta was in charge of the mission in 1613-

58. Other friars who served at Nambé prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Antonio de Ibargaray (1662), Fray Felipe Rodríguez (1664), Fray Juan de Zamorano, (1672), Fray Tomás de Torres (1680).

1614.⁵⁹ Cochití is mentioned as a *visita* in 1614 and San Felipe in 1615.

The convent of Sia, first mentioned in July 1613, was probably founded by Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, who came with Peinado in 1610. He apparently served at Sia until 1617 when he was transferred to Santo Domingo.⁶⁰ Santa Ana is recorded as a *visita* of Sia as early as 1614.

Fray Estevan de Perea, a member of the Peinado group, initiated the missionary program among the Río Grande Tiwa, founding a mission at Sandia soon after his arrival in 1610. He continued his labors there until he went to New Spain in the autumn of 1626. On his return to New Mexico in 1629 he served a brief term (his second) as custodian, and resided again at Sandia from 1630 to 1633, when he took charge of the convent at Cuarac. Vetancurt tells us, however, that he died and was buried at Sandía.⁶¹

A second Río Grande Tiwa mission was established at Isleta by Fray Juan de Salas, who came to New Mexico in 1612. Salas is mentioned as guardian of Isleta at the time of Governor Peralta's arrest by Ordóñez in August, 1613, but the mission had probably been founded during the latter part of 1612 or early in 1613. Salas remained at Isleta as guardian until he became custodian in 1630, and apparently he continued to reside there during his term of office as prelate (1630-1632).⁶²

59. Other friars who served at Santo Domingo prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Juan de Escalona (1604-07), Fray Cristóbal de Quirós (1617), Fray Andrés Suárez (1621), Fray Martín de Arvide (1625), Fray Francisco de Avila (1640-41), Fray Joseph de Paredes (1656), Fray Juan de Plasencia (1661-62), Fray Francisco de Acevedo (1663-64), Fray Tomás de Torres (1667), Fray Gabriel de Torija (1667-68), Fray Nicolás de Freitas (1669), Fray Juan Bernal, Fray Juan del Val (1672), Fray Juan Talaban, Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana, and Fray José de Montes de Oca (1680).

60. Other friars who served at Sia prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Agustín de Burgos (1622), Fray Francisco Alvarez (1640-41), Fray Tomás de Alvarado (1662), Fray Nicolás de Enríquez (1665), Fray Pedro de Villegas (1666), Fray Lucas Maldonado (1670-71), Fray Felipe Pacheco (1672), Fray Nicolás Hurtado (1680).

61. Other friars who served at Sandía prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Francisco Fonte (1635), Fray Nicolás Hidalgo (1640-41), Fray Cristóbal de Velasco (1648), Fray Fernando de Velasco (1659), Fray Salvador de Guerra (1660), Fray Felipe Rodríguez (1660-61), Fray Francisco de Muñoz (1662, 1663, 1665, 1667, 1669, 1672), Fray Nicolás Echavarría (1668), Fray Juan de Jesús (1672), Fray Tomás de Tobalina (1680).

62. Other friars who served at Isleta prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Diego López (before 1629), Fray Jerónimo de la LLana (1634), Fray Francisco de la

As noted above, Fray Alonso de Peinado was assigned to Galisteo in August, 1612, but within a short time was sent to San Ildefonso. Because of poor health, he spent some time in Santa Fé in 1613, and during the controversy between Ordóñez and Governor Peralta he manifested lack of sympathy for the commissary's actions. The relations between Ordóñez and his predecessor became so strained that Peinado decided to "banish himself" and undertake the conversion of the pueblo of Chililí, a Tiwa pueblo on the eastern side of the Manzano mountains. His work there started not later than 1614, and possibly as early as 1613. In 1616 Fray Agustín de Burgos went to Chililí to assist him in the baptism of his neophytes. Peinado served at Chililí until his death in 1622 or 1623.⁶³

Thus we find that during the period from 1610 to 1616 there were ten mission centers with convents or friar-houses: Santa Fé, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Galisteo, San Lázaro, Santo Domingo, Sia, Sandia, Isleta, and Chililí. In 1617 the cabildo of Santa Fé reported that there were eleven churches in the province.⁶⁴ This number evidently included the churches in the missions with convents and the church at San Juan. Apparently no churches had been built in San Felipe and Cochití, *visitas* of Santo Domingo, nor in Santa Ana, *visita* of Sia.

In 1616 a new group of seven friars was sent out to the New Mexico missions. This group apparently arrived at about the end of December, 1616. At the same time Fray Estevan de Perea received a dispatch naming him local

Concepción (1636-38), Fray Juan Juárez (1640-41), Fray Miguel de Sacristán (1658, 1660), Fray Francisco de Salazar (1659-60), Fray Salvador de Guerra (1660), Fray Diego de Parraga and Fray Joseph de Paredes (1662), Fray Tomás de Alvarado (1665), Fray Nicolás del Villar (1668-69), Fray Hernando de Monroy (ca. 1669), Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena (1672), Fray Juan de Zavaleta (1680).

63: We have a letter of Peinado, dated at Chililí on October 4, 1622, A.G.N., Civil, tomo 77. In the following year reports were evidently sent to Mexico City indicating that fourteen friars were then serving in New Mexico. A list of fourteen as of that year can be compiled without including Peinado, so we infer that he died in the latter part of 1622 or in the following year before the dispatches were sent to New Mexico. Other friars who served at Chililí prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Francisco de Salazar (1634-36, 1659), Fray Fernando de Velasco (ca. 1660), and Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena (1671-72).

64. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

prelate with the title of custodian. The decision of the superiors of the Franciscan Order in Mexico City to give the New Mexico missions the status of a custodia, or semi-autonomous unit, within the province of the Holy Evangel was undoubtedly inspired to a very great extent by the progress that had been achieved since 1610.

(To be continued)