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Friar Personnel and Mission Chronology, 1598-1629 (concl.)

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FRIAR PERSONNEL AND MISSION CHRONOLOGY 1598-1629

By

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(Concluded)

5. FRIAR PERSONNEL, 1617-1625

IN 1616 there were apparently sixteen friars (thirteen priests and three lay brothers) remaining in New Mexico. The priests were Fray Isidro Ordóñez, commissary, Fray Andrés de Baptista, Fray Agustín de Burgos, Fray Pedro Haro de la Cueva, Fray Bernardo de Marta, Fray Alonso de Peinado, Fray Estevan de Perea, Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta, Fray Andrés Perguer, Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, Fray Juan de Salas, Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez), and Fray Luis Tirado. The three lay brothers were Fray Jerónimo de Pedraza, Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, and Fray Pedro de Vergara.

A new group of seven friars went out to New Mexico in 1616,[65] arriving in the province toward the end of December, or early in January, 1617. After the arrival of this group Fray Estevan de Perea took office as custodian and served as local prelate until the autumn of 1621.[66]

We are able positively to identify only three of the seven friars who went out in 1616. They are Fray Bernardo de Aguirre, who served as "president" of the group during the journey to New Mexico, Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz, and Fray Alonso de San Juan, lay brother.[67] As we have noted in preceding sections of this paper, Fray Alonso de San Juan had already been in New Mexico during the latter part of the Oñate period and also subsequent to 1610. He had returned to New Spain, probably with Governor Peralta in

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65. Accounts for the purchase of wagons and supplies furnished to this group of seven friars are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, legs. 718 and 845B.

66. See Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., VII (1932), pp. 53-67, and *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Albuquerque, 1937), pp. 39, 67-68.

67. All three are mentioned in the contemporary records, 1617-1621.

1614, and now came back again to New Mexico with the 1616 group. We shall see that he made other trips to and from New Spain in later years.

A fourth friar who came with the 1616 group was probably Fray Pedro de Carrascal, of whom Vetancurt tells us that he served as a missionary in New Mexico and later returned to New Spain, where he died in Mexico City on August 28, 1622.[68] As we have already noted in section 1, Bancroft lists Carrascal as one of the friars who went to New Mexico in the time of Oñate, but we doubt that this was the case, since the friar is not mentioned in any of the contemporary sources for the period prior to 1610. His name is not required to complete the lists of friars who went out in 1609 and in 1612. It also seems unlikely that he came in 1621, when another group of friar-recruits arrived, because the supply caravan of that year did not set out on its return journey to New Spain until October, 1622, several weeks later than the date of Carrascal's death in Mexico City as given by Vetancurt, and we have no evidence that any friars left New Mexico ahead of the caravan. In view of the foregoing, we conclude that Carrascal came with Aguirré's group in 1616.

Documents of the year 1617 contain references to a certain Fray Pedro de Escobar.[69] These papers do not specifically state that Escobar was then in New Mexico, but we have no mention of him in earlier records. It is possible that the statements in the 1617 documents actually refer to Fray Francisco de Escobar, a former commissary of the Franciscans in Oñate's time. It seems unlikely, however, that the friar's first name, which occurs several times, would in all cases have been incorrectly recorded as Pedro instead of Francisco. We believe therefore that Fray Pedro de Escobar was another person and that he was also a member of the 1616 group.

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68. Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, ed. 1870-71, vol. 4, p. 293.

69. Fray Pedro de Escobar is mentioned several times in the record of the trial of Don Juan de Escarramad, in A. G. N., Provincias Internas, tomo 34, exp. 1. Copy of the trial record is also found in A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 316, ff. 175-84. For an account of the Escarramad episode, see Scholes, *Church and State*, pp. 43-49.

Testimony given in 1661 by a resident of Santa Fé indicates that many years earlier, when Fray Bernardo de Aguirre was guardian of the villa, there was another priest there named Fray Tomás de la Mar.[70] We know that Aguirre served as guardian of Santa Fé in 1617. Although we find no reference to Fray Tomás de la Mar in the earlier records, it would appear that he was also a member of the group that came in 1616.

This leaves only one of the 1616 group to account for. Unfortunately the documents and chronicles provide no data as to his identity.

In 1618 Fray Pedro de Ortega, who later served at various missions and as secretary to Fray Alonso de Benavides, accompanied Governor Juan de Eulate to New Mexico, arriving in December of that year. Fray Jerónimo de Pedraza, lay brother, was also a member of Eulate's party.[71] Pedraza had come to New Mexico in 1612 and we have listed him as one of the friars serving in New Mexico in 1616. He had apparently journeyed to New Spain in 1617, and returned with Eulate's party the following year.

Thus we have a total of twenty-four friars who served in New Mexico during the period from 1616-1617 to the autumn of 1621, when another group arrived. The twenty-four included the sixteen who were in the province in 1616, the seven who went out in that year, and Fray Pedro de Ortega, who accompanied Eulate in 1618.

In 1620 the custodian, Fray Estevan de Perea, sent Fray Alonso de San Juan to Mexico with reports for the viceroy and the superior prelates of the Franciscan Order. On the basis of these reports the authorities in New Spain sent out another group of friars in 1621 and also provided

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70. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 593, exp. 1, f. 94.

71. Both Ortega and Pedraza refer to events of the journey to New Mexico with Eulate in testimony in 1621 and 1626. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 271*v*, 288-88*v*. They do not specify the year in which the journey was made, but we know from other sources that Eulate came in 1618 and took office as governor on December 23. A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 723; L. B. Bloom, "The Governors of New Mexico," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., X (1935), p. 154; Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 70. Ortega always signed his name "'Hortega," but we have dropped the silent initial.

supplies for fourteen others serving in the province.[72] The fourteen in New Mexico can be identified as follows: Perea, the custodian, Aguirre, Baptista, Burgos, Haro de la Cueva, Ortega, Pedraza (lay brother), Peinado, Quirós, Salas, San Buenaventura (lay brother), Suárez, Vergara (lay brother), and Zambrano Ortiz.[73] Counting this group and Fray Alonso de San Juan, who carried the reports to Mexico City, we have a total of fifteen, leaving nine others to be accounted for. Of the latter, five (Ordóñez, Pérez Guerta, Perguer, Tirado, and Marta) had come to New Mexico prior to 1616, and four (Carrascal, Pedro de Escobar, de la Mar, and one unidentified friar) were members of the group that went out to the province in that year.

Fray Isidro Ordóñez, the former commissary of the Franciscans, and Fray Francisco Pérez Guerta left the province in the autumn of 1617, when the supply caravan that went out in the preceding year returned to Mexico.[74] The documents of 1617 *et seq.* contain no reference to Fray Andrés Perguer and Fray Luis Tirado, so we infer that they left New Mexico or died there prior to 1620. Rosa Figueroa states that Fray Bernardo de Marta died in New Mexico in 1632. Vetancurt gives the year as 1635.[75] We find no mention of Marta, however, in any of the contemporary sources for the period from 1617 to the early 1630's, and his name is not required to make up the list of fourteen friars in New Mexico for whom provision was made in the dispatch of supplies sent in 1621. We surmise therefore that his death occurred prior to 1620, when Fray Alonso de San Juan took the reports to New Spain on the basis of which the 1621 dispatch was made.

Of the four to account for from the group that went out

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72. Accounts for purchase of supplies for the 1621 group and for the fourteen remaining in New Mexico are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, legs. 723, 845B. In a letter to the king, dated May 27, 1620, the viceroy reported that there were sixteen friars serving in New Mexico. A. G. I., México, leg. 29. This statement was probably based on earlier reports received before those brought by Fray Alonso de San Juan.

73. All of these friars are mentioned in the record sfor the early 1620's. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, and tomo 486, ff. 45-51; A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.

74. Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 42.

75. Rosa Figueroa, *Bezerro General*, p. 126; Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 328.

in 1616, we may assume that Fray Pedro de Carrascal returned to Mexico not later than 1620. Since we have no other data concerning Escobar and de la Mar, we can only conclude that they and the unidentified friar had died before 1620, or that they had returned to New Spain sometime between 1617 and 1620.

The treasury accounts list the names of six friars who went to New Mexico with the supply caravan of 1621. They were Fray Miguel de Chavarría, Fray Martín de Arvide, Fray Francisco Fonte (or Fonsi), Fray Ascensio de Zárate, Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmarón, and the lay brother, Fray Alonso de San Juan, mentioned above, who now returned again to the province.[76] This group of six and the fourteen already in New Mexico make a total of twenty friars in the province in the autumn of 1621 when the caravan arrived.[77]

Fray Miguel de Chavarría took office as the second custodian, succeeding Perea, on October 3, 1621.[78] He remained in New Mexico only a year, however, for he returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1622. Prior to his departure Fray Ascensio de Zárate was named vice-custodian, and the latter had charge of the missions until the arrival of Fray Alonso de Benavides in December, 1625.[79]

Fray Pedro de Vergara (lay brother) accompanied Chavarría to Mexico in the autumn of 1622.[80] In the following year others also left for New Spain,[81] and by a process of elimination we find that they were Fray Bernardo de Aguirre and Fray Agustín de Burgos. At the same time

76. A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 845B

77. A report filed by the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel on July 21, 1622, states that there were twenty-four friars (eighteen priests and six lay brothers) in New Mexico at that time. A.G.I., México, leg. 2547. We believe, however, that this report is incorrect, since the treasury records of the preceding year clearly indicate that the 1621 caravan provided for fourteen friars in the province and six others who went out at that time.

78. Petition of Fray Estevan de Perea to Chavarría, August 26, 1622. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 486, f. 46.

79. Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," pp. 64-69, and *Church and State*, pp. 74-84, *passim*.

80. Letter of Fray Pedro Zambrano, October 5, 1622. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 486, f. 49.

81. Perea to the Holy Office, Sandía, August 14, 1623. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 345, f. 470.

reports were sent to the authorities in Mexico City on the basis of which the next dispatch of supplies was made.

The treasury accounts indicate that this caravan, which went out in 1625, took supplies for fourteen friars remaining in New Mexico.[82] These fourteen can be positively identified as follows: Zárate, the vice-custodian, Arvide, Baptista, Fonte, Haro de la Cueva, Ortega, Pedraza (lay brother), Perea, Quirós, Salas, San Juan (lay brother), Suárez, Zambrano Ortiz, and Zárate Salmerón.[83] Counting this group of fourteen and the four (Chavarría, Vergara, Aguirre, and Burgos) who left in 1622 and 1623, we have only two of the twenty in New Mexico in the autumn of 1621 to account for, viz., Peinado and San Buenaventura.

We have a letter of Fray Alonso de Peinado, dated at Chililí on October 4, 1622,[84] but he is not mentioned in later documents. Reference is made to Fray Juan de San Buenaventura (lay brother, who had come to New Mexico with Oñate in 1598) in a document of August 26, 1622, but we have no reference to him thereafter.[85] We conclude therefore that both Peinado and San Buenaventura died sometime prior to the following summer (1623), when the reports were sent to Mexico City on the basis of which the 1625 dispatch of supplies was made.

6. Mission Chronology, 1617-1625

During the nine years from the beginning of 1617 to the end of 1625 the Franciscans achieved considerable success in their missionary efforts, despite the controversies with Governors Ceballos and Eulate which characterized the history of this period. The friars carried forward the work already started among the Tewa, Tano, Keres, and the Río Grande and Manzano Tiwa, and the mission area was expanded to include Pecos, Picurís, Taos, the Jémez towns, and the Tompiro pueblo of Abó.

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82. Accounts for the 1625 caravan are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 726.

83. All of these friars are mentioned in documents of 1626. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316.

84. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.

85. Petition of Fray Estevan de Perea to Chavarría, August 26, 1622. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 486, f. 46.

In the Tewa area the convents of San Ildefonso and Nambé continued to serve as the mission centers. A third convent (Santa Clara) was not established until the time of Benavides. The Río Grande Tiwa were administered, as before, from Sandía and Isleta;[86] and Chililí, where Peinado remained in charge until his death sometime in 1622 or 1623, continued to be the center of activity for the Tiwa towns east of the Manzano range. The names of Peinado's immediate successors at Chililí are not known.[87] It may be assumed that work was also carried on at Tajique and Cuarac during the period under discussion, but the earliest reference to another convent (Cuarac) occurs in the documents of Benavides' time.

As stated in section 4, two convents were established at Galisteo and San Lázaro in the Tano area between 1610 and 1613. The San Lázaro foundation was not permanent, and Galisteo became the chief center of missionary activity among the Tano. Fray Pedro de Ortega, who arrived in New Mexico in December, 1618, served at Galisteo in the following year (1619), and perhaps for part or all of 1620, until he was assigned to Pecos.[88] His successor was Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz, who is first recorded as guardian of Galisteo in 1621. Zambrano remained in charge of the mission until at least 1632.[89]

The San Lázaro convent was apparently abandoned sometime between 1614 and 1621. Difficulties in maintaining mission discipline and the persistence of native religion appear to have been contributing factors. In 1621 San Lázaro was administered from Galisteo, and in the later seventeenth

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86. A convent (Santa Ana) at Alameda is first mentioned in 1635, when Fray Justo de Miranda was guardian. The Alameda church was not finished, however, until the time of Governor Peñalosa (1661-64). A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 380, f. 253, and tomo 507, f. 325. Apparently a separate convent was never established at Puaráy.

87. Fray Francisco de Salazar served at Chililí in 1634 and 1636, Fray Fernando de Velasco, *c.* 1660, and Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena, 1671-72.

88. References to Ortega's services at Galisteo are found in A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim.*

89. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, f. 282*v*, and tomo 304, f. 190. Other friars who served at Galisteo prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Antonio de Aranda (1640), Fray Cristóbal de Velasco (1659), Fray Nicolás del Villar (1661), Fray Antonio de Ibargaray (1663-65), Fray Pedro de Villegas (1665), Fray Juan Bernal (1672), and Fray Juan Domingo de Vera (1680).

century it was a *visita* of either Galisteo or San Marcos.[90]

The first reference to a mission at San Cristóbal occurs in documents of 1621, although missionary work there was apparently started before that time. The lay brother, Fray Pedro de Vergara, was "president" of the mission in 1621, serving under the direction of Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz, stationed at Galisteo. The convent of San Cristóbal is first mentioned in a document of 1626, but the earliest recorded guardian was Fray Alonso de Estremera, who was serving at San Cristóbal in 1628.[91] But the San Cristóbal convent, like that at San Lázaro, was not permanent, and in later years San Cristóbal was a *visita* of Galisteo.

In the Benavides Memorials of 1630 and 1634 Galisteo is designated as the seat of the only convent in the Tano area. Subsequently another permanent convent was established at San Marcos, of which Fray Agustín de Cuellar, who served there in 1638-1640, is the first recorded guardian.[92] Henceforth this convent and the one at Galisteo served as the two mission centers for the Tano.

Prior to 1617 two convents, at Sia and Santo Domingo, had been founded in the Keres area. (See sections 2 and 4.) Santa Ana was served from Sia, and we have no evidence that it ever became the seat of a convent. For several years all of the Keres pueblos along the Río Grande were administered from Santo Domingo, but by 1621 a separate convent was established at San Felipe.[93] Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, who had earlier served at Sia and Santo Domingo, was guardian in 1621, and he apparently spent most of his time there until his death in 1643.[94]

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90. Numerous references to the satuation at San Lázaro in 1621 *et ante* are recorded in A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim.*

91. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim*, and tomo 363.

92. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15; A. G. I., Patronato, leg. 244, ramo 7. Other friars who served at San Marcos prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Diego de Santander (1662), Fray Bernardo López de Covarrubias (1663-64), Fray Pedro de Villegas (1665), Fray Tomás de Torres (1668-69), Fray Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana (1672), and Fray Manuel Tinoco (1680).

93. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, f. 290*v*.

94. Other friars who served at San Felipe prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Juan Suárez (or Juárez), who succeeded Quirós in 1643, and Fray Juan de Plasencia (1662).

Benavides records only three convents (evidently Sia, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe) for the Keres areas in 1630 and 1634. By 1637, however, Cochití had its own convent, with Fray Justo de Miranda as guardian. In later years both San Felipe and Cochití were frequently *visitas* of Santo Domingo, indicating that these missions often lacked resident friars.

A permanent mission at Pecos was founded as early as 1619, when Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz was guardian. It is quite possible that Zambrano was assigned to Pecos soon after his arrival in New Mexico in the winter of 1616-1617, but this is only a surmise. In the autumn of 1621, Fray Pedro de Ortega, who had previously served at Galisteo, was in charge at Pecos, having apparently changed places with Zambrano.[96] By October, 1622, Ortega had been replaced by Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez), who remained at Pecos until at least 1633.[97]

Benavides gives Suárez chief credit for building the Pecos church and convent,[98] but we have evidence that the church was under construction as early as 1621, when Ortega was in charge.[99] In a letter to the viceroy, dated October 2, 1622, Suárez expressed the hope that the church would be finished in the following year, and he asked the viceroy to send a *retablo* of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, the advocation of the mission, and a statue of the child Jesus to place above the main altar.[100]

San Felipe and Pecos were apparently the only new convents founded before the arrival of Custodian Chavarría and five other friars in the autumn of 1621. Subsequently work was started at Picurís, Taos, in the Jémez area, and at Abó.

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95. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 369, exp. 14.

96. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim*.

97. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14, and Inquisición, tomo 380, exp. 2. Other friars who served at Pecos prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Domingo del Espíritu Santo (1635), Fray Antonio de Ybargaray (1636), Fray Juan González (1661), Fray Nicolás Enríquez (1666), Fray Juan Bernal (1670), Fray Luís de Morales (1672), and Fray Francisco de Velasco (1680).

98. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634).

99. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356.

100. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.

The founder of Picurís mission was Fray Martín de Arvide, who arrived with Chavarría in the autumn of 1621 and was evidently assigned to Picurís soon thereafter. Benavides gives a brief account of Arvide's labors at the new mission and of the ill-treatment he received at the hands of some of the Indians. Native opposition finally forced him to abandon the mission, and in 1625 he was stationed at Santo Domingo. Missionary work was not resumed at Picurís until 1628 (see section 8).[101]

Benavides states that Fray Pedro de Ortega was the founder of Taos mission. Since we know that Ortega was at Pecos in September, 1621, prior to Chavarría's arrival, and we have references to missionary activity at Taos as of 1622, we infer that Ortega was transferred from Pecos to Taos in the latter part of 1621 or early in 1622. At Taos, as at Picurís, considerable native opposition was encountered. After the arrival of Benavides in December, 1625, Ortega was appointed notary of the Holy Office and was assigned to the Santa Fé convent. Mission work at Taos was resumed in 1627, when one of the friars who accompanied Benavides took charge (see section 8).[102]

In separate articles previously published the authors of the present paper have traced the early history of the Jémez missions.[103] The first mission was founded at San José de Guisewa by Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmerón in the autumn of 1621, or during the winter of 1621-1622. Soon thereafter Salmerón established a second mission known as the "pueblo de la Congregación" and later as San Diego de la Congregación. This foundation was apparently located at or near the present Jémez pueblo. Local disturbances resulted in the abandonment of this "congregation" pueblo in 1623 and the scattering of its population. What effect this had on the mission at San José is not clear, but it would appear that the latter was not abandoned, since a

101. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634).

102. *Ibid.*, and A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim.*

103. L. B. Bloom and L. B. Mitchell, "The Chapter Elections in 1672," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., XIII (1938), pp. 85-119; Scholes, "Notes on the Jémez missions in the seventeenth century," *El Palacio*, XLIV (1938), pp. 61-71, 93-102.

document of 1626 refers to Salmerón as "guardian of the convent of San José of the Jémez." For later developments at Jémez in the time of Benavides, see section 8.

Vetancurt tells us that Fray Francisco de Acevedo, who came to New Mexico in 1629, built the church at Abó, and also two smaller ones at Tenabó and Tabirá.[104] We now have evidence, however, that missionary work had been in progress at Abó for several years prior to the arrival of Acevedo. In a letter written from Chililí on October 4, 1622, Fray Alonso de Peinado refers to the "nations" that had recently been reduced to faith and obedience, "como son la nación de los Taos, de los Pecos, y la de los Emes, y los del pueblo de guerra de Abo y Penabo [Tenabo?]."[105] This is a clear indication that the Abó mission dates from at least 1622. The next reference to it is recorded in a document, dated January, 1626, in which we learn that Fray Francisco Fonte, a member of the group of friars who accompanied Chavarría in 1621, was "guardian of Abó."[106] It is possible that the Abó convent had been established as early as 1622, when Peinado wrote his letter, or its erection may have been voted at a chapter meeting held after the arrival of Benavides in December, 1625. In any case, we have definite proof that the convent was founded prior to the arrival of Acevedo in 1629.

Perea's *Relaciones* record that Acevedo was one of a group of friars assigned to the Piro-Tompiro pueblos in 1629, and there is evidence that Acevedo served in the Tompiro area for some thirty years thereafter.[107] It would appear, however, that he did not become guardian of Abó until several years subsequent to 1629, for Fray Juan del Campo is recorded as guardian in 1634.[108] But in view of the fact that Acevedo spent so many years among the Tompiro, Vetancurt is undoubtedly justified in stressing his

104. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 260.
105. A. G. N., Civil, tomo 77, exp. 14.
106. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 260*v*., 263*v*.
107. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 146, 147, 159.
108. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 380, exp. 2.

services, and it may well be true that Acevedo deserves chief credit for the construction of the Abó church and convent.[109]

7. Friar Personnel, 1626-1629

In section 5 we have listed fourteen friars remaining in New Mexico for whom supplies were sent in the caravan that arrived in the province toward the end of December, 1625. With the caravan came twelve others, making a total of twenty-six in New Mexico at the beginning of 1626.

Of the twelve who came with the caravan we can identify only seven, as follows: Fray Alonso de Benavides, the new custodian, Fray Tomás de Carrasco, Fray Martín del Espíritu Santo, Fray Alonso de Estremera, Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica, Fray Andrés de Zea, and Fray Pedro de Vergara, who had journeyed to Mexico City in 1622 and now returned to the province.[110] We have no clear evidence as to the identity of any of the other five.

The supply wagons set out on the return journey to Mexico in the autumn of 1626. In 1627-1628 preparations were made for the next caravan, which left Mexico in September, 1628, and arrived in New Mexico in the spring of the following year (1629). This dispatch brought supplies for twenty friars in the province, evidently the number remaining there when the preceding caravan set out for New Spain in the autumn of 1626.[111]

On the basis of contemporary data, we find that eleven of these were friars already in New Mexico in 1625; the other nine were evidently members of the group that arrived in December of that year. The first eleven included Arvide, Ascensio de Zárate, Baptista, Fonte, Haro de la Cueva, Ortega, Pedraza (lay brother), Quirós, Salas, Suárez, and Zambrano Ortiz. The group of nine included Benavides, Carrasco, Martín del Espíritu Santo, Estremera, Gutiérrez

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109. Other friars who served at Abó before the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Antonio de Aguado (1659), Fray Joseph de Paredes (1662), Fray Gabriel de Torija (1668), Fray Nicolás de Villar (1669), and Fray Ildefonso Gil de Avila (1672).

110. Carrasco, Espíritu Santo, and Zea are mentioned in Benavides' *Memorial* of 1634. References to the others occur in contemporary sources, 1626 *et seq.*

111. Accounts for purchase of supplies for this caravan are found in A. G. I., Contaduría, leg. 728, 729, 845A.

de la Chica, Vergara (lay brother), Zea, and two unidentified friars.

In 1627 Perea was re-elected as custodian, to succeed Benavides. He returned to New Mexico with the 1629 caravan, bringing with him a group of thirty friars, nine of whom came at the expense of the Franciscan Order.[112] The names of twenty are recorded in Perea's *Relaciones*, as follows: (1) Fray Francisco de Acevedo, (2) Fray Antonio de Arteaga, (3) Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción (lay brother), (4) Fray Francisco de la Concepción, (5) Fray Agustín de Cuellar, (6) Fray Roque de Figueredo, (7) Fray Diego de la Fuente, (8) Fray Martín González,[113] (9) Fray Andrés Gutiérrez, (10) Fray Francisco de Letrado, (11) Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios (lay brother), (12) Fray Tomás Manso, (13) Fray Francisco Muñoz, (14) Fray Francisco de Porras, (15) Fray Juan Ramírez, (16) Fray Bartolomé Romero, (17) Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura (lay brother), (18) Fray Tomás de San Diego, (19) Fray García de San Francisco (lay brother), [114] and (20) Fray Diego de San Lucas (lay brother). On the basis of other sources we can identify six others: (21) Fray Diego López, (22) Fray Alonso de San Juan (lay brother), again returning to New Mexico, (23) Fray Pedro de Santana, (24) Fray Luis Suárez, (25) Fray Alonso de Yáñez (lay brother), and (26) Fray Garcia de Zúñiga (lay brother). The remaining four cannot be identified.

Fray Martín González died en route,[115] and Fray Luis Suárez died four days after the caravan arrived.[116] In the autumn of 1629 three friars, Fray Alonso de Benavides, Fray Francisco Muñoz, and Fray García de Zúñiga, returned

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112. L. B. Bloom, "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relación*," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., VIII (1933), p. 224.

113. In a marginal note to section 38 of Benavides' *Memorial* of 1634, the name is given as Fray Bartolomé Gonzales.

114. Vetancurt (*op. cit.*, col. 4, pp. 24-25) gives this friar's name as García de San Francisco y Zúñiga. The chronicler evidently confused two friars, both of them lay brothers, named García de San Francisco and García de Zúñiga. The latter was much older than García de San Francisco.

115. Bloom, "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relación*," p. 225.

116. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 38, and marginal note.

to New Spain.[117] Deducting these five, we have a total of forty-six friars in service at the end of 1629. This figure is confirmed by a report made by Fray Tomás Manso, procurador general of the custody, during the negotiations which resulted in the formulation of the famous supply service contract of 1631. Thirty-five were priests, and eleven were lay brothers.[118]

The friars in service at the end of 1629 were:

(1) Fray Francisco de Acevedo. Came in 1629.
(2) Fray Antonio de Arteaga. Came in 1629.
(3) Fray Martín de Arvide. Came in 1621.
(4) Fray Andrés de Baptista. Came in 1609.
(5) Fray Tomás de Carrasco. Came in 1625.
(6) Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(7) Fray Francisco de la Concepción. Came in 1629.
(8) Fray Agustín de Cuellar. Came in 1629.
(9) Fray Martín del Espíritu Santo. Came in 1625.
(10) Fray Alonso de Estremera. Came in 1625.
(11) Fray Roque de Figueredo. Came in 1629.
(12) Fray Francisco Fonte. Came in 1621.
(13) Fray Diego de la Fuente. Came in 1629.
(14) Fray Andrés Gutiérrez. Came in 1629.
(15) Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica. Came in 1625.
(16) Fray Pedro Haro de la Cueva. Came in 1612.
(17) Fray Francisco de Letrado. Came in 1629.
(18) Fray Diego López. Came in 1629.
(19) Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(20) Fray Tomás Manso, procurador general. Came in 1629. Manso also returned to New Spain with the caravan in the autumn of 1629, but because of his position as director of the supply service, he was considered as one of the friars resident in the province.

117. Zúñiga gave testimony in Mexico City in 1630. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 366, ff. 403*v*-404. In December, 1630, Muñoz gave testimony at Hecelchakan in Yucatan and testified that he had left New Mexico in the preceding year. *Proceso . . . contra Diego de Vera Perdomo*; A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 495, ff. 89-103.

118. Scholes, "The supply service of the New Mexico missions in the seventeenth century," p. 97.

(21) Fray Pedro de Ortega. Came in 1618.
(22) Fray Jerónimo de Pedraza (lay brother). Came in 1612.
(23) Fray Estevan de Perea, custodian. First came in 1609.
(24) Fray Francisco de Porras. Came in 1629.
(25) Fray Cristóbal de Quirós. Came in 1609.
(26) Fray Juan Ramírez. Came in 1629.
(27) Fray Bartolomé Romero. Came in 1629.
(28) Fray Juan de Salas. Came in 1612.
(29) Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(30) Fray Tomás de San Diego. Came in 1629.
(31) Fray García de San Francisco (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(32) Fray Alonso de San Juan (lay brother). First came in 1603 or 1605.
(33) Fray Diego de San Lucas (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(34) Fray Pedro de Santana. Came in 1629.
(35) Fray Andrés Suárez (or Juárez). Came in 1609.
(36) Fray Pedro de Vergara (lay brother). First came in 1598.
(37) Fray Alonso de Yáñez (lay brother). Came in 1629.
(38) Fray Pedro Zambrano Ortiz. Came in 1616.
(39) Fray Ascensio de Zárate. Came in 1621.
(40) Fray Andrés de Zea. Came in 1625.
(41-46) Six unidentified friars, of whom two came in 1625 and four in 1629. Two were evidently lay brothers, since only nine are included in the forty names listed above.

8. Missionary Progress, 1626-1629

During the period from 1626 to 1629 additional convents were founded in the Tewa, Manzano Tiwa, and Tompiro areas, work was resumed at Picurís and Taos, and the mission in the Jémez "pueblo de la Congregación" was re-established. New missions were also founded in the Piro

district, at Acoma, and among the Zuñi and Hopi pueblos. By the end of 1629 the Franciscans were engaged in missionary effort in all parts of the Pueblo country.

In the Tewa area Benavides established a third convent at Santa Clara. This foundation probably dates from *ca.* 1628, since we have evidence that the custodian was in residence at Santa Clara during part of the summer of that year.[119] In the 1630 *Memorial* Benavides refers to three convents in the Tewa district, but in the revised edition of 1634 he speaks of San Ildefonso and three others.[120] We infer therefore that a fourth convent, undoubtedly San Juan, had been established sometime after Benavides left New Mexico in 1629 and by the summer of 1633. If the fourth convent had been founded at a later date, Benavides could not have received the report in time to incorporate the information in the revised *Memorial,* which was presented to Pope Urban VIII on February 12, 1634.[121].

The convent of Chililí is the only one recorded for the Manzano Tiwa district prior to 1626. A document of 1628 states that Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica, who came with Benavides, was then "guardian of the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción of the pueblo of Querac [Cuarac]."[122] We assume therefore that this second friar-house was established under Benavides' auspices sometime between 1626 and 1628. In the 1630's Fray Estevan de Perea, after serving his second term as custodian, spent several years at Cuarac. Vetancurt states that it was he who converted the pueblo,[123] but in view of the foregoing evidence the chronicler's statement may be interpreted as meaning that Perea completed the work of indoctrination carried on in preceding years by Fray Juan Gutiérrez de la Chica.[124]

119. Benavides, acting as commissary of the Holy Office, received the testimony of several witnesses at Santa Clara on July 21 and 26, 1628. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 363. Fray Antonio Pérez was guardian in 1638.

120. Benavides, *Memorial* (Ayer ed.), p. 24, and *Memorial* (1634), setion 33.

121. Fray Miguel de Guevara was guardian of San Juan in 1665, Fray Sebastián de Contreras in 1666, and Fray Felipe Montes in 1672.

122. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 363.

123. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 324.

124. Other friars who served at Cuarac prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Juan de Salas (early 1640's), Fray Jerónimo de la Llana (1659), Fray Nicolás de Freitas (1660), Fray Francisco de Salazar (1668), and Fray Diego de Parraga (1672).

In the *Memorial* of 1630, as in the revised edition of 1634, Benavides refers to six convents and churches among the "Tompira Nation," in which he evidently includes the Manzano Tiwa.[125] This argues in favor of the founding of a convent at Tajique as early as 1629, although the earliest mention of a guardian of Tajique occurs in a document of 1635, when Fray Francisco de la Concepción was in charge of the mission.[126]

As noted in section 6, the Abó convent was established as early as 1626, and it evidently became the center for missionary work at other Tompiro pueblos, such as Tenabó and Tabirá. Another Tompiro town, also located in the Salinas district, was called "Xumanas." Benavides tells us that it was so named, "because this nation often comes there to trade and barter." The name may also be derived from the fact that the village was probably one of the pueblos of Jumanos-Rayados mentioned in the Oñate documents. On a visit to the town in 1629, Benavides preached to the natives and dedicated the incipient mission to San Isidro, archbishop of Seville. Apparently nothing more was done until after the arrival of the 1629 caravan, when Fray Francisco de Letrado, member of a group assigned to the Piro-Tompiro area, took charge. Benavides states that Letrado "converted and baptized the pueblo and founded there a convent and a fine church." It is evident, however, that Letrado did not remain there more than a year or two, since we know that he was killed at Hawikúh in 1632. The convent of San Isidro was apparently abandoned, and for many years the pueblo was administered from Abó. In 1659-1660 a resident mission was re-established, this time named San Buenaventura de las Humanas, and Fray Diego de Santander, who was guardian at this time, started the construction of a new church and convent. Kubler first identified this mission pueblo as the Gran Quivira ruin, also known as Tabirá.

125. Benavides, *Memorial* (Ayer ed.), p. 20, and *Memorial* (1634), section 29.

126. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 380, exp. 2. Other friars who served at Tajique prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Jerónimo de la Llana (1636), Fray Diego de Parraga (1660), Fray Juan Ramírez (1660), Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena (1671-72), and Fray Sebastián de Aliri (1672).

But in view of the fact that in the documents of the 1660's Tabirá is recorded as a *visita* of Las Humanas, the former was obviously a separate site.[127]

Work at the Picurís mission, founded in 1621 or 1622 by Fray Martín de Arvide and subsequently abandoned, was resumed in 1628, so Benavides tells us, by Fray Andrés de Zea. It is to Fray Ascensio de Zárate, however, that Benavides gives chief credit for the "conversion and general baptism of that indomitable pueblo." Zárate's services probably date from about 1629 to 1632. Vetancurt states that in the latter year Zárate "passed to the Lord . . . in the convent of San Lorenzo de los Picuries."[128]

In 1627 Fray Tomás de Carrasco, who had accompanied Benavides to New Mexico in 1625, took charge of the Taos mission started five or six years earlier by Fray Pedro de Ortega. According to Benavides, Carrasco carried on the work "with great zeal and courage," and built a "good church with fine architecture."[129] Carrasco is not mentioned in other contemporary records, so we cannot fix the term of his service at Taos. Vetancurt tells us that Fray Pedro de Miranda was martyred at Taos in 1631, but this is evidently an error for 1639.[130] Fray Nicolás de Hidalgo was guardian in 1638.[131]

Another event of importance during the period of Benavides' tenure as custodian was the refounding of the "congregation" mission and pueblo in the Jémez area, known henceforth as San Diego de la Congregación, or simply as San Diego de los Jémez. The missionary who carried out this work was Fray Martín de Arvide, who had served in

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127. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 29; G. Kubler, "Gran Quivira-Humanas," NEW MEX. HIST. REV., XIV (1939), pp. 418-21. F. V. Scholes and H. P. Mera, *Some Aspects of the Jumano Problem* (Washington, 1940), pp. 276-85.

128. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 35; Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 398. Other friars who served at Picurís prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Juan de Vidania (1637), Fray Francisco Muñoz (1660), Fray Juan Lobato (1661), Fray Antonio de Sierra (1671-72), and Fray Matías de Rendón (1680).

129. Benavides, *Memorial* (1634), section 36.

130. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 414; Scholes, *Church and State*, p. 137.

131. Other friars who served at Taos prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Salvador de Guerra (1659-60), Fray Felipe Rodríguez (1660), Fray Luis Martínez (1661), Fray Andrés Durán (1663), Fray Antonio de Mora (1672-80).

earlier years at Picurís. There is some question, however, as to the date of Arvide's services in the Jémez area.

In Benavides' revised *Memorial* of 1634 we learn that Arvide served in both the Jémez and Piro districts during the custodian's term of office. The problem is to fix the chronology, and the difficulty arises from the fact that Benavides' narrative does not make the sequence of events entirely clear. In section 34 on "The Hemes Nation" the date for the beginning of Arvide's labors there appears to be 1626, although the final "6" might be read as an "8." In section 25 on the "Nation of the Piros" Benavides describes his own missionary activities among the Piro, beginning in 1626, and states that after the work was well started (he seems to imply a period of about a year and a half) he turned it over to Arvide to carry on. Thus it would appear, on the basis of the foregoing evidence, that Arvide served first at Jémez in 1626, and that he later took charge of the Piro missions, possibly toward the end of 1627 or in 1628.

But when we turn to section 42 of the revised *Memorial*, in which Benavides gives a sketch of Arvide's life, we find a different story. Here Benavides, after relating Arvide's services at Picurís, states that he placed him in charge of the missionary program in the Piro area which the custodian had started. And following this passage we read: "Afterwards I sent him to the Hemes nation," etc. Benavides then tells how Arvide reassembled the Indians in a pueblo of more than 300 houses, viz., San Diego de la Congregación, and that having completed the conversion of the Jémez, Arvide set out on the journey to the Zipia country, during which he was killed on February 27, 1632.

We are of the opinion, therefore, that the "1626" date in the Jémez section of the revised *Memorial* should be read as 1628, and that Arvide's work in the Jémez area started in the latter year, after a period of service among the Piro. The only other alternative would be to assume that Arvide was actually at Jémez in 1626, that he went from there to the Piro area, and that he later returned to Jémez sometime before 1632, when he suffered martyrdom while en route to

the Zipia country. But there is nothing in Benavides' sketch of the friar's life to substantiate such inferences. Moreover, in our account of the Piro conversions, we shall cite other evidence in favor of dating Arvide's Piro services in 1626 or 1627.

At the end of Benavides' term of office in 1629, there were two convents in the Jémez area, San José de Giusewa and San Diego de la Congregación. Within the succeeding decade, however, the convent of San José was apparently abandoned, and San Diego became the center of missionary activity among the Jémez during the remainder of the period prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.[132]

We turn now to the story of early missionary enterprise among the Río Grande Piro. Benavides claims for himself the chief credit for the conversion of this group, and although he unduly stresses his own role, it is undoubtedly true that he took an active part in the work and that it was carried on at first under his direction and supervision. In section 25 of the revised *Memorial* we are told that the custodian, beginning in 1626, made as many as nine journeys from his residence as prelate (Santo Domingo) to the Piro area, and that within less than a year and a half "they were all converted through the virtue of the divine word preached by a minister as unworthy as I."[133] And having established the conversion on a firm basis, he then "handed it over" to Fray Martín de Arvide, who continued the work and founded a convent and church. This would imply that Arvide took charge sometime during the second half of 1627, or possibly as late as 1628.

The account in Benavides' sketch of Arvide's life is less definite as to the time when Arvide took charge. Here the custodian merely relates that he started the conversions,

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132. Scholes, "Notes on the Jémez missions in the seventeenth century," pp. 93-98. Friars who served at Jémez prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Diego de San Lucas (1639), Fray Juan del Campo (1640), Fray Alonso de Posada (1656), Fray Miguel Sacristán (1661), Fray Salvador de Guerra (1661 and for several years thereafter), Fray Tomás de Alvarado (1669), Fray Tomás de la Torre (1672), Fray Francisco Muñoz (1680), Fray Juan de Jesús (1680).

133. This passage and one or two others are quoted from the edition of the 1634 *Memorial* now in press.

but was unable to continue because of his duties as prelate. Consequently he entrusted the work to Arvide, who baptized and converted many Indians, and, as stated above, founded a church and convent.

If we turn to other evidence, recorded in documents of 1626-1628, we find that Benavides made his first missionary journey to the Piro area toward the end of June, 1626, and that he remained about a month, returning to the northern pueblos by the end of July. The document in which this journey is mentioned states that he had gone "to convert the pueblo of Senecu." We also learn that in the autumn of 1626 he accompanied the returning supply caravan as far as Senecú, and that he made another journey to the Piro country in October, 1627.[134] This evidence confirms Benavides' own statement that his missionary activity among the Piro extended over a period of something less than a year and a half.

But the most valuable data recorded in these early documents refer to the Socorro convent. On August 3, 1626, a soldier gave testimony before Benavides in which he told about making a journey to the Socorro area and mentioned "the convent and oratory in which the friars reside." We also have a document dated at "the convent of Nuestra Señora del Socorro" on October 22, 1627.[135] Thus we find that a convent, with friars in residence, had been established as early as the summer of 1626, and we may assume that one or more were stationed there during the intervals between Benavides' visits. This means that although the custodian may have taken the lead in initiating the missionary program among the Piro and apparently exercised general supervision by means of frequent visits, the day-to-day work was carried on by resident friars.

Unfortunately the documents do not record the names of the friars stationed at Socorro in 1626-1627. We strongly suspect, however, that Arvide was one of them, and that the convent and church he is said to have founded were located

134. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, ff. 257-316, *passim.*
135. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 356, f. 296, and tomo 363.

there. In short, we are of the opinion that after one or more visits to the Piro, during which he personally assisted in starting the work of conversion and baptism, Benavides turned the work over to Arvide and others to carry on, since his own duties as custodian made it impossible to reside in the Piro area for any length of time. Later on, when the work was proceeding satisfactorily, Arvide was transferred to Jémez to undertake another important task there, the refounding of the congregation pueblo abandoned in 1623.

This line of reasoning is supported by the chronology as stated in Benavides' sketch of Arvide's life in section 42 of the revised *Memorial*. A close examination of section 25, describing the beginnings of the Piro conversions, also indicates that it records two significant points: (1) that Benavides made visits to the Piro area over a period of something less than a year and a half; and (2) that because of his official duties he "handed over" administration of the area to Arvide. The order in which these points are presented and the general tenor of the narrative in section 25 would imply that Arvide took charge after the work had been in progress about a year and a half, or toward the end of 1627, but Benavides does not make an explicit statement to this effect. And in the light of other evidence, it seems clear that the narrative may be interpreted as recording two overlapping phases of the Piro missionary enterprise.

We are also of the opinion that Arvide's career indicates that he would have been little inclined to take charge of a mission where he would have had the relatively easy task of carrying on a job that someone else had successfully begun. It was evidently his nature to be a missionary pioneer. He started the Picurís mission and remained there, despite the hostility of his neophytes, until the opposition became so serious that Benavides characterizes it as rebellion. In the early stages of the Piro conversion he would also have had an opportunity to do pioneer work, even though Benavides visited the area at frequent intervals. But once the work was well under way, Benavides, who

evidently recognized his special talent, sent him to Jémez to reëstablish the congregation pueblo at San Diego. And it may also be pointed out that during his period of service at Jémez, Arvide made a missionary journey into the Navaho country. By 1632, having established the scattered Jémez at San Diego, he was ready to move on to a new pueblo and undertook the journey that cost him his life.

We have argued this point at some length because it involves the chronology of missionary events in two important parts of the Pueblo area; and it is the purpose of this paper to establish with as much accuracy as possible the basic facts of mission chronology in this early period. The discussion will also have served to clarify important facts in the career of a courageous Franciscan friar who gave his life in the service of the Church.

No information is available concerning the immediate successor of Arvide in the Piro field. After the arrival of the 1629 caravan additional missionaries were assigned to that area, of whom the best known are Fray Antonio de Arteaga and Fray García de San Francisco (lay brother). Arteaga and the lay brother were stationed at Senecú, where they founded the convent of San Antonio de Padua, and during the succeeding nine years they labored together at this new mission. It was from Senecú that Arteaga, García de San Francisco, and several others set out on an unsuccessful missionary journey to the country of the Zipias and Ipotlapiguas in northern Sonora in 1638. Soon thereafter Arteaga left for New Spain, and Fray García de San Francisco, still a lay brother, may have accompanied him in order to obtain ordination as a priest. But whereas Arteaga remained in Mexico and rejoined his province of San Diego of the Discalced Franciscans, his old associate returned to New Mexico to resume his labors at Senecú, where he became guardian of the convent. Fray García remained at Senecú until the end of the 1650's, and in 1659-1661 served as vice-custodian. It was also at this time that he undertook

the direction of a new missionary enterprise among the Manso and Suma Indians in the El Paso region.[136]

Vetancurt tells us that Socorro "was a foundation of the venerable Padre Fray García."[137] Although he may have assisted at Socorro from time to time, it is now clear, on the basis of the data presented above, that the Socorro mission was established before 1629, when Fray García first came to New México. The earliest reference to a friar at Socorro subsequent to 1629 is for the year 1638, when Fray Juan Suárez (or Juárez) was guardian.[138]

Benavides' Memorials of 1630 and 1634 also mention a third Piro convent at Sevilleta, but this foundation was not permanent. We have no record of any friar who served as guardian, and it was apparently replaced by the convent of Alamillo. A document of 1638 states that Fray Diego López was then guardian of the "Convento del Santo Angel de la Guarda del Alamillo."[139] The mission was later known as Santa Ana.

It is unnecessary to trace in any detail the story of the founding of the new missions at Ácoma and in the Zuñi and Hopi areas in 1629, since the essential facts are well known. Fray Juan Ramírez founded the convent at Ácoma and apparently served there for many years.[140] Fray Roque de Figueredo, Fray Agustín de Cuellar, and Fray Francisco de la Madre de Dios started the conversions in the Zuñi district. One convent was established at Hawikúh, and a second probably at Hálona. It is apparent, however, that

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136. Bloom, "Fray Estevan de Perea's *Relación*," p. 226; Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 309, vol. 4, pp. 24-25; A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15; Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico (1659-1670)* (Albuquerque, 1942), pp. 21-106, *passim;* Hackett, *Historical Documents*, vol. 3, p. 189. Other friars who served at Senecú were Fray Diego de Santander (1665), Fray Tomás de Alvarado (1667), Fray Nicolás Hurtado (1670), Fray Joseph de Paredes (1672), and Fray Ildefonso Gil de Avila (1675).

137. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 309.

138. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15. Other friars who served at Socorro prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Benito de la Natividad (1659-61), Fray Fernando de Velasco (1672).

139. A. G. N., Inquisición, tomo 385, exp. 15. Other friars who served at Alamillo were Fray Francisco de Acevedo (1659), Fray Salvador de San Antonio (1672).

140. Other friars who served at Acoma prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Francisco Muñoz (1660-61), Fray Salvador de Guerra (1661), Fray Nicolás Freitas and Fray Diego de Santander (1666), Fray Fernando de Velasco (1667), Fray Lucas Maldonado (1671-80).

these three friars did not long remain among the Zuñi, and by 1632 Letrado had been transferred from San Isidro de Xumanas to Hawikúh where he suffered martyrdom in 1632. The later history of the Zuñi missions has been told in detail in the writings of Dr. F. W. Hodge.[141]

The pioneer friars in the Hopi area were Fray Francisco Porras, Fran Andrés Gutiérrez, Fray Cristóbal de la Concepción (lay brother), Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura, and Fray Bartolomé Romero. The first three are mentioned in Perea's *Relaciones;* the fourth is mentioned in Vetancurt's account of the death of Porras in 1633;[142] and from the seventeenth century records we learn that Romero served in the Hopi area for some ten years prior to 1640.[143]

The first convent was established at Awátobi in 1629, and it was here, so Vetancurt tells us, that Porras was poisoned in 1633. Fray Francisco de San Buenaventura was serving there with him at this time.[144] A second convent was founded at Oraibi, probably within a year after the first friars arrived in the Hopi area. Fray Bartolomé was guardian in 1640, and we have his own statement that he had already spent ten years among the Hopi.[145] By 1641 Shongopovi also had its own friar-house.[146] The other Hopi towns, Walpi and Mishongnovi were administered as *visitas* of these mission centers.

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141. Fray Juan de la Ascensión served at Hawikúh in 1660-62, and in 1672 Fray Pedro de Ávila y Ayala was killed there. Fray Juan Galdo was stationed at Hálona in 1671-72, and Fray Juan del Bal in 1680.

142. Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 212.

143. A. G. I., Patronato, leg. 244, ramo 7.

144 Other friars who served at Awátobi prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray Alonso de Posada (1653-55), Fray Jacinto de Monpean (*ca.* 1662), Fray José de Espeleta (1672), and Fray José de Figueroa, *alias* de la Concepción (1680).

145. Other friars who served at Oraibi prior to the Pueblo Revolt were Fray José de Espeleta (1669-72), Fray José de Trujillo (1672), Fray José de Espeleta and Fray Agustín de Santa María (1680).

146. Fray José de Trujillo was killed at Shongopovi in 1680.