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Photos by Robert Martin

Left: The Baumann restoration, which shows the Benavides "Assumption"

Right: Original statue, undraped, front view



Left: Original statue, undraped, rear view (photo by Robert Martin)

Right: Our Lady of Talpa, shown for comparison

NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL ROSARIO
LA CONQUISTADORA

By FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

CHAPTER III
THE LADY CHAPELS

1. *The "Conquistadora Chapel."*

Should the "Benavides-statue" theory prove to be correct, the first chapel of *La Conquistadora* as an image of the Assumption was the original parish church of Santa Fe, built sometime after 1610, the one that appeared like a mud-hut to Fr. Benavides on his arrival in 1625; from there the statue was transferred to a special chapel in Benavides' new Parroquia, finished by 1628 or 1629, and presumably in this same chapel she was transformed into a Lady of the Rosary years later in the manner and under the circumstances previously described.

But even if *La Conquistadora* were an altogether different statue of identical size, since the Rosary Confraternity already existed in 1656-1659, the first *Conquistadora* chapel would still be the Parroquia itself, or else the military chapel attached to the Palace of the Governors. The only reference that might apply here, and this only for the Indian Revolt period, occurs in the description of the siege of Santa Fe in 1680. When definite rumblings of an Indian uprising were felt in the Capital, its citizens, as well as others from the surrounding settlements and ranches, fortified themselves within the town. On August 13, the Indians in full force laid siege to Santa Fe. By degrees they captured parts of the town, forcing the Spaniards to retreat at last into the large walled military compound within the Palace of the Governors; the people had most likely removed what they could of value from the Parroquia, which was soon destroyed by the enemy, who also set fire to San Miguel Church. Several counter-attacks in the name of the Virgin were made by the

Spaniards, which inflicted severe casualties on the Indians, but they found themselves unable to break the siege. Wrote Governor Otermín:

Proceeding to the use of arms, they began to fight, taking possession of the church of the *villa* and of the houses, setting fire alike to the holy temple and to the said houses, burning everything. . . . They came to set fire to the doors of a hermitage of Our Lady which is in the tower of the said *casas reales* [the Palace of the Governors], where, seeing that they could not overcome us, they occupied the river and the houses, cutting off our water entirely for a period of two days and a night.⁴⁸

Unable to hold out any longer, since the people of the Rio Abajo had not come to his aid, Otermín sallied forth with his subjects on August 21, the men defending the women and children, the aged and wounded, in their midst. With them went *La Conquistadora*, "saved from the fury of the savages," but we do not know with certainty whether her old throne at the time had been in the Parroquia, from which she had been taken to the Palace during the siege, or whether her own shrine at this period was "the hermitage of Our Lady" in the tower-chapel. During the thirteen-year exile, as the early fragment sheets point out, her shrine was the chapel in the *Real* of San Lorenzo, named in honor of the Saint on whose Feast, as Fr. Ayeta wrote, the Indians had rebelled and massacred so many of the Spaniards.⁴⁹

During the first crucial days of the 1693 Reconquest, the statue was still enclosed in a wagon, which was apparently kept in the civilian camp on the site of the present Rosario cemetery. Meanwhile, de Vargas looked around the *Villa* for a building in which Mass could be said and in which his vow could be kept to enthrone the Lady of the Conquest, as he mentioned in October in his letter to the Viceroy. First he examined the Parroquia; it was beyond repair. Next, he ordered the San Miguel chapel re-roofed, but the Indians protested with reason that, winter having set in, it was too cold to cut and haul *vigas* from the mountains. These Indians in turn offered him a tower in the Palace which had

48. C. W. Hackett and C. C. Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico*, (Coronado Historical Series, VIII, Albuquerque, 1942), I, 113.

49. Anne E. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

been used by them as a kiva. Overcoming the protests of the friars with good arguments, he reopened the original entrance, which the Indians had sealed up years before, and designated this place as the temporary parish church. Then came the days of waiting for the Indians to move to their Pueblos, their sudden resistance, the battle for Santa Fe, the Spanish victory, and the repossession by the colonists of the ancient capital. Then, most likely, *La Conquistadora* returned to the "hermitage of Our Lady," and perhaps remained there until the Parroquia was finished more than two decades later. Since, all this while (between 1693 and 1717), succeeding Governors were also *mayordomos* of the Confraternity, the Palace chapel was her logical resting place.

The new Parroquia, dedicated after the Reconquest in honor of San Francisco de Asís, facing the street of the same name, was a building during the second decade of the new century. Records of this period of rehabilitation and re-portioning of property in Santa Fe bear witness to both the time and the location.⁵⁰ From the old *Conquistadora* sheets we learn that the Confraternity itself was still established at the Palace of the Governors in March 17, 1714. But by October of 1717, it was "In this church of the *Villa* of Santa Fe," and in October of the following year a more explicit term is used: "In this church of Our Holy Father St. Francis of the *Villa* of Santa Fe,"⁵¹ which shows that the main part was finished and in use by that time. The Confraternity's own chapel, attached to the Parroquia, also appears to have been completed. Between October 16 and sometime in December, 1717, the *mayordomo*, Bernardo de Sena, paid sixty pesos to the carpenter Juan de Medina for building the high altar of the chapel, as well as its sacristy.⁵² He also paid another sum to Andrés Montoya for hauling lumber for the sacristy, and still another to Salvador Archuleta for thirty-five *vigas* (no exact date given); these entries follow others of March, 1718, but very likely the tim-

50. *Sp. Arch.*, I, No. 181 (1714), "*la Yglesia nueva q se esta fabricando.*" Also, nos. 491, 498, 680, 1072, and 1074.

51. (d) Accounts, f. 2. (e) Minutes, both sides.

52. Accounts, f. 63v.

bers had been cut and hauled the preceding October before winter set in, or even before the carpenter was paid for his work. At any rate, we can safely say that the Lady-Chapel, connecting with the north transept wall of the Parroquia, was already in use by the spring of 1718.

Nor is there any doubt that this chapel is the North Chapel attached to the present Cathedral. Documentary testimony from its erection until now is continuous. Besides the old Confraternity fragments of 1713-1726, we have the oldest extant burial register of the Parroquia, listing the burials made inside the new church and the location of each grave.⁵³ Starting with March, 1726, the following persons, probably leading members of the Confraternity and members of their families, found a last resting place in the North Chapel:

Maria Hurtado, March 22, 1726, widow of Antonio Montoya, buried "*en la Capilla de Ntra Señora.*" Sebastián Gonzales, husband of Lucía Ortiz, June 11, 1726, buried "*en la Capilla de Ntra Señora.*" Tomasa Gonzales, wife of Don Bernardino de Sena, Feb. 20, 1727, buried in the sanctuary of "*La Capilla de Ntra. Sra.*" Gerónima Barela, widow of José Domínguez, April 11, 1727, "*en la Capilla de nuestra Señora.*" Margarita Martín, wife of Juan de Apodaca, April 25, 1727, "*en la Capilla de Ntra Señora.*"

"*El Regidor Don Salvador Montoya,*" May 8, 1727, in the sanctuary of "*la capilla de Ntra Señora La Conquistadora.*" Tomasa Montoya, wife of Alfonso Rael de Aguilar, May 20, 1727, under the high altar of "*la Capilla de Ntra Señora.*" (Burials in outside cemetery begin May 19, 1732.)

Domingo Tenorio, eight years old, June 8, 1733, "*en la Capilla de Ntra. Señora.*" Manuela Gonzales, infant, June 10, 1733, "*en la Capilla de Ntra Sra. la Conquistadora.*" Francisca Ygnacia, ten years old, June 7, 1733, "*en la Capilla de N. Sra. la Conquistadora.*" Gertrudis, six years old, June 16, 1733, "*en la Capilla de Ntra. Señora.*" Felipe Sánchez, eighty, Feb. 1, 1734, "*en la Capilla de N. Sra. La Conquistadora.*"

Don Alonso Rael de Aguilar, April 10, 1735, in the "*Capilla de la Virgen.*" María Dorotea, infant, June 24, 1733, "*en la Capilla de Nra. Sra.*"

53. AASF, Burial-48, *Santa Fé*. Compare these names with those in the fragments. The *Auto de Presentación*, January 6, 1726, states that it is the third book of burials. Its lost predecessors no doubt contained the funerals conducted from the Palace tower-chapel and San Miguel, as also some from the newly-finished Parroquia until the second book was filled up to January of 1726. If we had the two older burial books, the last resting place of de Vargas would be no longer a mystery.

Simona Domínguez, Nov. 20, 1736, and Angela Gertrudis Valdés, Jan. 30, 1737, "*en la Capilla de Nra. Señora.*"

Doña Teodora García, wife of the *Teniente General* Don Juan Páez Hurtado, Nov. 17, 1736, in the sanctuary of the "*Capilla de Ntra Señora.*" Doña Manuela García, widow (of Salvador Montoya) in the same grave as her sister, the same day. Francisca de Ribera, maiden, Dec. 22, 1737, "*en la Capilla de Ntra Sra la Conquistadora.*"

Juan Rodríguez, *Alcalde Mayor* of the *Villa*, Jan. 2, 1738, "*en la Capilla de N. Sra.*" Domingo Fernando Tenorio, child, May 17, 1738, "*en la Capilla de Ntra Sra la Conquistadora.*" Juan Lucero, Nov. 23, 1741, "*en la Capilla de Ntra Sra la Conquistadora.*" Benito Domínguez, April 5, 1742, "*en la Capilla de Nra. Sra.*"

"*El Theniente Genl Dni Juan Paez Hurtado.*" . . . May 5, 1742 . . . "*en el Altar de Ntra Sra la Conquistadora.*" Don José de Reaño, husband of Doña María de Ruibal, April 16, 1743, "*en la Capilla de N.a Sa. del Rosario.*" (Up to this time Fr. Guerrero had used the term "*Conquistadora,*" but from now on other friars write "*Rosario.*" Also, after this last date, no mention is made of the exact place of burial until the 1770's, after the revival of the Confraternity.)

The child José Bernardo, July 18, 1776, "*a el entrar de la Puerta de la Capilla de Na Sa del Rosario,*" entry by Fr. Francisco Atanasio Domínguez. He also buried María Ygnacia Romero, July 28, 1776, "*en la capilla de N.S. del Rosario de esta Yglesia de N.P.S. Fran.co de esta Villa de Sta. Fe.*"

Juana Teresa, child, Dec. 30, 1776, "*a la entrada de la Capilla de N.S. del Rosario.*" Juan Esteban Ortiz, soldier killed by Comanches, buried Nov. 17, 1777, in the Parish Church of St. Francis, "*en frente de la Capilla de Nuestra Sa del Rosario.*" María Francisca Rivera, April 25, 1778, inside the Parroquia "*en la Capilla de Nra Señora del Rosario.*" Manuela Roibal, May 1, 1778, in the Parroquia "*en la Capilla de Na Sa del Rosario.*" The last two recorded burials are: Catarina Rivera, Feb. 31 (*sic*), 1779, and José de Dimas, May 21, 1780, in the Parroquia, "*en la Capilla de Ntra Sa de Rosario.*"

The earliest full description of the chapel found so far is that of Fr. Atanasio Domínguez in 1777.⁵⁴

CAPILLA DEL ROSARIO

To speak with more order and propriety I reserved this chapel for this place. Well, it is located on the Gospel side of the principal Church against the outer wall of the Transept [extending] towards the outside as is the chapel of Suleta in the Church of our convent of Mexico.

54. *Op. cit.*, ff. 4128-4133.

It is made of adobes, thick walls of about a *vara*; its doorway is opened archwise in the wall of said place, and from there to the wall of the high altar it is twenty *varas* long, seven wide, and nine high. Its *vigas* are laid evenly and without skylight like the church, and they are twenty-four new ones, round (like those of the transept in the Church) and laid over the ancient corbels. Its sanctuary is distinguished [from the nave] by two small steps going up, and the top one measures four *varas* towards the center, being as wide as the nave of the body of the chapel. Its choir is located over the doorway of its orientation on twelve projecting corbels, with its small railing or balcony; its depth is three *varas*, and its width that of the chapel. The floor has new joists. The entrance is double-doored and of planed planks, high and wide in proportion, and has bolts. Its windows are two, on the Epistle side at an even distance, with wooden grill-work, and facing the east. Its furnishing or adornment is as follows:

HIGH ALTAR

There is no altar-screen, but a large niche which rests on a bench for the purpose, and two bases on the sides of the niche with two small niches on them (these and the large one are like little chapels), make up for it—and all painted red with yellow mouldings as though in tempera. . . . [*Next follows the description of the statue already quoted.*] Concerning its valuable ornaments more will be said anon, and thus there will be no confusion as to which it has on, the rest remaining put away with the exception of what I mentioned as her wearing all the time.

The niches on the bases have their small Saints in the round, and proportionately distributed on the walls to the Sanctuary are ten canvases in oil without frames, and four on elkskin, all large, and with various Saints; and equally spaced among these, twenty small canvases. The altar-table is of wood, movable, and dressed with what is necessary, even to a platform and rug; with attention to the fact that the frontal is of wood in relief, and painted like the aforesaid niches. The interior view of this chapel is really gay [*alegrita*].

NAVE

In it are two altars; the one on the Gospel side is of the Blood of Christ with large Crucifix in the round, very beautiful, before a canopy of silk, already old, and at the Lord's feet the Sorrowful Mother in the round about a *vara* tall, and dressed; and to one side of this Lady a small-sized Lord St. Joseph, carved. The altar-table is of wood, dressed like the high altar, even to a rug over the platform. The other altar is on the Epistle side, and is [dedicated] to St. John Nepomucene; Father Cuéllar erected it, and through the use of his donation the titular Saint was acquired, which is carved, three *cuartas* tall, in a niche painted with colors in tempera, and six large colored plates spread over the outside, reredos-style. The altar-table is of

wood, dressed like the aforesaid others. The frontal is of painted panel; and the small rug was also paid for from the donation of said Father, together with the Saint and his niche and the plates. The rest belongs to this chapel. This altar has a lower gradine, and on it are a carved St. Anthony of Padua, small, and two Child-Jesus' of varnish-compound. In this chapel is founded a Confraternity with title of the Rosary, and about this as soon as I finish with an account of the SACRISTY.

This sacristy is described as running east from the chapel on the Epistle side, "a little lower than the sanctuary." Therefore the door leading into it is the present one opening to the outside. Then follow long lists of vestments, linens, dresses, sacred vessels, and all things pertaining to the Confraternity. Fr. Domínguez ends with one last word on the latter, namely, that he has had a hard time seeking in vain for papers of canonical erection, as also for those of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, adding that the matter is pending before the Sacred Curia of Durango.

Other brief early descriptions of this chapel are those of Fr. Morfí in 1782, Antonio José Ortiz in 1797 and 1805, Fr. Pereyro in 1808, and Vicario Fernández in 1826. In the latter part of the century, Fray Agustín Morfí visited the Franciscan Missions of the northern provinces of New Spain, but did not reach New Mexico; hence his information is second-hand. Concerning Santa Fe, he wrote: "In *la Calle Real* and to the East is the parish Church consecrated to *N.P.S. Francisco* and in it is a chapel dedicated to *N.S. del Sagrario* under the protection of *La Conquistadora*."⁵⁵

Don Antonio José Ortiz, a pious old wealthy citizen of Santa Fe, carried on an eight-year correspondence with Bishop Olivares of Durango concerning private chapels for himself and his own restoration of the Parroquia, which had fallen into ruin around 1798. In a letter of January 25, 1805, after telling the Bishop how he had rebuilt and enlarged the Parroquia, the whole body of which had fallen down "six years ago," he mentions having renovated the altar and the

55. Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (University of Oklahoma, 1932), p. 91. *Sagrario*, instead of *Rosario*, is either a mistake of Fr. Morfí or a misreading by the translator, or else whoever was the informant of Fr. Morfí had the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in mind "under the protection" of that of *La Conquistadora*.

sanctuary—and the chapel of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*.⁵⁶ He is the man who, according to the *Candelaria Noticias*, offered himself as perennial *mayordomo*. A report made by the Custos, Fray Benito Pereyro, in December, 1808, states that annexed to the Parish Church of Santa Fe there are two chapels, one of them in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary, this being *La Conquistadora*.⁵⁷ One of the Vicars General of Durango who now and then were making juridical Visitations to the Church in New Mexico was Don Agustín Fernández San Vicente. He wrote in 1826: "Inside, communicating with the transept, are two large separate chapels, the one on the north side dedicated to *N.S. del Rosario*, called also *La Conquistadora*."⁵⁸

As previously pointed out, here is more than ample testimony for the existence of the "*Conquistadora Chapel*" from the time the post-Reconquest Parroquia was finished, around 1717, through every decade to our own day. By historical association, if not by direct statement, all this also bears witness to the *Conquistadora's* identity, as the self-same statue first mentioned in 1686 and still venerated today, as it has been through so many generations, in the Parroquia of Santa Fe.

One last word on this particular chapel. What we see today attached to the north chancel section of the Lamy Cathedral is only the outer half of the longer structure described by Domínguez, as one can see from old photographs of the exterior taken in the middle of the last century.⁵⁹ Two windows had been opened in the west wall

56. José D. Sena, "The Chapel of Don Antonio José Ortiz," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIII, 347-359. I have not yet encountered these letters in the Archives of the Archdiocese.

George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and Since the American Occupation* (Colorado Springs, 1940), p. 22, footnote. Readings by Stallings in 1937 show age of vigas to be 1745 plus or minus and 1851 plus. Cf. Domínguez description of chapel interior.

57. *Sp. Arch.*, I, No. 1191.

58. The original, according to Salpointe, is in the "church records," but I have not seen it in the Archives. *Soldiers of the Cross* (Banning, California, 1898), p. 160. Quoted also by Kubler, *op. cit.*, p. 101, and Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, 1912), II, 166, footnote.

59. Museum of New Mexico prints reproduced in Prince, *Mission Churches*, and in *The Santa Fe Cathedral* (Santa Fe, 1947), a popular illustrated guide to the Cathedral.

at this latter period. The stone Cathedral, built by Archbishop Lamy around the adobe Parroquia, is much wider, and so its lateral naves, in connecting with the old side chapels, took off their inner sections. The statue of *La Conquistadora* has been restored to her rightful place in her chapel, and little is needed, over and above permission from the authorities, to remodel its altar and sanctuary in the style of the period.

2. The "Rosario Chapel."

Distinct from the "*Conquistadora* Chapel," even in popular terminology, is the lone structure which stands in the Rosario cemetery in the northwest section of Santa Fe. Not many years ago it stood well away from the town limits. It is this particular building, and not the North Chapel of the Parroquia, which has been associated with the latter-day phase of the *Conquistadora* legend—that de Vargas had vowed to build a chapel on that very spot and hold a yearly procession thither. As for this part of the tradition, the *Reconquistador* makes no mention of such a vow; devoted as he was to the Blessed Virgin Mary, filling the pages of his *Journals* with her name on less important occasions, he surely would have recorded such a momentous act on his part, especially since he was *mayordomo* of her Confraternity at the time and had expressed his intention of returning the New Mexicans' Madonna to her former throne. Moreover, no chapel is known to have existed there until the first decade of the last century.

On June 29, 1806, Fray Francisco de Hozio, for many years military chaplain of the *Castrense* and at this time interim pastor of the secularized Santa Fe Parroquia, petitioned the Bishop of Durango for permission to erect a chapel of "Our Lady of the Holy Rosary at the place where the holy Image was placed at the time of the second conquest of this Kingdom. . . ." ⁶⁰ It is well to note here how this Padre speaks of two separate conquests by de Vargas. Most likely Father Hozio was unaware, like the rest of the people

60. AASF. See Note 41.

from whom he learned the tradition, of the two distinct Reconquests of 1692 and 1693. In mentioning a second conquest, he was voicing the popular tradition of two conquests in one and the same year—in fact, in the same month. The first was the triumphant entry into Santa Fe, and the second was the battle that took place some days later after the Tanos refused to evacuate the town and defied the Spaniards.

Here we have a clue as to where the statue of Our Lady of the Conquest, “who was enclosed in a wagon,” was kept between December 18 and 31, and where she waited while that other image of hers, the Remedios *painting* on the royal standard, led the troops on the assault. It would be most logical to believe that during the battle the women in the civilian camp, with such men as were not in the battle, unpacked the statue and set it up in a makeshift shrine while they prayed for victory. This would be in line with what Don José D. Sena remembers hearing from his forebears—that, prior to the erection of this chapel, a shrine of cottonwood and juniper branches was erected every year for the Rosario processions and novena of Masses.⁶¹

Exactly when this chapel was begun and completed is not certain. The Bishop of Durango granted the Hozio petition in a letter of July 29, 1806, with permission for an ordinary priest to bless it when finished; he also stated that Mass might be celebrated in it, and the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist administered, by any secular or religious priest having the ordinary diocesan faculties. “Let the chapel be constructed as directed, Santa Fe, October 6, 1806,” reads an annotation to the Bishop’s letter by Real Alencaster, Governor of New Mexico.⁶² If begun after this date, or the following spring (as is more likely), the small building was finished by the fall of 1807. On August 31, 1808, Antonio Ortiz, as *Mayordomo* of the 1770 Confraternity, wrote the Governor regarding the general collection of dues during the month of June in Santa Fe and surrounding districts, “for the cult and adornment of the new chapel of *N.S. del Rosario*, who is venerated as *Conquistadora* of

61. “De Vargas Procession,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, June 30, 1933, p. 4, c. 6-7.

62. AASF. See Note 41.

this Province in this Parish Church. . . ."⁶³ "The new chapel" clearly refers to the one in question, while the object that gives it its name of *Rosario* is the statue known as *Conquistadora* in the north chapel of the Parroquia.

The faculties granted by the Bishop in 1806 were renewed by Don Juan Bautista Ladrón de Guevara, Visitor General, when he visited Santa Fe on April 28, 1818. The chapel was likewise examined and approved by the Vicar General of Durango, Don Agustín Fernández San Vicente, on September 7, 1826. On September 22, 1833, Bishop Zubiría, while on visitation, approved and renewed the foregoing grants, provided that the traditional devotion to the Holy Mother was kept up. This last action by the Bishop explains the temporary resurgence of zeal in the 1782 Confraternity book for this period.⁶⁴

The Rosario Chapel faced south, with a porched sacristy extension to the rear on the east side. Without doubt it was built in the native "Santa Fe-Pueblo" style of the times; but in later years, sometime during the American occupation, and before 1913, it had acquired a white lime coating and a brick cornice in the so-called "Territorial" style of the period, as may be seen in an old photograph in Prince's book. This author, who believed that an older chapel had existed there before this one, says that the picture was taken the day before work was started on the new addition in 1914. This latter was done under the supervision of Monsignor Fourchegu, Rector of the Cathedral, who had this much larger addition built directly into the east lateral wall of the old chapel, thus making the latter a sort of transept to the new and longer nave. The whole structure was later fitted with a gabled roof in a nondescript style with a false "Mission" (California) parapet on the newer east façade. But the interior of the 1807 section remains the same, even to the earthen floor and the "secular period" *retablo* against the north wall.

According to Prince, Governor Mariano Martínez, the last Governor sent from Mexico in the brief period that New

63. *Sp. Arch.*, II, No. 2151.

64. AASF. See Note 41.

Mexico was under Mexican rule, planned to have a shaded park around the Rosario chapel, with a tree-lined avenue leading to it from the town, ostensibly to make the annual processions more beautiful. He had trees planted, and a special acequia dug to the area for watering these trees. But rapid changes in politics ended this laudable project. The native Governor who succeeded Martínez was more interested in his own affairs, besides being distracted by rumors of an American invasion, which came soon after to distract the inhabitants still more. "Perhaps before many moons, some public-spirited citizen or patriotic city council . . . may . . . make the dreary waste . . . a place of beauty and joy forever." Prince wrote this in 1913.⁶⁵

CHAPTER IV

FIESTAS AND PROCESSIONS

The Lady festivals mentioned in the earliest *Conquistadora* fragments were four in number, according to Fr. Espínola.⁶⁶ Fr. Diego de Chabarría in 1689 names two of these, the Immaculate Conception (December 8) and the Purification or Candlemas (February 2).⁶⁷ Since it is known that two of the four feasts were celebrated in December, probably the third was that of Our Lady of Guadalupe on December 12. The fourth feast may well have been that held on the first Sunday of October which, since the year 1571, had been designated by Pope St. Pius V as the annual festival of the Holy Rosary. This last is again emphasized as the principal feast of the Confraternity in its 1770 phase. Fr. Domínguez names the patronal feast of St. Francis on October 4, with Vespers and Mass, and the feast of the Holy Rosary, also with Vespers and Mass.⁶⁸ Other Marian feasts were solemnly observed, but not necessarily by the Confraternity as such. The week-day Masses often mentioned in the early fragments were not feasts, properly speaking, but

65. *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

66. *Accounts*, f. 20.

67. *Ibid.*, f. 20v.

68. *Op. cit.*, f. 4125.

regular days in which Masses were offered throughout the year for members of the Confraternity, over and above a stated number offered for each deceased member following his death.

As to Processions, just as a Confraternity revolved around a specific image of its celestial Patron, so each solemn festival was unflinching observed with a High Mass, Vespers on the eve, and a Procession after the Mass and very often after the Vespers also. But how or when the present so-called "de Vargas Procession" began is impossible to say; by this I mean the procession with the statue from the *Conquistadora* Chapel in the Parroquia to the Rosario Chapel outside the town, and the return procession nine days later. There is no mention of such an observance in any of the old Confraternity sources found so far, nor do Domínguez or Candelaria make any such reference in their descriptions of the solemnities observed on the first Sunday of October. Father Hozio, in his petition for the new chapel, echoes the people's belief that the statue rested at the Rosario site at the time of the armed reconquest of Santa Fe, and so suggests the possibility that the processions to and from the Parroquia were already taking place prior to 1806, the faithful erecting a shrine of boughs every year, as Mr. Sena recalls, which in turn suggested to them the need of a permanent structure. Certain it is that since that time the two processions have been held without interruption, with the novena of Masses at the Rosario chapel prior to the return of the statue to the Parroquia.

The reason for holding this double procession in summer is a mystery, since none of the four seventeenth-century feasts occurred in early summer; in descriptions extant of the 1770 phase of the Confraternity, nothing is said about this matter either; not until 1887, when Father deFouri wrote, do we have a definite statement that the first procession left the Cathedral on the Sunday after the Octave of Corpus Christi, and that the return procession left the Rosario chapel after nine Masses were sung there on consecutive days for a full novena.⁶⁹ However, there is no

69. *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

reason to doubt that these processions had been observed at such a time and in the same manner since the beginning of the last century, either before or after the erection of the Rosario Chapel.

In his newspaper article on the "De Vargas Procession," Mr. Sena describes these processions in days gone by. The first one started from the Cathedral, after Mass in the morning, straight down San Francisco Street, then over to Rosario Street, and to the chapel outside the town. *Descansos*, or shrines of rest, were erected at various stages: the first one at the home of Doña Anamaría Ortiz, where the present St. Francis School now stands (property recently acquired by the La Fonda Hotel); the next stop was in front of the *Castrense*, later the house of Felipito Delgado, and in more modern times the Capital Restaurant and Mayflower Cafe; next the home of Don Gaspar Ortiz y Alarid, the corner now occupied by the Santa Fe Book and Stationery Store; then the house of Felipe Delgado on the side of the present Lensic Theater; after this the procession halted at the home of Doña Guadalupe Miera at the intersection of San Francisco and Rosario; and the last stop, before the Rosario chapel was reached, was at the house of Don Ambrosio Ortiz at the foot of the present Johnson Street. At each shrine the priest incensed the statue and chanted a prayer. Large arches spanned the streets at various intervals, and both sides of the route were lined with evergreens stuck in the ground. The statue was returned just as solemnly by the same route at the end of a full novena which ended on Tuesday, and at six or seven o'clock in the morning. The current practice is to hold the return procession on the following Sunday, both processions being held in the afternoon, although another Mass is sung at the Rosario chapel on the next day. All old photographs of church processions on San Francisco Street and the Plaza show this "de Vargas Procession." The annual Corpus Christi procession always took a different direction, around the block on which the Cathedral, hospital, and Archbishop's residence are now located, until very recent years.

In his article, "The Virgin of the Reconquest," Dr.

Espinosa shows how this double procession and its novena of Masses parallels a similar tradition in Mexico City. There Cortés also conquered with the aid of a "Lady," and he dedicated a chapel in her honor. The Cortés statue was carried every year from the Cathedral of Mexico to that chapel outside the city, and it was said that it grew heavier on the return journey, as if the Lady were reluctant to leave her own little chapel. This last bit of legend was also current in Santa Fe. Because of these exact similarities, and since de Vargas used only these two titles of *Remedios* and *Conquistista*, the author concluded that no *Conquistadora* statue existed during the Reconquest of New Mexico (only the royal standard), or that, if it did exist, it acquired the title of *Rosario* in relatively modern times.

But now we know that the devotion of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario La Conquistadora* did exist in New Mexico, long before the de Vargas Reconquests of 1692 and 1693, and continued after the Reconquest, with one interruption and in two separate phases, until the present day. What, then, about the uncanny similarities between the Santa Fe and Mexico City traditions? The only answer is that the Santa Fe devotees, made aware of a similar *Conquistadora* down there, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century when traffic and interchange of personnel became more common, took over the idea that de Vargas conquered Santa Fe as Cortés had conquered Mexico, adopting the practice of a double procession and a novena of Masses, which in turn inspired the erection of the Rosario chapel in 1807. As we have seen, all the old *Conquistadora* documents extant speak of one chapel only, the north chapel of the Parroquia, and the only major celebrations are the several Marian feasts in fall and winter without any mention of double processions to and from the Parroquia and any other chapel.

Because neither the newly-found *Conquistadora* fragments nor previously-known sources refer directly and uninterruptedly to every phase of the *Conquistadora* problem when taken singly, but rather lend their accumulated force when taken as a whole, my experience in this study

has been exactly like that of a person putting together a large and complicated jig-saw puzzle. Most jagged pieces themselves gave no hint as to what they might ultimately represent, while some larger ones, or sections composed of them, provided a lead for further fitting of other pieces. Finally the general picture emerged, incomplete because many pieces are still missing, but clear enough for one to supply the missing parts and at the same time discard extraneous bits of legend.

My conclusion, then, is that the devotion and Confraternity of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario La Conquistadora* certainly existed in New Mexico in 1656-59, long before the Indian Revolt of 1680, and perhaps had its beginnings sometime after 1630 with the completion of the first permanent Parroquia, and around a statue placed there by Fr. Benavides. The Confraternity, though not the devotion itself, died out between the years 1726 and 1760, and was completely forgotten by 1770 when the people "inaugurated" a Confraternity and festival in honor of *La Conquistadora* as "newly-chosen" Patroness of the Kingdom. The devotion or cult, and the Confraternity in both its phases, revolved around the image still venerated under the same name in Santa Fe. This statue was "saved from the fury of the savages" in 1680, continued to be treasured at San Lorenzo during the 1680-1693 exile, and was returned with the colonists "enclosed in a wagon." Her first permanent chapel after the Reconquest, the new throne which de Vargas had resolved to build but which he never saw, was the north chapel of the 1717 Parroquia which continues to serve as a side-chapel to the 1886 Lamy Cathedral.

Unfortunately, the inhabitants of New Mexico had forgotten the true origin of this devotion and its famous image. The loss or destruction of the old Confraternity books in the middle of the eighteenth century, the indifference of the friars when the vigor of their Custody was curtailed at this period by the intrusion of the Diocese of Durango, and the brief emergence of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Light, all these helped to erase this and many other traditions and aspirations from popular memory. A last des-

perate effort to re-capture this heritage, though done blindly, was the 1770 revival of the Confraternity. The later unconscious association of the image with that of the Cortés tradition, dating from the nineteenth century, also shows this inner desire to restore and hold to something great out of the past that was fast fading away, and thus arose the parallel legends of de Vargas' vow regarding a chapel and a procession, to accommodate which the Rosario chapel was built. These nineteenth century accretions need not be decried; on the contrary, they should be encouraged and perpetuated. What each generation, each century, contributes to a popular tradition and custom, especially when the blood coursing through the hearts of the people in each period is the same, is not only legitimate but enriching as well. Yet, the true origin of such an old tradition should not be lost sight of, however much overlaid by these later additions. How much more consoling and exhilarating it is for native New Mexicans to know that this very same charming little image in their midst united their forefathers in expressing their common social, national, and religious aspirations—not merely since the de Vargas Reconquest, as they have believed until now, but also in those sad days of the Indian Revolt and the heavy years of exile, and even as far back as those dim times three full centuries ago when their pioneer forebears were building up the "Kingdom of New Mexico and the *Villa* of the Holy Faith," of both of which *La Conquistadora* was "Patroness and Queen."

CHAPTER V

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF LA CONQUISTADORA FRAGMENTS*

(a) Inventory, 9 ff., ff. 3-11

f3 I, Captain Alonso del Rio, *Mayordomo*⁷⁰ of the Confraternity of Our Lady *La Conquistadora*, declare that I received everything contained of the valuables and things belonging to said Confraternity from

* Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Spanish Period, No. 1.

70. The title and office of *Mayordomo* corresponds to those of the *President* of present day societies and clubs as well as those of the *Commander* of our Veterans' organizations. For this reason the Spanish term is used throughout.

the *Maestre de Campo* Francisco Gómez Robledo, past *Mayordomo* of said Confraternity in the year of Eighty-four; and acknowledging from memoranda and receipts which the Reverend Father Preacher Fray Francisco de Vargas, minister president of the *Real* of San Lorenzo, has presented, that eighty-four pesos of the Confraternity are due him from the said year of Eighty-four when the dues were not sufficient, during the term of said *Mayordomo* Francisco Gómez Robledo, yet in everything else I declare that I received it correctly and legally, without a single thing of value missing. Which ceremony of delivery took place before the Father Preacher Fray Francisco de Vargas, minister president of the Real of San Lorenzo, there being present together the Alférez Francisco Lucero de Godoy, Pedro Hidalgo, and the Alférez Blas Griego, secretary and deputy of said Confraternity. And that it may so appear for all time, the said Father [and] *Mayordomo* of the year Eighty-four signed it, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of February, of the year Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-five.

Fray Francisco de Vargas	Francisco Gómez Robledo	Alonso del Río
Francisco Mateo Lucero de Godoy		Before me the secretary
Pedro Hidalgo		Blas Griego

f3v In this Real of San Lorenzo, on the Eighth day of the month of October, the year of Eighty-six, our Reverend Father Fray Pedro Gómez, President, Vice-Custos, and Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary of these Provinces of New Mexico, audited the valuables and clothing of the Queen of the Angels⁷¹ *La Conquistadora*, a Confraternity which is located⁷² in this said *Real*; and having seen and examined all the valuables contained in the past record, his Reverend Paternity found some things unbecoming, thoroughly worn out and old, all of which he declared to be outworn; his Reverend Paternity ordered that from the clothing which could be made use of, for some vestment⁷³ or chasuble, that this be done, or that it be applied to some other object necessary for the adornment of the Queen of the Angels; and likewise if some valuable item or valuables could be exchanged, that this might be done, and the alms applied to other expenses of the Confraternity. Everything being cleared, of what there is today at hand, and might be of becoming use, the following inventory was made:

Images

First of all, the figure of Our Lady *La Conquistadora*, of a *vara* in height, a little more, in the round.

71. This Marian title is distinctly Franciscan, being that of the Mother-Church in Assisi, the *Portiuncula*. Hence the friars, and the people influenced by them, use it frequently when referring to the Virgin.

72. *Fundada*. "Founded" connotes the place of origin. The same expression is used later on at Santa Fe. See *Minutes*, f. 1v.

73. *Ornamento*. A peculiarly Spanish designation for a chasuble, alone or in combination with its stole and maniple.

Furthermore a Holy Christus, in the round, of a *vara* and a half in height; an Infant Jesus in the round, a little more than half a *vara*; three canvases a *vara* and a half high, one of Our Lady of Guadalupe, another of Our Father St. Francis, and the other of St. Anthony; an Infant Jesus, in the round, a thumb-to-forefinger span high;⁷⁴ an image of the *Sagrario*.⁷⁵

Jewels

First of all a small gold pyx;⁷⁶ small stamps of tortoise-shell; four Agnus-Dei of abalone; another reliquary of St. Didacus of gilt copper; a gilt silver rose with five stones; a small filigree cross; (*Marginal note*: It was declared outworn, to be made into a nail⁷⁷ for Our Lady and a little filigree rose); three pairs of ear-rings, one pair of pearls and gold, and the other two of gilt silver with their stones, some green and others red; a little four-string pearl choker with a gold lamb; another of four strings of pearls, two others of brass, one of six strings with a silver cross, and the other of five with its little gold Cross and its tinsel; another little brass choker of three strings mixed with corals; another little choker of nine thick corals and gilt beads; a rosary of corals linked with little silver shells without a cross; another rosary of *peje* fishbone; a silver rose, broken.

Dresses

First of all a dress of white lamé with its gold galoon and small red fringe, lined with blue; a dress of flowered tapestry with scallops of silver and gold lined with red linen; another green dress of satin with silver scallops, lined with blue linen; another brown dress, flowered,

74. *Un xeme de alto*. This might be the tiny Infant with golden shoes which was in the Cathedral Museum. The other Infant of more than half a *vara*, just mentioned, might be the one described as holding a cross in both hands in 1697. (*Inventory*, f. 8.) There is one like it in the Cathedral Museum which is of the period and holds a long tubular cross of silver; naked and anatomically complete, it is tied to an upright stake on its small platform in order to stand erect. The present platform and stake are relatively modern.

75. *Sagrario*: A place to keep sacred vessels, a tabernacle or altar or shrine in which the Eucharist is reserved, in some great cathedrals the chapel which serves as a parish church. The use of the term here is baffling.

76. *Viril*: A glass-faced receptacle shaped like a watch or a modern lady's compact, also applied to such receptacles without any glass. If intended to hold the Sacred Host, or the golden *lunula* holding the Host, for insertion into a monstrance for exposition, it is correctly called a pyx or, with a gold half-moon clip inside for the Host, a *lunula*. The old Spanish word for the monstrance is *custodia*.

But if made to enclose relics, it is properly called a *theca* and, not quite correctly, a reliquary. The reliquary proper is shaped like a monstrance on a smaller scale, and the *theca* inserted into it as the *lunula* is inserted in the monstrance or ostensorium.

An Agnus Dei (literally, Lamb of God) was a piece of wax stamped with the figure of a lamb and blessed by the Pope; this was encased in a *viril* or *theca* for protection, and so it came to be applied also to the *theca* holding relics, especially those of unidentified martyrs of the Roman catacombs.

77. A golden pin inserted into the top of a statue's head to hold a crown secure. The *Conquistadora* statue has a hole on the top of the head, reinforced with a perforated iron clip nailed on top of the hole.

f.4 with gold scallops, lined with red glazed linen; another dress of half lamé with blue flowers on white background, with gold scallops, lined with red glazed linen; two skirts, one of drab camlet, and the other of blue satin; four hoods, one of gold and silk of double knit with scallops of the same, and two of snakeskin, and one of netting; two other white hoods of thread crape, and small kerchief; a black skirt of ribbed silk, lined with blue linen—the blue skirt was declared outworn, and designated to be made into a drape for the cross.⁷⁸

Mantles

First of all a blue satin mantle embroidered with gold and silver in flower-work; another of blue damask with its scallops of gold; another of greenish taffeta with its scallops of gold; two others of white satin, plain; another blue mantle of taffeta with its scallops of gold; another black mantle of silk, Sevilla-style.

Chemises

First of all seven chemises with their ruffs worked in different colors; two others of cambric, plain.

*Trappings for the Palanquin*⁷⁹

First of all the trappings for the palanquin of white satin, embroidered with green; other trappings for the palanquin, black of Castilian baize.

Altar Cloths

First of all a cloth of Rouen linen, worked with blue; another cloth worked with rose; furthermore, three feather-dusters of fine plumes.

*Jewels and Clothing of the Holy Christus*⁸⁰

First of all three bedsheets of Rouen linen with their scallops; a purple coverlet of lamé with flowers, lined with silver-threaded taffeta; another coverlet of white Chinese silk; five silk pillows, two embroidered and glossy with their lace-work; another pillow of Rouen linen worked with orange and blue silk; a pillowslip of yellow glazed linen.

Clothing of the Infant

First of all a rose dress with his cord and crown; two cambric shirts; f.4v (*Marginal note*: There aren't any.) another shirt of metal-twist; another shirt of netting; a dress of white fabric lined with blue taffeta; another dress of red moire [?]; another dress of green satin, with the pants [or hose] of red satin; a banner of white lamé with the cross of blue glass and silver tips; two little dresses of the Infant of St.

78. *Manga*: Some sort of sleeve-like fabric shield put on crosses in those times.

79. *Las andas*: a litter, bier, or platform, for carrying images in procession.

80. This Christus, mentioned in the beginning after the Virgin, seems to have been a representation of the dead Savior in the sepulchre. This kind of figure is listed repeatedly in later inventories and could well be the one still to be seen in the north chapel. Their respective lengths, however, do not quite tally.

Anthony, and three little shirts; a veil of blue taffeta with silver scallops; another of plain blue taffeta; a knitted snake of native thread; a bronze Infant a little less than half a *vara* long;⁸¹ a trunk in which the clothing is kept; another chest, cedar, a *vara* long; another large chest, this chest was condemned because it was broken to pieces. (*Marginal note*: This chest was condemned by order of our Reverend Father Fray Pedro Gómez, Vice-Custos of this Holy Custody.)

All of which entries, just as they are specified in detail, were handed over to the *Mayordomo*, Alonso del Río; so that at all times he be bound to turn things in accordingly as contained in this book, reminding him that if he should enter something better or an addition, he must enter it in all detail at the end of this order—except ribbons or tape, since these are expendable things and can easily be lost; for although it might happen that the members, at the time it is asked of them, will give some ribbons or tape by way of dues, these may be specified at the time of accounting or delivery [of the office] by the *Mayordomo* to whomsoever succeeds him. And thanks are given him for the fine way in which he has worked, and the neatness with which he keeps the Confraternity's property. Thus his Reverend Paternity provided, ordered, and signed on said day, month and year, as above.

Fray Pedro Gómez

Vice-Custos and Ecclesiastical Judge

Before me

Fray José de Espínola

Secretary and Apostolic Notary

Additions which the *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity has made this year of Sixteen Hundred Eighty-seven. First of all, a dress of blue camlet which the *Sargento Mayor* Roque Madrid gave; a silver crown which Francisco Lucero de Godoy gave as dues to the Queen of the Angels when the Captain Alonso del Río was *Mayordomo*.

f.5 This book was audited in which are set down all the things belonging to the devotion and adornment of the Queen of the Angels, *La Conquistadora*, and everything is right and legal according to its entries, all kept with neatness and cleanliness, for all of which thanks are given [to the *Mayordomo*] for the care and support he has shown in everything pertaining to the Confraternity; and likewise for having made some additions which some benefactors have given during his term by way of valuables, such as dresses; and he is charged in the future not to fail in the support of said Confraternity, soliciting the usual dues, marking down clearly who gave them; and that it may

81. The Infant of St. Anthony: there is a St. Anthony of the period in the Cathedral Museum, and the beautiful little Child is removable. But the bronze Infant must have disappeared long ago.

The "snake" mentioned between these two items could have been the banding used to lash the large standing Child to the pedestal. See note 74.

so appear at all times, his Reverend Paternity signed it on the Fourteenth day of the month of April of Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-seven, in this *Real* and *Villa* of San Lorenzo, before me the undersigned notary.

Fray Nicolás López
Custos and Ecclesiastical Judge

Fray Cristóbal Daza
Apostolic Vice-Notary

On the Ninth day of June of Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-eight, Francisco Lucero de Godoy added a dress of white French figured silk, when the *Sargento Mayor* Alonso del Río was *Mayordomo*; furthermore some ear-rings of imitation pearls, and little mirrors, and a small mirror with a lead oval frame. Furthermore, another dress of green French figured silk which Francisco Lucero de Godoy gave for the bronze Infant Jesus. (*Marginal note*: This was given over to St. Michael.)⁸²

This book was audited in which are set down the things and valuables belonging to Our Lady *La Conquistadora*, and it is correct and legal according to its entries [kept] with all neatness and cleanliness, for all of which thanks are given [to the *Mayordomo*] for the care and support he has shown in all that pertains to the Confraternity; and likewise for the additions which have been donated during his time; and he is charged that in the future he may neither fail nor falter in the support of the Confraternity, soliciting the usual dues and setting down with clarity those who give them; and that it may so appear, his Reverence signed it on the Twelfth day of the month of August of Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-eight, in this *Real* of San Lorenzo, before me the undersigned notary.

Fray Pedro Gómez
Vice-Custos and Ecclesiastical Judge

Before me
Fray Antonio de Azevedo
Apostolic Notary

82. One of the *Conquistadora* traditions, nearly forgotten now, is that the statues of the Infant Jesus and of St. Michael went into battle together with that of the Virgin. (Espinosa, "The Virgin of the Reconquest.") And here, strange to say, these two statues are prominently mentioned more than once.

Regarding the San Miguel image, it is worthwhile touching here on a Confraternity of St. Michael which was apparently founded at the time, and for the purpose of collecting money for the project, when the San Miguel chapel was restored in 1710. All that we know of the society is found in a testimony of the expenses incurred, a document which is treated in full by George Kubler in his brochure, *The Rebuilding of San Miguel at Santa Fe in 1710* (Colorado Springs, 1939). Here also is mentioned a statue of St. Michael around which the Confraternity revolved; and it could have been this one of the Rosary Confraternity, for the same tradition treated by Espinosa in his aforementioned article also held that the St. Michael taken into battle was the one later kept in San Miguel chapel. All this makes one suspect that the *Conquistadora* statue, together with the larger Infant and San Miguel, might have gone into battle after all, even though documentary proof of this fact is still lacking.

f.5v I, Fray Diego de Chabarría, certify that the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary spent twenty-four pesos for beeswax, all of which was used up in the festivities of Our Lady, at the expense of her *Mayordomo*, Alonso del Río; because it so appears to me I give this certification today, Wednesday, Second of February of Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-nine.

Fray Diego de Chabarría

(The above entry crossed out with a few oblique strokes. On the margin: It does not count, erased.)

This book was audited in which are set down the things and valuables pertaining to Our Lady, *La Conquistadora*, and it is correct and legal according to its entries, with all neatness and cleanliness, for all of which thanks are given [to the *Mayordomo*] for the care and support he has shown in everything pertaining to the Confraternity; and likewise for the additions which have been donated during his time; and he is charged in the future that he neither fail nor falter in the support of the Confraternity in collecting the dues; and because some things are no longer serviceable for the use to which they were destined, the *Mayordomo* of said Confraternity is ordered that certain skirts of Our Lady, of brown camlet lined with purple glazed linen, be declared outworn, and that some hangings be made from them for the palanquin; and a tinsel crown with gold flowers [be also condemned]; and that some ribbons be made into rosettes for the said Image of Our Lady, also applying to the palanquin some pieces of figured Rouen linen; and that some sandals of the Holy Christ be declared outworn. Thus Our Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Vargas, Preacher and Custos, and Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary of this Holy Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul of New Mexico, provided and ordered, on the Twenty-third of May of Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-nine, before me the undersigned notary.

Fray Francisco de Vargas

Custos and Ecclesiastical Judge

Before me

Fray Agustín de Colina
Apostolic Notary

When Our Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Vargas, Preacher, Custos, and Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary of these Provinces and Kingdom of New Mexico, was auditing the book of valuables pertaining to the Confraternity of Our Lady, *La Conquistadora*, in this *Real* of San Lorenzo, his Paternity found not a thing missing, examining its entries in this book; of course, his Paternity ordered the *Mayordomo* of said Confraternity to condemn a black satin skirt and have it made into a drape⁸³ for the cross; likewise, a small cross and a little filigree rose, to make from them a nail for the crown of Our Lady;⁸⁴ and

83. See note 78.

84. See note 77.

f.6 the *Mayordomo* having been charged to give an account before us, together with his deputies, his Very Reverend Paternity examined the records and books in which the members are set down; and said *Mayordomo* being charged concerning the number of the members set down, and what could be seen of the dues, and his expenses of the Confraternity, we noticed that the dues of some of the members were missing; when said *Mayordomo* had presented his receipts, and among them one [point that stood out] is that many of the members of this Kingdom are absent, here he gave us a satisfactory account from his own memory, and declared what he knew at present regarding the dues, which are a hundred and forty-one pesos, paid through the Syndic⁸⁵ to the Father Preacher Fray Jose Espínola Almonacid, minister of said Convent of the *Real* of San Lorenzo, who [the latter two] declared this to be the truth. And at the request of the *Mayordomo* and the members, they petitioned his Reverend Paternity to make a new roster-book of the members; his Paternity realized from said book and petition that the making of a new book was most convenient [for] listing the members who at present are found in this Kingdom, and among these the ones who give and help with their dues each year, so that said *Mayordomo* may give his accounts in the future without anyone, who is approached with care, failing by this procedure towards the utility and welfare of the members, living and deceased, so that Justice is distributive and all partake of the divine suffrages; and because his Very Reverend Paternity recognized the labor, solicitude, and effort with which said *Mayordomo* and deputies of said Confraternity work to increase it, we give thanks for the job well done as they promise us to try hard in the future not to fail this order, both those who are at present [officers] and those who may be in the future. Thus his Reverend Paternity provided, ordered, and signed it on the Fourteenth of May of Sixteen Hundred and Ninety-one, before me the undersigned secretary and Apostolic Notary—and likewise his Reverend Paternity ordered that the old book be preserved, and he signed it on said day, month and year, as above.

Fray Francisco de Vargas

Custos and Ecclesiastical Judge

Before

Fray Antonio Guerra

Secretary and Apostolic Notary

On the Thirtieth day of the Month of November of Sixteen Hundred and Ninety-one, the *Alférez* Francisco Lucero de Godoy gave as dues⁸⁶ a dress for the most holy Virgin of Chinese figured silk, or figured satin which is mostly red, with its [illegible] of the

85. *Síndico*: The layman who handled the Franciscans' finances.

86. *Limosna*: Alms, literally; then carried over to mean the dues required periodically of the members. Many times it is difficult or even impossible to distinguish the dues from some extra free donation.

f.6v same material, the *Sargento Mayor* Francisco Anaya Almazán being *Mayordomo*. Furthermore, a tunic of white embroidered gauze which a member, named Juana de Alemán, gave as dues.

On his juridical Visit, Our Reverend Father Fray Joaquín de Hinojosa, Preacher, Vice-Custos, and Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary of these Provinces and Kingdom of New Mexico, examined this book in which are entered the valuables of the Confraternity: and having seen that there are some things which, according to what has been decreed by the Holy Office, must not be put on Images, but rather that from the hoods and chemises some tabernacle veils⁸⁷ may be made, and that [material] from the dresses of the Infant Jesus be applied to other things of his cult; and the beads, pearls, and jewels can be given as well-applied to the shrine of the Most Blessed Sacrament, the ownership of all this always remaining with the Confraternity of Our Lady *La Conquistadora*. The hat was declared outworn; and let some rosettes be made from the plumes. And the Infant Jesus' green dress of figured satin was turned over to the image of St. Michael. And inasmuch as the *Mayordomo* and deputies of this Confraternity claimed ownership of a silver lamp which was in the Convent of Socorro, it was given to them because it belongs to the Confraternity, together with a silver vase without base—there being until now no other [claim] to the contrary. And a silver diadem was given to them in lieu of a silver crown which, they say, was lost and belongs to the Confraternity. And for better government of said Confraternity, and so that those who are remiss in their dues may not think that they participate in the suffrages without helping the Confraternity as they ought—his Reverend Paternity decreed that, when one or some of the members are remiss for three or four years successively, the *Mayordomo* must request the Father Guardian of this Convent of the Real to admonish them publicly; and if they do not amend, they will be erased from the roster of the book and may not participate in the usual suffrages; and he will request the same of the Fathers Minister of the rest of the Convents of this Kingdom. And regarding the dues in arrears: the absent representatives⁸⁸ will be approached for their dues, and those dues which should be acquired from former years must always be noted down as such; so that in the Visitation everything is patent. And the old book, which is not in a decent condition, will be burned, after the [names of] the members have been transferred. And as to the present *Mayordomo*, the *Sargento Mayor* Cristóbal Tapia, and Deputies, many and repeated thanks are given him for the additions made and the punctuality with which he has worked; we charge him anew that he continue in his faithfulness, which the Queen of the Angels, Our Lady, will reward for the services

87. *Palias*: Altar-cloths, if made of linen. Tabernacle-veils, if made of any other material, and covered with embroidery.

88. *Podatarios*: Those who have power of attorney. How these absent individuals will be reached is not clear.

in behalf of her devotion. Thus his Reverend Paternity provided, ordered, and signed on the First of September of this year of Sixteen Hundred and Ninety-two, before me the undersigned Secretary and Apostolic Notary.

Fray Joaquín de Hinojosa
Ecclesiastical Judge

Before me
Fray Agustín de Colina
Secretary and Apostolic Notary

f.7 A silver lamp which was brought out of New Mexico [and] which was kept at the Convent of Socorro and was returned to the Confraternity because it was its property.⁸⁹ Furthermore, a silver diadem which belonged to the Convent of el Paso, and was exchanged for a silver crown which belonged to this Confraternity.

The *Maestre de Campo* and Lieutenant General, Luis Granillo, *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary, Juan del Río, Francisco Jurado, Juan Pacheco, and Cristóbal Jaramillo, deputies, and Pedro Hidalgo, secretary, declare and certify that we received all the valuables accordingly as are contained in the record of this book, except: what the preceding *auto* of our Reverend Father Vice-Custos, Fray Joaquín de Hinojosa, declared as outworn in the Visitation, and that it may so appear we signed it, of those who know how to sign, on the Twenty-third of the Month of May of Sixteen Hundred and Ninety-three.

Luis Granillo
Juan Pacheco
Juan del Río
Pedro Hidalgo
Secretary

Additions which the Lieutenant General of this Kingdom, Luis Granillo, has made from the years Ninety-two and three, until that of Ninety-five, during which there was elected as *Mayordomo* the Lord Governor and Captain-General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León, and as his assistant *Mayordomo*, the aforesaid Lieutenant General, Luis Granillo.

First of all a vestment of Chinese damask, yellow and white, which consists of a chasuble, stole, maniple, frontal, chalice pall, and burse for corporals; said vestment proceeding from some East Indian goods which the Lord Governor gave as dues. (*Marginal notes*: Further, three pesos were spent in providing said vestment. Further, six *varas* of thin sash that serve the Lady, which are worth three f.7v pesos.—A large box with its lock and a small box inside.) Further, six brass candlesticks; a tin-sheet lantern, large, and [with]

89. One reference which points to the existence of the Confraternity before the Indian revolt.

glass windows; an iron rod two *varas* long for Our Lady's curtain; a large canopy of double taffeta, red and yellow, which serves as a throne-canopy which the Lord Governor gave as dues. Furthermore he left sixteen wax candles.

Additions of the year 95

First of all, two silver candlesticks which the Lord Governor, *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity, gave. A dress of blue, flowered silk brocade lined with red taffeta; four *varas* and a half of red silk ribbon two fingers wide, all for said dress; a camlet chemise with lace; a seat-covering [?] of silk, white, green, and yellow.

I, Captain Antonio Montoya, assistant *Mayordomo*, declare, together with the deputies and secretary, that I received of the Lieutenant General Luis Granillo all the valuables accordingly as they are set down in this book, and that it may so appear we signed it on the Fifteenth of April of this Year of Sixteen Hundred and Ninety-three.

Antonio de Montoya
Luis Martiñ
Sebastián Gonzales

Before me
Antonio Lucero de Godoy
Secretary of said Confraternity

f.8 I, the Captain Don Alonso, declare that, as assistant *Mayordomo* of the Mother of God, I received from the Captain, Antonio Montoya, the following valuables:

First of all, Our Lady *La Conquistadora* with dress, mantle,⁹¹ silver crown, an Agnus-Dei, a theca, and a Rosary; furthermore, the Child Jesus with a Cross in its hands and a silvered band and base;⁹² another Child of bronze; a "Jesus the Nazarene" on canvas; Our Lady of the *Sagrario* on canvas; Our Lady of Solitude on canvas; Our Lady of *Remedios* painted on elkskin; Our Lady of the Rosary on the guidon;⁹³ another Child Jesus of wood; a silver lamp; a glass lantern;

91. *Ornamento* is used here, perhaps because it looked like a chasuble to this layman's eye.

92. *Supcana*: (Latin: *supedaneum*.) The platform before an altar, or a platform-like pedestal for a statue. This one is mentioned in connection with a silvered *band* of the Child Jesus, which is significant. See notes 74 and 81.

93. Three of these Madonna paintings are intriguing: 1) Our Lady of the *Sagrario*, because of its puzzling name; 2) Our Lady of *Remedios* on elkskin, because it brings to mind a large charming painting of the Virgin with a giant Rosary and the legend: *Ymagen Milagrosa de Nuestra Señora de Begoña, 1603*. It is in the Galisteo church, a successor of the post-Reconquest Galisteo Mission of Our Lady of *Remedios*; 3) Our Lady of the Rosary on the *guidon* or banner. See note 40. Perhaps, too, Aguilar, a layman and a soldier, switched the names around, so that the Lady on the guidon is *Remedios* and the one on elkskin is mistakenly called "the Rosary." This bears looking into because Antonio José Ortiz' home-chapel in Santa Fe was used as parish church while he was rebuilding and enlarging the Parroquia after 1798, and his immediate descendants had much to do with the Galisteo churches.

f.8v Furthermore, six candlesticks, four small and two large; eleven bronze candlesticks (*Marginal note*: The small ones belong to the church, and only two to the Confraternity); eight dresses which with the one the Virgin has on, are nine. Likewise I received all the clothing that belongs to the most holy Virgin, and that it may so appear I sign it with the deputies on the Third of February of the Year of 1697.

Alfonso Rael de Aguilar
 Antonio Montoya
 At the request of Sebastián
 Gonzáles
 José de Contreras
 At the request of Luis Martín
 José de Contreras

f.9 I, Sebastián Gonzáles, assistant *Mayordomo*, declare that I received on the Third Day of March of 1698, from the hand of the Captain Don Alonso Rael de Aguilar, the following valuables which are the property of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary.

The Lord Governor and Captain-General Don Pedro Rodríguez de Cubero⁹⁴ gave as an addition the following: an imperial gold-plated silver crown, inlaid and garnished with stones. Further, a dress of red brocade with its blue mantle of the same.

The Lord General Don Diego de Vargas gave a blue figured-silk dress and white mantle; and a white frontal of gold-lace, and a chasuble of the same.

The *Mayordomo*, Sebastián Gonzales, added some altar-cloths, a tabernacle-veil figured with silk, and twelve candlesticks.

Auto of Visitation. In the Villa of Santa Fe, on May Thirtieth of Seventeen Hundred and Two, Our Reverend Father Fray Antonio Guerra, Preacher, Custos of the Holy Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul, and Ecclesiastical Judge Ordinary by Apostolic Authority of this Kingdom and Provinces of New Mexico, etc., in making his juridical Visitation, his Reverend Paternity ordered Sebastián Gonzales Bernal, assistant *Mayordomo*, to appear in order to give the accounts of the dues which the Confraternity of Our Lady *La Conquistadora* has received. Who appeared before his Reverend Paternity with the books of said Confraternity and, when his entries had been examined, it was discovered that nine years⁹⁵ had passed without the accounts being kept, for which reason they were full of confusion and almost impossible to adjust. Wherefore his Reverend Paternity ordered that henceforth the *Mayordomo* must make a book in which he shall set

94. Cubero, de Vargas' successor as Governor, also took over as *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity. Could it be that the *Reconquistador*, mentioned right after, sent his gift from his jail-cell in Santa Fe?

95. Since 1698, the year of the Reconquest and the return of the colonists.

down with all clarity and exactness whatever he should receive as dues, and their distribution and expenditure.

f.9v And every four months he must come with said book to this Convent of said Villa and, together with the Father Guardian of it (to whom his Reverend Paternity grants his authority for this purpose) let the accounts be adjusted, and signed by both, so that at the end of the year, when the election of the *Mayordomo* is held, they may be made public to the members, and it may be seen how their dues have been employed in the Masses, feasts, and functions of Our Lady, and in some additions; and this will serve them as a solace, and the faithful will be encouraged to have themselves inscribed in this holy brotherhood; and likewise with this diligence the Prelate on his Visitation will have less work to go through; and should he discover some omission on the part of the *Mayordomo* and deputies, they shall be debarred from exercising said offices; and those who should work faithfully the Divine Majesty of God our Lord will reward them with spiritual gifts, favoring them as servants of the Queen of the Angels. Thus his Reverend Paternity provided, ordered, and signed on said day, month and year, as above, before me the undersigned notary.

Fray Antonio Guerra
Custos and Ecclesiastical Judge

Before me

Fray Miguel Muñiz
Apostolic Notary

f.10 In the Villa of Santa Fe, on the First Day of the Month of May of Seventeen Hundred and Four, I, the Captain Juan Páez Hurtado,⁹⁶ Lieutenant General and Captain-General of this Kingdom of New Mexico, as *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity of Our Lady *La Conquistadora*, received from Sebastián Gonzales all the valuables belonging to the Confraternity, the tenor of which is as follows:

First of all, a new red dress of silk with gold flowers, embellished with a fine French galoon matching the flowers of the silk fabric, with a mantle of gold-flowered blue silk with the same embellishment; another dress of blue gold-flowered Florentine silk, much worn out, without mantle; another dress of Florentine silk with red, green, and blue flowers, worn-out, and without mantle; another dress of white lamé, old, with a mantle of white gold-flowered silk embellished with an imitation gold galloon a finger wide; another dress of brown silk with white flowers, embellished with imitation buttons which serve as a border, old, and without mantle; another white dress of old tapestry embellished with gold-point lace, without mantle; another dress of green tapestry without embellishment and mantle, much worn out; another dress of blue camlet with old blue embroidered man-

96. He succeeded de Vargas as acting Governor in April, 1704; on May 1 he took over as *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity—and three days later he entered his petition to marry Doña Teodora García de la Riva. Years later, both came to rest in the *Conquistadora* chapel.

tle; a gilt silver crown with 25 imitation stones, green, blue, and red, with its surmounting cross; another old, plain, silver crown; some altar-cloths of Rouen linen five *varas* long; three bedsheets, two of Morlaix linen and one of Rouen, with Lorraine lace; a quilt of purple Chinese lamé, embellished with a wide lace of native thread, lined with greenish taffeta; a cushion of black plain taffeta and another of said taffeta; a corpse-kerchief⁹⁷ of Brittany linen with fine point lace; an old gilt Agnus-Dei of silver with relics of different saints; a little gold deer [?] with an uneven pearl; a gilt silver rose with five stones, and the said stones imitation, white, blue, and green; some Chamberg-style ear-rings of gilt silver filigree with two blue imitation stones and two crystal globules, and each ear-ring with two pendants of four fine pearls each; some other ear-rings of gilt silver filigree, each with a crystal amulet; a gold reliquary inlaid with blue, with four little pillars at f.11 the corners; a coral rosary with seven mysteries on a silver chain; another rosary of mermaid-bone [sea-cow] with seven mysteries⁹⁸; three dresses for the Child,⁹⁹ one purple, another red, and another white, all old; all of which aforesaid valuables I have received, as has been said, and that it may so appear, I signed it on said day as above.

Juan Páez Hurtado

Likewise, a tabernacle-veil of green puffed [?] silk moire [?] which the wife of the negro drummer¹⁰⁰ gave to Our Lady *La Conquistadora*; a skirt of green camlet which Micaela de Velasco gave to Our Lady, and which is worn beneath the dress.

[F. 11v is blank.]

(b) Accounts, I f., f.20

f.20 I, Fray Francisco de Vargas, state that I have received from the *Mayordomo*, Alonso del Río, as well as from the deputies, the dues consisting of one hundred and three pesos and four *tomines*, on the account of the Confraternity of Our Lady *La Conquistadora*, which dues are applied in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the benefit of the souls of the members of the Confraternity, both living and dead: espe-

97. See note 80.

98. A mystery, also called a "decade," consists of one *Paternoster* and ten *Avemarias*. The common "Dominican" rosary is composed of five mysteries, on which are prayed the three sets of Joyful, Sorrowful, and Glorious Mysteries (or incidents) in the life of Christ and His Mother. But this twice-mentioned rosary has seven decades or mysteries, and therefore is the Franciscan Rosary composed of one set of Seven Joyous Mysteries only. Very likely this was the one prayed exclusively by the New Mexicans in those days.

99. This seems to be the Child of the *Conquistadora*.

100. Sebastián Rodríguez, drummer, widower of Isabel Olguín, and son of Manuel Rodríguez and María Fernández, both Negroes of Luanda, in Guinea, married Juana de la Cruz, *coyota*, of unknown parents, May 12, 1697. In 1707 he deeded some land in Santa Fe south of the river to Micaela de Velasco, the donor mentioned in the same paragraph.

cially the said dues which said Alonso del Río finished collecting, which was to pay eighty-four pesos which the Confraternity owed in the time of the preceding *Mayordomo*, Francisco Gómez Robledo, who found the alms insufficient because the members were in dire need and not all could give, and so the present *Mayordomo*, having carried out his duties punctually, finished collecting said dues, and without owing me anything since the time that he has had the Confraternity under his care. Moreover, I do know from experience that he does it with charity, zeal, and solicitude, along with the deputies who accompany him, each one of whom takes pains to excel in the service of the Most Serene Queen of Heaven, Most Holy Mary. And that this my receipt will always so appear, I signed it on the Eighth day¹⁰¹ of the Month of May, Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-five.

Fray Francisco de Vargas

I, Fray José de Espínola, Father and minister president of this *Real* of San Lorenzo, state that I have received from Captain Alonso del Río, *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity of the Queen of the Angels, *La Conquistadora*, one hundred and sixty-three pesos since the Seventh of June for the Masses of the members living and deceased, and likewise of the four festivities of the Queen of the Angels, and so that this may so appear at all times, I gave this along with a receipt in duplicate of the Reverend Father Fray Juan Muñoz of the time when he said the f.20v Masses, and in confirmation I signed it on the Second day of the month of February of this current year of Eighty-six.

Fray José de Espínola

I, Fray Diego de Chabarría, Preacher and Father Minister president of this *Real* of San Lorenzo, state that I have received from Captain Alonso del Río,¹⁰² *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary *La Conquistadora*, eighty pesos since the Thirteenth of October for Masses for members of the Confraternity, living and deceased, as well as for two feasts which were celebrated in honor of Our Lady, the one of the Conception, the other of the Purification, and that this may so appear at all time I gave a receipt on the Second day of the month of February of Eighty-nine.

Fray Diego de Chabarría

(c) Accounts, "Cuaderno Segundo," 1 f.

f.1 Second Volume in twenty-two leaves.

101. A hole was already punched in the paper when Fr. de Vargas wrote on it, so that the word *días* in the next line curves down to avoid it. Four years after, Fr. Chabarría wrote the last three letters of *Rosario* on the punched flap adhering to the reverse side of the sheet.

102. Captain Alonso del Río lost everything in the Pueblo Revolt. He did not return to New Mexico in 1693, but remained stationed at the el Paso presidio, and was considered an "old-timer" there in 1709. Undoubtedly he was one of the members who kept sending up their dues to Santa Fe long after the Reconquest.

1689

Book in which are set down the dues which the Confraternity of Our Lady *La Conquistadora* has in receipt: this book is made up of twenty leaves; this book begins today, Fourteenth of June of Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-six.

Receipt of the Dues of the Confraternity

First of all, the Lord Governor and Captain-General Don Domingo de Jironza¹⁰³ gave as dues three wax candles worth three pesos; our Very Reverend Father Custos, Fray Francisco de Vargas, gave some socks worth one peso; the General gave two pesos' worth of soap; Diego Arias one peso's worth of soap; the *Sargento Mayor* Francisco de Anaya, *Mayordomo* of the Queen of the Angels, gave as dues, for himself and his wife, two pairs of socks worth two pesos; Doña Jacinta de Quirós some understockings worth one peso; Inez de Tapia gave as dues one peso's worth of soap; Josefa Barba gave one peso's worth of soap; Francisco Romero de Pedraza gave as dues for himself and for his wife one *campeche* [wood, honey, wax?] worth four pesos, two for this year and two for last year; the Captain Pedro de Sedillo gave as dues a sheep worth one peso; Cristóbal Tapia some understockings worth one peso; Juana de Valencia, his wife, gave some socks worth one peso; Pablo "*el viejo*" four chickens worth one peso; Doña Lucía Barela de Losada gave as dues two yards of red ribbon; Angelina paid f.1v two pairs of fine socks worth four pesos; the Adjutant Antonio

Lucero paid some bracelets of black bead-work and synthetic pearls worth two pesos, for himself and for his wife; Pedro de Leyba for himself and for his wife paid, from the dues, some white woolen socks and some black and white understockings, [what a woolly guy?]: they are worth two pesos; the Father Commissary, Fray Juan Muñoz, paid as his dues a wax candle worth one peso; our Father Fray Diego de Mendoza paid his dues with one wax candle worth one peso; Juan Olguín paid his dues with four chickens worth one peso; Francisco Frésquez paid his dues for himself and for his wife with one sheep and one ewe a year old, each head worth one peso, they are two pesos; Mateo Lucas, Governor of Ysleta¹⁰⁴ paid his dues with a year-old sheep, value of one peso; the Father Fray Antonio de Azevedo paid his dues with a wax candle, value of one peso; Ambrosio Frésquez paid his dues with some small shoes valued at two pesos, for himself and for his wife; Juan García paid, for himself and for his wife, his dues for this present year and the past year of Eighty-eight, two *varas* of Brittany linen, value of four pesos; Diego de Luna paid his dues with a pound of chocolate worth two pesos, for himself and for his wife—

103. Don Domingo Jironza de Cruzate. Neither he nor his immediate predecessors were *Mayordomos*, which makes one suspect that de Vargas had himself elected to this pious office.

104. Not the New Mexico Pueblo, but one of the 1680 settlements in the el Paso district.

(d) Accounts, 4 ff., f.1-f.4

f.1 I paid the Reverend Father Fray Lucas de Arébalo 6 pesos' worth on account of the Monday Masses, with a spade; further I paid the Reverend Father Fray Juan Mingues 4 pesos for the Masses of the Captain Juan de Dios Lucero de Godoy; further, the Reverend Father Fray Lucas took two buckskins for the Monday Masses of the Confraternity, and a sheaf of tobacco; received from Fray Lucas 6 pesos; received from Captain Montoya of Bernalillo three sheep, and three from Juan Gonzales. which the Father Guardian received; received for the dues of the members of Our Lady in El Paso 13 pesos through Antonio Tafoya; on August 13 I received from the deputies of the Most Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary thirty pesos which they collected on said day; likewise I received a wax candle worth one peso; likewise I received two pesos' value in some shoes; likewise I received four sheep; on September 4 I received from the deputy, Diego Marquez, four pesos; on said day I received from Captain Vargas¹⁰⁵ four pesos; further, three pesos from "la Mosonga" and from Bartolo "the little chanter"; on September 4 I received two pesos; on September 10 I received five pesos; on the 11th, three pesos; on the 15th I received two pesos from Juan de León; on the 24th I received four pesos; on the 26th I received two pesos; on October 2, I received two flv pesos; on the 18th I received two pesos; on the 22nd I received two pesos; on the 28th I received from Captain Roybal¹⁰⁶ three thin elkskins and a thick one, two bison hides, two pairs of shoes, and a peso's worth; on the 29th I received two pesos; further I received 4 pesos from Captain Diego Montoya; on November 3 I received two pesos; on December 9 I received some shoes; on the same day, a buckskin; on the 12th of said [month] some shoes; on the 13th I received eleven bushels of wheat from La Cañada; likewise I received six pesos from a bushel of horse-beans and peas which my *compadre*, the Barber,¹⁰⁷ received and which he will make good at the Palace; further, two pesos from Antonia de Manzanares; I further received two bushels of wheat from Nicolás Griego for the widow Archuleta which I took from the freight of my cart. [*This entry crossed out.*] On January 22

105. Not the Governor, of course. There were people of this name living in New Mexico before and after the Reconquest. Capt. Sebastián Vargas and María de Leyba, his wife, were marriage witnesses in Santa Fé, August 13, 1730.

Juana de la Cruz, "alias Mosonga," died May 9, 1727, the wife of Juan de Ledesma.

106. Ignacio de Roybal y Torrado was born near Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia, joined the Reconquest army as a 21-year old soldier, and married Francisca Gómez Robledo six weeks after the battle for Santa Fe. He received a large grant near San Ildefonso and by 1696 was the officer in charge of that military jurisdiction. One of his many sons, Santiago, became the first native priest in New Mexico, a secular, who later became Vicar General and was closely connected with the Confraternity of Our Lady of Light. Other children and grandchildren appear in the Rosario Confraternity records in both its phases.

107. Antonio Durán de Armijo, native of Zacatecas, "*de oficio barbero*," married María de Quirós in 1695. He was still called "*el Maestro Barbero*" when he died, June 22, 1753.

I received two pesos; on February 3 I received three pesos; on March 28 of 1714 I received four pesos; further, I received a small Apache girl¹⁰⁸ whom I sold for 67 pesos to pay the Reverend Father Guardian for the Masses and fiestas of the Confraternity; likewise I received last year of 1713, from the dues of the soldier-members, sixty-five pesos, which I paid to the Lord Governor in the amount of a hundred and twenty-two, in that the *Marqués* de la Peñuela¹⁰⁹ left it as a loan the time that he was *Mayordomo*; likewise I received this year of 1714 **f.2** from the dues of the soldier-members, with some that were entered anew, a hundred and six pesos, and from them I paid the Lord Governor fifty-seven, with which I finished paying the hundred and twenty-two of the *Marqués*, and the Confraternity existing in the *Palacio* has forty-nine pesos today, March 17, 1714; further, I received eleven pesos in soap from el Paso; further, two candles at 6 a pound; further I received six sheep from Albuquerque; further, I received from Baltasar Trujillo, from the dues of el Paso, fifteen pesos of monkscloth which I made good [sold?] at the Palace; further I made good eleven pesos at the Palace, and six which my wife took in a pair of shoes and a yard of linen, which amount to 32 with the above entry; further, I received from the Reverend Father Guardian, Fray Antonio Carmago, eight pesos' value in four sheep from the dues of Albuquerque; I gave to the Reverend Father Fray José Guerrero eleven pesos' worth of Brittany linen from the dues of el Paso; I received a peso's worth of soap; I received thirty-two pesos from the dues of Our Lady, from those who are at the Palace; I received from the members of San Buenaventura¹¹⁰ nine head of cattle, which I have let go for fourteen

108. The enslavement and sale of one's fellowman is repugnant to us who are the inheritors of a painfully slow social development. But Christianity as a whole, composed of human beings with clouded minds, has taken centuries to realize the import of cardinal principles left by its Founder. For example, not many decades ago men in civilized countries were jailed for debt, and it is only in our time that men began to realize the basic Christian justice of a living wage, which many still refuse to see.

At this period other nationalities and the strictest Protestant sects accepted and practiced slavery as a matter of course. But the Spaniards, as in this case, made slaves from wild tribes only, and with this marked difference from, say, the English practice. The slaves were treated as minor members of the family and instructed in the Faith, with prospects of freedom as soon as they were civilized. They could marry, and their children were born free according to law. As an example, there is the case of Regina Roybal, a nomadic Indian captive who was given her master's family name. In 1752 a Frenchman by the name of Juan Miñón (Mignon) asked for her hand and they were married. Since their children left no male issue, the name has not survived. The case of the Negro drummer (see note 100) is another instance of the eventual adoption into the community of the savage or his children through this then necessary process of servitude.

109. Don José Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, the Governor who on September 16, 1712, issued an edict for a perpetual celebration with a Fiesta of the 1692 Conquest. Evidently he took over the presidency of the Confraternity together with the Governorship.

110. Mission San Buenaventura de Cochití, under whose spiritual administration were the Spanish settlement of La Cañada de Cochití and some of the "*ranchos de la Peña Blanca*."

pesos, besides another beef from San Buenaventura which the friar killed on the way. As for the rest, my *compadre* Juan García knows who owes them; further, I received from Miguel de la Cruz four pesos—

f.2v On the 1st of February of 1715 I received the dues of La Cañada,¹¹¹ three bushels of wheat; eight sacks and a half of maize; some cotton-thread understockings worth 3 pesos, and two pairs of gloves; two pesos' worth of little tomatoes—which I took, and owe the Confraternity; I received forty-one pesos on March 17, 1715, of the dues of the *Villa*; I received four pesos from Rosa Jirón; I received from Salvador de Archuleta three pesos' worth of soap, and from Tomás Núñez four pesos' worth of soap, and two sheaves and a half of tobacco; I received four pesos of the dues from the widow [?] of "el Xeco" [?] and his mother-in-law; I received two pesos' worth of little tomatoes from Andrés de Archuleta [crossed out]; I received ten pesos from my *compadre* the Barber in soap and tobacco; I received a sheaf of tobacco from Mateo Trujillo; I received another from Montes de Oca; I received three pesos from Antonio Montoya, Jr.; I received as the dues of el Paso forty-one pesos in wax at four pesos a pound; on the 1st of May of 1715 I received four pesos' worth of soap; further, 3 pesos from Juan de Rivera of Pojoaque; I received from Captain Juan Gonzales of the dues from the Río Abajo three sheep and a ewe, three small buckskins at a peso each, the two, and one at two pesos, four pairs of stockings, and one of gloves; I received seventeen pesos of dues from La Villanueva in elkskins and pieces of cloth;

f.3 Further, I received from the dues of Bernalillo two pairs of gloves worth 2 pesos; likewise, I have to charge about five hundred and fifty pesos from last year of 1715 and 1716, including in said dues 100 pesos from an Apache woman who was raffled,¹¹² for their having given her to Our Lady, and regarding these I have written to Mexico inquiring about a side-altar [or reredos ?] for the greater adornment of the Lady; likewise, I received from the Father Fray Miguel Muñoz, deputy from the Río Abajo, six pesos of the Confraternity; I received four pesos from the dues of La Cañada; on June 6 I received eight pesos from the dues of the members of Albuquerque; on the 8th I received four pesos' value in a canopy and some shoes from the dues of Albuquerque; I received five sheep from the dues of Albuquerque and Bernalillo; I received two pesos from Salvador de Archuleta; I received from the Father Fray Miguel a buckskin, and some gloves from the dues of Bernalillo; I received a sheep from the Father Fray Miguel; I received 28 pesos' worth from 7 bushels of wheat from La Cañada; I received 16 pesos' worth in four bushels of wheat from La Cañada; I

111. *La Villanueva de la Cañada de la Santa Cruz*, re-settled by de Vargas as a "new Villa" with the families of "*Españoles Mexicanos*" sent up by the Viceroy in 1693.

112. See note 108.

received a string of chile worth 2 pesos; I received four pesos from Bernardo de Sena; likewise, I received seventy-five pesos from the dues of el Paso through Baltasar Trujillo; likewise eleven pesos more from the dues of La Cañada.

On the Third day of the Month of October of Seventeen Hundred and Seventeen, I, Bernardo de Sena, went in as *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary, and have received the following— I received from the Deputy of La Cañada, Tomás Núñez, sixty-four pesos which were collected from the brethren of Our Lady in wheat and chile; on the 10th of October I went out with the deputies to collect the dues in this *Villa* of Santa Fe, and a hundred and seventeen pesos were collected; I collected twenty pesos more in this *Villa*; I received from the deputy of el Paso, the sergeant Cristóbal Trujillo, seventeen pesos in wax for the use of the Confraternity; further, two pesos which they paid in two *varas* of Toledo cloth; I received seven pesos in monkscloth, which I gave to the Father Guardian; all receipts accounted for, they amounted to five hundred eleven pesos. Further I received from the Captain Juan Gonzales forty sheep which Our Lady has in the year 1718; further, 10 more old sheep in said year.

Beginning in the year 1719, I, the said *Mayordomo*, received the following: On October 19 of last year, 1718, I received from the deputy of La Cañada, Tomás Núñez, 120 pesos in wheat and chile; I collected and received in the *Villa* of Santa Fé sixty-nine pesos; I received at the Palace in account of the soldier-gentlemen 75 pesos in 25 pounds of beeswax; I further collected eight pesos more in four strings of chile; further, three pesos' worth of ribbon which I received, which was used up to make roses for Our Lady.

f.4 Further, three pesos which I gave to the Reverend Father Guardian; another four which I received and spent on paper to make a book [of accounts] for Our Lady; I received seven pesos in wax from the deputy of el Paso, Cristóbal Trujillo; I received from the deputy of the Río Abajo, on the 17th day of May, 1719, 40 pesos' value in rams and stockings and goats. Further I received 2 pesos' worth in eggs; I received at the Palace the hundred and thirty-eight pesos which the canopy cost; I collected in the *Villa* of Santa Fé nineteen pesos in wax; I received another sixteen pesos which I collected in said *Villa*; I received in said *Villa* a hundred and three pesos which I collected from the members of said *Villa*; I received seven pesos from the deputy Juan Gonzales; I received in account of the Lord Governor, Don Antonio Valverde,¹¹³ in La Cañada, a hundred and six pesos; I collected fifty-two pesos in the *Villa* which I turned over to the Lord Governor; I turned over to the Lord Governor sixty-four pesos which I made from the old sheep and the wool which I received; I received in this *Villa* three bushels of wheat which I turned over to José Antonio Fernández on the account of the Lord Governor, and one was left; I received eight

113. Antonio Valverde y Cosío succeeded Hurtado, acting Governor and also *Mayordomo* in 1717, as interim Governor and here, evidently, as *Mayordomo* as well.

pesos from the deputy Gonzales; I received on account of the Lord Governor ten pounds of wax, which were used up on the Day of the Purification of Our Lady: it amounts to thirty pesos;

f.4v I received an *arroba*¹¹⁴ and a half of wax for the year's use, which the Lord Governor gave to me. It brought in a hundred and thirteen pesos and four *reales*; I received from the Lord Governor five *varas* of Rouen linen which were placed on the windows of the Chapel of Our Lady, and a length of ribbon, all of which amounted to twelve pesos; I received a flagon of wine which the Lord Governor gave me for the Saturday and Monday Masses: it was worth ten pesos; further, eight pounds of wax which the Lord Governor gave me, which are worth twenty-four pesos; further, I spent eighteen pesos for three deceased brethren, for whom Masses were said, as will appear from the bills; I received ten rams which I took from the fifty that I removed from the flock of Our Lady, and which I turned over to the Father Guardian, Fray Francisco de Yrazábal, and the forty which I received I turned over to Corís, which was on the Lord Governor's account, and twenty sheep which I received from said flock I traded among the soldiers, which 8 pesos I turned over to the Lord Governor; further, I collected six pesos in this *Villa*; I received from the Lord Governor a flagon of wine worth 10 pesos for the Monday and Saturday Masses; I received an *arroba* of wax worth thirty-seven pesos and 4 *reales*; I collected in this *Villa* of Santa Fe twenty-four pesos which I turned over to the Father Guardian; further eight pesos more which were spent to [increase, or knead?] it.

(e) Minutes, I f.

f.1 In this church of the *Villa* of Santa Fe on the Third day of the month of October of Seventeen Hundred and Seventeen, the brethren of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary together see it fitting that Bernardo de Sena¹¹⁵ be elected as *Mayordomo*, which they carried out and declared with the Reverend Father Guardian, Fray Francisco de Yrazábal, presiding, naming as deputies: Sebastián Gonzales, Antonio Montoya, Miguel Sandoval, and Andrés Montoya; and that it may so appear the said Reverend Father Guardian signed it, and those who knew how, leaving as deputies for the outside [communities] the above-mentioned.

Fray Francisco de Yrazábal
For Sebastián Gonzales
Fray Francisco de Yrazábal

114. *Arroba*: A Spanish weight of twenty-five pounds.

115. More often called "Bernardino," having been named in baptism after the Italian Franciscan preacher, St. Bernardino of Siena. Born in Tezcucó, Mexico, he came to New Mexico in 1693 with the "*Españoles Mexicanos*" when he was nine years old. In 1705 Bernardino de Sena married Tomasa Martín Gonzales, and after her death married Manuela Roybal. By 1728 he had acquired much real estate in Santa Fe and the Cuyamungue Grant. He not only was the most active and devoted *Mayordomo* the *Conquistadora* ever had, but also served for years as Syndic of the Franciscans.

Antonio Montoya
 For the *Mayordomo*
 Fr. José de Narváis Valverde
 For Andrés Montoya
 Fr. Carlos Delgado

Before me,
 Miguel de Sandoval Martínez
 Deputy and Secretary

f.1v In this Church of Our Holy Father St. Francis of the *Villa* of Santa Fe, on the Second of October of Seventeen Hundred and Eighteen, the assembled Brethren of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary, located in said Church, re-elected in the Name of the Lord as *Mayordomo* of said Confraternity Bernardino de Sena, basing their decision on the experience which they have of his devotion and attendance, his punctuality and faithfulness, the Father Guardian, Fray Francisco de Yrazábal, assisting at said election, and they named as deputies: Sebastián Gonzales, Antonio Montoya, Sr., Miguel de Sandoval, Antonio Montoya, Jr. And that it may so appear they signed it with the Father Guardian on said day, month, and year.

Fray Francisco de Yrazábal
 Antonio Montoya
 Antonio Montoya
 For the *Mayordomo*
 Fray Francisco de Yrazábal
 For the Deputy Sebastián Gonzales
 Miguel Tenorio de Alba

Before me
 Miguel de Sandoval Martinez

(f) Accounts, 2ff., f.63 and f.97

f.63 Likewise, the Reverend Father Guardian, Fray José Guerrero, received seventy-five pesos from the dues of el Paso which Baltasar Trujillo handed in; another eleven pesos from La Cañada which Tomás Núñez handed in;

The account having been settled, of the Saturday and Tuesday Masses of the Confraternity of Our Lady *La Conquistadora* of the Rosary, and Feast of the Purification, and Masses for deceased members from the Eleventh of December of 1716, with the Reverend Father Guardian, Fray José Guerrero, its dues amounted to a hundred and one pesos, which the Confraternity has paid until today, the 21st of June of 1717. And his Paternity has received a hundred and thirty-seven pesos, by which he still owes thirty-six pesos.

Because of the absence of General Juan Páez Hurtado,¹¹⁶ *Mayordomo* of the Most Holy Virgin in her Confraternity of the Rosary, I,

116. See note 113.

Fray José Narváiz Valverde, took charge of the Confraternity since the Tenth day of July of this year of Seventeen Hundred and Seventeen, in order not to miss the Masses and Fiestas until a *Mayordomo* is elected.

The Convent remained owing 36 pesos to the Confraternity; the deputy of La Cañada handed in two bushels of wheat which were given to the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Yrazábal; further, one pair of woven understockings. The three Fiestas arranged for at 18 pesos apiece, and thirteen Saturdays at two pesos, and twelve Mondays at one peso, the whole amounts to ninety-two pesos. On the Third day of the month of October of 1717, I, Bernardo de Sena, was elected *Mayordomo* of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary. I paid the Convent six pesos mentioned above which were owed it; further, I gave the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Yrazábal, Guardian, 40 pesos on the Confraternity's account on the 16th of October of this year. To haul wheat from La Cañada I paid four pesos to Salvador de Archuleta;

f.63v further, I gave Salvador de Archuleta six pesos for hauling the wheat which he brought from La Cañada; to the Master Juan de Medina for a job in the chapel of building the High Altar, and building a Sacristy, sixty pesos; for the sung and low Masses for five brethren who have died, twenty pesos; six pesos for the three Masses for a brother who died in La Cañada, because the two low ones were not said at one peso, but at two pesos; I paid the Father Guardian for the two feasts of December and February, and the Saturday and Monday Masses, ninety-six pesos, so that I am paid up until now the day of settlement, which was the Twenty-third of March; and the Padre still owes one peso for the future; those paid are fifty-six pesos, and with the above-mentioned 40 they amount to 96. Further, I have given Andrés Montoya twenty-two pesos for fetching the lumber to build the sacristy; I gave Andrés Montoya 8 pesos for the help in getting the lumber; the account of pesos for lumber is closed, which are thirty; and twenty *vigas*; and to Salvador de Archuleta I gave twenty-two pesos and four *reales* for fifteen *vigas* more. I handed in ninety-two pesos to the Reverend Father Guardian, Fray Francisco de Yrazábal; another twelve pesos which I paid for [the Masses of] the deceased brethren; another twelve pesos which I paid for three deceased brethren, as it will be evident from the bills; Ninety-six pesos which I have spent on beeswax for all the festivities and Masses of the year; thirty pesos which I handed in to our Father Guardian on the 22nd day of September; sixteen pesos' worth of beeswax for Our Lady—

f.97 I took out in the year of Twenty-four, thirty-five rams for the Father Guardian, Fray José Guerrero; two castrated lambs and one ram; I further took out for the said Father Guardian in this year of 1724, for the month of December, twenty rams; with five more for said Padre; in said year and month I took out forty-five old sheep, since I knew they would die, and I sold them for money to the soldiers

at the Palace; I took out fifteen rams on February 5, 1725, for the Father Guardian; on June 3 of the same year I took out fourteen rams for the Father Guardian, Fray José Guerrero; in the month of October of the year 1725 I went out and took from the flock of Our Lady two old sheep, which were going to die this winter, and ten rams for the Father Guardian; in the month of December I took out 28 rams which I turned over to the Father Guardian; further, on June 12 of the year 1726 I turned in to the Lord Governor 40 rams which I took out of the flock of Our Lady; further, in said year on the 20th of the month of October I turned in 44 rams to the Father Guardian from the flock of Our Lady; and four goats—

f.97v Today, the 1st of June of 1717, the *Conquistadora* Virgin, and her Confraternity, has three hundred and eight sheep in the flock of the General Don Felix Martínez,¹¹⁷ which were placed in the care of Juan Gonzales—

I, Bernardo de Sena, received three hundred and eight sheep, which are in care of Juan Gonzales, of the Confraternity of Our Lady, and among them are forty rams which I brought away, because the said [Gonzales] told me they were prejudicial to his flock and asked me to leave just enough for breeding purposes. Of the said rams I have given thirty to our Father Guardian for the Masses, and the other ten I sold for beeswax. Examining said flock I took out ten of the oldest heads, which one could see would die this winter, which the said Juan Gonzales turned over to me, and which I sold for nine pounds of beeswax.

When the Lord Governor and Captain-General, Don Antonio Valverde, left me, Bernardo de Sena, in his place [as *Mayordomo*], I went out to examine the flock of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary, and I counted three hundred and eighty-two. And from said number I took out fifty rams and twenty old ewes. . . .

THE END

117. Martínez was also interim Governor, and probably *Mayordomo* of the Confraternity around this time.