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## Bishop Tameron's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760

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BISHOP TAMARÓN'S VISITATION  
OF NEW MEXICO, 1760

*Edited by* ELEANOR B. ADAMS

*(Continued)*

*San Juan*

THIS pueblo of Tewa Indians is fifteen leagues southwest of Taos. We left the latter pueblo and went across the same valley, but in a westerly direction. Its four rivers were again crossed; these soon flow into the Río Grande. Leaving this Taos valley, we entered a cañada of the sierra. The mid-day halt was made near a stream of cold water.

In the afternoon the journey was continued as far as a valley which is called Embudo. In this place there is a large house and other houses belonging to citizens. Confirmations were performed, and we spent the night there. It is a district of the parish of San Juan. Those confirmed numbered ninety-six. They were prepared for it, and they recited the catechism.

There is an abundant river, which we crossed by a bridge. Near there this river also flows into the Río Grande.

On the following day, June 13, the feast of St. Anthony [of Padua], mass was said, after which the journey continued. Coming out of the pine-covered sierra, there was a drop to a plain and the shore of the Río Grande. We kept that in sight like the sea as far as San Juan, which is also near it. It is five leagues south of Embudo.

A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides in this pueblo. There are 50 Indian families, with 316 persons, in the pueblo, and 75 families of citizens, with 575 persons.<sup>90</sup>

*La Cañada*

The villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada is two leagues from San Juan to the east. A Franciscan missionary parish priest

<sup>90</sup> BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the last figure as 175, obviously an error by the copyist. The 1750 census of San Juan shows 67 households with 261 persons. The number of Indians given in the table is 500. At Nuestra Señora de la Soledad del Río del Norte Arriba, which was in the parish of San Juan, there were 36 Spanish households with 330 persons, including servants; and 14 households of genízaros with 58 persons. According to the table, the number of non-Indians was 300. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

resides there. The church is rather large but has little adornment. There is no semblance of a town. The settlers are scattered over a wide area. There are 241 families of Spaniards and Europeanized mixtures with 1515 persons.<sup>91</sup>

I made this priest vicar and ecclesiastical judge. The following missionary parish priests presented themselves here: Fray Juan José de Toledo, of the pueblo of Santo Tomás de Abiquiu, 50 years old, who has served in those missions for a long time; and his mission is ten leagues north northwest of La Cañada, upstream and on the other side of the river. And the mission parish priest of the pueblo of Santa Clara, which is two leagues from La Cañada but is on the other side of the river. I desired to go there. They did not permit it because of the height of the river and the poor condition of the canoe. The genízaros of Abiquiu, Santa Clara, and Ojo Caliente were confirmed at La Cañada. The parish books of Santa Clara and Abiquiu were presented and examined. In the Abiquiu books I found a guide to confession and catechism in the Tewa and Spanish languages, upon which I admonished the fathers, but they replied that they did not agree with it and that it was useless.

#### *Abiquiu*

This pueblo of genízaro Indians has a Franciscan missionary parish priest, as has already been mentioned and also the distance from La Cañada. There are 57 Indian families with 166 persons, and there are 104 families of citizens, with 617 persons.<sup>92</sup>

#### *Santa Clara*

There is a Franciscan missionary in this pueblo of Tewa Indians. It is on the west side of the Río Grande, two leagues from La Cañada to the west southwest. There are 70 Indian families, with 257 persons, and 39 families of citizens, with

91. The 1750 census shows 197 families with approximately 1303 persons, including servants. A note states that there were scarcely 100 Indians there. The table gives the number of non-Indians as 1205 and the number of Indians as 580. *Ibid.*

92. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the following figures: 75 families of genízaros with 166 persons; 24 families of citizens with 612 persons. These must be errors by the copyist.

277 persons.<sup>93</sup> I looked at this pueblo as I passed by when I went down from La Cañada to San Ildefonso. Its bells were heard, and its Indians accompanied me.

### *San Ildefonso*

This pueblo of Tewa Indians is three leagues south of La Cañada, downstream. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. There are 90 Indian families, with 484 persons, and 4 families of citizens, with 30 persons.<sup>94</sup> The governor came down here for our final leave-taking.

### *Cochiti*

This pueblo of Keres Indians is about fourteen leagues south southwest of San Ildefonso. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. On the west side of the river there are 105 Indian families, with 450 persons, and 40 families of citizens, with 140 persons.<sup>95</sup>

They received me in a large house belonging to a settler opposite the pueblo on the east side of the river. I wanted to cross to the other side in a canoe, but they made difficulties. And there the people had brought the Europeanized mixtures across.

The catechism was put, and the Indians were prepared. They do not confess and are like the rest. They recited in Spanish, following what the fiscals say. They promised to confess. Three hundred thirty-nine persons were confirmed.

The journey from San Ildefonso to this house at Cochiti, which lasted from four o'clock in the morning until one-thirty, all over fairly flat country, was the most grievous of the whole visitation because of the terrible heat of the sun on the day of June 20.

93. The 1750 census shows 40 Indian families with about 188 persons. The table gives the number of Indians as 272. The settlers at Chama, part of the parish of Santa Clara, numbered 39 households with about 412 persons. Father Varo's figures for 1749, used in the table, were 21 non-Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

94. The 1750 census gives the number of Indians, adults and children, as 371. There were 66 married couples and 26 widows and widowers. There were 7 Spanish families with 56 persons including Indian servants. The figures in the table are 68 non-Indians and 354 Indians. *Ibid.*

95. According to the 1750 census there were 64 Indian households with 521 persons, adults and children. There were 6 non-Indian households with 35 persons, including children and Indian servants. The same figures are used in the table. *Ibid.*

*San Felipe de Jesús*

This pueblo of Keres Indians has its Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is three leagues south of the house at Cochiti from which the departure was made. We went by the pueblo of Santo Domingo. This pueblo of San Felipe is on the west bank of the river, which I crossed in a good canoe. The river flows in a single channel, very deep and quiet. This is the best place to cross.

There are 89 Indian families, with 458 persons in this pueblo.<sup>96</sup> They also presented equal difficulties with regard to their confirmation. They said that thirteen had confessed. The missionary, Fray Tomás Valenciano, is very able, and I gave him effective orders. And he is the one I thought might compose the guide to confession and catechism for the Keres, and this was also entrusted to him, although no results have been attained.

*Santa Ana*

This pueblo of Keres Indians has its Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is four leagues west of San Felipe, flat country. There are 104 Indian families, with 404 persons.<sup>97</sup>

*Sia*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Keres Indians is Our Lady of the Assumption. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. There are 150 Indian families, with 568 persons.<sup>98</sup> It is two long leagues from Santa Ana over dunes and sandy places.

*Jemez*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Indians who speak the Pecos language is San Diego. It is three leagues north of

96. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of families as 98. The 1750 census gives the following figures for the Indians of San Felipe: 71 households with 218 children under religious instruction, 26 widows and widowers, 164 married people, 51 babies, or a sum of 453 persons. The table states that there were 70 non-Indians and 400 Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

97. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of families as 98. The 1750 census shows 20 households of widows and widowers and 68 households of married couples with approximately 353 persons. The table gives 100 non-Indians and 600 Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

98. The 1750 census shows 131 Indian households with approximately 481 persons; and about 28 non-Indians. The table gives 600 Indians and 100 non-Indians. *Ibid.*

Sia. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. There are 109 families, with 373 persons.<sup>99</sup> The difficulties with regard to confessions and catechism continue.

### *La Laguna*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Keres Indians is San José. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. It is twenty leagues west of Sia, and we spent two days on the road from there.

On the first day the midday stop was made at the place of the Cuevas.<sup>100</sup> We traveled six leagues in the afternoon. After a league and a half we came to the Río Puerco. It was dry at the crossing; there were only a few pools, where the cattle drank. The night was spent at the place called El Alamo. Water is very scarce, and from there to Laguna, a journey which tired the animals greatly, we traveled at the end of June, and the sun burned as if it were shooting fire.

On one side of this road, to the north, is the place of the Cebolletas, where Father Menchero founded the two pueblos already mentioned. The inhabitants are Navahos and Apaches, and many of them live in those cañadas. Some are heathens, and others apostates. Some of their huts were seen.

This pueblo [Laguna] has 174 Indian families, with 600 persons, and there are 20 families of citizens, with 86 persons.<sup>101</sup> The father missionary parish priest who was here is called Fray Juan José Oronzo, 62 years of age. He had served as a missionary in this kingdom for twenty-eight years, and I asked him why he had not learned the language of the Keres Indians in so many years, and why he had not formulated a guide to confession so that he might confess them annually and when they were dying without the aid of an interpreter. He appeared disconcerted by this; he

99. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of persons as 378. According to the 1750 census, there were 81 Indian dwellings with about 333 persons. The table uses Varo's estimate, 574 persons. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

100. I am indebted to F. D. Reeve for the information that there was a small settlement of three or four families, called La Cueva, in the Puerco Valley on the east side of the river. T12N, R1W, New Mexico Principal Meridian. As of June 21, 1886. Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, Land Grant File no. 49 (F93).

101. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of persons as 85. According to the 1750 census, there were 65 Indian households with about 528 persons. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

gave various excuses on the ground that because of the indifference of the Indians, which was even more marked in the women, no one confessed. I gave my orders, and the matter rested there.

The church is small, and its adornment poor. There is a great lake near there, from which a stream arises. This is the headwater of the Río Puerco. On one side there is a small spring of water as cold as snow. They send from the mesa to get it. It is very delicious.

### Zuñi

The titular patron of this Indian pueblo is Our Lady of Guadalupe. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is thirty leagues west of La Laguna, to which the mission parish priest came with forty Indians, including the cacique and the interpreter, bringing the parish books.

I felt an inclination and desire to go to Zuñi. I did not succeed in doing so, although I made every effort. The chief thing that prevented me was the assurance that the mules with the supplies were swollen with the extreme heat, that there was only one watering place on the way to Zuñi, and that one near there, and that the mules would die of thirst, and that there was no pasturage. I abandoned this undertaking with great regret.

I confirmed some persons, and they promised to send me others at Isleta. They are as stupid and backward in confession and catechism as the rest. Only one confessed.

I examined the parish books. I was told that the church was good and the pueblo large. This pueblo of Zuñi has 182 Indian families and 664 persons.<sup>102</sup> These were the ones who could be listed. I heard tell that this was the largest pueblo of the kingdom, and therefore it probably has a larger population. One of the difficulties alleged against my going there was that I should not find even half of the inhabitants because they are so dispersed in their ranchos. They breed livestock, and large flocks of sheep come from there.

<sup>102.</sup> BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of families as 181. The 1750 census of Nuestra Señora de Alona y Zuñi gives the number of Indians as 824. The table, however, says there were 2000, probably Father Varo's estimate. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81. Cf. Tamarón's comment on the population, *infra*.

While I was in Laguna, a group of Apache Navaho Indians arrived, saying that they wished to become Christians. Their captain, Tadeo, who is a Christian and roams with them, is now an old man and, they say, a great rogue, for he has three infidel wives. He confessed to me that he had one. I asked him whether the Church had given her to him, and he was silent. I questioned him about the catechism. He recited the Our Father and the Ave Maria. I admonished them to come to recite with the mission father, to build their pueblo, and he would baptize them. I entrusted this to the friar, and they went off to seek the protection of the Spaniards so that their enemies, the Utes, might not finish them off.

### *Acoma*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Keres Indians is San Esteban. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is five leagues west southwest of Laguna over flat road, but the entrance to the pueblo is very difficult and rugged. The pueblo stands on a very high mesa, a stone mesa, almost round, inaccessible on all sides. The only ascent is half over sand dunes, in which the riding beasts are buried, and the other half via great rocks, obviously perilous. Here I ascended on foot.

It is a singular thing how the round hill rises from that plain, without connection with any other; and there they put the pueblo, although there is no water. They bring it up from a spring which is below. They have concavities like water jars in the rock, and these are filled.

It is the most beautiful pueblo of the whole kingdom, with its system of streets and substantial stone houses more than a story high. The priest's house has an upper story and is well arranged. For burials they cut the cemetery, which is large, and covered it with earth which they brought up from below, because all the ground is rock.

This pueblo consists of 308 Indian families, with 1502 persons.<sup>103</sup> The missionary of this pueblo is called Fray

103. The 1750 census of Acoma says that there were 960 Indians, of whom 247 were capable of bearing arms. There were 302 married people, 44 widowers, 68 widows, 91 unmarried men, 94 unmarried women, 361 children. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.



Pedro Ignacio del Pino. He has been a missionary for twenty years. He keeps his Indians better instructed in Christian doctrine than the rest. Some in that kingdom recite in unison and individually. They have seven interpreters. He obliges them to attend catechism and mass. He assists at catechism in person. He has had to whip them, and he keeps them in order, although not up to date with regard to confession. He understands the language, but he does not know how to speak it, and therefore in order to hear their confessions he needs an interpreter only for what he has to say to them.

The bringing up of the water struck me as a very outlandish thing. Since the view is so extensive, I went out to take the air two afternoons, and, at one side of the hill, but through its center, I saw a swarm of women and children emerge with pots and jars full of water on their heads. I inquired how that was done. The hill is pierced there as if by a narrow, very deep well. They have made hollows on the sides, or a kind of steps in which the feet barely fit, and they go in and come up by them. Although they explained it to me at length, I never succeeded in understanding how, in view of the tremendous depth, the ascent through so narrow a tube is managed, for those people frequent it at all hours with the weight they carry on their heads. They told me that two had thrown themselves down, and I admonished the missionary with regard to this.

From here we departed for Isleta, a two days' journey. The first day we dined at the place of Los Alamos, twelve leagues away. The little spring of water was very scanty. In the afternoon we covered three leagues, as far as the Río Puerco. Although it was dry, there were some pools, and there we spent the night.

#### *La Isleta*

This pueblo of Tigua Indians and settlers has San Agustín for its patron saint. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is five-fairly flat leagues from the Río Puerco, where we slept, and it is twenty leagues east of the pueblo of Acoma and fifteen from Laguna, which was in-

spected on the way in. It is called Isleta because it is very close to the Río Grande del Norte, and when the river is in flood, one branch surrounds it. It is not inundated because it stands on a little mound.

It has 107 families of Indians, with 304 persons, and 210 families of settlers, including those of the place of Belén, with 620 persons.<sup>104</sup> The Isleta church is single-naved, with an adorned altar. The Indians know the catechism; they confess annually, and they did so in preparation for confirmation, because they speak Spanish. The settlement of Belén is six leagues south of Isleta, downstream.

Twenty-seven Zuñi Indians arrived from that side of Isleta with an interpreter. With his help, an act of contrition was formulated for them so that they would confess in Zuñi. The interpreter confessed, and I confirmed twenty of them, for seven had already been confirmed.

The people of Isleta have good lands, with irrigation from the river. They sow wheat, maize, and other grains. They have some fruit trees, which usually fail to bear because of the frost. Vine-stocks had been planted which were already bearing grapes.

Here a canoe had been made ready to cross the river. It was old, and although they tried to repair it, it was leaking a good amount of water, which they covered so that I should not see it coming in. A crowd of Indians made up this deficiency, for otherwise the crossing in it would have been very risky, and the river is very wide there. It took about half an hour to cross to the other side, and on this day we reached Tomé, which is four leagues southeast of Isleta. It is the first settlement through which one enters and must leave that interior part of New Mexico.

In this village of Tomé the necessary preparations are

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104. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of Indian families as 102, and of Spanish families as 242. According to the 1750 census, there were 79 Indian households with 421 persons. The Spaniards, Europeanized mixtures, and genizaros were as follows: Pajarito, 9 households with 82 persons; Rancho de Padilla, 4 households with 31 persons; Sitio de Gutiérrez, 10 households with 59 persons; San Clemente, 12 households with 95 persons; Belén, 18 households with 98 persons; genizaros, 20 households with 68 persons. A note in another hand says: "The number of Indians here will be about 600." The table gives 100 non-Indians and 500 Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

made for the departure for El Paso, including supplies, horses, and the escort that must be taken. The latter numbered only twenty-one soldiers, with an ensign who went as commanding officer; and in addition to these, fifty-five armed men, Spaniards and Indians. The number of persons in all was ninety-four; four hundred twenty-nine horses and mules; twenty-eight bulls; four hundred fifty sheep. The departure from Tomé with all this train took place on the eighth day of July. The daily journeys continued in the same way as when I entered. Some of the stopping places for the night were found to be flooded because of the extraordinary freshets the river had that year. The difference on the return trip was that it took two days less, because, as a result of the rains, we found water in the middle of the Jornada del Muerto at the place they call Perrillos, and we did not have to make the detour.

And at the beginning of this day's journey we found two crosses from the Indians, with sacks for food. And at this point they shouted from the hill of the San Cristobal sierra; the cries increased; they said, "We are good,"<sup>105</sup> meaning peaceful. There appeared to be a large force. Our men were ordered to assemble and take arms, but they made no other movement, and we continued our journey and reached El Paso on the eighteenth day of that month of July. We crossed the river on a raft, but it was not so full as the first time we crossed. The leagues traveled from Tomé to El Paso on our return trip were eighty-four.

I remained in El Paso until the twenty-eighth, when I left for Chihuahua, a journey of ninety-three leagues, also through unpopulated and dangerous country. The former provisions were left behind, and a new lot was taken. Therefore in the New Mexico region, they supplied me with seven different sets of provisions: First, the captain of El Paso, from the Río Santa María to his house; second, the same, from El Paso to Santa Fe; third, from Santa Fe, by the governor, to Pecos and Galisteo; fourth, the same, from Santa Fe to San Ildefonso; fifth, from there, by the aforesaid, to the return to Tomé; sixth, from there to El Paso, by

105. "Estamos bonos."

the said governor; seventh, from El Paso to Chihuahua, by the said captain; with all new supplies of food and different mules and horses, most of which were paid for by the said governor and captain, for there was no other way or means. Only with regard to food did I and the Father Custos make some provision; and on the journey from El Paso to Chihuahua, they sent a two-seated chaise and a drove of mules and a volante from the latter place, which they bought on my order, with four mules. It cost me money and was of little use.

To conclude this report of New Mexico, some particulars about that country will be given. It was discovered in the year 1581 by Father Fray Agustín Ruiz [*sic*, Rodríguez], a Franciscan religious, and by Antonio Espejo, who gave it the name of New Mexico.<sup>106</sup> Nearly a hundred years after its reduction, on August 10, 1680, those Indians and others leagued with them contrived so secret and violent a conspiracy that they rose in arms everywhere simultaneously, wreaking untold havoc on the Spanish people. They took the lives of all who fell into their hands, including twenty-one Franciscan missionary religious. They trampled the sacred images under foot and outraged them. They destroyed and leveled the churches. Those who managed to escape took the road to El Paso, where some families found a haven, and also some Indians who had not joined the rebellion. The four pueblos of El Paso were founded with these people.

Although the kingdom was reconquered afterwards, it cost great effort, and many pueblos remained in ruins. Nothing is being done about rebuilding them, and only the preservation of what has been reduced is attempted. The Spanish families are increasing somewhat, which is a means of preservation, although the Comanches are so prejudicial to this. Intelligent persons have told me that they [the Comanches] are useful in holding the rest of the Indians in check, because they all fear them and realize that the method of defending themselves against them is to resort

106. Bishop Tamarón's knowledge of early New Mexico history was rather sketchy. Benavides also uses the form Ruiz instead of Rodríguez.

to the Spaniards for aid. The Ute tribe is very numerous on the New Mexico border. Formerly they waged war, and now they are at peace because of their fear of the Comanches. The same applies to the Faraon Apaches.

In the year 1759 a rumor spread that the Indians were going to rise on the day of Corpus Christi. The governor was alarmed; he took precautions and made inquiries, but he was unable to clarify the matter. When I was there the following year, they remembered this and told me about it.

Although I made inquiries throughout my visitation, I was unable to discover any use or practice of formal idolatry, nor was any denunciation made before me. I continued to have my suspicions. I asked questions and was not told of any defection on the basis of which I could judge this matter, to which the Indians are usually prone, as experience has shown in other regions. In New Mexico I did not approve of the so-called *estufa*, which they maintain in the pueblos I went to inspect, after I was informed about it and its nature. Digging three or four varas deep in the earth a circle about five varas in diameter, they build a wall about a vara and a half high all around it above ground, and they roof it like a terrace. The entrance is through the roof and looks like the hatch of a ship, with its small ladder. There is no other door or window. Outside it has the shape of the crown of a hat. There they say they hold their dances, convecticles, and meetings, and receive Indians of other places there. I did not find proof of anything evil, but I ordered them [the friars] to keep their eyes open. They argued the difficulty of depriving them of that dark and strange receptacle, which is also a temptation to evil.

The apostate Moqui tribe has its home sixty leagues northwest of the pueblo of Zuñi. Their pueblos are six: Oraibi, Mozán, Walpi, Shongopovi, Awatovi, and Janos. These stand on as many stone mesas. Water is scarce and difficult to make use of. Those missionaries are accustomed to make some expeditions there, but at long intervals because of the lack of escorts to protect them. When they obtain them, they do make a few conversions. The Moquis are now very near the Sierra Azul, which is about twelve days'

journey from there. They say that there is a great deal of silver beyond this sierra. Many relations, observations, and reports agree that the great town of bearded men and costly buildings, supplied with arms and munitions, is not far from there. This is common talk in New Mexico, and the friars who have gone to the Moquis assure me that they learned it there from the Coninas [Havasupai] Indians and that via these lands of the Moquis, it will be easier to discover the headwaters of the Colorado River and whether the Californias are an island or a peninsula.

*Itinerary*<sup>107</sup>

Itinerary taken on the diocesan visitation which began on the twenty-second day of October, 1759, on which day Dr. don Pedro Tamarón, its bishop, left the city of Durango. The memorandum is arranged in six columns, as follows: In the first the days will be noted; in the second, the directions; in the third, the number of leagues; in the fourth, the places; in the fifth, the number of persons confirmed; in the sixth, the sermons or discourses which he preached in person. To differentiate the places, the following designations will be used: Sa. means sierra. Co. that the night was spent in the field or an unpopulated place. Po. is an Indian pueblo. Va. is villa. Vo. is a settlement of Europeanized citizens. Rl. is a mining town. M.F. indicates a mission of Franciscan religious. M.J. indicates a mission of the fathers of the Society of Jesus. Hcda. means hacienda. . . .

Year 1760

KINGDOM OF NEW MEXICO

<i>Days</i>	<i>Directions</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Confirmations</i>	<i>Sermons</i>
[April] 19	east northeast	8	Salinas .....Co.	0000	0000
20	east northeast	12	Puertecito .....Co.	0000	0000
21	east northeast	15	Ojito de Cholome .....Co.	0000	0000
22	north	12	In the field .....Co.	0000	0000

107. Tamarón (1937), pp. 382-384.

	<i>Days</i>	<i>Directions</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Confirmations</i>	<i>Sermons</i>
	23	north		Royal presidio of El Paso	1742	0010
	30	east	6	M.F. Po. El Socorro	0383	0001
May	1	west	2	M.F. Po. Isleta	0364	0001
	2	west	2	M.F. Po. Senecu	0484	0001
	3	west	2	M.F. S. Lorenzo	0002	0001
The Río del Norte was crossed						
	7	north	5	Quemada .....Co.	0000	0000
	8	north	5	Alamitos .....Co.	0000	0000
	9	north	4	Trujillo .....Co.	0000	0000
	10	north	6	Ranchería .....Co.	0000	0000
	11	north	7	Robledo .....Co.	0000	0000
	12	north	5	San Diego .....Co.	0000	0000
	13	north	20	San Cristobal .....Co.	0000	0000
Jornada del Muerto						
	14	north	10	El Río .....Co.	0000	0000
	15	north	7	San Pascual	0000	0000
	16	north	6	Luis López .....Co.	0000	0000
	17	north	8	Alamitos .....Co.	0000	0000
	18	north	5	M.F. Tomé	0606	0000
	19	north	9	Nutrias .....Co.	0000	0000
	20	north	10	M.F. Va. de Albuquerque	0732	0004
	22	north	4	M.F. Po. Sandia	0450	0002
	23	north	6	M.F. Po. Sto. Domingo	0272	0001
	24	north	12	M.F. Va. Sta. Fe	1532	0007
	29	east	8	M.F. Pecos	0192	0001
	30	west	5	M.F. Galisteo	0169	0001
	31	north	7	M.F. Va. de Sta. Fe	0000	0000
June	6	north	3	M.F. Tesuque	0132	0001
	7	north	3	M.F. Nambe	0323	0001
	8	north	11	M.F. Picuris	0376	0002
	10	north	12	M.F. Taos	0574	0002
	12	southwest	10	Vo. Embudo	0093	0001
	13	south	5	M.F. San Juan	0486	0002
	14	east	2	M.F. Va. de la Cañada	1517	0006
	18	south	5	M.F. San Ildefonso	0467	0003
	20	south	12	Ro. de Peña	0339	0002

	Days	Directions	Leagues	Places	Confirmations	Sermons
	21	south	3	M.F. S. Felipe	0185	0001
	23	west	4	M.F. Sta. Ana	0178	0001
	24	west	2	M.F. Zia	0494	0002
	26	west	11	Cañada del Alamo .....Co.	0000	0000
	27	west	9	M.F. Laguna	0382	0003
	30	south	5	M.F. Acoma	0523	0002
July	2	east	15	Río Puerco .....Co.	0000	0000
	3	east	5	M.F. Isleta	0649	0003
	7	southeast	4	Vo. Tomé	0000	0000
	8	south	5	Nutrias .....Co.	0000	0000
	9	south	9	Alamo .....Co.	0000	0000
	10	south	3	Luis López .....Co.	0000	0000
	11	south	8	San Pascual .....Co.	0000	0000
	12	south	7	Fr. Cristobal .....Co.	0000	0000
	13	south	18	Jornada del Muerto ....Co.	0000	0000
	14	south	4	Perrillos .....Co.	0000	0000
	15	south	8	Robledo .....Co.	0000	0000
	16	south	7	Bracito .....Co.	0000	0000
	17	south	9	Alamito .....Co.	0000	0000
	18	south	8	Royal presidio of El Paso	0000	0000
	28	south	12	El Ojito .....Co.	0000	0000
	29	south	16	Ojo de Lucero .....Co.	0000	0000
	30	south	8	Vo. Carrizal	0226	0001

Copy of the report which the Most Illustrious Lord Tamarón, Bishop of Durango, makes to the King our lord (God keep him), with regard to the curacies and missions of this diocese in so far as it pertains to our friars and the missions which are in charge of the Order, both within the boundaries of this province of Zacatecas and in the Custody of New Mexico . . . 1765.<sup>108</sup>

*Kingdom of New Mexico*

When I visited this kingdom in the year 1760, there were thirty Franciscan friars residing in this governmental district [of New Mexico], six in the pueblos of El Paso and twenty-four in the interior. They are comfortably off, each one alone in his pueblo; and the King contributes three hun-

108. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59.



dred [pesos a year for their support]. This comes to them every two years, when their share is six hundred pesos apiece. Of this, forty-eight pesos are deducted for expenses, and they net 552 pesos, which are used to buy them [what they need] in accordance with the order each interested party gives to their procurator in Mexico. This usually consists of chocolate, beeswax, habits, paper, and other necessities. In addition to this alms from the King, the Indians contribute their services. The secular priest and vicar, Br. don Santiago Roibal, gives me a statement of this in his letter of April 6, 1764. It reads as follows:

The services which the Indians give to the reverend fathers are: They sow for them three fanegas<sup>109</sup> of wheat, four almudes<sup>110</sup> of maize, two almudes of broad beans,<sup>111</sup> two of vetch;<sup>112</sup> some of them also sow two or three almudes of chick peas and half a fanega of *frijoles* and their vegetable or kitchen garden. Throughout the year they never lack firewood, which the Indians who serve weekly bring in carts or on their backs. They have forty [of these Indians who serve for a week at a time], and some have more. They have two sacristans. All the Indians give prompt obedience to the commands of the reverend father missionaries. This is true and is public knowledge in the whole kingdom.

The said vicar to this point.

The mission fathers also draw obventions in full from the citizens who are their parishioners, and also the first-fruits in accordance with their harvests of grain, as the vicar reports.

When I arrived to make my visitation, there were two vicars acting as ecclesiastical judges. They were secular priests. The Order of St. Francis has opposed with inflexibility and vigor the Bishop of Durango's being bishop of and exercising jurisdiction in New Mexico, but the King has permitted it. I went there to make a visitation, as three bishops have done, of whom I was the most recent. In view

109. As a measure for grain the fanega varies greatly in different localities. The Spanish fanega is somewhat more than one and a half bushels, the Mexican, more than two and a half bushels.

110. The almud as a dry measure varies even more than the fanega according to the locality. It can be from three to twenty-three liters.

111. "Habas." *Vicia faba*.

112. "Alberjones." *Arvejón* or *almorta*; *lathyrus sativus L.* or *vicia sativa L.*

of my information about the state of this dependency and of the fact that the latest royal cedula orders the Bishop of Durango to remove the secular priest who is now vicar, from which cedula an appeal has been made,—and the vicarship of Santa Fe has been in existence for thirty years—I entered New Mexico with some misgivings. But when I found that I was not gainsaid in anything and that I was made free of everything, as if they were secular priests, I tried not to waste the opportunity.

I soon observed that those Indians were not indoctrinated. They do recite the catechism in Spanish, following their fiscal, but since they do not know this language, they do not understand what they are saying. The missionaries do not know the languages of the Indians, and as a result the latter do not confess except at the point of death, and then with the aid of an interpreter. I remonstrated about this repeatedly, and I ordered the missionaries to learn the languages of the Indians. These mandates, along with others, were recorded in their parish books. And I have since made inquiries of the Father Custos, and I have his replies in several letters, which I am keeping, in which he expresses hopes. But they are not realized, as the secular vicar says in a letter I quote, and these are his words:

I also advise your lordship that none of the friars, old or new, apply themselves to learning the native language, nor, in my opinion, would they do anything about it even if further precepts were applied. They are little inclined to be studious, and therefore they continue as always with their fiscals and interpreters, who are used for deathbed [confessions], which is the only occasion when the sacrament of confession is administered to the Indians. I am not aware that the Indians fulfil their annual duty to the Church. Up to now, I am not aware that any father is qualified to teach, nor do they even provide any means whereby the Indians might learn the Spanish language. This would be the easiest solution, as I found by practical experience in the pueblo of Santa María de las Caldas, where I bought many primers and set them to reading. And so in a single year they were all speaking Spanish; they conversed with their fathers and mothers in the same Spanish language, and as a result all became Spanish-speaking. But I observe no effort.

Said vicar to this point.<sup>113</sup>

If other measures are not taken, experience has already shown that the Franciscan fathers will not find a way out of the difficulties in which they have thus far remained, and those poor Indians will go on, like their Christian forefathers, unindoctrinated. I do not know how to express the mental anguish I went through with regard to confirming adults. Since the parish priests are friars, who turn their backs on the bishop, his mandates lose most of their force.

The year before last the governor of New Mexico instituted proceedings concerning various idolatries committed by sorcerers and persons possessed by devils, which had not only spread their contagious infection in that government but also had jumped to the neighboring provinces. The secular priest who is vicar informed me about it, but the friars, not even the Custos nor the other two vicars, nor any other, failed to notify me.

When these proceedings were reviewed in the viceroyalty, for the said governor remitted them there, also relating the lack of indoctrination among those Indians, it was ordered that a copy be sent to the Bishop of Durango in order that, as diocesan of New Mexico, he should proceed against the idolatrous Indians and witch doctors. And since the bishop's jurisdiction is not effectual enough for him to consider it productive of results, I wrote to the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy, acknowledging receipt of the said copy of the proceedings, and with the aim of making clear to his Excellency the actual state of my jurisdiction there, asking him to undertake to clarify and expedite matters and to propose means for remedying those evils. I begged his permission to go to Mexico, but I have received no reply on this point. And therefore what progress I may make in the aforesaid cases will be very little, although I had already en-

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113. We do not know just when Roibal was at Santa María de las Caldas. In his report to Provincial Fray José Ximeno, dated at El Paso, February 5, 1751, Fray Andrés Varo gave an account of the history of this mission under the secular clergy. His picture of conditions there before its destruction in 1749 is in strong contrast to the idyllic scene suggested by Roibal's letter. Therefore a translation of Varo's statement will be found *infra*.

trusted the matter to the vicar, who is a secular priest, whose power there is very limited.

During my visitation I appointed three friars as vicars: the Custos for El Paso, and the two missionaries of Albuquerque and La Cañada for their respective districts. I issued formal titles to them, which included clauses reserving the right to appoint secular priests at the will of the bishop and stating that the Order did not acquire any rights thereby since the appointments were dispatched in my name. They accepted with pleasure and took oath to perform their office in accordance with these conditions, under which they exercise this authority. This seemed to me very conducive to the establishment of my jurisdiction on a firmer basis, without the risk of litigation.

And in order to make the bishop respected in New Mexico, an extremely important measure would be to give him four Spanish parishes. These are El Paso, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and La Cañada. The revenue from obventions, plus first-fruits, of the first could amount to more than four thousand pesos. That of the second would not be less than three thousand pesos, and the other two would yield nearly two thousand pesos. Although I am short of priests, since these are goodly amounts there would be no lack of candidates for these four. They would be vicars and they would support assistants. And I make this proposal as a necessary first step in providing a remedy for that kingdom and so that the friars may not be such sole owners of it.

Everything up to here is a literal copy of the report made by the Most Illustrious Tamarón, dated at the Villa del Nombre de Dios on July 11, 1765, signed by his hand, sealed with his seal, and attested by his secretary, Br. D. Felipe Cantador. It comprises 47 leaves.

*Edicts*<sup>114</sup>

We, Dr. don Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Durango, of the provinces of New Vizcaya, and other provinces of

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114. Tamarón (1987), pp. 370-374.

New Mexico, Sinaloa, and Sonora, member of his Majesty's Council, etc. To all parish priests, proprietary, provisional, assistant, deputy, or other who exercise the ministry and care of souls in this our diocese, whether they be secular or regular clergy, greeting in Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the true salvation.

Since our primary concern is to watch and take care that the souls whom divine condescension placed in our charge shall speedily enjoy the salutary spiritual nourishment which they need in order to obtain their eternal salvation and be free from perpetual damnation; and since the parish priests are the first who are under just obligation to prepare and minister these spiritual benefits through which the felicity of eternal joy must be attained; and in order that they may be diligent, solicitous, effective, and fervent in their distribution, and in order to avoid certain negligences and neglects pernicious to the faithful which usually occur, and in order that, in so far as is possible, they may fulfill the office of the cure of souls punctiliously; and in order that we may aid them by our pastoral solicitude in so far as it is possible for us to do so, by reminding them of the very things that the Sacred Canons and the Holy Councils have commanded, we have resolved to state the following points for the benefit of the aforesaid priests and their deputies so that they may observe, practice, and perform them with complete exactitude.

They shall preach every Sunday, expounding the Holy Gospel of that particular Sunday, concerning which they shall pronounce a sermon of moderate length, not to take more than half an hour or less than a quarter of an hour, in a serious, clear, and simple style. When they reprove vices, let it be in general terms and not directed at specific persons. The parish priest who is unable to do this from memory will make up for it by reading one of the many books in our Spanish language which expound the Holy Gospels. And they shall give the aforesaid sermon during mass after the reading of the first Gospel: - - - - -

Moreover, on Sunday afternoons at four o'clock they shall ring a bell to summon the children to recite the prayers.

They shall question them about some of the Mysteries and shall give explanations of one of them in order that all may comprehend them. They might spend about another half an hour on this and recite the Most Holy Rosary afterwards. And, if arrangements can be made, they shall then lead them singing through the streets. If the priest is devout and industrious, this will be very easy for him; but if he is not, the contrary will be true, and these holy ministries will be much more trouble for them if they are preoccupied with mundane affairs or diversions.

And the priests for the Indians shall continue, as is the custom, to have those who are being indoctrinated recite the catechism daily. The said priests shall also prepare panegyric sermons to include the explanation of a point of Christian doctrine in the salutation.

And, since it is ordered that the holy oils be renewed annually, the priests shall provide themselves with them and shall take care that and arrange for decent and careful persons to carry them in vessels which will not spill.

In order that the parish priests may be acquainted with their flock and know whether they abide by the precepts of annual confession, they shall draw up lists every year between Septuagesima Sunday and Ash Wednesday, and as soon as they complete their duties to the Church, the certificates of confession and communion shall be compared with the said list, or census, in order to determine those who have failed to do so. The priests shall produce these lists during visitation or whenever we may ask for them.

And because the priests should be informed about whether their parishioners know Christian doctrine, they shall examine them all once a year. This examination shall take place before they confess in fulfilment of the precept which prescribes annual confession, and they shall give them a certificate attesting that they know it. And without this certificate, they are not to hear their confessions for this purpose. They shall attend to this personally or through the agency of other confessors, and we order them to put this into effective execution and not to consent to their taking communion in fulfilment of this obligation if

they do not have the certificate of said examination and that they have confessed. And this examination shall be given to all before the confession begins and not as a part of it.

Since death is the end of life, in order that it may be good, repeated succour from the spiritual father is necessary. And the pastor must keep well on the alert lest the infernal wolf prey on his lambs in so terrible a crisis as death. Therefore we exhort, command, and beg, *in visceribus Christi*, the priests and their deputies to make repeated visits to their moribund parishioners, to exhort, reconcile, and aid them, and to apply indulgences for their benefit, including a plenary indulgence which we concede to them. And let them read the recommendation of the soul [to God] after they have administered the Holy Sacraments to them. And let them enter upon this with love, affection, kindness, and pleasure, whether they are summoned or not, and avoid inspiring terror by ill-advised methods.

With regard to all who contract matrimony, they shall examine them beforehand in Christian doctrine and shall have them confess so that they may be worthy of approaching the holy sacrament.

In each separate entry in the baptismal records they shall note the place and day and also record the day on which the baby was born, the name of the person who performed the baptism, and those of the parents and godparents. And in the burial records they shall state what sacraments were received before death, whether the deceased made a will and in whose presence, his testamentary executors, and what he left for pious purposes.

The priests shall maintain constant residence in the confines of their parish, and they shall not leave it without leaving an approved priest there or without our permission, except for a brief period for the purpose of confessing.

And since all we have provided is exactly what their very office as parish priests implies, by virtue of holy obedience we order each of them to conform and conduct himself in accordance with the content of this our edict, warning them that we shall make charges against transgressors according to the gravity of their faults, especially during our pastoral

visitation, which, with divine favor, we intend to begin this present year, crossing the sierra, continuing to the Tierra Caliente, Sinaloa, Sonora, and New Mexico. And we notify the said priests and confessors that during it they are to be examined in moral matters, in order that they may have time to prepare themselves and so that they may have no excuse on the ground that this notice did not reach them in advance. And in order that this may come to the attention of all those to whom the observance of the provisions in these writings of ours pertains, they shall be published in our holy cathedral and shall be affixed to one of its doors, and they shall be sent to all the parishes of this our diocese by relaying them from place to place in order that the priests may also make the same proclamation. And they shall make a copy of them in any one of the parish books immediately so that their content shall be available in future for punctilious fulfilment.

Given in our episcopal palace of Durango, signed by us, sealed with our seal, and countersigned by our undersigned secretary of chamber and government, on July 7, 1759. Pedro, Bishop of Durango. By order of his Most Illustrious Lordship the Bishop, my lord, Br. Felipe Cantador, secretary.

We, Dr. don Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Durango and of the provinces of New Vizcaya and other provinces of New Mexico, Sinaloa, and Sonora, member of his Majesty's Council, etc.

Inasmuch as we have decided, subject to divine favor, to make a general visitation of all this diocese of ours to begin in the present month, we have arranged our itinerary to cross the Sierra Madre in search of Pueblo Nuevo, to proceed from there to that of Plomosas, places which, so far as is known, have not been visited by their own prelates; continuing from there to Matatán, Rosario, and all the Tierra Caliente into Culiacán, and what it is possible to take in of the sierra; and then to proceed to the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora and to continue as far as New Mexico; then all of Vizcaya; an undertaking of the greatest magnitude which we shall only be able to carry out with the



powerful aid and assistance of the Omnipotent Lord God of Heaven and Earth, Whose Supreme Majesty we humbly beg and pray to so govern our actions that all of them may yield honor and glory to Him and benefit to souls, as we desire, and the highest success in all our ventures.

And for this purpose we have thought it well to make some preliminary dispositions in order to win the harvest we seek from so extensive and laborious a pilgrimage. Notwithstanding the edict issued by our order in this city on July 7 of this present year and sent by relay throughout the diocese, in which the priests were reminded of their principal obligations, which they were ordered to fulfill punctiliously, and which we reiterate in these our writings, we still have further admonitions to give them, which pertain especially to the ecclesiastical visitation. These are as follows:

They shall not come forth to receive us beyond the limits of their jurisdiction, and, with regard to the expenditures and compliments of our reception, the priests and vicars and other ecclesiastics shall confine themselves to what the honor of our dignity makes obligatory, especially with regard to dinners and refreshments. These shall be in accordance with the custom and practice of this diocese, regulated and measured by our person and family, without inviting any guest, not even persons of the highest esteem and authority in the towns. Let there be no worldly banquets, for they must not serve more than four different dishes at each dinner. And we also forbid them to issue invitations to costly refreshments on our arrival. And in places where it may be necessary for us to stay longer than usual, we shall take care to provide that the priests cease their contributions and the expenses will be charged to our account. We shall also do the same from the time of our arrival at places where the priests may be poor and we consider that they cannot bear the contribution that is legally due us.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>. "La procuración que por derecho nos pertenece." According to canon law, *procuraciones* were the food and lodging the bishop was entitled to exact when making a visitation. See P. B. Golmayo, *Instituciones del derecho canónico*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1896), pp. 158-161; J. Donoso, *Instituciones de derecho canónico*, 3d ed. (Freiburg, 1909), p. 169.

And because we must also administer the Holy Sacrament of Confirmation while we are engaged in the visitation, it will be the duty of the priests to prepare all their adult parishioners who are to be confirmed so that they may be ready in time to receive this holy sacrament worthily, explaining its great effects to them and that they must come to it in God's grace in order to obtain them. And thus they shall encourage and exhort them to confession lest anyone excuse himself from receiving this holy sacrament.

The said priests shall also have ready lists and censuses of all their parishioners, including even the tiny children, and they shall give us a report of those who have not fulfilled the precept of annual confession and communion. They are to give us these lists. And in order that we may be able to dispatch the business of the visitation speedily, we order our vicars and priests to undertake to draw up a list of the testaments and bequests for pious purposes which they are informed have not been carried out, and of what vacancies there may be in chaplaincies, so that we may make suitable provision without delay in such a way that our provisions may have prompt and due effect. And in order that all the testamentary executors and others in whose charge the aforesaid testaments may be shall be notified in time, this edict shall be read on a feast day *inter missarum solemnias* so that the points expressed here and the dispositions to be made in anticipation of our visitation may come to the attention of all. And for this purpose it shall be sent beforehand from parish to parish.

Given in our episcopal palace of Durango, signed by us, sealed with our seal, and countersigned by our undersigned secretary of chamber and government, on October 12, 1759. Pedro, Bishop of Durango. By order of his Most Illustrious Lordship the Bishop, my lord, Br. Felipe Cantador, secretary.

(To be continued)