

Notes and Photostats of

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All notes have some bearing on the Mission of
of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe del Passo

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Location of Villages Around El Paso

- p. 322 "Whether Otermin awaited orders from the superior government or put into immediate execution his plan of settlement, is not clear from the documents now available."¹⁹ In the collections of documents used in preparing this paper there appear only 1 or 2 signed by Otermin between February 11, 1682, and August, 1683, at which time Cruzate assumed the government; and none of these relate to Otermin's disposition of the people at El Paso.²⁰ Before locating the Spaniards and Indians, however, he took with him several members of the cabildo and made a careful examination of both banks of the Rio del Norte, from Estero Largo to La Toma, the conversion of the Sumas. He found no place that appeared more suitable for settlement than San Lorenzo, which was closer, not because of its positive fitness, but because it appeared possible to maintain the Spaniards²⁰ there until the orders of the viceroy should arrive.
- p. 323 ²⁰ The cabildo to the viceroy, July 6, 1684, Autos sobre los Socorros, folio 149; letter of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, ibid., f. 145; ~~the Cabildo to~~ Cruzate, September 20, 1684, ibid., f. 36; Auto of Cruzate, ibid., ff. 34-35.²¹ The Spaniards, therefore, were placed in San Lorenzo, a league and a half from the mission San Francisco de los Sumas²² Vetancurt, Chrónica (Mex. 1687), Part I, Chap. V, sec. 27, p. 98.²³ and about 12 leagues from El Paso.²⁴ Auto of Otermin, in Autos sobre los Socorros, folio 37.²⁵ The Indians were settled in 3 pueblos. According to Escalante their location was as follows: 'two leagues, / or / more below Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, with Piros and Tompiros Indians, the pueblo of Senecú; a league and a half toward the east, with Ticheras Indians, the pueblo of Corpus Christi de la Isleta; 12 leagues from El Paso, and 7 and half from Isleta, following the same Rio del Norte, with Piros Indians, a few Thanos, and some more Gemex, the third pueblo, with the appellation of Nuestra Señora del Socorro.'²⁶ Escalante, Carta de 1776, pp. 120-121, in Doc. para la Historia de Mexico "Tercera serie (Mexico 1856); see also Bonilla, Apuntes sobre el Nuevo Mexico, in New Mexico Cédulas, folio 1 (MSS in Bancroft Collection).²⁷ The founding of the presidio, in accordance with the recent ruling, was probably left for execution to Otermin's successor, Don fironza Petriz de Cruzate."

p. 328 "...At the same time that Cruzate located the presidio, he made an effort to change the site of the villa of Santa Fe' from San Lorenzo to a place about 1 league from the pueblo of El Paso. He hoped by this change to improve the condition of the people by enabling them to make use of the canal in irrigation their corps. He promised to enlarge the canal, and actually cut a quantity of timber for use in constructing the buildings on the new site, but the citizens thought the place selected inconvenient and without good pasturage or wood. Cruzate, therefore, let the matter drop.³² Petition of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, ibid., folio 20; Auto of Cruzate, ibid., ff. 34-35; Auto of Cruzate, ibid., f. 38; petition of the cabildo, September 30, 1684, ibid., f. 41."³³

Presidio Moved to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe

p. 365 Chapter 6. The Consolidation of the Settlements in 1684

"1. The Removal of the Presidio. The exigencies of the Indians war just described made more compact settlement at El Paso imperative. Cruzate, therefore, selected the site of Guadalupe, the point nearest the ford, as the strategic point to hold. There he moved the presidio and near there he established the Spanish and Indian settlers who had been distributed at various points along the river. It will be remembered that in 1683 Cruzate placed the presidio about seven leagues from the pueblo of El Paso and midway between that place and San Lorenzo, which was about 12 leagues below El Paso. From that location, the presidio was removed to Guadalupe del Paso sometime previous to July 66, 1684. ..."

Consolidation of the Settlers

p. 367 "2. The Removal of the Settlements. The settlements were apparently removed nearer to Guadalupe del Paso at the same time the presidio was transferred. As the settlements, which were scattered along the river a distance of 10 or 12 leagues, were difficult to defend, Cruzate assembled them within a district of a league and a half, and within easy range of presidial protection. The Tigua and Piro pueblos of Senecu, Socorro, and Isleta were removed at the same time. Most of the Spaniards appear to have been living at San Lorenzo, where the civil officers had their quarters; and they had been the

p. 368 there three and a half years, during which time they must have acquired some kind of permanent dwellings, with arrangements for farming and raising cattle. It is not surprising, then, that they did not take kindly to the proposed change, and that the governor was forced to order the removal made on pain of death to the delinquents. When the settlers were finally domiciled in their new quarters, they found the place very short of conveniences and destitute of pasturage. These disadvantages, added to the forced removal, were the cause friction between the citizens and the governor, of which an account will follow." "

Guadalupe's Location Never Moved

p. 369 "...The five settlements of San Lorenzo, Senecú, Isleta, Socorro and Guadalupe--whose site was never changed--were the only ones remaining in the 18th Century. ..."

Citizen Population in the El Paso District 1680 and 1684

p. 370 "From a muster roll of the citizens in and about El Paso, made by order of the governor on November 11, 1684, the number of settlers is learned. This census showed in the pueblo of Corpus Christi de la Isleta 21 families and 188 persons; in the Real de San Lorenzo, 36 families and 354 persons; and in Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, 52 families and 488 persons. There were therefore 109 families and 1030 persons, all told.²²
Muster roll, November 11, 1684, Autos sobre los Socorros, folios 50-56; Auto of Cruzate, ibid., f. 34/
At the time when Otermin made his muster, October 2, 1680, there were 1946 persons, including men, women, children, and servants. ^{23/23} Auto of Otermin, October 2, 1680, Autos tocante, folios 61-62./ A loss of 916 persons is therefore evident. This loss can be explained by the great numbers reported to have fled to Parral, Casas Grandes, Rio del Sacramento, and other places."

Attempts to Abandon El Paso--Too Important to Abandon

p. 371 Chapter 7. Efforts to Abandon El Paso, 1684-1685
"1. The Petition to the Viceroy. The extreme sufferings of the people at El Paso determined them to abandon the place and to seek another location, with soil and climate better adapted to agriculture. This desire to leave El Paso, however, was not a recent impulse. When the colonists retreated from New Mexico it appears they were induced to make a halt at El Paso

"by Father Ayeta's promise to provide food for them for a period of four months, or until instructions from the viceroy should come. Notwithstanding this aid, conditions at El Paso grew so distressing that early in 1681 the colonists began to clamor for permission to retire to Sonora, San Joseph del Parral, and other adjacent places, where they hoped to be self-sustaining; and many, indeed, fled from the place without license. To allay these clamors and to secure the advice of those in authority in religious and key circles, on April 5, 1681, Governor Otermin ordered a council of war to be held at Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe del Paso, in which the custodian, the definitors, the maestros de campo, the sargentos mayores, and captains were asked for their opinions respecting what course seemed best to pursue. The opinions of these representative men being so divided, the governor concluded to remain at El Paso until he should receive instructions from Mexico City, and to dispatch Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leyba with 10 men to Sasas Grandes and other neighboring places to secure food at the expense of the governor. ' ...'"

sufficient for an establishment at El Paso. It was perhaps at this suggestion that missionaries were eventually sent there from New Mexico.^{1*}

The earliest account of such missionary work available to the present writer is given by Medina, in his life of Fray Antonio de Arteaga, provincial of the Holy Province of the Barefoot Friars of San Diego and, at one time, a missionary to the Pueblo Indians. Encouraged by his success in converting the Pueblo Indians, Arteaga undertook to bring the Mansos into the fold of the church, and with so much success that the neighboring Indians, encouraged by the example of the Mansos, also sought instruction and were baptized by the missionary.² Though the date of Arteaga's visit to the Mansos is not given, it was subsequent to 1629, the time of the arrival of Fray Estévan de Perea, the new custodian of the conversion of San Pablo, in whose company Arteaga entered New Mexico.

During the administration of Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal, who held office in New Mexico not earlier than 1656 nor later than 1661,³ another effort was made to catechise the Mansos. This time Fray García de San Francisco y Zúñiga, in company with fathers Juan Cabal and Francisco Pérez, all of New Mexico, went to El Paso to instruct the Mansos, taking with him alms which he had collected from the citizens of New Mexico. According to Vetancurt, he founded the pueblo of the Mansos and left Pérez and Cabal to catechise the Indians. Seeing the repugnance of the religious to remaining—so the Mansos seem to have been intractable—García told the priests that there was no occasion for becoming weary, as the time for the Indians' conversion had not yet arrived. After García's departure the natives set upon their teachers and tried to kill them. News of the disturbance reaching Governor Mendizábal, he sent from Santa Fé a rescue party under Maestre de Campo Thome Domí-

guez de Mendoza, who pacified the tumult and took the missionaries back to New Mexico.⁴

2. The Establishment of Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 1659.—Though the efforts of Cabal and Pérez were futile, the conversion of the Mansos soon followed, in 1659. In this year Father García de San Francisco y Zúñiga again visited El Paso, and, with the assistance of Father Francisco de Salazar,⁵ laid the foundation of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

Since the work of García may be regarded as the cornerstone

of the El Paso establishments, a short sketch of his life will not be amiss at this point. He came to New Mexico in 1629 in company with Fray Antonio de Arteaga, and in the train of Fray Estévan de Perea, the newly elected custodian of the con-

version of San Pablo. At that time García was a lay brother, but his superiors, feeling that his influence for good would be increased by his taking orders, commanded him under the oath of obedience to receive them. Though he had formerly, through humility, refused to enter the holy state, he now became a priest.

In 1630 he was given charge of the conversion of Seneçú by Father Arteaga, who had founded it. Father García adorned the church with an organ and rich ornaments, and cultivated grapes, of which he made wine for himself and for the other monasteries. He became the founder of the mission of Nuestra Señora del Socorro, whence he went to El Paso to found Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.⁶

The account of the founding of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, comes from Father García's own pen, in the form of an entry in the administration books of the mission. A certified copy made in 1663 still exists in the archives of the Church of Guadalupe at Juárez. The importance of this document justifies its reproduction here in translation.

* Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 24-25; Petition of the citizens of New Mexico to the viceroy, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.
** Petition of the citizens of New Mexico to the viceroy, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.
* Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 24; Vetancurt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México* (1697), p. 98; Medina, *Crónica* (Mexico, 1682), p. 169.
† Baneroff, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 165.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons and one only true God; for His greater glory, honor, and reverence; for the confusion of the infernal enemy; for the service of the most holy Virgin Mary, Our Lady and immaculate Patron; and for the greater exaltation of our Holy Catholic faith; on the eighth day of the month of December, of the year 1659, I, Fray Jarela de San Francisco of the order of the minor friars of the regular observance of our Seraphic Father San Francisco, preacher, actual definitor of the holy custody of the conversion of San Pablo of New Mexico, minister and guardian of the convent of San Antonio del Pueblo do Bennett; whereas the captains and old men of the heathendom of the Mansos and Zumanas Indians went to said custody to supplicate me to descend to preach them the Holy Evangel of Our Lord Jesus Christ and succeed in quieting them and baptizing them; and our Reverend Father Fray Juan Gonzales, custodian of said custody, having given a patent to Señor Don Juan, Manso governor and captain-general for his majesty; and having received the patents from my superior, in which he orders me to descend for the instruction and conversion of this heathendom, and license from the said Señor Don Juan, Manso governor; and having descended, with no little labor, to El Paso del Rio del Norte, on the border of New Spain, and in the middle of the custody and province of New Mexico; and having congregated most of the rancherias of the Manso heathen on said site; and having offered them the evangelical word, and they having accepted it for their catechism, and permitted me to build a little church of branches and mud and a monastery thatched with straw—said heathen aiding and receiving me for their preacher and minister; by these acts, as aforesaid, and by virtue of the patent of apostolic commissary, which I have from my superiors, through the privileges which the apostolic chair has displayed for new conversions to our sacred religion, raising this holy cross, which I planted, and building this church, in which already I have celebrated the sacred mystery of our redemption, I took possession of this conversion of the Mansos and Zumanas, and of all the other surrounding heathen which might be assembled or might be called to our or to whatever evangelical preacher, in name of all our sacred religion, and immediately of the custody of the conversion of San Pablo of New Mexico; and I named and dedicated this holy church and conversion to the most holy Virgin of Guadalupe with the above name of El Paso, placing (as I do place) her holy image, for the which and to redeem it from the demon's tyrannical possession, I call to witness heaven, the earth, and all the holy angels who are present as guard, and especially all the then who are of this conversion, and Bernardino Gualtoyo, Antonio Gutiérrez, Antonio Elogua, Juan Azoleo, Francisco Tzitzta, and Felipe Quel, Christians of the Pueblo of Seneca, companions and followers who descended with me.

ORIGINAL
MUD STRAW
STRUCTURE

And as soon as I named this conversion, by the authority of my office, as commissary and head of all those of El Rio del Norte above and surrounding immediately subject to the holy custody of the conversion of San Pablo, and in order that in future times thus it may be confirmed of this

possession, dedication, and naming, I write this in order that it may be preserved in the archive of said holy custody. Dated at El Rio del Norte, at the pass from New Spain to New Mexico, on the 8th day of December, 1659.

“Fray Garcia de San Francisco, Apostolic Commisary of the Mansos and Zumanas—I, Fray Antonio Tabares, notary named by Father Fray Garcia de San Francisco, Apostolic Commisary of these conversions, testify to having transcribed, as above, the said writing, which is preserved in the archive of the custody. Dated April 9, 1663; and as true I sign it.

FRAY ANTONIO TABARES (rubric) Apostolic Notary named.”

Vetancurt, who delights in picturesque and edifying details, ^{YETANCURT,}
^{ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESSIVE}
^{OF THE VILLAGE} gives the following interesting account of the building of the church. There was no timber at hand for the construction of the edifice. Garcia making this lack of material the subject of prayer, some Indians came and conducted him a league and a half way to a grove of beautiful pines, from which timber was cut and carried to the Manso pueblo without much labor. When Garcia was building the convent, Fray Blas de Herrera remarked to him that he was making a very large number of cells. Garcia, says Vetancurt, then prophesied the revolt of 1680 and the retirement of the Spaniards to El Paso, saying that the cells would be too few for the number who must dwell in the convent.^a

The temporary mission buildings erected by Garcia were soon replaced by more substantial structures. In 1662 Garcia records the dedication of the cornerstone of the church as follows:

Garcia,
On April 2, 1662, I, Fray Garcia de San Francisco, bless the first foundation stone and foundations of the church of this conversion and congregation of the Mansos of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Pasco, patron and titular of said church. In order that it may be confirmed in the future this writing was placed here, and I sign it as above.

Fr. GARCIA DE SAN FRANCISCO.^b

^a Acto de Fundación de la Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos del Paso del Norte, in Libro Primero de Casamientos, El Paso, del Norte, foljas 74-75, A.D. 1659. Bandelier Collection.

^b Vetancurt, Monología, pp. 24-25.

* Certificate of the dedication of the cornerstone of the church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Norte, in Libro Primero de Casamientos, folio 76, “2 de Abril del año de 1662,” Bandelier Collection.

*Location of church
of the church
in the church
1668*

The church, which was on the right bank of the Rio del Norte¹⁰ and half a league from that stream, was apparently completed in 1668. Vetancurt, writing about 1691, gives an account of the dedication services held in January of 1668. The account, which contains an interesting bit of information respecting the site of the mission, is subjoined:

On the slope of a rocky wood on the bank of the Rio del Norte, in the year 1659, the conversion of the Lansas, by another name Mansos, was made by the Reverend Father Fray Garcia de San Francisco; and he built a monastery, where are housed thirty religious, with a very spacious church dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Mexicana. In 1668, on January 15, the second Sunday after Epiphany, it was dedicated with much solemnity by the Reverend Father Fray Juan Talabán,¹¹ the Indian assisting and his secretary preaching. That day, by three religious were baptized one hundred persons; at one door the men, and at another the women; and in the middle of the church they married them. It has more than three thousand parishioners, and today with the governor, soldiers, and other natives of other nations who were spared in the rebellion, they number more than two thousand.¹²

*Gouvernement
support of
Garcia;
reports.*

Father García was supported in his labors by the governors of New Mexico and by Fray Alonso de Posadas, a missionary in New Mexico between 1650 and 1660 and custodian of the province between 1660 and 1664. When García set out to found the mission at El Paso, Governor Mendizábal permitted him to take with him, from the mission at Senecú, ten families of Christian Indians to use in teaching the heathen.¹³ Governor Fernando de Villa Nueba, who probably administered the government of New Mexico after 1664,¹⁴ aided García in a similar way. When the zealous father applied to Villa Nueba for six Manso boys and girls, servants of Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo,

¹⁰ Auto of Otermin, *Autos tocantes*, folio 77; *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mex.* p. 746. (MS in Bancroft Collection).

¹¹ Father Juan de Talabán was one of the martyrs of the Pueblo revolt. His body was found in the pueblo of Santo Domingo by the retreating Spaniards. See *Autos tocantes*, folios 9-10, 17; Hackett, "The Pueblo Revolt," 123.

¹² Vetancurt, *Crónica* (Mexico, 1697), Part I, cap. V, see, 27, p. 98.
¹³ Petition of the citizens of New Mexico, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

¹⁴ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 165.

for use in teaching the Christian doctrine to the Indians at El Paso, urging the petition on the plea that it was made for the preservation of the settlement, the governor complied with his request.¹⁵ Posadas claimed to have laid the foundation of the *Pasado's* *Help with the Mission* *Paso del Rio*,¹⁶ basing his claim, doubtless, on timely aid rendered

the struggling mission. On different occasions he furnished as many as three thousand beeves, four thousand head of sheep and goats, two thousand bullocks, two hundred mares and horses, plough-shares, laborers, carpenters, implements, and all the other necessities; this he did because the barbarous inhabitants of the place neither sowed nor knew aught of civilization, having neither houses nor huts. In a few years the settlement had nine thousand head of cattle and from thirteen to fourteen thousand head of sheep and goats, all of which were drawn upon to supply the refugees who retired there when the general revolt in New Mexico occurred in 1680.¹⁷

García's connection with the El Paso missions extended over a period of about twelve years. He held the office of guardian as late as 1671.¹⁸ His last signature in the burial records was on January 30, 1671, and in the baptismal records on September 8, 1671.¹⁹ His death occurred January 22, 1673, in the convent of Seneú, where he was buried. His life-work received high commendation from the chroniclers of his times, by whom he was regarded as a mirror of virtue.²⁰

¹⁵ Petition of the citizens of New Mexico, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

¹⁶ Information furnished by Posadas, October 8, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 154-157.

¹⁷ In the second folio of *Libro en que se acientan los casamientos desta Convercion de los Mansos*, the following entry occurs: "On February 3, 1662, I, Fray Garcia de San Francisco, Apostolic Commissioner of this conversion of the Mansos, in this church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, Patron of said conversion and titular of this church, as principal to the marriages, and they are as follows . . . , (Libro Primero de Casamientos, folio 2. Baudelier Collection.)

¹⁸ Notes from the Juarez archives furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd of El Paso.

¹⁹ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 24-25; Medina, *Crónica*, 1682, p. 168.

OTHER MISSIONS 3. The Establishment of Missions San Francisco and La Soledad in the El Paso District.—Before 1680 there were established within the El Paso district two other missions; they were Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Sumas and La Soledad de los Janos. The evidence of the existence of these missions, though not extensive, is quite clear. Since it is so scattered it is brought together at this point. Governor Otermín of New Mexico, in a letter written at El Paso on October 20, 1680, mentioned the "new conversions of San Francisco Toma and Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Janos."²⁰ Fray Francisco de Ayeta, writing from El Paso on December 20, 1680, said: "That to abandon it [the project] would be to abandon the missions at one stroke, not only those provinces, but the three conversions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, La Soledad, and Nuestro Padre San Francisco, and all their Christian people."²¹ The two missions were again mentioned in a report of the fiscal, June 25, 1682, who said: "In that district of El Paso are found three conversions, or doctrinas, called La Soledad, Guadalupe, and San Francisco de los Cumanas, the ones which alone have remained of all those that it had in the province of New Mexico."²²

Both San Francisco de los Sumas and La Soledad de los Janos were located to the right and on the Mexican side of the Río del Norte. Of mission San Francisco Vélanourt says: "Twelve leagues before arriving at this place [Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe] is a chapel with one religious, dedicated to Nuestro Padre San Francisco, where there are some Christians of the nation which they call Zumas and Zumanas, on the bank of the river at the place where it flows toward the east—first place where the wagons arrive on the outward trip."²³ La Soledad, on the other hand, was some distance westward, and nearer to Casas Grandes than to El Paso, though it is usually spoken of as belonging to the jurisdiction of New Mexico and in the El Paso district.

LOCATION OF SAN FRANCISCO LA SOLEDAD

LOCATION OF
LA SOLEDAD

Cruzate said it was seventy leagues from the pueblo of El Paso, and Arlegui that it was fourteen leagues from Mission San Antonio de Casas Grandes, of which it was a visita.²⁴ Unfortunately the present writer has been unable to find the dates of the establishment of San Francisco and La Soledad.

4. **Spanish Settlers at El Paso, 1659-1680.**—The occupation of El Paso by Spanish settlers appears to have taken place about the time of the first mission establishment. Though the meaning is somewhat ambiguous, one phrase in a document of 1685 leads to this conclusion. In recording the beginnings of El Paso, and referring to the period before 1660, the citizens of the villa of Santa Fé use the phrase, "and it was settled."²⁵ This might refer to the congregating of the Indians in an administrative group. In the same passage, however, the citizens say: "The first alcalde mayor and captain of war who was named in this pueblo of El Paso was Captain Andrés López de Gracia; and he was named by General Don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, in whose time was commenced this mission, and when it was settled, etc."²⁶ Mendizábal was governor about 1656-1660. As the alcalde mayor was an officer of a civil settlement and as the Indians were permitted to choose their civil officers from among themselves, these statements seem to indicate that a civil administration of Spaniards existed at El Paso during the administration of Governor Mendizábal. Further evidence of there being Spanish citizens at El Paso at an early date is found in a letter of Francisco de Gorráez Beaumont, governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1662 to 1665.²⁷ In the second year of his rule, 1663, in response to the call of the Indians around Casas Grandes for missionaries, Governor Beaumont ordered Captain Andrés García, who was ~~Comandante~~^{Capitán} of the Río del Norte, "confines of La Vizcaya settling [poblado] on the Río del Norte," to pass to Casas Grandes in New Mexico, "to assist him; Captain certain others of his kindred who might assist him; Captain

²⁰ *Carta de Otermín*, October 20, 1650, in *Autos tocantes*, folio 101.

²¹ *Carta de Ayeta*, December 20, 1680, in *Dos. Hist. de Nuevo México*, vol. 1, pp. 541-58.

²² *Dictamen Fiscal*, June 25, 1682, in *Autos Pertercientes*, folio 110.

²³ Vélanourt, *Crónica* (Mexico, 1697), Part I, cap. V, sec. 27, p. 98.

²⁴ *Carta de Cruzate*, in *Expediente No. 2*, p. 45; Arlegui, *Crónica*, pp. 95-6.

²⁵ Petition of citizens, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. 1, p. 337.

García was further ordered to promote the settlement of Casas Grandes and to endeavor to congregate the largest number of Indians possible.²⁸ Captain Gracia's probable successor at El Paso was Maestre de Campo Diego de Truxillo, for we are told that "he who followed as alcalde mayor in this jurisdiction, although he held it for a short time only, was Maestre de Campo Diego de Truxillo, citizen of New Mexico and named by that government of New Mexico."²⁹

Still further evidence that there were Spaniards resident at El Paso before 1680 is found in the marriage, baptismal, and burial records kept at the mission. The first marriage of Spaniards is recorded on November 29, 1678, the contracting parties being Francisco de Archuleta and Doña Bernardina Baca.³⁰ The following thirty-one names of Spaniards are taken from the baptismal and burial records before 1680; thirty of these are from the baptismal and one from the burial records: Captain Francisco Domínguez; Captain López de Grasia; Mariana García Morquez; Francisco Ramírez; Joseph López, his wife, and María, their infant daughter; Captain Andrés de García; Favian García; Don Estéban Xuírez and his wife, Catalina Sonora; Captain Antonio de Berdiquel; Sebastián García; Juan de la Cruz; Barnabe Bisaro; Juan del Espíritu Santo; Xtoval Ruiz; Joseph Ramírez; Xtoval Baca; Sesilia de Vitoria, his wife, and María, their infant daughter; Ysabel Baca, godmother of María; Doña María de Archuleta; Doña Ynez Domínguez; Don Francisco de Zebera; María, infant daughter of Teresa Gutiérrez and Joseph López Grasia; Captain Christóbal de Fuentes; Ana María de Fuentes; Antonio Rosero; Martín Zerano; María Martín Zerano. The names occur here in the chronological order in which they appear in the records.³¹

5. *Summary of Progress before 1680.*—Meager as are the foregoing details concerning the beginnings of missions and of Span-

²⁸ *Poc. Hist. Mex., Cuarta Serie, Tomo III*, pp. 233-236 (Mex. 1857). According to Arlegui, *Crónica de la Provincia de N. S. P. S. Francisco de Zacatecas*, pp. 95-96, Casas Grandes was founded in 1640.

²⁹ Petition of citizens, *Actos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

³⁰ *Libro Primero de Casamientos*, folio 22 (Bandelier Collection).

³¹ Material furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd.

ish settlement in the El Paso district, they are sufficient to show that the occupation of El Paso did not take place in 1680, as is sometimes supposed. The evidence adduced proves that there were at least three missions established and a nucleus of Spanish settlers in the region before the refugees from New Mexico withdrew there in 1680.

The importance of the missionary center may be gathered from the number of priests present in the monastery during the first two decades of its existence. From the old church records at Juárez, it is learned that before 1680 fourteen priests had been at the mission during periods of varying length—these not including the names of Father Francisco de Salazar and Fray Antonio Tabares, the assistants of Father García mentioned above. Fray Father García, as before stated, was guardian until 1671. Fray Benito de la Natividad was there during eight years of García's guardianship. The name of Fray Juan Alvarez appears in 1667, Fray José de Truxillo in 1668, and Fray Agustín de Santa María, Fray Sebastián Navarro, and Fray Nicolás de Salazar in 1675. Of these only Fray Agustín seems to have remained in El Paso very long. Fray Juan de Bonilla, the probable successor of García, had charge of the mission in 1677, when Father Francisco de Ayeta, "Custodio y Juez Eclesiástico de las Comisiones de San Pedro y San Pablo de Nuevo Mexico," accompanied by his secretary, Fray Antonio de Sierra, made his first visita on October 10. In 1677 Fray Nicolás de Echavarría joined Father Bonilla, and they both served under Father Alvarez, who was guardian until 1679. On July 3, 1680, Ayeta made his second visita, accompanied by a new secretary, Father Fray Pedro Gómez de San Antonio, who later became guardian and served at the mission for forty years. Fray Nicolás Hurtado's name occurs in the records of 1672, and then is not mentioned for several years; later he succeeded Ayeta as custodian, Fray Pedro Gómez serving as his secretary. Fray José Valdez came to Guadalupe in 1680.

Judged by the records, the efforts of these missionaries were not remarkably successful. The following statistics indicate the

MATRIMONIAL & BAPTISMAL RECORDS OF GUADALUPE (?)

EL PASO & THE MISSIONS OF THE RIVER COLORADO PRIOR TO 1680

EXTENT OF THE CONVERSIONS AT THE MISSIONS- extent of the conversions. Before 1680 they had baptized eight hundred and thirty Mansos—if the Indians whose tribal affiliation was not given were Mansos—sixty-two Piros, seventeen Sumas, ten Tanos, five Apaches, and four Jumanos. The statistics of certain years are significant. From July 16, 1662, to April 1, 1663, about twenty-four Indians were baptized; between April 1, 1663, and about April 1, 1664, over three hundred Indians, chiefly adults; during 1663, the most prosperous year before September 20, 1680, two hundred and seventy-six Indians, mostly older children and adults; in 1668, only three Mansos; in 1679, seventy-one Mansos, fourteen Piros, six Sumas, two Jumanos, and two Tanos. The tribe to which the Indians belonged was not indicated in early years; after 1667 the names of Piros, Jumanos, and other tribes appear at intervals, but strict care in indicating the tribal affiliations was not taken until Father Echavarria took charge in October, 1677.²²

The number of tribes represented at the mission is of lively interest. While the mission was primarily for the Mansos, the names of Sumas, Jumanos, Piros, Tanos, and Apaches appear in the records. The Sumas were close neighbors of the Mansos, and the wild Apache tribes infested the surrounding country. The Jumanos apparently dwelt farther away to the east; but according to a note in the records there were present in El Paso in 1670 many Indians from the Jumano pueblos.²³ The Piros appear to have come chiefly from the pueblo of Senecú, although some were registered from the pueblo of Abó, from the pueblo of Galisteo, and from San Antonio de la Isleta.²⁴ In 1670 and 1671 there were a number of Indians from Abó at El Paso.²⁵ The original home of the Tanos is not indicated; doubtless, like the Piros, they came from the interior of New Mexico. The presence of this heterogeneous body of Indians at Guadalupe del Paso points to the importance of the place as a vantage ground for Spanish occupation, and helps to explain in part the difficulty in later years of holding the Indians under restraint.

III. THE COMING OF THE REFUGEES FROM SANTA FE, 1680

1. *The Temporary Settlement at El Paso.*—When the Spanish and Indian refugees from the revolted province of New Mexico fled southward toward El Paso, their first halt was made at La Salineta, a place four leagues from El Paso on the Texas side of the Río del Norte. There the fugitives remained, approximately, from September 18 to October 9. On September 29 Governor Otermin began making a muster of the soldiers and people with him. Though much delayed and inconvenienced by desertions to El Paso, Casas Grandes, El Sacramento, and other places of safety, the governor was able to report still with him on October 2 the following numbers: "Of Spaniards, one hundred and fifty-five persons bearing arms, and nineteen hundred and forty-six persons of all kinds—men, women, children, and servants; of Indians—Christian Indians who had come with the army from the pueblos of La Isleta, Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro, and Senecú—three hundred and seventeen persons, including men, women, and children."²⁶

All the people at La Salineta seem to have shared the opinion that the permanent encampment, while considering the reconquest of New Mexico, should be made beyond the Río del Norte at El Paso. In a letter to the viceroy dated August 31, 1680,²⁷ Father Ayeta suggested the fortification of that point; and in a letter to Otermin dated September 16, Francisco de Agramontes of San Juan Bautista, Sonora, recommended the formation of a *plaza de armas* at the same point. Some of Otermin's military advisers, among them Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, made similar suggestions to their chief. On October 5, the same day that

²² *Actas toponímicas*, folios 45, 55, 57, 60–62, 85, 86, 87. The standard authority on this episode is Hackett, "The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVI, 137–168, 258–376.

²³ *Carta de Ayeta*, in *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 1, p. 564. (MS in Bancroft Collection).

²⁴ Material furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd.

²⁵ *Libro Primero de Casamientos* (Bancroft Collection).

²⁶ Material furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd.

²⁷ *Libro Primero de Casamientos* (Bancroft Collection).

THE ACTUAL
LARGEST GROUP
ASSOCIATED WITH
THE MISIONES

secured the equipment for the presidio before he left Mexico, and on his arrival at El Paso in August, 1683, located it on a site which he selected half-way between Guadalupe and San Lorenzo, and about seven leagues from the former. At the same time that he founded the presidio, he and López reorganized the Spanish and Indian settlements, and planted one new mission at Santa Gertrudis, about eight or twelve leagues south of Guadalupe, and seven new missions at La Junta, one hundred leagues to the southeast. The Spaniards were at that time distributed among four pueblos, San Lorenzo, San Pedro de Alcántara, Señor San José, and La Isleta; and the Indians were distributed among the pueblos of Socorro, San Francisco, Sacramento, San Antonio de Senecú, and La Soledad. This arrangement indicates two new Spanish settlements—San José and La Isleta—and one

XIX. CONCLUSION: SUMMARY OF SETTLEMENT IN THE EL PASO DISTRICT, 1659-1685

The story of the quarter century of development in the El Paso district contained in the pages above can be briefly summarized. Before 1680 there was a nucleus of Spanish settlers scattered in and around the three missions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, founded in 1659 at the ford of the river; San Francisco, twelve leagues below Guadalupe; and La Soledad, seventy leagues to the southeast of Guadalupe. The first considerable impetus given this somewhat straggling community was the coming of nearly two thousand refugees from New Mexico in the

1681 ATTEMPT AT RECONQUEST The attempted reconquest failing, Otermin and his advisers determined upon making arrangements at El Paso for an indefinite stay there. To effect this more permanent organization, Otermin settled the Spaniards at San Lorenzo—whether or not San Pedro de Alcántara and Santísimo Sacramento were abandoned, is not clear—and founded for the accommodation of the Indians who had withdrawn from New Mexico with the Spaniards, three **SUPPOSED PLACEMENTS OF THE SETTLEMENTS** pueblos known as Senequí, Socorro, and Isleta.

Meanwhile, at the suggestion of Otermín and Father Ayeta, the central government determined in January, 1682, upon placing a presidio at El Paso. Although Otermín enlisted the fifty men and the armorer required for the presidio, his enlistment was not made in accordance with the orders of the junta general, nor does it appear that he built a fort. These details were left for fulfillment to his successor. The newly elected Governor Cruzate

Under the impetus of these changes and the influence of Cruzate and López, for a time affairs at El Paso seemed to be in a fair way to prosperity when the Manso revolt occurred in the spring of 1684, in which were allied the Mansos, Sumas, Janos, Julimes, Apaches, Conchos, and other less well known tribes. Only a remnant of the Mansos and the three pueblos of Piros and Tignas remained faithful to the Spaniards. So numerous were the allies and so savage were their attacks on the missions and settlements that Cruzate was obliged, in the summer of 1684, to remove the presidio nearer Guadalupe del Paso and to gather under its immediate protection all the Spaniards and faithful Indians settled along the river.

Harassed by the Indian war and by the failure of their crops, ~~PAOLES~~, ^{PAOLES} ~~PAOLES~~
the citizens of the district began in July, 1684, a series of petitions ~~THE~~ ^{FOR} ~~SEVEN~~ LEAGUES
for license to abandon El Paso. Cruzate and the religious op- ~~ATTEND~~ ^{GET} ~~PROMISE~~
posed the change; but when López went to the City of Mexico to ~~ABANDON~~ ^{SEE}
in behalf of the citizens he favored moving the settlement up the ~~RIVER~~ ^{RIVER} -
river seventy leagues to the old site of Isleta. The fiscal and the
junta general refused his petition in August, 1685. The question,
however, was reopened at the request of Posadas, the custodian
in the City of Mexico; it was put in the hands of Don Gonzalo

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p. 390 "Suárez de San Martín for thorough re-examination. When Suárez made his report, which was the result of and examination of witnesses as well as of the documents pertaining to the subject, the consensus of opinion seemed in favor of holding El Paso. Accordingly the fiscal, the viceroy, and the junta general supported the holding of El Paso unless the king and the Royal Council of the Indies should order it abandoned."