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this second rule of five years Don Tomás sent a party to search for mines in the San Juan and Gunnison regions of what was later Colorado,[8] attended to the routine duties of his position,[9] and waged legal warfare on certain Indians accused of witchcraft at Abiquiú, the whole affair presenting a striking picture of silly superstition—on the part of the Spaniards.[10] In 1766 the Marqués de Rubí visited New Mexico in his tour as inspector of frontier presidios.[11]

Colonel Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta succeeded Cachupin as governor and captain-general—being the last to hold the latter title—in 1767.[12] In that year

session of the office without delay, 'con pretexto ni motivo alguno.' On Aug. 30, '62, the king has rec'd viceroy's report of Dec. 17, '61, with copy of secret instructions to Gov. C. *N. Mex., Céd.*, MS., 56. At the time of Urrisola's Comanche campaign an escort of 22 soldiers had been sent to El Paso for the new gov. *Tamaron, Visita*, MS., 141–4.

[8] *Dominguez* and *Escalante, Diario*, 388–9, 409–10. Acc. to this printed diary of an entrada of 1776, Juan María Rivera visited the region (about the junction of the Gunnison and Uncompahgre) in 1761; it was visited by a party sent by Gov. C., and the name of La Plata given to a sierra and river, from silver discovered at that time; and perhaps a 3d visit made in 1775. But Fernandez Duro, *Noticias*, 139, 142, who consulted a MS. copy of the diary in the Acad. Hist., makes the date of Rivera's tour 1765. Dominguez saw Rivera's *derrotero*.

[9] In '62 some 50 citizens of Alburquerque protest their inability to comply with the gov.'s orders to keep horses, etc., in readiness for Ind. service; and in May are chided by the gov. for their lack of patriotism. They must obey and stop selling their arms and animals to avoid service. In 1763, 40 citizens of the same town petitioned for the removal of their alcalde mayor, Ant. Vaca, and 33 other citizens protested that V. was a good official, though the object of the enmity of a few. To keep the peace Mig. Lucero was appointed temporarily to fill the office. MSS. of Pinart col.

[10] *Autos contra unos Indios Jenízaros del pueblo de Abiquiú sobre ser acusados de hechiceros maléficos por su ministro el R. P. Fr. Juan Joseph de Toledo y el indio Juachinillo.* MS. of the Pinart col. The case dated in 1760–6, but the trial was chiefly in 1763. One effect of the alleged sorcery was a sad condition of the padre's stomach. The trial was before the alc. mayor of La Cañada, Cárlos Fernandez, and over 100 pp. are filled with testimony. The result was that 7 or 8 Ind. were condemned to 'become the servants' of certain Span. families. A detachment of troops was sent to Abiquiú to destroy relics of supposed idolatrous worship, including a stone with hieroglyphics, etc.

[11] *Lafora (Nicolás), Viage del ingeniero á Sta Fé, 1766.* MS. in Pinart col. L. accompanied Rubí and kept the diary, which contains little or nothing of interest except statistics utilized later. L. also made a map, which so far as I know is not extant.

[12] Morfi, *Desórdenes*, MS., 407, writes the full name Lara y Mendinueta, and calls him brigadier. Davis and Prince represent him as ruling also in 1759 and 1762, and Cachupin in 1773, all of which must, I think, be wrong. They mention the fact of his being the last capt.-gen.; and certainly no one had that title after him; but I am not quite sure that all his predecessors held it, and I have seen no doc. in which he uses that title. M. was a knight of Santiago.

there was a great flood at Santa Fé in October, the course of the river being turned into the Rio Chiquito and threatening the safety of the public buildings.[13] Against this ruler and his successors I have found no complaints from the missionaries. In 1771 he announced the conclusion of a treaty with the Comanches on the 3d of February;[14] and the viceroy, replying with thanks, called for a report on the condition and needs of the province, which was furnished in March 1772. Mendinueta declared that the force of 80 soldiers at Santa Fé was not sufficient to protect so broad a territory, raided by savage foes from every side. True, there were about 250 men capable of bearing arms among the settlers, besides the pueblo Indians; but these were poorly supplied with weapons, and could not leave their homes unprotected to engage in distant campaigns. The governor's proposed remedy was a new presidio at Taos, and an enforced law requiring the Spaniards to live in compact pueblos like the Indians.[15]

The subject of northern frontier defences received much attention in these years, and in 1772–3 the new *reglamento de presidios* was published. The only change ordered in New Mexico proper was the detachment of thirty soldiers from Santa Fé to join thirty citizen auxiliaries from El Paso, forming a garrison at Robledo, which was to protect the route up the river and serve as a base for reëstablishing the ruined pueblos of Senecú, Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta. For the protection of El Paso the militia was to be organized, the presidial company being transferred to Carrizal on the frontier of Nueva Viz-

[13] *Sta Fé, Inundaciones de 1767.* MS. of Pinart col. The gov. in decree of Nov. 7th orders all citizens to turn out by list under certain superintendents and work to restore the river to its original bed. Fran. Guerrero was alcalde mayor. July 15, '69, orders of viceroy to gov. M. about a projected campaign against the Apaches. MS. in *Id.*

[14] April 25, '71, Gov. M. to the people, announcing the treaty, and urging all to use the utmost care to treat the Ind. in exact conformity with the conditions. MS. in Pinart col.

[15] March 26, 1772, Gov. M. to Viceroy Bucareli, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d ser., iv. 720–3; *Bonilla, Apuntes*, MS., 352–6.

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caya.[16] Nothing of all this was carried into effect, except the transfer of the presidio—or of the main force, a detachment being always or generally stationed at El Paso—the governor very properly protesting against the division of the force at Santa Fé, and some convenient excuse being always ready for failure to organize the militia.

The conquest or conversion of the Moquis was a matter still kept in view, though for about twenty years no practical efforts in that direction are recorded, down to 1774–6, when the project was revived in connection with the California expeditions from Sonora. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza made an experimental or exploring trip by way of the Gila to California in 1774; and it was desired that in connection with his second expedition the region between the Gila and Moqui towns should be explored. This region had not been traversed since the time of Coronado in 1540–3, except by Oñate, whose journey was practically forgotten. The country and its people were wrapped in mystery, and were the objects of much curiosity and theorizing. To find a way to Moqui was deemed important, especially as it was proposed, if possible, to occupy the Gila valley and some of its branches.[17] The New Mexican friars were called

[16] *Presidios, Reglamento é Instruccion 1772-3*, p. 11, 16–18, 118–22; given also in whole or in part in several works. See *Hist. North Mex. St.*, i. 646, 668. The Sta Fé presidio as reorganized was to have 1 capt. (the gov.) at a salary of $4,000, 2 lieut. at $700, 2 sergt. at $350, 6 corp. at $300, and 68 sold. at $290; there was to be a lieut.-gov. at El Paso, with a salary of $1,000, and the 30 vecinos auxiliaries at Robledo were to receive $15 per month for 10 years, to be armed like soldiers, to be free from cuartel duty, and finally to have land-grants. Bonilla, *Apuntes*, MS., gives some particulars about the non-execution of the reglamento and the orders following it. Antonio María Daroca was made lieut.-gov., but died soon from wounds received in an Apache campaign; and was succeeded by Manuel Arrieta, and he by Narciso Muñiz.

[17] *Crespo* (*Fran. Ant.*), *Informe que hizo al virey el gobr. de Sonora acerca del descubrimiento de N. Mex. para Monterey*, in *N. Mex., Doc.*, MS., 802–23. The details pertain to Ariz. rather than N. Mex. The writer proposes a branch exped., after Anza's return from Cal., to the Colorado, that is, from the Mojave region to Moqui and N. Mex. This doc. is cited under a different title by Fernandez Duro, *Not.*, 141, as in the Acad. Hist. He also cites *Garcés, Diario desde N. Mej., á la Cal.*, which may be a ref. to Garcés' journal of Anza's 1st trip, or of G.'s trip of '76 to N. Mex., to be noticed later. On Anza's exped. of '74 and '76, see *Hist. Cal.*, i. 220–4, 257–78.

upon for their views, and Padre Escalante developed much enthusiasm on the subject. In June 1775, or possibly 1774, he spent eight days in the Moqui towns, trying in vain to reach the Rio Grande de Cosninas beyond. In a report to the governor he gave a description of the pueblos—where he found 7,494 souls, two thirds of them at Oraibe, in seven pueblos on three separate mesas—and his ideas of what should be done. He earnestly recommended—subsequently writing to his superior a long argument in support of his position—that the Moquis should be reduced by force of arms and a presidio established there. The Moquinos, he said, were well disposed, but their chiefs had determined not to give up their power, not only keeping their own people from submission, but the Cosninas as well, who were eager to be Christians. As to the routes, Escalante thought from what he could learn by Indian reports that the way from Terrenate by the Gila and thence north to Zuñi would not be very difficult; that the central route from the Colorado to Moqui would probably be found impracticable; but that the best of all was one leading from Monterey eastward in a nearly direct line to Santa Fé.[18]

Alas for the good padre's geographic theories! In 1776, with a party of nine, including Padre Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, he attempted to reach Monterey from Santa Fé by the northern route. This tour belongs mainly to the annals of Utah and Colorado, as recorded in other volumes. The explorers reached Utah Lake and thus accomplished results that should make their names famous; but fortunately—else they would not have lived to tell the story—when on the approach of winter provisions became scarce and the

[18] *Escalante* (*Silvestre Velez*), *Informe y Diario de la Entrada que en junio de 1775 hizo en la prov. de Moqui.* MS., in *N. Mex., Doc.*, 1022–57; also without title in *Id.*, 951–84. It is dated Oct. 28, 1775. The author has heard of some white men in the west before the founding of Monterey, and thus introduces the Northern Mystery, shipwrecked Spaniards, etc. Garcés, *Diario*, 362–4, alludes to a similar report—perhaps the same—written by Escalante on Aug. 18, 1775. *Escalante, Carta de '76 sobre Moqui*, in *N. Mex., Doc.*, MS., 985–1013, is the argument alluded to in my text to prove the justice and policy of using force.

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natives showed no knowledge of Spaniards in the west, lots were cast, and fate decided that the journey to Monterey should be postponed. Accordingly, they returned south-eastward, forded the Colorado, came to the Moqui towns, and returned to Santa Fé. The Moquinos, though furnishing food and shelter, would not receive presents. A meeting was held to discuss submission, but while willing to be friends of the Spaniards, the people proudly refused to be subjects or Christians, preferring to 'go with the majority' and be gentiles, as the traditions of their fathers directed them.[19] Not only did Escalante fail to demonstrate the merits of his favorite northern route, but earlier in the same year the central one was proved to be practicable; and this, so far as the Moqui question was concerned, was the only result of Anza's California expedition. Padre Francisco Garcés, leaving Anza at the Gila junction, went up the Colorado to the Mojave region with a few Indian servants, and after making important explorations in California started eastward for Moqui, which he reached without any special difficulty in July. The Moquis, however, would not admit him to their houses or receive his gifts, cared not for his painting of heaven and hell, and refused to kiss the image of Christ. After passing two nights in the court-yard he wrote a letter for the padre at Zuñi, returned in sorrow to the Yamajabs, or Mojaves, and went down the Colorado, finding his way to Bac in September. His was a wonderful trip, though not very effective in respect of Moqui salvation.[20]

[19] *Dominguez* and *Escalante, Diario y Derrotero*, 1776; also incomplete MS. copy in *N. Mex., Doc.*, 1729–56; and in *Id.*, 831–42, a letter of Dominguez in '80, giving a résumé of the trip. See also *Hist. Utah* and *Hist. Colorado*, this series, with map. The start was on July 29th, the arrival at Moqui Nov. 16th, and the return to Sta Fé Jan. 3, '77. The Colorado was forded about on the Utah and Ariz. line, or at the corner of the four territories.

[20] *Garcés (Francisco), Diario y Derrotero que siguió...á los pueblos del Moqui de N. Mex., 1776.* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser., i. 225 et seq., the Moqui trip being described on pp. 309–37. For some additional details, see chap. xvi. of this vol. on Ariz. history. The padre visited Oraibe, or Muca, and one other pueblo, and he gives a good descrip. of the towns and people. He found a Zuñi Ind. who could speak Spanish, as could some of the Moquis. His letter to the Zuñi padre of July 3d is copied in *N. Mex., Doc.*, MS., 828–30. It does not appear that Escalante received it before starting on his northern trip. In *Fernandez Duro, Not.*, 141, is cited a letter. *Garcés, Exped. desde Sta Fé á Cal.*, etc., in the Acad. Hist.

It was in 1776 that Lieutenant-colonel Antonio Bonilla, of Coahuila, embodied in a formal report, not only a résumé of New Mexico's past history, but his views as to what should be done to avert impending ruin. He believed that as a frontier outpost among gentile tribes who had now lost all the fear and respect inspired by the first conquerors, and who themselves used fire-arms and horses, the holding of the province had an importance far beyond its direct value as a Spanish possession, since if it were lost the savage hordes would direct their whole force against Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora. Therefore a vigorous warfare should be waged by veteran troops from New Mexico as a centre.[21]

It was also in 1776–7 that the northern provinces of Mexico were organized as the Provincias Internas, under the Caballero de Croix as comandante general, independent of the viceroy. This change and the following complications of the military and civil status of the various districts have but slight direct bearing on New Mexico, simply depriving the governor of his title of captain-general, and making him subordinate at times to the comandante general instead of the viceroy, and they cannot be properly presented here in the

[21] *Bonilla (Antonio), Apuntes Históricos sobre el N. Mex., 1776*, MS. in *N. Mex., Doc.*, 327–81; also as a preface to *N. Mex., Cédulas*, MS. Besides the sending of veteran troops, B. recommends as necessary measures the reformation of Span. settlements in compact form, the organization of the militia, a garrison at Robledo without reducing the Sta Fé force, the execution of existing orders respecting the Paso del Norte district, and more careful treatment of the Christian Ind., perhaps including measures of secularization to get rid of the friars. B. did not favor the presidio at Taos, because he thought it better to spend money at present on active measures rather than on permanent establishments.

Morfi, Viaje de Indios y Diario del N. Mex., is misleading in its title. It is a diary of the visita of the Caballero de Croix in '77, but does not include N. Mex., at least as printed in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 3d ser., iv. 305. In Nov. '77 there was a fight with the Comanches and Apaches, who in one of their raids had killed 11 persons, and who now lost 30 killed and 40 horses. The gov. was ordered to make peace, if possible, with the Comanches, so as to use them against the Apaches. *Arch. Sta Fé*, MS.; MSS. in Pinart col.

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