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Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682

Introduction and Annotations by
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Translations of Original Documents by
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PREFACE

After 1869, when W. W. H. Davis published his popular history of *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, practically no new light was thrown upon the events attending the revolt of the Pueblo Indians of that province in 1680 until the publication by the author, between 1911 and 1916, of a series of monographs dealing with this rebellion and with the efforts of the Spaniards, until the early part of 1682, to reconquer them.¹ For the preparation of that part of his book dealing with the subject, Davis used principally the *Extractos*² of the *autos* of the revolt and of the first attempt at reconquest which he found at Santa Fe. But in the early part of this century, there were brought to light in the Mexican archives the original *autos* themselves; and a comparison of them with the *Extractos* shows that the latter are relatively very meager indeed. This fact, together with renewed and growing interest in the history of the Spanish Southwest, seemed to be ample justification for studying anew this important period in the Spanish regime in New Mexico.

The *autos* referred to consist of documents drawn up, in official and authentic form during the progress of the revolt, the defense by the Spaniards, the retreat, the reorganization at Paso del Norte (Juárez), and the reconquest. They comprise acts

1. The monographs referred to are:

"The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," in *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, xv, pp. 93-147.

"The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, xvi, pp. 137-168, 259-276.

"Otermín's Attempt to Reconquer New Mexico, 1681-1682," in *Old Santa Fe*, III, pp. 44-84, 103-132.

2. The author's knowledge of the *Extractos* is based on the copy contained in the Bancroft Collection, at the University of California, and on the notes given by Bancroft and Bandelier. The title of these documents, as given by Bancroft, is *Otermín, Extractos de Doc. Hist. N. Mex., sacados de los autos existentes en el oficio del Supremo gobierno de esta corte, que sobre el Levantamiento del año de 1680 formo Don Antonio de Otermín, gobernador y capitán general del mismo reino* (Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 177). A copy of these documents is also found in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Sección de Historia, Tomo 26.

of the cabildo of Santa Fe; sworn declarations by witnesses to events; orders of the governor; letters written by him, Ayeta, and other persons prominent in the period; proceedings of juntas, or councils, held to discuss the difficulties; acts of the government at Mexico city, etc. Those covering the period 1680-1682 consist of 243 folios, or twice that number of pages, small folio size, of original manuscript. They are contained in two expedientes of documents. The first is entitled: *Auttos tocantes al Alsamiento de los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico*.³ The title of the second is: *Autos Pertenecientes a el alçamiento de los Yndios de la Provincia del Nuevo Mexico y la entrada, Y subçesos de ella que se hiço para su recuperacion*.⁴ These documents were found in the early 1900's in the archives of Mexico by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton; and a complete transcript of them, as well as of those for the period following, were secured by him, and by him copies of the two expedientes later were presented to the author. The two expedientes are cited hereinafter as *Auttos tocantes* and *Autos Pertenecientes*.

More than a quarter of a century ago, *Auttos tocantes* and *Autos Pertenecientes* constituted the chief sources—though not literally the only ones—for the narrative of the Pueblo rebellion and of Governor Otermín's attempt to conquer the Pueblos; the same holds true to-day. Nevertheless, some documents that were not made use of by the author in his studies have now become available to him. Their contents have supplemented more than complemented the first-mentioned sources and do not, therefore, necessitate an extensive revision of the author's earlier studies.

The author was invited by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission in 1939 "to prepare a two-volume work on the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in New Mexico," which, it was stated, "should contain the chief documents of this event," together

3. It is further described as *Num 27 de los Papeles del Supor. Govno. Año de 1681. Segundo quaderno de. Numo. 6. Pa remitir a leon. Srio. Don Pedro Velasques de la Cadena. Expediente no. 6. N. fojas 123*. The original is in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, México, Sección de Provincias Internas, Tomo 37.

4. It is further described as *Varios Hechos de los Indios de Nuevo Mejico Numo 2º Año de 1682 Expediente no. 2 y fojas 120. Srio. D. Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena*. The original is in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, Mexico, Sección de Provincias Internas, Tomo 34.

with "an appropriate introduction." Later, it was agreed that only the English translations of the original documents should be published; also, that an effort would be made to include translations of all known documents relating to the revolt that originated during the administration of Governor Antonio de Otermín "from the outbreak of the Pueblo Rebellion on August 10, 1680, until his return [to El Paso] from his attempted reconquest of New Mexico" in the winter of 1681-1682.

The first task of the author, after accepting this assignment, was to have assembled all known documents relating to the rebellion, including, of course, those that were to be found in *Autos tocantes* and *Autos Pertenecientes*. In this he was most ably assisted by Dr. Charmion Clair Shelby. As a result, copies were assembled from various depositories, including the University of California, the Library of Congress, and the Museum of New Mexico, at Santa Fe, and from the Bandelier collection. The latter collection furnished the author with the selected materials that went into *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3 volumes (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1923, 1926, 1937); and, at the completion of volume III in that series, this collection was deposited in the library of the University of Texas by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. However, only a few fundamentally important documents of a general character that relate to the Pueblo rebellion and that were in the Bandelier collection were translated and published in volume III of the last-mentioned series; other documents in the Bandelier collection are herein translated and published for the first time.

One compilation of sources, frequently referred to in the author's second original monograph ("The Retreat of the Spaniards . . .," comprising sections v-x of the Introduction to the present volumes) as *N. Mex. Docs.*, is actually entitled *Documentos para la Historia de Nuevo Mexico*. This compilation, in three volumes, consists of transcripts in the Bancroft collection of the University of California of miscellaneous documents that chiefly are to be found in the Archivo General de Mexico, Sección de Historia, tomos 25 and 26. Since transcripts

of this same compilation of documents are in the Bandelier transcripts in the library of the University of Texas, the latter transcripts have been used in making translations of the documents therefrom that are published in this volume.

The second task of the author was to prepare, as previously requested, "an appropriate introduction." In this connection, Dr. George P. Hammond, of the University of New Mexico, wrote the author on September 4, 1940, as follows:

I, too, have been thinking over the problem you face, and have come to the same conclusion that you reached long ago, namely, that we probably ought to reprint your earlier study of the Pueblo Rebellion . . . I concur in your judgment, therefore, that your earlier articles might be revised as you deem appropriate and reprinted as your introduction.

In the original monographs as herein reprinted (with revisions) as an Introduction, citations were made in the footnotes to the Spanish titles of documents in the various expedientes that were used. In the present Introduction, these citations, as originally printed, have been retained, despite the fact that the titles of documents as herein translated and printed in the body of this work are in English. However, immediately following each footnote citation in this Introduction, the location of each document as herein translated is indicated with page references in parentheses.

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Austin, Texas,
December 14, 1940.