Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico

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year, 1668," lamented Father Bernal, "a great many Indians perished of hunger, lying dead along the roads, in the ravines, and in their hovels. There were pueblos, like Las Humanas, where more than four hundred and fifty died of hunger." No one could afford to import foodstuffs. Domestic animals were dying. "As a result the Spaniards, men as well as women, have sustained themselves for two years on the cowhides they have in their houses to sit on. They roast them and eat them."[6]

The worst drought in memory drew lamentations and prayers for rain not only from communities along the Rio Grande's channel, wherein the weakened flow no longer reached the headgates of their ditches, but also from less settled folk on the kingdom's outer edges. Apaches and Navajos, too, saw caked mud where water had always stood. The corn they planted barely came up, then withered. Driven by their own hunger and hard times, these peripheral, independent, non-Christian peoples struck at the kingdom ever more often as marauders.

Governor Juan Rodríguez de Medrano y Mesía, who assumed the office late in 1668 and immediately set about retailing four wagonloads of goods from Mexico City, reported that during his first seven months Apaches killed six Spanish men-at-arms and 373 Christian Indians, stealing thousands of head of sheep and other stock. The numbers kept mounting. At Acoma in June 1669, Western Apaches abducted two residents alive, murdered a dozen, and drove off eight hundred sheep, sixty cattle, and every horse. "No road is safe," said Father Bernal. "One travels them all at risk of life for the heathens are everywhere. They are a brave and bold people. They hurl themselves at danger like people who know not God, nor that there is a hell."[7]

Don Esteban Clemente must have looked on in horror, questioning what had possessed him to condemn the kachinas. They were obviously punishing the Pueblos. No rain fell. Prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary offered no relief. Neither

did the Franciscans' favored San Buenaventura at Las Humanas or San Gregorio at Abo intercede to bring rain, nurture the corn, or hold off plains raiders. Clemente must win back the kachinas.

At one time there had to have existed in the Spanish archives at Santa Fe a documentary record of what Clemente tried to do. His plan was too large in scale not to have generated folio after folio of testimony among defensive, legal-minded Spanish authorities. Two respected witnesses would have been sworn in by the governor to attest the proceedings, since no authorized notary resided in New Mexico. A further statement would have affirmed that the record had been set down on blank sheets because of the perennial lack of official stamped paper. Yet the documents have gone missing. Not even the year is known. All that remains today is the brief testimony in 1681 of tall, beady-eyed Sargento mayor Diego López Sambrano, a Hispanic native of the kingdom accused repeatedly of oppressing Pueblo Indians.

In the late 1660s, Spaniards discovered a treasonous Pueblo plot to overthrow the kingdom. To deter further unrest they hanged six of Clemente's prominent Piro neighbors. Far from cowering—the intended response to such punishment—he swore to avenge them. Runners carried word of his resolve throughout the Pueblo world. To maintain secrecy, Clemente counted on the cover and fame of his reputation as governor and chief war captain of the Salinas pueblos. He sought to enlist Pueblo leaders everywhere to rise against the Spaniards. Certain caciques in the north may have held back, but according to López Sambrano, "the whole kingdom secretly obeyed." Esteban Clemente staked his future on nothing short of a general Pueblo revolt.

Previously, Pueblos and Apaches had conspired but failed to catch Spaniards off guard during the activities of Christian Holy Week. Clemente believed he could get the plan right. As inconspicuously as possible, Pueblo herders would move the

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fled, some leaving their blood on the boulders. This skirmish proved to be a turning point in suppressing the second Pueblo revolt. Not long afterward, the soldiers sent Naranjo's severed head to Vargas, who gloated: "I was very pleased to see that rebel apostate dog in that state: a pistol shot through the right temple had caused his brains to spill out, leaving the head hollow. What little remained was scooped out to take to his pueblo."[26]

As another bad winter set in, warfare trailed off. Despite recurring suspicions, it would never resume again in large scale between Pueblos and Spaniards. Both peoples had suffered severe dislocations. Some families never returned to the homes they had left, while many others came back, reclaimed their property, and laid in food and firewood. The colonists of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, who petitioned to move downriver to sites they considered safer and more easily cultivated, were forced to stick it out. Their Tewa neighbors, who had withdrawn to uncomfortable but defensible locations in rough terrain during the troubles of 1696, straggled back, reoccupying most of their pueblos. Other Tewas joined an exodus of Tiwas from Picuris who ventured eastward to live with Plains Apaches. Vargas managed to bring some of them back in November 1696, while ten years later another Spanish column retrieved an additional sixty who had not adjusted to life on the plains.[27]

Certain of the Pecos, fleeing the grim regime of don Felipe Chistoe, seem to have crossed the Rio Grande valley and moved in with the Jemez, the only other Pueblos who spoke Towa. Yet the most dislocated of all the Pueblo peoples were the Tanos. They had streamed victoriously into Santa Fe from the Galisteo Basin in 1680, been ousted from there during the winter of 1693–94, relocated north of Santa Fe, and in 1695 were told they must move again. Finally putting the Spaniards of the Rio Grande far behind them, migrant Tano families accepted invitations from the Hopis, founding on First

Mesa a pueblo they called Hano. Their descendants live there today, still speaking a dialect of the Tano language.[28]

The Hopis, who despite persistent rumors to the contrary never did join actively in the revolt of 1696, have remained since 1680 unrepentant and un-Christian. From the 1690s on, they took in a variety of Pueblo refugees from the east, newcomers who caused considerable political and social ferment among their hosts. When in 1700 Franciscan missionaries reappeared briefly at Awátovi, the Hopi pueblo nearest to the Rio Grande, Hopis from other towns, acting to purify their world as they had begun to reimagine it, annihilated that pueblo and abducted its women and children. One poignant oral tradition claims that Awátovi's own village chief called down the purge himself, appealing to the principal men of the other Hopi communities:

> You are my friends. I need your help. My people are out of control. The Castilla [Spanish] missionaries have returned and they are preparing to stay forever. The village is in chaos. The young insult the old, women are raped, the shrines are desecrated. The ceremonies are ridiculed, contempt is shown for the kachinas, and the *kwitamuh* [members of a kiva society of sorcerers] run wild. Thus the evil that followed us from the Lower World has torn us into pieces. Awatovi must be destroyed. Its people must be scattered and its houses razed to the ground.[29]

Dealing with their own internal strife, the geographically isolated Hopis had done what most subjected peoples dreamed of but few accomplished in the seventeenth century. They had successfully thrown off European colonizers.

Given time and chance, Diego de Vargas believed he could reconquer the Hopis, but he was denied both. A successor of somewhat more humble birth, don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, presented his credentials to the town council at Santa Fe

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adobes and timbers for the church. To square and decorate the roof beams, take measurements, and construct the doors, the friar had summoned carpenters from Pecos.

At their own pueblo, to which Father Vargas reassigned himself later in 1696, the Pecos worked to improve a temporary church. The friar must have fancied construction. "I saw," Governor Vargas had reported, "that the nave of the church had been enlarged at his order in accord with the plan he had given the Indians and with help from their alcalde mayor. They had increased its height for the clerestory and built a chancel for the high altar with two steps." The sacristy lacked only a roof, and they had built a wall around the patio with a gate to enter the convento.[31]

As Pecos carpenters, along with the pueblo's traders, farmers, and hunters, got back to their usual pursuits, and as their women dealt daily with food, the children, and replastering their houses, tension gnawed at the community. Grieving kinsmen of slain Diego Umviro and Caripicado wanted don Felipe Chistoe's head. When they failed to incite the pueblo as a whole to rise up and kill him, they began insulting him publicly, even in the presence of Alcalde mayor Anaya. To head off a violent outbreak, Anaya reported to Governor Rodríguez, who had Chistoe's principal opponents brought to Santa Fe and jailed. Even when they broke out and fled to live with Jicarilla Apaches, the rift kept festering. Five times the Pecos came to the brink of fighting each other, and each time the iron-fisted Felipe Chistoe had his way. His adversaries despaired. And in 1702, when Tewas and Taos were rumored to be plotting again, it was Chistoe who led the Pecos delegation to Santa Fe to assure Governor Rodríguez of his people's loyalty.[32]

Rodríguez, for his part, reestablished peaceful if uneasy relations with Acomas and Zunis to the west and gave formal recognition in 1699 to the breakaway pueblo of Laguna, where disillusioned Acomas and other Keres who resented Bartolomé de Ojeda had congregated. The Spanish governor's

ill-considered expedition during the summer of 1701 to punish the Hopis for their destruction of Awátovi, however, failed ignominiously, serving only to affirm Hopi independence.

At Santa Fe, Governor Rodríguez had ordered a convento built for the Franciscans—at his own expense, he boasted. He also had workers tear into the defenses and alterations that the Indian occupants had constructed, renovating the casas reales and earning Vargas's ire for laying the capital open to attack. Rodríguez had never liked New Mexico. When his five-year term expired on July 2, 1702, no successor appeared to relieve him. Suffering through another New Mexico winter, Rodríguez, whose health was failing, bolted from Santa Fe, not waiting for anyone. But by then, he knew who was to succeed him. Diego de Vargas, exonerated in Mexico City, had been reappointed.

Vargas's reentry into Santa Fe in November 1703 stirred emotions all around. Rewarded with a noble title of Castile for his restoration of New Mexico, don Diego de Vargas, first marqués de la Nava de Barcinas, had sworn not to seek revenge. Nevertheless, prominent New Mexicans who had previously testified against him fell all over themselves in their efforts to ingratiate themselves anew. Pueblo leaders sent emissaries to welcome him. Few suspected that Vargas, just sixty years old, had only five months to live.

The following March, he decreed a campaign against Faraon Apaches who had been rustling scarce cattle and horses in the middle Rio Grande valley. Through his alcaldes mayores, Vargas summoned Pueblo Indian fighters to meet him and the soldiers at Bernalillo, just north of today's Albuquerque. A dozen pueblos had sent warriors expecting their share of the spoils. Don Felipe Chistoe's contingent from Pecos, numbering almost fifty men, was easily the most conspicuous. No mention was made of don Bartolomé de Ojeda, the most steadfast of Pueblo allies during Diego de Vargas's first administration, who after 1702 faded from the historical record.

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