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John F. Schwaller



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Francisco de Ayeta and the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico: Preliminaries to a Biography

Barbara De Marco

The province of New Mexico was converted to the holy Catholic faith and to the vassalage of Your Majesty by the sons of my province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico in the year 1581, by means of great and extraordinary efforts. They founded thirty-seven religious houses . . . administering to the many different Indian nations in their various languages. The province came to abound with so great a number of Spaniards that it merited separate governance, and so it remained until, with the death of twenty-one religious, the profanation of the sacred vessels, the rending of the holy vestments, the burning of twenty-five churches, and the death of many Spaniards, divine providence allowed that, in the year 1680, as it was about to complete the centenary of its conversion, the province should perish at the hands of the barbarians, a circumstance worthy of grave consideration and reflection. The origin of this conflict, Sir, is known to only a few; the event, and what transpired, is as follows.¹

With the above words, the Franciscan *procurador general*, Francisco de Ayeta, offered to the viceroy his *memorial* regarding the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico, a general uprising carried out by the native populations of several north-

This article is a thoroughly revised and expanded version of the paper presented in November 2000 at “The Franciscan Experience in the Americas” conference. A section of that paper now appears in De Marco, “Conversion Practices on the New Mexico Frontier,” in *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas*, edited by James Muldoon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004), 45–48.

¹ The cited passage is excerpted from my unpublished translation of Fray Francisco de Ayeta’s 1693 memorial to the viceroy. The first published transcription of the original Spanish document (Archivo General de Indias [henceforth AGI] Guadalajara 139, fols.984v–1012v) appeared in Barbara De Marco, “Voices from the Archives, II: Francisco de Ayeta’s 1693 Retrospective on the 1680 Pueblo Revolt,” *Romance Philology* 53 (spring 2000): 452–501. Regarding the date of the memorial, see n. 4 below.

Ayeta’s 1693 memorial was brought to my attention by Jerry R. Craddock, who located a typed transcription at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, among the research materials of Herbert Eugene Bolton (CB840, Part 1, Carton 30, Folder 435).

ern pueblos. The revolt was so well orchestrated, so sudden, brutal, and thorough, that the Spanish who survived were driven completely out of New Mexico, and forced to take up an uncertain and uneasy position at a far remove, in present-day El Paso, Texas. Twelve years would pass before the Spanish crown mustered strength enough to stage a permanent return to the northern frontier, this time under the leadership of Diego de Vargas.²

Vargas began his campaign of reconquista in August 1692, returning to El Paso with claims of a bloodless victory before Christmas of that year. Vargas's subsequent campaign of resettlement was launched from El Paso in October 1693; the Spanish resettlement of Santa Fe took place in June 1694.³ Ayeta's memorial was written some time before May 1693,⁴ that is, subsequent to the news of the 1692 reconquest under Vargas, but prior to the resettlement of the New Mexican territory.

Ayeta's 1693 memorial was composed from letters, *autos*, and other documents that grew out of the events of the revolt, especially his correspondence with the governor of the province of New Mexico, Antonio de Otermín. Ayeta's composite narrative covered the major events of the revolt and its aftermath, including the siege of Santa Fe, the martyrdom of twenty-one Franciscans, the

² On Vargas, see the several volumes by John L. Kessell and his colleagues: *Remote Beyond Compare: Letters of Don Diego de Vargas to His Family from New Spain and New Mexico, 1675–1706* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); *By Force of Arms: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691–93* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); *To the Royal Crown Restored: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1692–94* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); *Blood on the Boulders: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1694–97*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

³ See John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 243–267.

⁴ As regards dating, the cover folio to the 1693 memorial reads: "Copia de lo que el Virrey Conde de Galbe refiere en carta de 28. de mayo de 1693. N.º 4.º remitido [?] en flota de diciembre del. Sobre la restauración del nuevo Mexico. Para juntar con otra carta del dicho Virrey de 20 de mayo de 1693. N.º 26 y que se vea en la junta de guerra" (fol. 984v, as transcribed in De Marco, "Voices from the Archives, II" 452–453). My article on the memorial gives the date of the document as 19 June 1693, but this was the date of the consignment of the documents, and not the date of the writing.

A related document has only recently come to my attention: Hermenegildo Zamora, in a census of manuscripts in the AGI, lists a document no. 860, dated 23 June 1693 (cataloged as AGI Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 10, fols. 118r–v; see also n. 47 below), which he describes as follows: "D. Juan de Larrea a Fr. Francisco de Ayeta, procurador Gen. de Indias, referente a un memorial presentado por éste sobre lo provehido con relación a la pérdida y recuperación (no se dice de qué) en el N.º México, Contenido franciscano de los libros registro del Archivo General de Indias 1651–1700," in *Actas del III Congreso Internacional sobre Los Franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo (siglo XVII), La Rábida, 18–23 de septiembre de 1989* (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1989), 295. Clearly, this refers to Ayeta's 1693 memorial to the viceroy.

unsuccessful attempt during the winter of 1681–1682 to regain the territory, and the discouraging retreat to El Paso, as well as an account of his own representations to the viceroy in Mexico, on behalf of the province.

Ayeta made clear in his introductory remarks that the memorial was prompted by news of the 1693 reconquest of the territory. He did not specifically cite his source of this information, but there is reason to believe that the news was transmitted by Vargas himself. A letter from Diego de Vargas to his son-in-law, Ignacio López de Zárate, written from Santa Fe on 12 October 1692,⁵ informs him of Vargas's successful reentry into northern New Mexico. As regards Ayeta, the letter reads:

In 1681, the Rev. Father fray Francisco de Ayeta (who resides at the Convento Grande in Mexico City), procurator general of the Holy Gospel Province of Our Father St. Francis for the entire kingdom of New Spain, left for Santa Fe in the governor's company. At that time, the most excellent lord Conde de Paredes, Marqués de la Laguna, was governing the kingdom of New Spain. He gave Father Ayeta 95,000 pesos for this conquest. I could wish for no better chronicler of this important undertaking than this father, who came in that capacity. . . . I am writing this father, although briefly, so that he will be informed of everything and because he will rejoice.⁶

Whatever the source of information, Ayeta took full advantage of the opportunity provided by that news to offer the viceroy his own advice on resettlement of the territory⁷:

⁵ The editors correct this date from 12 October to 16 October—Vargas's journal puts him in the vicinity of San Juan Pueblo on 12 October; see Kessell et al., *Remote Beyond Compare*, 171.

⁶ *Ibid.* . . ., 169–170. Vargas repeats this information in a letter to Martín de Solís y Miranda, dated 25 February 1696 (*ibid.*, 175), and again, in a letter to the Conde de Moctezuma, dated Santa Fe, 28 November 1696 (Kessell et al., *Blood on the Boulders*, 1096). In both letters, the amount is stated to be 90,000 pesos, not 95,000, as given here.

⁷ The relevant passage in the memorial reads: “ha permitido la divina providencia que a esta saçon llegase la feliz nueba de haverse dado y entregado de paz los yndios sublevados y porque deve discurrir el suplicante que en vista de este nuevo successo, Vuestra Magestad aplicara las providencias mas combenientes a la conservazion de dichos yndios por innata estabilidad, y estar cercados de el enemigo comun, que es la nacion Apache, como quiera que para conseguir este fin, puede dar mucha luz no solo el modo de su perdida, sino lo que succedio quando se intento restaurarle, considerando el suplicante que como testigo ocular que fue de la maior parte, tiene obligazion de conciencia de hacer representar por su parte lo que le toca por capellan y vassallo de Vuestra Magestad, y ynteresado en tanta sangre como su relixion tiene derramada en aquella combersion, hace presentazion de dichos autos y memorial adjunto, para que en bista de todo y lo que se escriviere en esta ocasion sobre este punto, resuelva lo que fuere mas de el servicio de Dios y conservazion de aquellos miserables yndios” (fol. 985r, l. 11–985v, l. 6, in De Marco, “Voices from the Archives, II,” 453).

First, that the kingdom would never be regained if the Crown were to rely on those same settlers who had been involved in the revolt and the unsuccessful attempt in 1681 to return to the New Mexico territory.

Second, that the Crown must ensure a goodly number of infantry as well as cavalry, for the Indians are sure that the Spaniards only know how to fight on horseback, and they consider the victory won if they manage to separate the Spaniards from their horses;

Third, that at least a third of the personnel of any presidio in the Indias should be infantry, and that the soldiers should be more careful not to go out unarmed or unprotected, because "las malas consecuencias que nacen de matar a un español son perniciosas, porque [los Indios] le cortan la caveza y cogen la cavellera, y la baylan alrededor, y la embian por todas las naciones, para que se celebre su triunfo."

Fourth, that special care should be taken that the soldiers [assigned to each presidio] should be fully trained (*cabales*), and the youngest of the soldiers should be at least twenty years old, in view of the inconvenient circumstances that arise in the contrary case.⁸

Ayeta preceded these recommendations with the disclaimer "Y aunque no es de su profesión dar arbitrios y medios para la recuperación de el reyno." Notwithstanding the modesty topos, it was clear that both the civil and religious authorities relied considerably on Ayeta's practical advice, both before and after the revolt. As procurador general, since 1674 it had been Ayeta's responsibility to oversee the triennial caravan of supply wagons that were granted by the king for the support of the religious in the province of New Mexico.⁹ Ayeta, accompanying one such caravan of supply wagons, was halted for a time in El Paso, when, on 25 August 1680, he received his first news of the revolt in northern New Mexico. As Hackett described it: "From that time on the activities of Father Ayeta, who was to become the real savior of the New Mexican refugees, are both interesting and important, for it was he who was to furnish supplies for the actual wants of the people, and who was also to go in person to Mexico city to report on the condition of affairs following the revolt and the things needed for a reconquest of the province."¹⁰ Ayeta also accompanied the governor of the province, Antonio de Otermín, in his unsuccessful attempt to win back the territory in the winter of 1681–1682.

Ayeta had every reason to view the events of the August 1680 revolt with bitter irony. In a letter to the authorities in Mexico, dated 28 May 1679, Ayeta had

⁸ Fol. 1011v, l. 25–1012r, l. 36, in De Marco, "Voices from the Archives, II," 499–500.

⁹ Regarding the supply caravans, see France V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 5 (January 1930): 93–115; (April 1930): 186–210; (October 1930): 386–404. See also Max L. Moorhead, "The Private Contract System of Presidio Supply in Northern New Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 41, no. 1 (1961): 31–54.

¹⁰ Charles Hackett, ed., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest 1680–1682*, vol. VIII (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1942), lxxix.

requested that a presidio of fifty soldiers be established at Santa Fe, the capital of the province of New Mexico, to protect the settlers of the territory from continued invasions by the Apaches. The fiscal of the *audiencia* in Mexico, forwarding Ayeta's request to the king, expressed his opinion that Ayeta's arguments were not sufficiently persuasive, calling it a "gasto ozioso y no precisso pues aunque fuera conveniente para refrenar las hostilidades de los varvaros y para dilattar las conversiones de tantto jentilismo . . . no vastaria todo el real patrimonio. . . ." ¹¹ However, the king himself did find Ayeta's arguments sufficiently persuasive, and in a *cédula* of 25 June 1680, he ordered the viceroy to provide Ayeta with the requested additional aid—too late, however, to be of any help to the Spanish settlers of northern New Mexico: six weeks later, long before the king's orders could be received or implemented, the revolt had already taken place.

In the closing paragraphs of his 1693 memorial, Ayeta referred to four *testimonios* that he attached as supporting documentation of the events described therein. It is unfortunate that these testimonies were subsequently separated from the memorial: by Ayeta's own account they amounted to some five hundred folios—in modern parlance, somewhere between 1,200 and 1,500 typescript pages. Together with the memorial they would stand as the most comprehensive and authoritative early source on the Pueblo Revolt, including the events prior and subsequent to it, compiled by one of the most authoritative representatives of the period, a Franciscan who was singled out by France V. Scholes as "one of the four or five outstanding figures in the New Mexican church in the seventeenth century—ranking with Benavides, Perea, Bishop Manso, and Posada . . . ," ¹² and by Adolf Bandelier as "a man of superior mind and indomitable energy, entirely devoted to his task and to his order." ¹³

It must come as some surprise that Ayeta's 1693 memorial has only recently been published. ¹⁴ It is even more surprising that as yet there exists no authoritative biography of Ayeta, nor even a comprehensive summary of the major events

¹¹ The full documentation of Ayeta's request, including previous *cédulas* and the response of the fiscal, is contained in AGI Guadalajara 138, fols. 123v–140v. Hackett provides a summary of the documents in his introductory essay, "Arrival of Father Ayeta with Aid from Mexico," in *Revolt*, vol. 8, lxxxiv–lxxxv, and in the introduction to his *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier, vol. 3. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937), 18–19.

¹² As cited in Hackett, *Revolt*, xx, and *Historical Documents*, 17–18.

¹³ Adolf Bandelier, "Fray Francisco de Ayeta," *Catholic Encyclopedia* online (1999).

¹⁴ See n. 1 above. The 1693 memorial is not mentioned in Hackett *Historical Documents* or *Revolt*. David Roberts mentions our unpublished translation of the memorial in the bibliography to his popular new work, *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion That Drove the Spaniards Out of the Southwest* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 254–255.

of his services to the missions of the Franciscans in the New World. Among his contemporaries, Agustín de Vetancurt (1697–1698) makes only passing references to Ayeta in the “Tratado tercero de las Custodias de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio,” and those few all occur in the context of the deprivation of the missions after the revolt.¹⁵

Among historians in the United States, the first to mention Ayeta seems to have been Hubert Howe Bancroft (1889). Drawing on Spanish manuscript sources regarding New Mexico, dating between 1676 and 1682, he discusses the work of Padre Francisco de Ayeta as *custodio* and *padre procurador*, traveling repeatedly to Mexico City, both before and after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, to secure supplies and succor for the New Mexican missionaries and settlers. Regarding the events of the revolt, Bancroft writes: “Father Ayeta’s wagon train of supplies . . . was a veritable godsend to the refugees. . . . At the end of the year [1680] Ayeta went to Mexico with a full report of misfortunes and a petition for relief, and his mission was successful. . . . Ayeta came back early in 1681, still in charge of the royal interests, bringing cheering news, supplies, and reinforcements. Then—or possibly not till 1682—El Paso was founded, at or near the temporary camp of San Lorenzo, as a kind of presidio and supply station for the reconquest and protection of New Mexico.”¹⁶

In 1907, Bandelier had occasion to remark that few biographical details were known of Ayeta, “his memorable deeds having been overlooked and neglected until now.”¹⁷ Bandelier was writing before the publication of two major compendia of documents by Charles Wilson Hackett relating to seventeenth-century

¹⁵ Agustín de Vetancurt, “Tratado tercero de las Custodias de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio,” chap. V, “De las casas que permanecen despues de el rebelión a la vera del río del Norte, y lo que era la Custodia antes del alzamiento,” in *Teatro Mexicano* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1982), 98–99:

§29, Socorro: “este Pueblo está destruydo, y el año de 81. quitò las campanas que havian quedado el P. Fr. Francisco de Ayeta, y las sacò para las nuevas fundaciones del río del Norte”;

§32, Isleta [New Mexico]: “es el paso para las Provincias de Acoma, Zunias, Moqui, de donde vinieron algunos Christianos, y Religiosos huyendo en el rebelión del furor de los Bárbaros, y se ampararon en la Isleta; tenía dos mil personas, que eran de nación Tiguas, y de aqui sacò el Governador Otermín 519. personas apostatas, y el P. Ayeta los sacò en sus carros a Guadalupe, y se volvieron a su apostacia todos los mas dellos”;

§35, Zandia: “Tambien se abrasò este lugar, y la plata, y calizes que se hallaron enterrados los truxò el P. Ayeta a S. Francisco de México.”

¹⁶ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530–1888* (San Francisco: History Co. Pub., 1889), 183.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

New Mexico: *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico*. . . , published in 1937 as the third and final volume of the documents collected by Adolph and Fanny Bandelier,¹⁸ and the *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1681*, the two-volume collection of documents published in 1942 as part of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications.¹⁹ For his part, Hackett certainly gave Ayeta credit for his abilities, as suggested by the quote already cited, but his volumes on the documents of the revolt were never intended as biography.

Herbert Bolton mentioned Ayeta in his 1917 essay on the extent to which missionaries encouraged the exploration and settlement of the American frontier: "They sent home reports of the outlying tribes, of the advantages of obtaining their friendship, of the danger of foreign incursions, of the wealth and attractions of the country, and of the opportunities to extend the king's dominion. Frequently, indeed, they were called to Mexico, or even to Spain, to sit in the royal councils, where their expert opinions often furnished the primary basis of a decision to occupy a new outpost. As examples of this, near at home, we have but to recall Escobar, Benavides, and Ayeta of New Mexico; Massanet, Hidalgo, and Santa Ana of Texas, Kino of Lower California, and Serra of Alta California."²⁰

Several writers on Franciscan history in New Mexico mention Ayeta, although none of them attempts a comprehensive biography. Fray Marcellino da Civezza (1879) offers brief commentaries on two of Ayeta's works, the *Crisol de la verdad* and the *Ultimo recurso de la Provincia de San Joseph de Yucatán*, without, however, offering further biographical details.²¹ Paul J. Foik (1929), drawing on a number of published and manuscript sources, and writing in an avowedly apologetic vein, briefly describes Ayeta's role in securing assistance for the province of New Mexico in the years preceding and subsequent to the revolt.²² Marion A. Habig's three-part survey of "The Franciscan Provinces of Spanish North America" (1944) refers to Ayeta in a bibliographical note, the subject of which is actually Cogolludo's *Historia de Yucathán*, which Ayeta edited. Of Ayeta himself, Habig adds only that he "played such an important

¹⁸ Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 285–348 (covering Ayeta's years in New Mexico, 1677–1681; the 1693 memorial is not included).

¹⁹ Hackett, *Revolt*. A reprise of Hackett's own articles on the revolt are listed in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, p. 20, n. 70, and in the preface to *Revolt*, p. ix, n. 1.

²⁰ Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," in *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier*, edited by David J. Weber (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 58.

²¹ Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di bibliografia geografica, storica, etnografica sanfrancescana* (Prato: Ranieri Guasti, 1879), 29–30.

²² Paul J. Foik, "The Martyrs of the Southwest," *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society* 1, no. 1 (January 1929), 11, 15–16.

part in rescuing the survivors of the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico, 1680.”²³ Charles Piette (1947), lamenting the gaps in Franciscan historiography of New Spain, ranks Ayeta with Benavides, and mentions Ayeta’s role in the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, but he gives no details, nor does he cite further sources, either primary or secondary.²⁴ Eleanor B. Adams (1952) explains that she does not include the “energetic” Ayeta in her survey of Franciscan authors in colonial Central America because he only visited the Yucatán, and did not actually reside there.²⁵

A biographical sketch by Fidel de Jesús Chauvet (1983) covers the life and career of Ayeta in four paragraphs, the first of which reads:

Escritor franciscano. Era originario de Pamplona, en donde nació h. 1644; fueron sus padres Juan de Ayeta y Graciosa de Ascoz. Pasó a la Nueva España, tomó el hábito franciscano y profesó el 20 de noviembre de 1660. Tras haber recibido cumplida formación, fue enviado al Nuevo México y sus misiones el año de 1674, en donde se distinguió por su intrepidez y fogosidad. Posteriormente fue instituido dos veces Custodio de Nuevo México, y Visitador de la Provincia Franciscana de Yucatán. En esos años se agitaba vivamente el problema de la secularización de las

²³ Marion A. Habig, “The Franciscan Provinces of Spanish North America,” part 2, *The Americas* 1, no. 2 (October 1944), note to p. 227. A few details are briefly mentioned in Habig’s later work, *Spanish Texas Pilgrimage* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1990), where he corrects the date on the founding of the mission of Ysleta (by Ayeta and Otermín) as 1680, not 1682, and further specifies that Ysleta is not the “first” mission in Texas, being predated by Senecú in 1659 and San Angelo in 1632 (16–17); he makes passing reference to the “leadership of the Father Custos Francisco de Ayeta” and to Otermín, in bringing to El Paso the survivors of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt (227). Habig also mentions Ayeta’s list of the twenty-one Franciscan martyrs of the revolt, a transcription of which was published in Otto Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo Méjico* (Madrid: Imprenta Hijos de T. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1929), 86–89, and translated, in turn, in Habig, *Heroes of the Cross* (Paterson, N. J.: Saint Anthony Guild Press, 1947), 40–43. See also the reference to Ayeta’s preface to Sariñana y Cuenca’s funeral oration for the twenty-one martyred Franciscans, listed in Appendix B, dated 1681.

²⁴ Charles J. G. M. Piette, “Missions of Colonial New Mexico,” *The Americas* 4, no. 2 (October 1947), 248.

²⁵ Eleanor B. Adams, “A Bio-Bibliography of Franciscan Authors in Colonial Central America,” *The Americas* 8, no. 4 (April 1952), 432. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer omit entirely any discussion of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, and therefore any mention of Ayeta, in their 1986 volume titled *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: A Documentary History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), announcing that “The Pueblo Revolt has been rather thoroughly investigated and does not form a part of this study” (483). Ayeta does not figure in the study of the *Ethnic and Social Background of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth-Century Mexico*, by Francisco Morales (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973), nor in the volume, *Franciscanos y mundo religioso en México*, edited by Francisco Morales et al. (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1993).

doctrinas²⁶ de los religiosos para ponerlas en manos del clero diocesano; la discusión se extendía desde Nuevo México hasta Yucatán y mas allá. Ayeta tomó a pecho, con su habitual fogosidad, la defensa de los franciscanos y escribió extensas obras polémicas y apologéticas al respecto. Murió en Madrid por 1700.²⁷

The remaining three paragraphs of Chauvet's brief essay are dedicated to Ayeta's contributions to the controversy over the secularization of the missions—the two essays, *Crisol de la Verdad*²⁸ and *Ultimo recurso de la Provincia de San Joseph de Yucatán*—and to his edition of Diego López de Cogolludo's *Crónica de Yucatán*.

Some of the details in Chauvet are contradicted by Kessell, who sets Ayeta's date of birth at 1640 and his entry into the Franciscan order at 1659. On the date of death, Kessell states that “[Ayeta] seems to have been in Madrid in 1701, and died soon after.”²⁹

²⁶ The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (vol. D–Ñ) reveals that the word “doctrina” carried a particular meaning in the Indies: “Se llama tambien en Indias el Pueblo de Indios que se reduce a politica y a la Religion, aunque no esté fundado Curato, por no estar todavia los Indios en estado de poder contribuir ni a la Religion ni al Rey. Estos Pueblos propriamente se llaman Reducciones, aunque el vulgo los apellida Doctrinas.” Real Academia Española (Madrid: Gredos, 1990), s. v. *doctrina*.

²⁷ Fidel de Jesús Chauvet, *Franciscanos memorables en México. Ensayo histórico (1523–1982)* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Bernardino de Sahagún, A.C., 1983), 84–85. As sources for his biography of Ayeta, Chauvet cites only the work by Marcellino da Civezza (1879) (see above, and n. 21) and a manuscript by Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa: “Bezerro general menológico y chronológico de todos los religiosos que de las tres parcialidades conviene: a saber padres de España, hijos de provincia, y criollos ha avido en esta santa provincia del Santo Evangelio desde su fundación hasta el presente año de 1764 . . . ,” a copy of which is located in the Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection of the Newberry Library, available for consultation in microfilm. The Newberry Library on-line catalog specifies: “In 1792, commissioned by Viceroy Revillagigedo, [Rosa Figueroa] assembled 32 vols. of mss. pertaining to the discoveries and evangelization of New Spain, some of which are now in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City,” available at: http://library.ilcso.illinois.edu/nby/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?Search_Arg=bezerro&SL=None&Search_Code=TALL&PID=29310&SEQ=20050322191517&CNT=20&HIST=1 (accessed January 2005).

²⁸ Jaime González, theorizing that the dedication of the Franciscans to university teaching in Mexico in the seventeenth century was by way of compensation for their having had to relinquish the administration of the *doctrinas* to the diocesan clergy, refers to Ayeta's *Crisol de la verdad*: “El inteligente y ordenado alegato de Ayeta nos muestra a las claras que dicha pérdida hirió muy profundamente a los franciscanos, dedicados desde siempre de modo casi exclusivo a las doctrinas,” “Cátedras universitarias franciscanas en la América del s. xvii,” in *Actas del III Congreso Internacional sobre los Franciscanos en el Nuevo Mundo (siglo xvii)* (Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1989), 686.

²⁹ A footnote to this letter adds valuable biographical details on Ayeta's later years, as well as useful citations of primary and secondary sources: “As procurator general of the Franciscans in New Spain, he traveled to Madrid where he served effectively at court as

Antolín Abad Pérez (1992) revisits (although introducing certain errors) the narrative of Ayeta's efforts to secure the New Mexican frontier: "el procurador general padre Ayeta solicitó ayuda en víveres y soldados para defenderse de los enemigos, pero lo enviado no respondía a las necesidades y problemas. Mientras se discutió en Madrid y en el Consejo de Indias la urgencia de enviar socorros en hombres y bastimentos, el 13 de agosto de 1680 estalló la sublevación general de los apaches contra los españoles. . . ." ³⁰ Abad Pérez also discusses the place of Ayeta in the struggle between the Franciscans and the secular clergy over the "secularización de las doctrinas": "Hablando como debo a humilde y leal vasallo,

advocate for the friars. [cited from Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, eds. and trans., *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 329–330]. While in Spain, Ayeta recruited for the missions of New Mexico and Tampico a body of thirty-three friars, who arrived in New Spain in 1687. A complete listing of this contingent is in AGI, Contratación 5.546. Father Ayeta returned to New Spain in 1689 [cited from Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables, 1655–1703* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1946), 2:178]. He seems to have been in Madrid in 1701 and died soon after. [cited from AGI, Indiferente General 3.054]." Kessell et al., *Remote Beyond Compare*, 171–172, n. 2. A passing detail in another letter from Vargas to his son-in-law (Santa Fe, 11 March 1699), makes clear that Ayeta was in Mexico City as late as 1699: "Father Ayeta, procurator general of the entire Franciscan province of El Santo Evangelio, is in Mexico City. . ." (*ibid.*, 197).

The entry on Ayeta in the *Handbook of Texas*, by Donald Chipman, offers a few items of biographical information, and a brief resume of events in New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt, ending with the information that Ayeta, "in ill health and physically impaired, left the frontier and returned to Spain in 1683. There he took up his pen in defense of the missionary (regular) clergy, who were increasingly challenged by bishops and the secular clergy. Ayeta died in Spain during the decade of the 1690s. He has been called one of New Mexico's greatest men," *Handbook of Texas Online*, "Ayeta, Francisco de," available at: www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/AA/fay9.htm (accessed October 2002). Chipman cites as his sources Castañeda (1936–1958), Sonnichsen (1968–1980), and Timmons (1990).

Timmons's focus is the history of El Paso, Texas. He mentions "a letter written by Fray Francisco de Ayeta, probably in February 1682" that refers to three Spanish settlements in the area—San Lorenzo, San Pedro de Alcántara, and the Presidio of San José—and five Indian missions—"Guadalupe, Santísimo Sacramento de la Ysleta, Senecú, Santa Gertrudis de los Sumas, and San Francisco de los Sumas, as well as Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, located at Janos to the southwest," *El Paso: A Borderlands History* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1990), n. 38.

Helen Simons and Cathryn A. Hoyt also cite the role of Ayeta and Otermín in founding the Texas mission of San Antonio de Senecú in 1682 "for Piro and Tampiro Indians" and the mission at Ysleta "originally known as Corpus Christi de la Isleta del Sur . . . for the Tigua Indians, refugees of the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico." *Hispanic Texas: A Historical Guide* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 276 and 278–279, respectively.

³⁰ Antolín Abad Pérez, *Los Franciscanos en América* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), 110; no reference is made to Hackett or to any other American historian of the borderlands.

yo y la Religión de San Francisco ponemos a los pies de Vuestra Magestad y renunciamos las que llaman Doctrinas, la gran conversión de Nuevo México, de tantos millares de indios; la que se va haciendo en la Huasteca, en la Florida, en Xacatecas, Guatemala, Yucatán, etc.”³¹

Within the United States, historians of the American Southwest view Ayeta almost exclusively within the context of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, relying in the main on the documents translated by Hackett. Max L. Moorhead (1961), in his discussion of the presidio supply system in northern New Spain, mentions Ayeta only in a note, citing a document in Hackett (1937).³² Frank D. Reeve (1961) refers often to the “indefatigable” Father Ayeta in the course of his account of “The War for Independence” (his name for the 1680 Pueblo Revolt).³³ C. L. Sonnichsen (1968) gives a prominent place to Ayeta in his discussion of El Paso in the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, *inter alia*, calling him “a man of much refinement and great modesty.”³⁴

Edward P. Dozier (1970) includes only one brief reference to Ayeta; although no explicit citation occurs in the text, the source of his information is clearly Hackett (1942).³⁵ Nicholas P. Houser (1979) mentions Ayeta in an article on the Ysleta del Sur pueblo, which was originally founded as a new dwelling for the Tiwa Indians who had been captured after the 1680 revolt and marched to El Paso: “Indians were separated from Europeans on the insistence of Fray Francisco de Ayeta. . . . This was done to maintain the policy of ethnic separation practiced in New Mexico, to prevent arguments arising over land and livestock, and to protect Spanish settlers from an epidemic among the Indians.”³⁶

³¹ *Ibid.*, 143. The author refers, at p. 146, to a work by A López, which I have yet to consult—“Notas de biografía francescana,” *Archivo Ibero-americano* 28 (1927): 197–222—, calling it “un estudio medido del libro del padre Ayeta y de estas medidas de secularización de la doctrina.”

³² Moorhead, “The Private Contract System,” 32, n. 2.

³³ Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1961), 266. References to Ayeta, all in the context of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, occur between pp. 262 and 275.

³⁴ C. L. Sonnichsen, *Pass of the North: Four Centuries on the Rio Grande* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1968), 26.

³⁵ Edward P. Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), 58.

³⁶ Nicholas P. Houser, “Tigua Pueblo,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9: *Southwest* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 339. Houser cites Hackett, *Revolt*, as his source for the Pueblo Revolt; Anne E. Hughes, “The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District,” *University of California Publications in History* 1, no. 3 (1914): 295–392, for the policy of “ethnic separation”; and Vina Walz, “History of the El Paso Area, 1680–1692” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1951) for information on El Paso. I have not yet been able to consult the latter two works, nor a 1962 master’s thesis by Russell L. Hankins, “Fray Francisco de Ayeta in the Service of New Mexico,

John L. Kessell (1987), in a work that predates his several volumes on the Vargas papers (cited above), discusses Ayeta's key role in the events in New Mexico between 1674 and 1681; his sources are explicitly cited as Hackett (1937, 1942).³⁷ J. Manuel Espinosa (1988), writing of the 1696 Pueblo Revolt, refers to the earlier revolt and to Ayeta's "leading part in the resettlement of the fugitives in the El Paso district and in the plans to reconquer the province in 1681."³⁸

The few documents on the 1680 Pueblo Revolt that David H. Snow (1992) includes, in a volume in the "Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks" series, are autos that were drawn up by Otermín in August 1680, immediately after the revolt and before his meeting up with Father Ayeta; the text is taken directly from Hackett (1942).³⁹ No reference to Francisco de Ayeta is to be found in the index to David J. Weber's *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992), but in fact, Ayeta is mentioned three times, albeit only in footnotes, each of them citations of a letter from Governor Antonio de Otermín, dated 8 September 1680. Weber's cited source is, exclusively, Hackett (1942).⁴⁰ Similarly, despite Andrew L. Knaut's statement that his book on the revolt, published in 1995, is an "attempt to carve out a more encompassing perspective" and that he hopes "to breathe new historical life into the experiences of its central actors—the Pueblo Indians," Knaut cites no new primary sources, and all references to Ayeta lead, again, to Hackett (1937, 1942).⁴¹

1673–1683." The matter of why the Franciscans wished to keep the Spaniards separate from the Indians certainly deserves a more detailed commentary.

The 1680 Pueblo Revolt, its background, and its aftermath, are mentioned in several articles in volume 9 of the *Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians*, but Francisco de Ayeta is mentioned explicitly only by Houser. I have already observed elsewhere that the general tenor of remarks in the *Handbook* offers further justification for pursuing the program of Spanish editions of the documents of the period; see De Marco, "Voices from the Archives, I: Testimony of the Pueblo Indians on the 1680 Pueblo Revolt," *Romance Philology* 53 (spring 2000), 388, n. 9.

³⁷ Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, 222–224, 236–237, 240–241. See also n. 2 above, citing Kessell's several volumes on the Vargas papers.

³⁸ J. Manuel Espinosa, *The Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1696 and the Franciscan Missions in New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 32.

³⁹ "Autos drawn up as a result of the rebellion of the Christian Indians [Santa Fe, August 9 1680]," in *The Native American and Spanish Colonial Experience in the Greater Southwest*, vol. 1: *Introduction to the Documentary Records*, edited by David H. Snow (New York: Garland), 383–387. See the corresponding documents in Hackett, *Revolt*, 3 ff.

⁴⁰ David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), nn. 80, 87, and 90. A translation of this letter was made available on the website that accompanied the PBS program, "New Perspectives on the West," an eight-part documentary series that premiered on PBS stations in September 1996, available at: www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/one/pueblo.htm (accessed October 2004).

⁴¹ Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 14, 156, 163, 172

In 2002, the archaeologist Curtis F. Schaafsma published a study titled "Pueblo and Apachean Alliance Formation in the Seventeenth Century," adducing Ayeta's statements concerning the Apaches; once more, the citations come exclusively from Hackett (1937, 1942).⁴²

Given the role of Ayeta in this period of American history, it is worth giving some further consideration to the historiography of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. It cannot have escaped notice that the works of American archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians, writing on the revolt in the course of the last sixty years, all demonstrate a singular reliance on documents of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt as translated and presented by Charles Wilson Hackett. There is no denying that the Hackett compilation was a significant one for its time. As Hackett himself wrote in 1911, "Since 1869, when W. W. H. Davis published his popular history of *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, practically no new light has been thrown upon the events attending the revolt of the Pueblo Indians of that province in 1680. For the preparation of the part of his book dealing with this subject, Davis used principally the *Extractos* of the original *autos* of the revolt and of the first attempt at reconquest, which he found at Santa Fe. But there have recently come to light in the Mexican archives the originals of the *autos* themselves, and a comparison of them with the *Extractos* shows that the latter are relatively very meager indeed. This fact, together with the renewed and growing interest in the history of the Southwest, is ample justification for studying anew this important period in the Spanish régime in New Mexico."⁴³

Yet already in 1943 the eminent historian Lansing Bloom leveled severe criticisms against Hackett's 1942 *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico*, inter alia, for his "reliance on transcripts rather than originals or facsimiles." It is worth quoting Bloom's review of Hackett at some length:

(not 171, as given in the index), and n. 3 on p. 213; the quoted passages occur on pp. xv and xvii, respectively.

I mention only in passing, Jim Norris, *After "The Year Eighty": The Demise of Franciscan Power in Spanish New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, in cooperation with the Academy of American Franciscan History, 2000), the stated purpose of which is "to examine how the demise of Franciscan authority occurred" after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt (p. 5). The 1680 Pueblo Revolt is briefly noted in chapter two, "Franciscans in New Mexico to 1692," with any mention of Father Ayeta conspicuous by its absence.

⁴² Curtis F. Schaafsma, "Pueblo and Apachean Alliance Formation in the Seventeenth Century," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 205.

⁴³ Charles Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 15, no. 2 (October 1911), 93. This statement is reiterated, and updated, in the preface to his 1942 compilation, cited in n. 10 above.

Apparently he knows A.G.I. Guadalajara 138 only through secondary transcripts . . . nor does he anywhere explain that the “testimonio de los auttos tocantes” and the “testimonio de los auttos pertenecientes” are not originals but contemporary certified transcripts. The originals of both these sets of autos he finds correctly at Mexico City in A.G.N. Provincias Internas 37 and 34, respectively; but these again he knows only through second-hand copies, although the originals were among the great number of records photographed for New Mexico in 1930, and for some years they have been accessible at the Coronado Library of the University of New Mexico.

He tells us (I, pg. xi) that the Bancroft compilation known as “N. Mex. Docs.” was copied chiefly from A.G.N. Historia 25 and 26, in Mexico; but he does not evaluate this material. Not only is it inferior to the originals in Provincias Internas [37 and 34], but also to the transcripts in A.G.I. Guadalajara 138; the latter were contemporary copies whereas these in Mexico City were made less carefully and a century later. Even so, facsimiles of A.G.N. Historia 25–26 have been accessible for some years but Dr. Hackett has been satisfied to work from transcripts which he knew were defective. . . .

It would make our review far more technical than it already is, to discuss the various places where documents have been published out of proper relation to each other and without any editorial explanation. This may be due in part to defects in the transcripts used, but in any case it is disconcerting. The careful student will have to go repeatedly to the originals—and this is not easy because most of the citations are inadequate.⁴⁴

This crucial issue in the matter of the historiography of the American Southwest—that of reliance on original documents—was also taken up by Joseph P. Sánchez, in his review of Knaut (1995). Sánchez, although complementing the author for his skill in constructing a narrative of the events of the Pueblo Revolt, criticized Knaut for what he called a “lack of originality.”

The research methodology, while well planned, lacks the strength of archival research. Almost all the citations are from well known printed sources that were, in the main, published between the 1920s and 1960s. An updated bibliography similarly reflects the use of these time tested sources. There are many other sources, however, that have never seen the light of day as printed sources and have either not been, or have yet to be, retrieved from archival depositories. Not all such records, as the author claims, were destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt.⁴⁵

This review of the literature has suggested the degree to which accounts of the period written in the United States have depended on the translated documents in Hackett (1937, 1942). Clearly, it is insufficient, and no longer justified,

⁴⁴ Lansing Bloom, “Review of Hackett 1942,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 18, no. 1 (January 1943): 97–101. Bloom’s review includes several paragraphs of specific and detailed corrections of faulty transcriptions and translations, which I do not repeat here.

⁴⁵ Joseph P. Sánchez, “Review of Knaut 1995,” *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (summer 1995): 346–347.

to continue to rely so heavily on the documents assembled by Hackett for a history of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt.

Since 1996, and in collaboration with Jerry R. Craddock, I have been involved in a large-scale project to make available reliable editions of original Spanish documents of the exploration and settlement of New Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the first fruits of this long-range editorial project, known as "The Cíbola Project," are several publications that discuss Francisco de Ayeta.⁴⁶ To answer in part the serious methodological objections raised by Bloom in his review of Hackett, I have already transcribed, from the original manuscripts in the archives in Seville and Mexico City, the documents that formed the backbone of the Hackett publications, including AGI Guadalajara 138 and AGN Provincias Internas 34 and 37. To facilitate access, a catalog of these documents is in preparation, to be cross-referenced to the citations in Hackett (1937, 1942). In addition, manuscripts relating to Ayeta from the Archivo Franciscano in Mexico City (Appendix A) will be transcribed and cross-referenced to this central body of documents. The Archivo Franciscano materials no doubt include copies of the documents already known to us through Hackett (1937, 1942), but even a cursory glance suggests that they will also offer new information on the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, material that has yet to be transcribed and published.

Under the sponsorship of the Cíbola Project, Ayeta's 1963 memorial to the viceroy (AGI Guadalajara 139) will be the centerpiece of a series of electronic editions, the primary purpose of which is to make accessible (to the interested public as much as to the specialist) facsimiles of the original manuscripts and transcriptions of those manuscripts, along with historical and linguistic annotations. This long-term project to disseminate original documents relating to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt will emphasize Ayeta's central role, extending over two decades, in this critical period in the history of New Mexico.

In the wider interests of Franciscan historiography, it is surely time to attempt a fuller biography of Francisco de Ayeta, and not only in regard to his central role in the drama of the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. For purposes of such a biography, I have appended several lists of primary sources that relate to the career and the concerns of Fray Ayeta, both in New Mexico and elsewhere. The list is fairly complete for the original documents of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt (Appendix A). Regarding the person of Francisco de Ayeta, however, it cannot be considered exhaustive. To the list of known copies of individual documents held by various

⁴⁶ Full details of "The Cíbola Project," including a bibliography and list of collaborators, are available at: <http://ist-socrates.berkeley.edu/~rescent/cibProsp.html> (accessed January 2005). One of the collaborators in that project, Juan Sempere Martínez, is preparing an authoritative critical edition of the "autos tocantes a socorros del Nuevo Mexico" (Archivo General de la Nación [henceforth, AGN] Provincias Internas 37, exp. 7).

libraries (Appendix B) must be added the several dozen original manuscripts culled from Hermenegildo Zamora's 1989 survey of the Archivo General de Indias, 1651–1700, in which Ayeta was mentioned repeatedly and in various contexts (summary in Appendix C); to that extensive survey we must add yet further documents from AGI Mexico, legajo 310 (Appendix D).⁴⁷

As Bandelier wrote, Ayeta "investigated in person the most remote missions,"⁴⁸ not just New Mexico. The documents listed in the appendices bear witness to his active concerns in Florida, Cuba, Nicaragua, Chile, Peru, and Venezuela, as well as in various provinces of Mexico and in the present-day American Southwest.⁴⁹ A biography of Fray Francisco de Ayeta will be a service not only to the historiography of the American Southwest, but also to the historiography of the Franciscan enterprise in the Indies.

APPENDIX A. PRIMARY SOURCES RELATING TO CAREER OF FRANCISCO DE AYETA, VIS-À-VIS NEW MEXICO AND THE 1680 PUEBLO REVOLT

AGI Guadalajara 138: various documents regarding New Mexico, 1679–1682, fols. 97–859

AGI Guadalajara 139: 1693 memorial, fols. 984v–1012v

AGN Provincias Internas 34, exp. 2 fols. 1–151; "Autos pertenecientes a el alçamiento . . ."

AGN Provincias Internas 35, exp. 2, fols. 46–85, and exp. 6, fols. 138–200

AGN Provincias Internas 37, exp. 7: "Autos tocantes a socorros del Nuevo México," fols. 311–436⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Zamora, "Contenido franciscano." The relevant documents are listed in Appendix C. Zamora surveyed the *secciones* entitled Buenos Aires, Caracas, Chile, Charcas, Filipinas, Guatemala, Indiferente General, Lima, Mexico, Quito, and Santo Domingo. In addition to that list, there are five *memoriales* and two *expedientes* in AGI Mexico, legajo 310 (84 folios, unnumbered), in which Ayeta is mentioned by name. I would like to express my appreciation to Magdalena Canellas Anoz, *directora*, and to Belen Garcia Lopez, head of the Sección de Archivos, for searching through legajo 310 for documents mentioning Ayeta, and for sending copies of the relevant materials. Their description is included here as Appendix D.

⁴⁸ Bandelier, "Fray Francisco de Ayeta." Inter alia, in Peru in December of 1691, Ayeta founded, and was first director of, the Colegio San Buenaventura (the present-day Colegio Particular San Francisco de Asís, in the Provincia Franciscana de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú). See the province's website, available at: www.12apostoles.org.pe/nuestraprovincia/colegios/sfco_cusco/ (accessed January 2005).

⁴⁹ Carlos Salinas Araneda lists several letters from the Consejo de Indias in Madrid to Ayeta, dated February 1697, relating to the solicitation of missionaries for Chile. See "Catálogo de los libros registros del censualario chileno, 1573–1727," *Revista de estudios histórico-jurídicos* 19 (1997), available at: www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttest&pid=S0716-545519 . . . (accessed January 2005).

⁵⁰ Transcripts of a later copy, AGN Historia 26, fols. 28v ff., are included in the appendix to Luis González Obregón, ed., "Documentos para la Historia del Nuevo México, formados

Archivo Franciscano (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)⁵¹: *caja 12*, nos. 862, 863 (10 fols.); *caja 19*, nos. 1284, 1286 (6 fols.); *caja 20* in its entirety, that is, nos. 1290 to 1304 (including 89 fols. of "Autos y diligencias sobre la sublevación" and 188 fols. of "autos remitidos" taken during the 1681–1682 campaign of reconquest) (388 fols.); *caja 21*, nos. 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1312, 1318, 1361 (161 fols.); *caja 22*, nos. 1377 and 1378 (4 fols.); *caja 45*, nos. 3142, 3144 (5 fols.)

APPENDIX B. PRIMARY SOURCES RELATING TO CAREER OF FRANCISCO DE AYETA, AS DESCRIBED IN VARIOUS LIBRARY CATALOGS

1671 [Hernando de la Rúa] "Manifestación breve . . . de la persecución que ha padecido y padece la religion seráfica en las provincias de Nueva España . . . dado a la estampa por el padre predicador fray Francisco de Ayeta . . ." (Biblioteca Nacional de Chile; Brown University; Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley; Indiana University; University of California, Berkeley; University of Iowa; University of Utah)

1681 [Ayeta dedicates to the king his preface to Ysidro Sariñana y Cuenca's "Oración funebre," delivered in Mexico City, 20 March 1681, to honor the twenty-one Franciscan martyrs of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt] (Bancroft Library; New York Public Library)

1683 "Defensa de la verdad, consagrada a la luz de la justicia . . ." (Brown University; Georgetown University; Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley; University of Texas, Austin)

1686 "Don Iuan Diaz de la Calle y Madrigal . . . certificò que el Padre Fray Francisco de Ayeta . . . ha presentado ante los señores del dicho consejo un memorial" (University of California, Berkeley; Georgetown University)

1686 "El Rey . . . a ynstancia de Fray Francisco de Ayeta . . . le he concedido treinta religiosos sacerdotes de su orden y tres legos . . ." (AGN Mexico, Reales Cédulas Principales 21, expediente 11, fol. 29; transcript in Scholes Collection, University of New Mexico)

1686 "El Rey. Por quanto Fr. Francisco de Ayeta . . . me ha representado que de muchos años a esta parte los curas regulares y demas doctrineros, se hallaron en posesión de casar a sus feligreses . . ." (University of California, Berkeley)

1688 "Señor. Fray Francisco de Ayeta . . . dize que estando a cargo de la religion las conversiones del Rio Verde, Panuco, y Tampico . . ." (Brown University)

1688 [?] "Señor. Fray Francisco de Ayeta . . . dize que por dos reales cédulas . . ." (Brown University)

1688 [Francisco de Ayeta, editor] Diego Lopez Cogolludo, *Historia de Yucathan* (inter alia: Harvard University; Huntington Library; Library of Congress; Museum of New Mexico; New Mexico State University; New York Public Library; Public Library of Cincinnati; Southern Methodist University; SUNY Albany; University of California, Berkeley; University of Illinois; University of Pennsylvania; University of Texas, Austin)

por D. Antonio de Otermín, sobre el levantamiento del año de 1680," in *Historia de La Nueva México por el Capitán Gaspar de Villagrà*, 2: *Apéndice tercero*, "Documentos inéditos tomados de un volumen de papeles varios que se conserva en la Biblioteca del Museo Nacional . . ." (Mexico City: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1900), 11–82.

⁵¹ The citations follow the catalog by Ignacio Del Río, *Guía del Archivo Franciscano de la Biblioteca Nacional de México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975).

1689 [?] "Carta al rey sobre los misiones del norte" (University of Texas, Austin)

1689 "Representación . . . en favor de la Provincia de Xalisco . . ." (University of Texas, Austin)

1689 "Señor. Fray Francisco de Ayeta . . . dize que por decreto de 26 de enero deste año, se sirvió V. Magestad de mandar se hiziesse notorio al suplicante el pedimento . . . sobre si ay o no obligación en los preladados regulares . . ." (Indiana University; New York Public Library; University of California, Berkeley)

1689 "Yo, Pedro de Arce y Andrade, escrivano del rey . . . certifico y doy fe que . . . el M. R. P. Francisco de Ayeta exhibió ante mi 39 cédulas de Su Magestad y una Bula del Sr. Clemente X. . ." (Georgetown University; Indiana University)

1690 [Apologia del Orden de S. Francisco en la América] (University of California, Berkeley; University of Pennsylvania)

1693 *Crisol de la Verdad* (Archivo Franciscano [Cholula]; Boston Public Library; Georgetown University; Indiana University; Lehigh University; Library of Congress; New York Public Library; St. Bonaventure University; Tulane University; University of California, Berkeley; University of Pennsylvania; University of Texas, Austin; Yale University)

1693 "Don Juan Diaz de la Calle y Madrigal . . . certifico que el R. P. Fr. Francisco de Ayeta . . . presentò un memorial . . . intitulado *Crisol de la Verdad* . . ." (Real Biblioteca, Madrid; Georgetown University; University of Texas, Austin)

1693 [Memorial de fray Francisco de Ayeta sobre la materia de doctrinas] (Real Biblioteca, Madrid)

1693 "Fr. Julian Chumillas . . . al R. P. Fr. Francisco de Ayeta . . ." [certifies that the council accepts the corrected version of Ayeta's *Memorial*] (Georgetown University)

1693–1694 Fr. Ayeta forwards reports on the missions of Coahuila (AGI Guadalajara 67-4-13; transcripts in the Newberry Library, Ayer MS 1236)

1694 [Memorial de fray Francisco de Ayeta a S. M. sobre las doctrinas, 1694] (Real Biblioteca, Madrid)

1694 "Ultimo recurso de la provincia de San Joseph de Yucathán . . . Sobre diferentes doctrinas, que con violentos despojos . . . se han usurpado a dicha provincia . . ." (Academy of American Franciscan History; Indiana University; Library of Congress; University of Texas, Austin)

1695 "Treinta y nueve cédulas con respecto a la religión de San Francisco en Nueva España" [Orders issued by the king of Spain, assembled at the request of Francisco de Ayeta, regarding the restoration of missions to the Franciscans] (Brown University; University of California, Berkeley)

1695 [Memorial al Consejo de Indias sobre las doctrinas de la Puebla, Madrid] (Real Biblioteca, Madrid)

1699 "Discurso legal que propone el padre Fr. Francisco Ayeta . . . por la provincia de Quito . . ." (Brown University; Georgetown University; Indiana University; University of Texas, Austin)

1701 [Autos of the Fiscal with Francisco de Ayeta, in Peru] (AGI, Escribania de Cámara numero 1049, Consejo, Pleitos, Legajo 44, 26f)⁵²

1701 "El rey. Por quanto por despacho de 24 de septiembre . . . de 1688 expedido a instancia de fray Francisco de Ayeta . . ." (Brown University; University of Iowa)

⁵² As cited in "Archival Notes of Santiago Montero Diaz from the Archivo General de Indias," *Inter-American Notes* 46, no. 1 (1989): 71.

APPENDIX C. ADDITIONAL PRIMARY SOURCES RELATING TO THE CAREER OF
FRANCISCO DE AYETA (ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS;
BASED ON ZAMORA [1989])

I. "Expediciones misioneras"

1686 mission to Guatemala, "a instancia de Fr. Francisco de Ayeta" (p. 203, nos. 164–167; Indiferente General, legajo 2876, FF 8, fols. 101v–102, 105v–107, 111v, 147–148)

1687–1690 Fr. Ayeta to choose a comisario to accompany the mission to Yucatán (pp. 204, 207 nos. 174–177, 199; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 8, fols. 178, 204, 211, 111v–112; FF 9, fols. 227v–229)

1688–1690 mission to Florida (pp. 205–207, nos. 183, 193–195, 197, 204; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 9, fols. 21v–22, 183–190, 201v–203v, 254v–257v)

1688–1689 mission to Nicaragua (pp. 205–206, nos. 180–182, 186–187, 190; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 9, fols. 16–19, 52v–55, 89v–90v)

1691 mission to Zacatecas (p. 207, nos. 205–206; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 9, fols. 264, 285)

1693–1695 Fr. Ayeta to name a comisario to accompany the mission to Florida (pp. 208–209, nos. 215, 221, 226; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 10, fols. 135–136; FF 11, fols. 5–6v, 71–73)

1697 Fr. Ayeta, as acting Comisario General en Corte, to name missionaries for Chile (pp. 209–210, nos. 230–235, 237–238; Chile, leg. 168, exp. 7, fols. 121, 125v–126v, 133, 138v–140, 146v–157)

1699 Fr. Ayeta petitions to send mission to the Provincia de Santiago de Jalisco (p. 211, no. 250; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 11, fol. 255)

1699 Fr. Ayeta's various activities on behalf of missions to Zacatecas, Provincia del Santo Evangelio, Provincia del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus (pp. 211–212, nos. 252–255, 258; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 11, fols. 274–275, 319–324)

II. "Regreso de misioneros a España"

1680 (Feb. 14) Permission for Ayeta, then residing in Nueva España, to return to Spain, "para venir a informar a la Corte sobre asuntos del servicio real" (p. 311, n. 51, no. 62; Indiferente General, leg. 2875, FF 7, fols. 171v–172)

III. "Regreso de religiosos a Indias"

1673 (June 20) Permission for Ayeta to return to Nueva España (p. 314, n. 52, no. 43; Indiferente General, leg. 2875, FF 6, fol. 151)

IV. "Expediciones misioneras en Indias"

1687 (Sept. 26) request that the viceroy send 20 missionaries to assist in the *conversiones* of the Río del Norte [mentions Fr. Nicolás López, then Custodio of the Province of New Mexico] (p. 216, no. 274; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 8, fols. 234–235v)

1688–1689 application by Ayeta, "Custodio del Sto. Evangelio y Procurador Gen. de aquellas Provincias," to send missionaries to "una región de Venezuela llamada [Es] Tequere" (p. 216, nos. 275–278; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 9, fols. 15–16, 38v–42)

VI. "Nuevas fundaciones"

1686 at the request of Ayeta, authorizing the construction of a new *convento* in Santiago de Cuba (p. 241, no. 469; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 8, fols. 159v–160v)

1688 (Sept 24) "A la Audiencia de Guadalajara, para que informe sobre la pretensión de Fr. Francisco de Ayeta, Custodio y Procurador General de las Provincias de la Nueva España, de declarar por conventos las cabeceras de doctrinas" (p. 241, no. 470; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 8, fols. 310–311)

VII. "Actos censurables"

1686–1687 re: Fray Cristóbal de Miranda and "dos muchachos indios" (pp. 251–252, nos. 547–554, 556–557; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 8, fols. 110v–116v, 124, 130, 204v–206)

X. "Temas varios"

1693 (June 23) From D. Juan de Larrea to Ayeta, on his 1693 memorial to the viceroy, regarding the restoration of New Mexico to the Crown (see n. 4 above) (p. 295, no. 860; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 10, fol. 118r–v).

1695 To the governor of Venezuela, requesting that the administration of the doctrinas be returned to the Franciscans "según informes de Fr. Francisco de Ayeta, Procurador General de todas las Indias" (pp. 297–298, no. 883; Indiferente General, leg. 2876, FF 10, fols. 235v–238).

APPENDIX D. PRIMARY SOURCES, RELATING TO FRANCISCO DE AYETA (AGI MEXICO, LEGAJO 310; DESCRIPTION BY GARCÍA LÓPEZ [2003])

1. Extracto de memorial del Padre Francisco de Ayeta . . . en que solicita la cédula de confirmación de una cátedra en la Universidad de México que sirve el Padre José Sánchez . . . Visto en el Consejo en 25 de enero de 1687. 6 folios y 2 hojas en 4º.

2. Extracto de memorial del Padre Francisco de Ayeta . . . solicitando licencia para que puedan pasar a la Nueva España 30 religiosos de su Orden. Consejo, 8 de marzo de 1686 . . . 4 folios.

3. Memorial y Extracto del mismo del Padre Francisco de Ayeta . . . solicitando que el pago del pasaje a la Nueva España de los 30 religiosos . . . se haga con cargo a las Cajas Reales de Veracruz. Consejo, 14 de marzo de 1686. 4 folios.

4. Expediente sobre memorial del Padre Francisco de Ayeta . . . en que solicita licencia para que puedan pasar a la Nueva España 30 religiosos y 3 legos . . . y que se le libre la cantidad correspondiente para el pasaje. Consejo 25 de enero de 1687 . . . 12 folios y 4 hojas en 4º.

5. Expediente sobre carta del Padre Francisco de Ayeta . . . en que solicita que se de orden a los oficiales reales de Yucatán de que cada año paguen a los religiosos de su Orden el importe del vino y aceite que se usa para celebrar y alumbrar al Santísimo, por el tiempo que S. M. les conceda. Consejo, 25 de enero de 1687. 6 folios.

6. Memorial del Padre Francisco de Ayeta . . . en que solicita que se le aprueben las patentes y poderes para su resguardo. Consejo, 18 de febrero de 1686. 1 folio y 2 hojas en 4º.

7. Memorial y extracto del mismo del Padre Francisco de Ayeta . . . en que solicita copias de tres cédulas para que se cumpla un breve del S. S. el Papa, sobre informaciones en los matrimonios. Consejo, 19 de noviembre de 1686. 11 folios y 2 hojas en 4º.

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