

# The Pueblo Revolt and Its Aftermath

Ramón A. Gutiérrez

## INTRODUCTION

*In 1598, Don Juan de Oñate established the first permanent Spanish colony in New Mexico, choosing a location along the banks of the upper Rio Grande River on which to settle the five hundred members of his expedition. The Spanish presence in New Mexico, although it probably never exceeded three thousand individuals, had dramatic consequences for the Pueblo Indians, the area's scattered and ethnically diverse indigenous peoples. Many were killed by the introduction of European epidemic diseases, and others were used by the Spanish to provide labor, clothing, and food. Moreover, Franciscan priests forced Indians to convert to Catholicism, a process that the friars sought to expedite by destroying the icons and rituals important to native religion. Indian resistance to these measures, though answered by the Spanish with considerable violence, continued throughout the seventeenth century.*

*This selection from Ramón Gutiérrez's acclaimed social history of the Pueblo Indians considers the most famous of these rebellions, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. As Gutiérrez explains, religious persecution coupled with an especially severe period of drought and famine led Pueblos throughout New Mexico to turn on their Spanish rulers in near unanimity. Gutiérrez pays particular attention to the religious revivalism of Popé, the Tewa medicine man who coordinated the assault, noting his assurances to his followers that the elimination of the Spaniards would restore the social and spiritual customs disrupted by the intruders. Gutiérrez illuminates the depth of native anger over Spanish treatment of Indian religion in his discussion of the Puebloans' careful destruction of Christian symbols. For their part, the Spanish understood the revolt as a clear rejection of Christianity.*

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*Although in a matter of weeks the Indians had driven the Spaniards from New Mexico, killing more than four hundred of the province's twenty-five hundred foreigners and displacing the rest, by 1694 the Spanish had subjugated those Pueblos still in rebellion. With the crushing of a large revolt in 1696, Spanish dominion over New Mexico was complete. And yet the reinstatement of Spanish rule saw the easing of Franciscan strictures and official demands on native labor.*

- *With such considerations in mind, should the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 be seen as a success or failure?*
- *How does this episode challenge or confirm standard interpretations of early Indian-European encounters?*

The years 1666 to 1670 were marked by drought and meager maize production. Famine swept the land in 1670, and a decade of pestilence and death followed. The Indian population, which in 1638 had totaled roughly 40,000, by 1670 had fallen to 17,000. To complicate matters, in 1672 hordes of hungry Apaches and Navajos in similarly desperate straits began attacking the kingdom's settlements with unprecedented regularity, killing and stealing, and carrying off whatever food they found. The Puebloans' discontent hardly needed stoking. For years they had resented the Spanish, and now they spoke openly of rebellion. The medicine men told their tribesmen that the reason they suffered so was because their ancient gods were angry. If they offered the katsina gifts and respect, they would surely bless them with rainfall, fertility, and happiness. The first group to openly defy colonial rule were the Tewa, the Indians who had had the closest contact with the Spaniards during the seventeenth century. In 1673 they publicly performed prohibited dances, making offerings to their gods and begging them to return. The medicine men worked feverishly, placing hexes on the Christians and stealing their hearts. Apparently their magic worked. In 1675 alone, Indian witchcraft was blamed for sending seven friars and three settlers to their graves.<sup>1</sup>

Ominous forebodings of events to come were everywhere. In 1672, the Jumano Indians of Abó Pueblo revolted, burning their church and murdering Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala. Before killing Father Pedro with blows from their tomahawks, the Indians stripped him, placed a rope around his neck, and cruelly flogged him. His naked body was found hugging a cross and an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In an act symbolic of the death-blow the Indians believed they had given Christ and the Trinity, three lambs whose throats had been slashed were placed at the martyr's feet. The message was unequivocal. Yet one friar read it as saying that the Franciscans were "like

<sup>1</sup> Petition of Fray Francisco de Ayeta, May 10, 1679, *HD*, p. 302; *RBM*, p. 292.

lamb among wolves, and these three lambs gave testimony that the dead father was a lamb." Three years later, in 1675, the Virgin Mary of Toledo appeared to a sickly New Mexican girl, cured her illness, and ordered her to "arise and announce to this custody that it will soon be destroyed for the lack of reverence that it shows its priests." The Virgin's apparition sparked a flurry of high Masses throughout the province and prompted Fray Juan de Jesús to urge his brother at San Diego de Jémez Mission to cease construction on the colaterals he was building on the church's nave. Time would be spent best "uniting ourselves with God and preparing to die for our Holy Faith," Fray Juan de Jesús advised, "for the colaterals will soon end in the ashes and many of us in death."<sup>2</sup>

Governor Juan Francisco Treviño, who had arrived in the province in 1675, dealt with the widespread Indian sedition by launching a campaign against idolatry. At Nambé, San Felipe, and Jémez he had known "sorcerers" hung. Forty-seven medicine men who admitted practicing witchcraft were arrested, flogged, and sold into slavery. Before these men could be taken out of the kingdom, the Tewa, armed with clubs and shields, descended on Santa Fe demanding that Treviño release them, threatening to kill him and all the colonists if he refused. The governor pleaded: "Wait a while, children, I will give them to you and pardon them on condition that you forsake idolatry and iniquity." The Indians stood firm. Treviño capitulated.<sup>3</sup>

The confrontation between Treviño and the Tewa over the medicine men indicated how radicalized and defiant the Puebloans had become. One of the men who felt the sting of Treviño's whip was Popé, a San Juan medicine man. Convinced that the yoke of subjugation could no longer be tolerated, Popé moved from San Juan to Taos, the northernmost pueblo, to escape the governor's watchful eye and to plot a provincewide revolt. At Taos, Popé conferred with the caciques of the surrounding pueblos, with the war chiefs who had been marginalized by the superior force of the Spaniards, and with Pueblo dissidents who had escaped the missions' tyranny and taken refuge among the Apaches.

Popé's genius lay in his brilliant organizational skills and his ability to inflame the popular imagination through the millenarianism he articulated. He told the disaffected, the hungry, and the displaced that their ancient gods would not return bearing gifts of happiness and prosperity until the Christians and their God were dead. Then their sadness and misery would end, for they would be as they had been at the time of emergence from the

<sup>2</sup> *TM*, vol. 4, pp. 286–87; *RBM*, p. 292; Defouri, *The Martyrs of New Mexico*, pp. 35–37; Petition of Fray Francisco de Ayeta, May 10, 1679, *HD*, p. 298. Various authors—Vetancurt, Benavides, Defouri—claim that Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala was killed at Hawikuh. Fray Francisco de Ayeta said that Fra Pedro died at Abó, and since the two men were in New Mexico at the same time, I have accepted his account as true. *TM*, vol. 3, pp. 274, 281–82.

<sup>3</sup> Declarations of Luís de Quintana and Diego López, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 289–90, 300. Declaration of Diego López, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 301.

underworld. "They would gather large crops of grain, maize with large and thick ears, many bundles of cotton, many calabashes and watermelons," and would enjoy abundant health and leisure. To those elders and chiefs who had been flayed by the friars for their polygamous marriages, or sheared of their hair as fornicators, Popé promised that "who shall kill a Spaniard will get an Indian woman for a wife, and he who kills four will get four women, and he who kills ten or more will have a like number of women." To a people who had seen their agricultural lands usurped and their tribute payments grow onerous over time, Popé offered liberation. When the Spaniards were all dead, he promised, they would "break the lands and enlarge their cultivated fields . . . free from the labor they performed for the religious and the Spaniards."<sup>4</sup>

From Taos Pueblo, Popé sent messengers throughout the kingdom announcing that if the people respected the katsina and called them properly, they would return to usher in a new age. Popé himself regularly called Caudi, Tilini, and Tleume, the katsina who lived in the kiva of the Taos medicine society but "never came out." Finally, after many prayers and offerings, the katsina came out "emit[ting] fire from all the extremities of their bodies." They told Popé that "they were going underground to the lake of Copala" and would return after the Spaniards were gone. The katsina showed Popé how to defeat the Christians and gave him a knotted cord, which he was to circulate to all the pueblos. Those villages that wished to join the rebellion were to untie one knot as a sign of obedience, and by the others would count the days to revolt.<sup>5</sup>

Popé enlisted the caciques of Taos, Picuris, San Lorenzo, Santo Domingo, Jémez, and Pecos, as well as a number of prominent mixed-bloods: Domingo Naranjo from Santa Clara, Nicolás Jonva from San Ildefonso, and Domingo Romero from Tesuque. They met secretly each time a village celebrated its saint's feast day so that their travel to and fro would not provoke suspicion. August 11, 1680, the first night of the new moon, was chosen as the date for the revolt. They knew the settlers would be most vulnerable to attack right before the triennial supply caravan arrived from Mexico City in mid-September with ammunition and horses.<sup>6</sup>

On August 9, 1680, Popé dispatched two messengers to all the pueblos with knotted cords indicating that only two days remained. They told the caciques that a letter from Po-he-yemu, "the father of all the Indians, their great captain, who had been such since the world had been inundated," had arrived

<sup>4</sup> Declaration of Jerónimo, a Tigua Indian, January 1, 1682, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 361. Declaration of Pedro García, a Tagno Indian, August 25, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 24–25. Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, a Queres Indian, December 19, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 246–47.

<sup>5</sup> Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, a Queres Indian, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*: Declaration of Luis de Quintana, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 295; J. Sando, "The Pueblo Revolt," *HNAI*, vol. 9, 195; A. Chávez, "Pohe-yemo's Representative."

from the north informing that "all of them . . . should rebel, and that any pueblo that would not agree to it they would destroy, killing all the people."<sup>7</sup>

The caciques of Tanos, San Marcos, and La Cienega opposed the rebellion, and on August 9 informed Governor Antonio de Otermín of its impending approach. Otermín had Popé's messengers arrested and tortured until they revealed what the knotted cords meant. Tesuque's Indians learned of this, and fearing that all might be lost immediately dispatched runners to the confederate pueblos informing them that they should rebel the next day.<sup>8</sup>

August 10, 1680, began for Fray Juan Pío like any Sunday morning. He left Santa Fe on foot to say Mass at Tesuque, accompanied by his armed escort, Pedro Hidalgo. But on this day the pueblo was totally deserted. The friar searched everywhere for the Indians and finally found them a few miles outside the village armed and wearing war paints. "What is this, children, are you mad?" the friar asked. "Do not disturb yourselves; I will help you and will die a thousand deaths for you." Before he could say anything else, a shower of arrows pierced his breast. Pedro Hidalgo would have been killed too had he not been on his horse. He barely escaped, and by ten that morning was back in Santa Fe reporting to the governor. All day emissaries from every part of the kingdom arrived in Santa Fe telling of the massacres they had seen. The Indians' fury had struck the entire province like a bolt of lightning. In one moment a century's work seemed destroyed.<sup>9</sup>

The revolt proceeded as Popé had instructed. First the Indians stole or killed "the principal nerve of warfare," the horses and mules, which the Spaniards had introduced into the province and which had been so instrumental in the conquest and subordination of the Puebloans. Without these beasts of burden, the Spaniards were helpless against mounted Pueblo and Apache warriors. Without horses the Spanish could not communicate rapidly with the centers of authority in New Spain. Indian runners could outrun and outstalk any settler. Whatever technological advantages the Spaniards had on account of their armaments, the Indians offset in numbers. Against roughly 170 colonists capable of bearing arms stood 8,000 or more Indian warriors; a ratio of approximately 1 to 50.<sup>10</sup>

Once the horses were in Indian hands, Popé's forces isolated the settlements in the northern half of the kingdom (the Rio Arriba) from those in the southern half (the Rio Abajo). In the north, all roads to Santa Fe were blocked, and one by one the Spanish settlements were pillaged and razed by

<sup>7</sup> Declaration of Luis de Quintana, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 295; Otermín Autos, August 9, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> Otermín Autos, August 9-10, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 1-6.

<sup>9</sup> Declaration of Pedro Hidalgo, August 10, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 6-7. Otermín Autos, August 10, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 7-9.

<sup>10</sup> Opinion of Cabildo, September 14, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 120. Letter of Fray Francisco de Ayeta, 1679, *HD*, p. 299.

the Indians, who scavenged whatever armaments they could. In a few hours 401 settlers and 21 friars were killed. Those who survived gathered at the governor's residence in Santa Fe. The colonists of the Rio Abajo gathered at Isleta.<sup>11</sup>

By August 13, all of the villages in the Rio Arriba had been destroyed and only Santa Fe stood, surrounded by Pueblo and Apache warriors who were ready for a final assault. Grossly outnumbered but stubbornly refusing to admit defeat, Otermín made one last peace overture. Through Juan, a Tano Indian servant turned rebel leader, Otermín implored the caciques "that even though they had committed so many atrocities, still there was a remedy, for if they would return to obedience to his Majesty they would be pardoned." The chiefs jeered and demanded through Juan that

all classes of Indians who were in our power be given up to them, both those in the service of the Spaniards and those of the Mexican nation of that suburb of Analco. He demanded also that his wife and children be given up to him, and likewise that all the Apache men and women whom the Spaniards had captured in war be turned over to them, inasmuch as some Apaches who were among them were asking for them.

Otermín refused, and the battle for Santa Fe began.<sup>12</sup>

For nine days Santa Fe lay under siege. To hasten the colonists' surrender, the rebels cut off their food and water. By August 20th the Indians sensed victory. That night they were heard shouting gleefully: "Now the God of the Spaniards, who was their father, is dead, and Santa María, who was their mother, and the saints . . . were pieces of rotten wood" and that "their own God whom they obeyed [had] never died." Determined that it was better "to die fighting than of hunger and thirst," the colonists at Santa Fe marshalled all their firepower for a final assault on the morning of August 21. The strategy worked. Popé's forces quickly lost 350 men and temporarily were set to flight. At day's end, Otermín and the settlers decided to abandon Santa Fe before the Indians recouped their losses and returned to rout them. Otermín hoped that he would be able to join forces with the settlers of the Rio Abajo, whom he thought were still gathered at Isleta, and return north with them to subdue the apostates. But unbeknownst to him, the refugees at Isleta had already fled south toward El Paso.<sup>13</sup>

The colonists' retreat south from Santa Fe was filled with horrors. In every village they found piles of mutilated bodies strewn amid ashes of still smoldering fires. At Sandía Pueblo the mission's statues were covered with

<sup>11</sup> Otermín Autos, October 9, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 194-95; Muster, September 29, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 134-53.

<sup>12</sup> Otermín to Fray Francisco de Ayeta, September 8, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 98-101.

<sup>13</sup> Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian, December 19, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 239-40; Otermín Autos, August 13-20, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 13. Otermín Autos, August 13-21, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 15. Certification of departure, August 21, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 19.

excrement. Two chalices had been discarded in a basket of manure, and the paint on the altar's crucifix had been stripped off with a whip. Feces covered the holy communion table and the arms of a statue of Saint Francis had been hacked off with an ax. At every mission along their route they reported the most unspeakable profanations of Christian *sacra*.<sup>14</sup>

The Christians felt equal revulsion on seeing and hearing of how the friars had died. On that August night of rebellion, the Jémez Indians apprehended Fray Juan de Jesús, bound him naked onto a pig's back and paraded him through the town, heaping all sorts of jeers and blows on him. Then they removed him from the pig, forced him onto his hands and knees and took turns riding atop his back, repeatedly spurring his haunches to prod him forward. When the warriors were ready to kill him, some dissension erupted in their ranks. But showing a fidelity to death and a love for his persecutors that the manuals of martyrdom assured him would win a crown in heaven, Father Juan allegedly said: "Children, I am a poor old man, do not fight, do not kill each other in order to protect me; do what God permits." And so they shoved a sword through his heart and gave him numerous blows. His body was discovered by the Spaniards in some woods near the pueblo.<sup>15</sup>

Though the Christians were aghast at how the Pueblo Indians had manifested their anger, one only has to recall the massive desecration of katsina masks, kivas, and other native *sacra* that occurred during the Spanish conquest to understand why the Indians retaliated so exactly during the Pueblo Revolt. The tables were now turned in this contest of cultures. The Indians had learned well from their overlords the functions of iconoclasm in political spectacle.

When Otermín's forces finally reached Isleta, the pueblo was deserted. A week earlier, on August 14, news had reached Isleta that all the Spaniards of the Rio Arriba had been killed, and acting on this information, the settlers, under the leadership of Alonso García, had abandoned Isleta and retreated south. The reconquest of New Mexico would have to wait. For the moment, the only succor either refugee group could expect was from the mission supply train they knew was advancing toward New Mexico. News of the revolt reached Fray Francisco de Ayeta's supply caravan on August 25, just south of El Paso. He promptly advanced toward Socorro, and it was near there on September 6 that the Isleta and Santa Fe survivors of the rebellion were finally united. Together they numbered 1,946, of whom approximately 500 were Pueblo and Apache slaves.<sup>16</sup>

The Christians' defeat and departure were cause for great celebration among the Pueblos. Popé and his two captains, Alonso Catiti of Santo

<sup>14</sup> Opinion of the Santa Fe Cabildo, October 3, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 177-78.

<sup>15</sup> Sariñana y Cuenca, *The Franciscan Martyrs*, p. 16; "Carta del Padre Fray Silvestre de Escalante," April 2, 1778, *DHNM*, pp. 305-324; J. Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>16</sup> Scholes, "Civil Government," p. 96; *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 21-65.

Domingo and Luís Tupatu of Picuris, traveled throughout the province ordering everyone to return "to the state of their antiquity, as when they came from the lake of Copola; that this was the better life and the one they desired, because the God of the Spaniards was worth nothing and theirs was very strong." Popé promised that if they lived in accordance with their ancestral laws, there would be endless peace, prosperity, and harmony.<sup>17</sup>

But none of this would be possible so long as there were vestiges of Christianity. Crosses and images of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints had to be destroyed. Churches had to be razed and their bells shattered. Men and women were to forget their Christian names and use only native ones. They were to purify themselves by plunging "into the rivers and wash[ing] themselves with amole [a soap-root] . . . washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments." Anyone who spoke Spanish or uttered the name of Jesus or Mary would be punished severely. Men were to abandon the wife they had taken in matrimony "for any one whom they might wish." Everyone was "to burn the seeds which the Spaniards sowed and to plant only maize and beans, which were the crops of their ancestors." All of this was to be done in the presence of the children so that they would learn the ways of the ancients and the meaning of respect.<sup>18</sup>

Within weeks of the Spaniards' defeat, the indigenous sacral topography was restored. "Flour, feathers, and the seed of maguey, maize, and tobacco" were offered to the spirits at pre-conquest shrines. Kivas that had been desecrated and filled with sand were emptied and resacralized. At last the gods who had abandoned their people and allowed them to perish from hunger and sickness returned from the underworld.<sup>19</sup>

The Spanish survivors of the Pueblo Revolt were genuinely confused by what had happened. They thought themselves blameless and self-righteously pinned the entire disaster on the Indians. A visibly shaken Governor Otermín bristled that the devil had ensnared the Indians with idolatries and superstitions to which "their stupid ignorance predisposes them, for they live blindly in their freedom and stupid vices." In the months that followed, Otermín gleaned the whys of the revolt. Answers came from five Indians he captured. From Pedro Nanboa, an 80-year-old Indian, Governor Otermín learned that for more than 70 years the Indians had resented Spanish rule because the Christians had destroyed their religious objects, had

<sup>17</sup> Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, a Queres Indian, December 19, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 248.

<sup>18</sup> Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, a Queres Indian, December 19, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 248. Declaration of Juan, a Tegua Indian, December 18, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 235. Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian, December 19, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 239; Declaration of Juan Lorenzo, a Queres Indian, December 20, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, 251.

<sup>19</sup> Declaration of Josephe, a Spanish-speaking Indian, and of Juan Lorenzo, a Queres Indian, December 19–20, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 239–40, 249–52. Declaration of Juan Lorenzo, a Queres Indian, December 20, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 251.



prohibited their ceremonials, and had humiliated and punished their old men. For this reason the Indians "had been plotting to rebel and to kill the Spaniards and the religious . . . planning constantly to carry it out down to the present occasion."<sup>20</sup>

Two Queres Indians voiced more specific complaints. They objected to the "ill treatment and injuries" they had received from Otermín's constables who "would not leave them alone, [had] burned their estufas [kivas]," and constantly beat them. The Queres had wanted to be "free from the labor they had performed for the religious and the Spaniards." They had grown "weary of putting in order, sweeping, heating, and adorning the church." The Tano Indians agreed. They too had "tired of the work they had to do for the Spaniards and the religious, because they did not allow them to plant or do other things for their own needs." Had the Christians shown them respect there might not have been a rebellion, explained Joseph. Instead, "they beat [us], took away what [we] had, and made [us] work without pay."<sup>21</sup>

The Franciscans pondered the Pueblo Revolt and concluded that the only thing they were guilty of was selfless love for the Indians. Fray Antonio de Sierra wondered why it was that "the Indians who have done the greatest harm are those who have been most favored by the religious and who are most intelligent." What seemed to preoccupy the friars most were the martyrdoms their brothers had suffered. These were not a cause for sadness and tears, but a cause for joy. "We do not mourn the blood shed by twenty-one of our brothers," wrote Fray Juan Alvarez, "for from them there comes to our sacred religion such an access of faith and such honor and glory to God and His church." Fray Francisco de Ayeta was similarly philosophical; that "which the world calls losses, they [are] really the richest treasure of the church."<sup>22</sup>

The viceroy, dignitaries of the Franciscan Order in New Spain, and a few survivors of the Pueblo Revolt gathered at the Cathedral of Mexico City on March 1, 1681, to eulogize New Mexico's martyrs. In his sermon, Doctor Ysidro Sariñana y Cuenca, the cathedral's canon, reflected on how a century's work among "wild beasts," teaching them how to cultivate the soil, clothing their nakedness, and showing them how to live in houses, had

<sup>20</sup> Otermín Auto, September 13, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, 122. Declaration of Pedro Nanboa, an Indian, September 6, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 61; Declaration of Pedro García, an Indian, September 6, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 62.

<sup>21</sup> Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian, December 19, 1681, and Declaration of Juan Lorenzo, a Queres Indian, December 20, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 239–40, 251. Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, a Queres Indian, December 19, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 245–47. Declaration of Juan Lorenzo, a Queres Indian, December 20, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 251. Declaration of Pedro García, a Tano Indian, August 25, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 24–25. Declaration of Josephe, Spanish-speaking Indian, December 19, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 239–41.

<sup>22</sup> Sierra Letter to Ayeta, September 4, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 59. Letter of Friar Juan Alvarez, et al., to viceroy, October 15, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, pp. 203–4. Letter of Ayeta to viceroy, August 31, 1680, *RPI*, vol. 1, p. 53.

ended. The arrows that had sapped the lives of the friars were like a "womb pregnant with darts." Their suffering was "the sure road to life; because the better title corresponding to such deaths is to call them lives," said Sariñana. New Mexico's martyrs had perfectly imitated Christ. Like Christ, they had died because of their Father's love for humanity and because of man's hatred and ingratitude. God did not love the sins of the persecutors, but he loved the patience of the persecuted. He did not love the evil hand that wounded, but he loved the suffering of the wounds. When the arrows of treachery had pierced the martyrs' breasts, when tomahawks had crushed their skulls, and when flames had consumed their bodies, they had been united in mystical marriage with God, a true sign of their perfection. No words captured the mood of that day better than those of St. Ignatius of Antioch: "I am yearning for death with all the passion of a lover. Earthly longings have been crucified; in me there is left no spark of desire for mundane things, but only a murmur of living water that whispers within me, 'Come to Father.'"<sup>23</sup>

The New Mexican survivors of the revolt settled near the Franciscan mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which had been established in 1659 near the present-day site of Ciudad Juárez. There the colonists nursed their wounds and sustained themselves on what little food Father Ayeta had procured for the friars and on what could be extracted from the local Indians. For almost a year they waited for orders and reinforcements to arrive from Mexico City. Finally, in the autumn of 1681, Otermín was ready to punish the apostates. His compatriots were not. Many of them had fled further south. Those who had remained wanted no part in the reconquest. Even the friars were cool to the idea. Otermín, aware that news of the Pueblos' victory had spread like an "infection" throughout northern New Spain, knew that if El Paso and New Mexico were abandoned, the entire area north of Parral would be lost. Already the Indians of Nueva Vizcaya were in revolt. Those around El Paso were seething with discontent because of their exploitation by New Mexico's refugees. All across the north, from Sonora to Coahuila, the drums of war could be heard. On the viceroy's orders, Otermín gathered his troops at El Paso (which had been founded earlier that year), forbade the colonists to desert the area, and departed north on November 5, 1681, with 146 soldiers and 112 Indian allies, many of them "mere boys and raw recruits."<sup>24</sup>

Between November 26 and December 4, Otermín's troops marched north, visiting the abandoned villages of Senecu, San Pascual, Socorro, Alamillio, and Sevilleta. On December 5 they reached Isleta Pueblo and conquered its inhabitants with little effort. Otermín gathered the Indians in the

<sup>23</sup> Sariñana y Cuenca, *The Franciscan Martyrs*, pp. 17-18. Staniforth, trans., *Early Christian Writings*, p. 106. I thank Professor Sabine MacCormack for bringing this document to my attention.

<sup>24</sup> Scholes, "Documents," p. 195. The impact of the Pueblo Revolt on other Indian groups in northern New Spain is studied in Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, pp. 177-224. *RPI*, vol. 1, p. cxxi, and vol. 2, pp. 32-88, 153-83, 190-201.

plaza, chastized them for their apostasy, and ordered them to erect large crosses for their houses and little ones to wear around their necks. Fray Francisco de Ayeta arrived the next day. He was triumphantly greeted outside the town by Otermín and the Indians, shouting: "Praised be the most holy sacrament and the purity of our Lady, the Virgin Mary, conceived without stain of sin." Ayeta celebrated Mass the next day. He absolved the Indians' apostasy, baptized their infants, and ordered men to take those wives they had been given in matrimony and to burn all their idols. Before the royal standard, the Indians swore vassalage to the King anew, exclaiming: "Long live the king, our Lord Charles II, God Save Him!" Three volleys of musketry were fired, bugles were sounded, and church bells were rung.<sup>25</sup>

Otermín dispatched emissaries from Isleta to the northern pueblos to announce his arrival and peaceful intent. He expected the Indians to hail his return as repentant apostates, weary of their Apache enemies and of their caciques. Nowhere was such a greeting forthcoming. Alameda, Puaray, Sandía, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti were all abandoned before Otermín's troops entered them. The maize bins at each pueblo were well stocked and what corn there was Otermín had destroyed. By Christmas eve Indian hostilities were growing, and knowing that his troops were ill-prepared and poorly provisioned for a major attack, Otermín retreated to Isleta. By the beginning of 1682, the Spaniards were back in El Paso. The expedition had been a resounding failure. Only the southern pueblos had been penetrated. The Tewa Pueblos and those at Taos, Picuris, and Jémez had not been molested. Substantial force would be necessary to reconquer New Mexico.

The jubilation that swept the pueblos at the defeat of the Spaniards was short-lived. According to Juan, a captured Tiwa Indian, by late 1681, people were muttering that Popé had deceived them. They had had "very small harvests, there [had] been no rain, and everyone [was] perishing." Popé's alliance splintered. Civil war erupted at many pueblos among the caciques, the medicine men, and the warriors, each claiming precedence and superior magical powers. In the midst of this chaos, ill-provisioned pueblos began to prey on the granaries of their neighbors. The Queres and the inhabitants of Taos and Pecos waged war against the Tewa and the Tanos. Then the Queres alliance disintegrated and each pueblo declared itself independent. The Tewa and Tanos deposed Popé as their leader because of his excessive demands for women, grain, and livestock. Luís Tupatu replaced him. Around 1683 the Yutes (modern-day Utes) and Apaches waged what must have seemed an endless war against Jémez, Taos, Picuris, and the Tewa.<sup>26</sup>

Widespread hunger and pestilence were followed by another nine years of drought. Legend holds that even the Rio Grande dried up during those

<sup>25</sup> March of the Army from El Paso to Isleta, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, pp. 209, 210–12.

<sup>26</sup> Declaration of Juan, a Tigua Indian, December 27, 1681, *RPI*, vol. 2, p. 346. *RPI*, vol. 1, p. cxxxvii; Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 185n.

years and did not carry water again until a virgin was sacrificed to Horned Water Serpent. Taking the decade of drought that preceded and followed the Pueblo Revolt, we can understand the ecological factors that fueled village factionalism and internecine warfare. Pueblo mythology says that such struggles were endemic to their lifeway and always forced them to migrate until they found a safe place to call home.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1682 and 1692, the 50-soldier presidio established in El Paso in 1683 provided the main force for attempts by the Spanish colonists to reconquer New Mexico. It was not until news reached the Spanish crown that French exploratory teams had made incursions into the Mississippi Valley and Texas that efforts were intensified to reestablish Spanish authority over New Mexico and to colonize Texas as a defensive buffer for the silver mines of northern New Spain. The man chosen for the former task was Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León, who assumed New Mexico's governorship in 1691. Scion of one Spain's noblest families, the 48-year-old governor was soon to enter Pueblo country to subdue the infidel and make a world safe for Hispanicism, much as his ancestors had done during the reconquest of Spain.<sup>28</sup>

With the Pueblo Revolt, a century of Christian rule came to an abrupt end. Perhaps in the Kingdom of New Mexico, more perfectly than anywhere else in the New World, the Franciscans had created the semblance of that terrestrial theocracy for which they so worked and prayed. Had the pope rather than the king of Spain been the vicar of Christ in the Indies, as the Franciscans steadfastly maintained, the Antichrists of the colony (the governors) would not have polluted the minds and bodies of innocent Indian babes. Unbeknownst to the martyred friars, who believed that their blood would fructify the soil for an abundant harvest of souls, if anything, their deaths thoroughly repudiated clerical rule. When New Mexico's reconquest was achieved, the zeal, the will, and the way for clerics to successfully challenge the primacy of secular rule were gone.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186n.

<sup>28</sup> Schroeder, "Rio Grande Ethnohistory," pp. 41–70.