

# *Defensive policy and Indian relations in New Mexico during the tenure of governor Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, 1705-1707*

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## **ABSTRACT**

En el mes de marzo de 1705, Francisco Cuervo y Valdés tomó posesión como gobernador de Nuevo México, enfrentándose a una desastrosa situación debida a la gran sequía de 1698-1704 y las continuadas incursiones de los apaches y navajos. Cuervo inició una política de conciliación y amistad con los indios Pueblo e incluso repobló con sus habitantes originales los poblados indígenas abandonados de Picurís, Pojoaque, Galisteo y Zuñi. Con la ayuda de los propios pueblos organizó campañas punitivas contra navajos y apaches. Aunque el gobernador no logró la reducción de los Hopi, incluso empleando duros métodos, su período de gobierno puede considerarse como el que marca la confirmación de las relaciones de colaboración entre los Pueblo y los españoles. El aspecto guerrero de los Pueblo queda también subrayado en este trabajo.

## **INTRODUCCION**

Francisco Cuervo y Valdés was governor of New Mexico from March 1705 to July 1707, a decisive period for New Spain's northernmost province. Prima-

rily known for having founded the villa of Albuquerque in 1706, Cuervo devoted much attention to Indian affairs. Indeed, the very existence of the little colony on the upper Río Grande del Norte depended on the successful implementation of a policy combining harmonious relations with the recently subdued Pueblo Indians while at the same time providing adequate protection for the Spanish settlers against the surrounding nomadic tribes. This proved to be no easy task.

The sedentary town dwelling Pueblo peoples were descendants of Native Americans who had inhabited the Southwest for milleniums. The Spaniards first came in contact with them in the sixteenth century and called them «indios de los pueblos» because of their adobe and stone communal dwellings; ecclesiastical and civil authorities felt that their level of cultural development made them ideal for conversion to Catholicism and assimilation by the Hispanic culture.

The Pueblo Indians belonged to several language groups and recognized no political unity other than the immediate community: surviving groups today include the Tiwa of Taos, Picurís, Isleta, and Sandía; the Tewa towns of San Juan, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Nambé, Pojoaque, and Santa Clara; the Towa of Jemez; and the Keresan peoples of Santo Domingo, Cochití, Zia, San Felipe, and Santa Ana along the Rio Grande.

To the west of the great river was Acoma, a Keresan speaking town located on a top of a four hundred foot mesa about sixty miles west of modern Albuquerque and known for its resistance to outside influence. Then came the Zuni towns first visited in 1540 by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Furthest removed and hardest to control by the Spaniards were the Moquinos, the modern Hopi whose communities for the most part were perched atop three mesas in what is now northeastern Arizona.

The economy of all these peoples was based on intensive horticulture and their neatly cultivated fields of corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and occasionally, native cotton and tobacco, provided them with an abundant food supply and a good life which they attributed to the proper performance of their ancient ceremonies and rituals which were practiced on a year round cycle assuring them complete harmony with their natural environment.

Juan de Oñate began Spanish colonization in 1598 and from the beginning the natives resisted Spanish attempts at suppressing their religion and converting them to Catholicism. Pueblo Indian priests were flogged, mutilated, and even executed for practicing rituals, particularly those related with the masked kachina cult. Conflict between Spanish ecclesiastical and civil officials regarding Indian policy weakened their authority over the natives and convinced the latter that only a united effort of all their communities could be successful in expelling the invaders. This culminated in the revolt of August 1680 whereby the Spaniards were forced to retire to El Paso del Norte (present Ciudad Juarez) until 1692 when Diego de Vargas initiated the reconquest of the province.

When a second attempt at revolt failed in 1696, many Pueblo Indians fled to outlying areas, especially to escape the wrath of Vargas. One group of Tewa

moved to Hopi country where they were allowed to establish a village on First Mesa near Walpi while a band of Tiwa went to live on Second Mesa. Most of the people of Picurís fled to the plains of eastern Colorado where they were taken in by the Cuartelejo Apaches.

Of all the Pueblos, only the Hopis successfully resisted Spanish domination after the reconquest of New Mexico. When in 1700 the Hopi town of Awatobi acceded to allow the Franciscans to reestablish their mission, the rest of the tribe united and sent a war party under the command of Espeleta, war chief of Oraibi.

Attacking in early November on the eve of their Wuwuchim ceremony they managed to trap most of the men of Awatobi while they were performing rituals in the semisubterranean kivas. Almost all of the male inhabitants and many women and children were killed. The mission and town of Awatobi were completely destroyed and the surviving women and children were distributed among the rest of the Hopi towns (Brew 1979: 521-522, Waters 1985: 259, 264-265). Henceforth none of the tribe dared admit missionaries or other Spaniards. On the contrary, in succeeding years numerous Pueblo Indians, fleeing the Spanish in New Mexico, found refuge among the Hopi who constituted a perpetual source of resistance.

#### «I SUSPECT THIS LAND WAS BETTER OFF BEFORE THE SPANIARDS CAME»

On 4 August 1704 the *fiscal* of viceroy Francisco Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque, drew up a report for King Philip V informing him that on 4 June don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés had been appointed acting governor of New Mexico. He also indicated that Cuervo had been selected «for his extensive military and civil services, and for his experience with the natives of those lands» (AGI; Guad. 142, doc. 22; Casado-Fuente 1983: 33-34). The duke himself did not write the king until 11 October 1704, informing him officially of his interim designation of Cuervo and requesting royal confirmation of the appointment. If the viceroy had written his letter in August when the fiscal prepared the original report it is possible that Cuervo would have received confirmation of his appointment. However, the viceroy's dispatch did not reach the monarch until two days after he had officially appointed José Chacón, Marqués de la Peñuela to a five year term (Casado-Fuente 1983:33). Chacón was in Spain at the time and due to the difficulty in obtaining passage on a ship did not reach New Mexico until the end of July 1707 (Flagler 1989: 34 and 1990: 462, 464).

Francisco Cuervo y Valdés was born in La Frontera de Llamero, jurisdiction of the villa of Santa María de Grado, in the province of Asturias, northern Spain. The legitimate son of Alonso Cuervo Palazio and Ana Suárez, he was baptised in Llamero on 16 June 1651 (Pruebas de Caballero, Military Order of Santiago, AHN; expediente no. 2263, caja 347). Thus it is possible that he was born in May of that year. His parents belonged to the hidalgo class of nobility; proof of Cuervo's noble lineage is his election in 1691 as alcalde of the Holy Brother-

hood of Grado for the category of «hijos nobles» and his investiture in the Military Order of Santiago (ca 1699) (AGI, Guad 116, doc 265 Benito 1984: 334, and Casado-Fuente 1983: 19).

When don Francisco was about seventeen years old he left his home town for Madrid and either in 1677 or 1678 arrived in New Spain (Benito 1984: 334). For more than three decades he served the Crown in different positions, beginning as captain of infantry at San Juan Bautista in Sonora and becoming acting governor-captain general of the province of Nuevo León (1687-1688) and governor of Coahuila province (1698-1703) (Méritos de don Francisco Cuervo, AGI Guad 116, doc 265).

Cuervo was out of employment and living in Zacatecas when in 1704 the news of Diego de Vargas death reached Mexico. The reconqueror of New Mexico had barely begun his second term as governor when in early April 1704 he fell ill while campaigning against the Faraón Apaches. Vargas was taken to the home of Fernando Durán y Chaves, alcalde mayor of Bernalillo where he expired on 8 April, shortly after dictating his last will and testament (Horgan 1968: 322 and Flagler 1980: 76).

Following his appointment as acting governor Cuervo journeyed to Mexico City where he took the oath of office and received instructions from the Duke of Albuquerque who was very concerned with the unstable situation in New Mexico. The viceroy must have been pleased with Cuervo's enthusiasm and determination. Indeed, he had personally chosen the veteran Asturian due to his excellent service record and over thirty years of experience on the frontier, much of it dealing with Indians. The duke had been instrumental in having Diego de Vargas reappointed as governor of New Mexico after the rather poor administration of Pedro Rodríguez Cubero (1697-1703) and must have felt that in Cuervo he had found a worthy successor (Cuervo, pleito homenaje, 30 junio 1704. AGI, Guad 116, doc 265).

The trip from Mexico City to Santa Fe was described by Cuervo as «long and difficult» (Casado-Fuente 1983: 34). His introduction to New Mexico certainly was not very propitious as his party was delayed at El Paso del Norte due to Apache raids on that post. Consequently it was not until 10 March 1705 that Cuervo was able to take office in the provincial capital (Duke of Albuquerque, Mexico, 28 February 1706, SANM roll 3, 1083-1092).

From his first day as governor Francisco Cuervo was faced with almost unsurmountable problems that would have made a lesser man waver. Conditions in New Mexico were so precarious that the daily struggle for survival had become the primary concern of the Spaniards. This situation began with the reconquest carried out by Diego de Vargas and continued well into the eighteenth century. For although Vargas had been granted over forty-two thousand pesos to supply the settlers through the first year of the reoccupation of New Mexico and the Spaniards seized from the Pueblo Indians at Santa Fe more than three thousand *fanegas* of corn, wheat, and beans, the people starved (Accusations of cabildo of Santa Fe against Diego de Vargas, Santa Fe, October 1697, SANM, roll 3, 168-171).

On the march northward from El Paso and during the siege of Santa Fe in December 1693 some thirty Spaniards died and two hundred more the following year. Adverse weather conditions and raids by nomadic Indians contributed to poor harvests in 1695-1696 and the settlers were in such dire straits that they had to eat not only their horses and mules, but cats, dogs, and rodents as well. As a consequence many went to live with the Pueblo Indians where they worked as servants cutting firewood and hauling water after

«first selling them their clothing, guns, and horses which motivated the Indian uprising of 4 June 1696 in which fourteen Pueblos rebelled, killing five priests and thirty-four Spaniards...» (Accusations, *Ibid.* SANM).

A prolonged drought which lasted from 1698 to 1704 caused further hardship and starvation among settlers and Indians alike. Historian Marc Simmons' description expresses conditions clearly:

«Streams evaporated, scorched pastureland was grazed over and became ankle-deep in dust. Crops withered and produced at harvest scarcely enough seed for the next planting. Livestock wasted away» (Simmons 1980: 194-195).

As a result many settlers abandoned New Mexico and went south to Nueva Vizcaya and other provinces. Conditions deteriorated to the point that the Franciscan friars dared not practice their mendicant vows of going from door to door in request of alms «for the settlers were worse off than they» (Cuervo to the king, Santa Fe, 15 April 1706, AGI 116, doc. 258). In a report to the king Cuervo expressed his dismay at conditions in New Mexico in the following terms:

«As I insinuated to your majesty in my first letter, I have never seen so much want, misery, and backwardness in my life. I suspect this land was better before the Spaniards came» (Cuervo to the king, *Ibid.* AGI).

## **REORGANIZATION OF PROVINCIAL DEFENSES**

Cuervo immediately set about supplying settlers and Indians with corn and wheat as well as other provisions. From his own pocket he furnished the Pueblo Indians with two hundred fanegas of corn which he found in the governor's storerooms left over from the Vargas administration. His only stipulation was that he be repaid once the natives were able to harvest a crop.

As there was such a lack of livestock in the province Cuervo decided to send for more animals in Nueva Vizcaya (present states of Durango and Chihuahua). Six hundred horses were purchased at ten pesos each and five hundred cattle at seven pesos a head. However, the animals were driven northward so hastily that seventy-three horses and thirty-six cattle were lost along the trail (Méritos de Cuervo, certification, 23 February 1706, AGI Guad 116, doc 265). Other items imported to supply the immediate needs of the settlers included knives, cloth, leather for clothes and shoes, chocolate, and sugar.

The members of the garrison were furnished with guns, swords, uniforms, and *cueras* - the standard knee length protective coat made out of several layers of leather which served as a kind of armor against arrows and even musket balls (Méritos de Cuervo, certificate, 13 October 1705, AGI Guad 116, doc 265).

The new governor found the provincial defenses in a deplorable state. In 1697 the cabildo of Santa Fe had accused Diego de Vargas of neglecting to repair the governor's palace and the military barracks which day by day were falling apart (Accusations against Vargas, October 1697, SANM, roll 3, 168). Apparently nothing had been done since then to remedy the situation. Furthermore the one hundred man garrison was for the most part quartered at Santa Fe which left outlying settlements unprotected. Meanwhile predatory bands of Apaches, Navajos, and Utes raided practically at will ranches, farms, and settlements (testimonio, 13 October 1705, AGI 116, doc 265).

The worst of these marauders were the Faraón Apaches who lived in the mountains to the east of Bernalillo and on the plains of southeastern New Mexico. In addition, several bands of Navajos dwelled in the area east and northwest of the Rio Grande settlements and the Pueblo Indians. They were particularly troublesome and had participated as allies of the Pueblos in the revolt of 1680. Once the latter submitted to the Spaniards however, the Navajos considered them as enemies, especially as most Spanish were now accompanied by Pueblo Indian auxiliary militia.

Cuervo immediately set about reorganizing the provincial defenses and on 18 March, barely a week after taking office, held his first general inspection of the garrison. On 20 April he had the civilian militia muster in Santa Fe for an inspection with the guns they had recently received from the Crown (Cuervo, Santa Fe, 13 March, 28 April 1705, SANM, roll 3, 970, 990). The soldiers were then divided into seven different detachments, only one of which was to be quartered in Santa Fe for it was felt that the settlers could provide an adequate militia force for the defense of the villa and its jurisdiction. The other six detachments of *presidiales* were sent out to patrol the areas around the pueblos of Jemez, Laguna, Santa Clara, Cochiti, Acoma, and Zuni (Cuervo, Santa Fe, 28 April 1705, SANM, roll 3, 990). Governor Cuervo obviously realized that the Spaniards had to provide these «Christian» Indians with adequate protection against the nomadic raiders if they were to gain their allegiance and respect.

One of the first measures Cuervo took upon arriving in New Mexico was to dispatch an expedition to Moqui under Lieutenant Juan de Dios on 9 April 1705. On 8 September Cuervo informed the viceroy that due to the hostile attitude of the Hopi who constantly «invaded, harassed, and infested the province of Zuni», he was ordering Maestre de Campo Juan Roque Gutierrez to Zuni and Moqui to reduce the «apostates» to obedience (Méritos de Cuervo, testimony, 15 September 1706, AGI, Guad 116, doc 265). One wonders if the real reason was to avoid allowing the Hopi to establish friendly relations and an alliance with the restless Zuni.

## DIPLOMACY AND WARFARE

The Spaniards had discovered that they needed the cooperation of the Pueblo Indians in order to defend the province against the nomadic Indians. Although the Pueblos had been cooperating against the Navajos and Apaches since the period of the reconquest it was felt that relations could be improved. Therefore Cuervo initiated a broad policy of friendship to gain the allegiance of the Pueblos, touring their villages and speaking to them in conciliatory terms (Dozier 1970:72).

On 6 January 1706, he addressed a large group of their leaders with the purpose of introducing them to the new *Protector General*, Captain Alonso Rael de Aguilar. In his report Aguilar stated that:

«there appeared before me the the Protector General of the Indians, the Governors and caciques and other ministers of Justice of the towns of this Kingdom and jurisdiction, the natives of the Zunis, Keresans, Teguas, Jemes, Tanoans, Pecos, Tiguas, Picuris, and Taos who came on this occasion to Santa Fe to confirm the new elections of their governors and officials» (Méritos de Cuervo, certification 8 January 1706, AGI, Guad 116, doc 265).

All of the tribes except the Hopis had sent representatives and one of these leaders was Domingo Romero Yuguague, governor of the pueblo of Tesuque and «*capitán mayor de la guerra*» of all the «Christian Indians» of New Mexico. He acted as interpreter, thanks to his command of Spanish, and transmitted the friendly intentions of the governor to the Indians.

Through Romero the headmen of Acoma, Zuni, Laguna, Jemes, Pecos, Picuris, Taos, La Alameda and other towns informed Aguilar that the Apaches and Navajos had raided and terrorized their people to the point they could barely work their fields. Furthermore, many towns had lost their entire harvest to the depredators. Even when the Pueblos gathered large numbers of their people together to work the fields they were not safe from the Apache and Navajo raiders.

Cuervo displayed diplomacy and tact in dealing with the Pueblo leaders, presenting them with «gifts of tobacco, hats, needles, beads, and many other trifles». In addition he had special suits made from «Mexican cloth» in «Spanish style», white cloth for the shirts, as well as hats, stockings, and shoes which were presented to Governor Romero of Tesuque, Governor don Felipe Chistoe of Pecos, don Juan Pacheco of Taos, Governor don Christobal Coris of Santo Domingo, and several other headmen (Certification, 8 January 1706, AGI 116, doc 265).

Furthermore Cuervo also instructed all the Spanish settlers and soldiers to treat these men and their people well and not to cause them «harm or vexations». The meeting ended with the Pueblos and Spaniards promising mutual assistance against the Apaches, Navajos, and Utes. Thus the process of association between the Pueblo Indians and the Spaniards initiated at the end of the seventeenth century continued to develop.

Of all the nomadic Indians, the Navajos were the people most influenced by Spanish contact. First mentioned by Antonio de Espejo in 1584 and described by Fray Antonio Benavides in his memorial of 1630, the Navajo had gradually undergone a cultural transformation which had affected important aspects of their ceremonialism and above all, their economy.

Although the Navajo were close kin to the Chiricahua Apache and spoke an Athapaskan language of the Apachean stock, by the early eighteenth century they had long been in close relationship with the Pueblo Indians and the Spanish settlements. Many Pueblos had intermarried with the Navajos, primarily individuals who had left their towns to escape Spanish reprisals for taking part in the aborted attempts at rebellion during the seventeenth century.

One of the earliest accounts of the effects of this cultural transformation is provided precisely by Francisco Cuervo y Valdés in a report dated 18 April 1706:

«They support themselves by their work, they cultivate the soil diligently, plant corn, beans, pumpkins and the rest... chili seeds and other things for their own use: which they have found in the Pueblos of our Christian Indians of this kingdom. This is not new in said Apaches for whenever they have been populous they have practiced the same. They make their cloth of wool and cotton; the latter they plant and the former they obtain from the sheep that they raise.» (Cuervo to the king, 18 August 1706, AGI 116, doc. 261).

However, the Navajos had not renounced their traditional warrior life style and resisted vigorously Spanish encroachment on their lands. During the hundred years of contact with the Spanish the Navajos had acquired not only sheep, but horses.

The horse gave them decisive mobility against the Hispano settlements and the Pueblo towns which had submitted to the Spaniards and which were now allied with the latter against the Navajos.

By the time Cuervo arrived in New Mexico, Navajo depredations had been carried out on a monthly basis for several years. Using the rugged terrain to full advantage, the Navajos would strike suddenly with large raiding parties, and carrying off livestock and captives, would quickly retreat to their strongholds located in

«rugged mesas, mountains, and sierras which gave them confident audacity to attack Spanish Indian frontiers frequently and with little harm to themselves» (Méritos de Cuervo, AGI 116, doc. 265).

Three weeks after Cuervo's arrival in New Mexico, two large Navajo raiding parties fell upon the Tewa towns of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan. Cuervo sent twenty-five soldiers in pursuit, but their horses were in such poor condition that the mauraders managed to outdistance them easily and escape (Méritos de Cuervo, testimony 13 October 1705, AGI Guadalajara 116, doc. 265).

Unable to take the offensive, the governor was forced to wait until summer when he launched a series of devastating campaigns against the Navajos which began in July and lasted until the end of August. Moving swiftly, the Spaniards



and their Pueblo Indian auxiliaries attacked numerous *rancherías*, killing some forty to fifty Navajos including an undetermined number of women and children. Large fields of ripening corn, livestock, and hogans were also destroyed. As a result, on 19 August several Navajo *natanis* (headmen) including Perlaja, their leading chief, made a preliminary peace with the Spaniards. When hostilities broke out Cuervo immediately led another expedition against them and they once again sued for peace (Méritos. *Ibid.* AGI)

The Navajos who came to make peace with Cuervo brought him skins and other gifts as a sign of their friendly intentions. At the same time they pled for the release of Navajo women and children whom the Spaniards had captured over the previous years and held captive in their settlements. Cuervo in turn presented the chiefs with gifts of bayeta cloth, knives, tobacco, ribbons, beads, and buffalo skins. The Navajos used the latter for making moccasins and apparently could not always obtain them due to the presence of enemy Indians on the buffalo range (Méritos de Cuervo, testimony, 23 February 1706, AGI Guadalajara 116, doc. 265)

Cuervo finally did release numerous Navajo captives -some of whom had been captured prior to his arrival in New Mexico. As a sign of their pleasure, in the following months the Navajos continued to bring the Spaniards large white antelope and deer skins on which were painted a cross and the heads of their chiefs. In the middle of each skin appeared the head of Perlaja, larger than those of the other chiefs due to his position as leading *natani*. Cuervo responded by sending a cross to the Navajos and this exchange of gifts apparently had a favorable influence on other Apache bands (Méritos, *Ibid.* AGI).

As a result shortly afterwards the headmen of the Faraón Apaches appeared at Pecos Pueblo to make peace. Juan de Uribarrí who was *alcalde mayor* at Pecos met there with the Apaches who presented him with an antelope skin with a cross and two men painted on it. One of the latter represented a Spaniard and the other an Apache; each was grasping the cross as a sign of peace (Méritos, *Ibid.* AGI).

In subsequent dispatches to the viceroy, Cuervo reported that the Faraón Apaches continued to visit Pecos where they received the usual gifts of tobacco, beads, cloth, and knives. The governor reported that area of the province to be at peace with no thefts or incursions. In order to cover the additional expense of these presents to the Navajos and the Faraón Apaches, Cuervo was forced to import merchandise to the total amount of 2,367 pesos. However, the harvest of 1705 was described as bountiful and the resulting surplus of grain staved off the hunger of previous years (Méritos, *Ibid.* AGI).

The year 1705 also saw the definitive submission of the Zuñi who had been living in a state of rebellion since the time of Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero (1697-1703). Cubero had exiled three men of ill repute to Halona (Zuñi) -José Luis Valdés, Tomás Palomino, and Juan Lucero. He had also stationed a squad of eleven soldiers there. Settlers and soldiers repeatedly abused the Zuñi, particularly their women. Cubero was warned on several occasions by Fray Juan Garaicoechea, missionary at Alona, that these men were of low moral caliber

and were abusing the Zuñi women. He advised removing the settlers and the soldiers, but the governor did not reply.

Taking matters into their own hands on 4 March 1703, the Zuñis revolted, killing the three settlers at a moment when the soldiers were absent. Following their action the Zuñis fled to the top of Caquima Mesa where they remained until 6 April 1705, when Father Garaicoechea managed to convince part of the tribe to return to their town in exchange for a pardon from Governor Cuervo. During the months of August and September Captain Gutierrez and his ten man squad toured the area surrounding Halona and by October managed to return another three hundred Zuñis to their town. Some of these people had been living with the Hopi (Méritos, Certification, 13 October 1705/Cabildo Santa Fe, 15 September 1706, AGI Guad 561, doc. 725).

A primary concern of the Spanish authorities was to return all the Pueblo Indian refugees to their original villages. Due to the tumultuous period that marked the end of the seventeenth century many towns were either underpopulated or completely deserted. Such was the case of Picurís. Following the revolt of 1696 most of the Tiwas there had followed their leaders Luis and Lorenzo Tupatu, fleeing to the plains of eastern Colorado where they took refuge among the Cuartelejo Apaches.

The sedentary, farming Picurís people soon discovered that life with the nomadic, warrior Apaches was not very pleasant. They sent word to the Spanish authorities on more than one occasion stating that they would gladly return to their old town if the Spaniards would only send soldiers to rescue them. Needless to say, this information fired the enthusiasm of the Franciscan custodian, Fray Juan Alvarez, and of Governor Cuervo.

There were other reasons for sending a military detachment to Cuartelejo. For some time the Spaniards had been receiving disturbing reports about other white men to the northeast of New Mexico, presumably French operating out of Kaskaskia in the Illinois country. Furthermore, European trade goods were finding their way into the hands of the Indian nations of the North, especially the Panana (Pawnee) who lived along the Platte River in present Nebraska. On the other hand, the Cuartelejo Apaches had been feeling the pressure of Utes and Comanches for the past few years and were therefore eager to establish friendly relations with the Spaniards.

Possibly Cuervo himself would have led the expedition to El Cuartelejo, but he was in the midst of preparations for a campaign against the Moqui who with the Gila, Mescalero, and Salinero Apaches had been raiding the recently resettled Zunis. The governor instead appointed the veteran Juan de Uribarri, «General y Sargento Mayor», to take a detachment to Cuartelejo and bring back the Picurís. Another good officer, Captain Francisco de Valdés Sorribas was chose to accompany Uribarri while the Franciscan Order was represented by Friar Domingo de Aranz.

On 13 July 1706, Uribarri departed for Cuartelejo with twenty-eight soldiers, twelve civilians, and a hundred Pueblo Indian allies which made a rather strong party. Cuervo and the viceroy were very interested in obtaining informa-

tion on the geography and the inhabitants of the lands north of New Mexico and Uribarrí did his best to please them, writing the following descriptive account upon his return on 27 August.

«With the help of God and the Holy Mother, our Lady *La Conquistadora*, the most impossible is overcome, on the expedition to the new and extense Province of San Luis and the great town of Santo Domingo del Cuartelejo; and although on such a long trip we have experienced the greatest mishaps with the weather; flooded rivers, muddy trails, heavy rains, storms, and losses along the way; from all of this happily Our Lady *La Conquistadora* has rescued us. Her strong arm has governed this campaign performing clearly miracles with the water holes, and having provided us with meat of *sibolos* (buffalo) which without having to hunt them merely crossed our trail» (Uribarrí to Cuervo, 27 August 1706, IIB/AF, México, caja 24, 483.1).

Upon reaching the Arkansas River which was swollen with flood waters, Uribarrí wrote

«And thus to His divine magesty we must give thanks as I do, and I recite the rosary and have not ceased praying even in the midst of such as these and the task... have discovered the greatest river in the north. I was able to recite slowly 33 credos while crossing it, and it flows from North to East» (Uribarrí, *Ibid.* IIB/AF)

From the Arkansas he continued northward, visiting several Apaches camps before arriving at the main one on 4 August which he called Santo Domingo del Cuartelejo. Uribarrí found all the Apaches very friendly

«with the difference that those of this town [Santo Domingo del Cuartelejo] are the best people we have found; very agreeable, kind, and trusting» (Uribarrí, *Ibid.* IIB/AF):

The Apaches gave the Spaniards a warm reception and

«three leagues from their town they came out to greet us bringing much food, and displaying their pleasure, increasing my own [pleasure] with such signs of affection. They guided us to a hill near their *rancheria* where they had a Holy Cross; and showing it to us we all knelt to adore it and kiss it, and the Royal *Alférez* took it in his hands and we carried it in procession to their *rancheria*» (Uribarrí, *Ibid.* IIB/AF).

Don Lorenzo, headman of the Picurís, and some of his people were also there to greet Uribarrí. The latter reported that the Picurís

«cried with pleasure and I took them in my arms and gave them to understand the order of your Excellency [Cuervo] with Christian zeal, great charity and love». (Uribarrí, *Ibid.* IIB/AF)

Friar Domingo de Aranz entoned the *Te Deum* and Uribarrí, entering first in his diary their arrival date and hour, pronounced

«in a loud, clear, intelligible voice. 'Gentlemen, companions and friends: The extense and new province of San Luis, and great town of Santo Domingo

del Cuartelejo have been pacified with arms and vassals which we are of our monarch, King, and natural lord don Philip V, long may he live». (Uribarrí, *Ibid.* IIB/AF)

This was followed by a general celebration of the event with the Spaniards firing their muskets and tossing their hats in the air. The Apaches also expressed their pleasure and brought Uribarrí a long French musket, a cloth cap, and a copper box which they claimed to have taken from a white man they had killed and scalped along with his woman just six days before. However, upon further questioning, the Apaches later admitted that the victim was actually only a Pawnee. Nonetheless, Uribarrí was interested in taking these items back to Santa Fe and managed to trade one of his own guns for the French musket. He also gave the Apaches a large amount of knives, horses, tobacco, cake, and pinole. Uribarrí noted that the Apaches had several carbines in their possession, a clear indication that French goods were reaching them for the Spaniards made a point not to trade firearms to the Indians.

The Apaches finally delivered over to the Spaniards a total of sixty-two Picurís, including their leaders don Juan and don Lorenzo Tupatu. Uribarrí immediately set out for New Mexico and on 31 August 1706, he was back at San Lorenzo de Picurís where he delivered his charges to their alcalde mayor, Felix Martínez. In an obvious move to conciliate the former rebels and probably upon orders of Governor Cuervo, Martínez presented the returning Tiwas with gifts of tobacco, pinol, and knives (Félix Martínez, certification, 31 August 1706, IIB/AF, caja 24, 483.3).

Friar Francisco Ximenez absolved all who had been living in sin for so many years and proceeded to baptise seventeen children born during the stay among the Apaches. All of the former exiles were resettled in their old town, apparently along with other Tiwas for the *padrón* (census), taken the following year at San Lorenzo de Picurís, gives a total population of one hundred and fifty-seven persons. (Padrón de Picurís, 1707, IIB/AF México, caja 25, 485).

A number of Pueblo Indian villages had been abandoned by their inhabitants due to depredations by nomadic Indians as had occurred with Santa María del Galisteo whose Tano population had been living in several different neighboring villages since 1702 because of constant raids by the Faraón Apaches. Cuervo y Valdés managed to persuade a hundred and fifty Tano families to return to their pueblo with the guarantee that they would be protected by a squad of ten soldiers and a corporal. On 23 April 1706, he was able to report that homes and a church had been rebuilt, irrigation ditches dug, fields planted, and a total of six hundred thirty Indians resettled in their old town. Cuervo supplied them with tobacco and cotton cloth, as well as hoes and mattocks to work their fields. Also the Tewa town of Pojoaque, deserted since 1696, was resettled with some of its original inhabitants; twenty-six families comprising a total of one hundred thirty-six persons. (Méritos de Cuervo, certification, 16 September 1706, AGI Guad 116, doc. 265)

Turning his attention once again to the rebellious Hopi and reenforced by Uribarrí and his men who were back from Cuartelejo, Cuervo led a force against

Moqui in September and October 1706. This expedition operated in the area of Walpi and the Tewa settlement at First Mesa. Guided by Zunis, the soldiers attempted to climb the path to the Mesa top, but a woman coming down for water discovered their presence and gave the alarm.

In the skirmishing that followed, the Hopis initially forced the Spaniards to withdraw. However, after suffering several dead and wounded the Indians called for a truce, promising to come down and make peace if the Spaniards would only retreat to the valley. While the soldiers were descending the path a group of Tewa warriors came to the aid of the Hopis and in a fierce counter attack, killed three Spaniards, wounded a number of others, and captured four firearms (Casado-Fuente 1983: 75)

Cuervo withdrew his men to Awatobi ruin where he ordered the execution of a hostage the Hopi had given him before the encounter with the Tewas. The soldiers continued on to Zuni with little to show for their efforts. Although operations were resumed against the Hopis the following spring, it is doubtful they were pacified in spite of Cuervo's claim of «universal peace» with the «province of Moqui», something he affirmed in his dispatch to the Duke of Albuquerque on 30 June 1707 (Duke of Albuquerque to Marqués de la Peñuela, 29 August 1707, SANM, roll 4, 16-17). Subsequent events in Spanish-Hopi relations indicate that these Indians were only bargaining for time, hoping the Spaniards would not return. When Governor Felix Martínez led an expedition to First Mesa in 1716, the people of Walpi and Hano resisted and refused to allow the Spaniards to enter their towns (Flagler 1987: 32-35).

## CONCLUSION

The pattern that Spanish-Indian relations would follow during the remainder of the Spanish colonial period had already begun to develop when Francisco Cuervo y Valdés arrived in New Mexico in 1705. Essentially this consisted in drawing the sedentary Pueblo Indians—who were at least nominally «Christian»—into a closer relationship with the Spaniards once the latter had reasserted their authority over the peoples who had rebelled in 1680. The Pueblos would continue to preserve their native religion intact and although rituals performed by native priests in the ceremonial kivas were officially forbidden, Spanish repression of the Pueblo esoteric system was much less severe than it had been prior to the revolt of 1680.

During the reconquest Diego de Vargas had initiated a policy whereby he would only accept the rendition of entire communities of Pueblo Indians; never of individual males of fighting age who were summarily executed when captured. Indian villages that submitted immediately to Vargas as was the case of Pecos, San Felipe, and Santa Ana, provided the Spanish with valuable assistance against pueblos that continued to resist. By the end of Rodríguez Cubero's term (1703) all of the Pueblo Indians except the Hopis had submitted to Spanish authority although some continued to display signs of unrest and the Zunis were provoked

into rebellion by unwise policy on the part of the governor. Furthermore, after the turn of the century the Pueblos provided the Spanish with valuable auxiliary troops, led by their own war captains, against the nomadic tribes that preyed on both Spanish settlers and Pueblo Indians alike (Jones 1966: 151).

Cuervo y Valdés implemented a vigorous policy of reinforcing this budding alliance, cementing relations with the Pueblo leaders through his official representative, Protector General Alonso Rael de Aguilar, and treating them with respect and consideration. Through a more effective distribution of the one hundred man Santa Fe presidio garrison he was able to provide their villages with better protection against the Apache and Navajo raiders. Another important factor in achieving stability in the province was the reoccupation of the Indian towns of Picurís, Galisteo, Pojoaque, and Zuni by their original inhabitants.

Cuervo was less successful with other Native Americans. Although he was able to obtain a peace with at least part of the Navajo and Faraón Apache tribes, it was not enduring. Indeed, warfare with the Faraón resumed in September 1707 when one of their raiding parties attacked the town of Pecos, less than two months after Cuervo left office. By the year 1709 his successor, the Marqués de la Peñuela, found it necessary to launch no less than six punitive campaigns against the Navajo who raided the Towa pueblo of Jemes and Spanish settlements (Flagler 1990: 472-473). It will also be noted that Cuervo was unsuccessful in his efforts to subdue the Hopi.

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