

The St. Lawrence Day Massacre Victims

by Luis Brandtner

INTRODUCTION

THE ST. LAWRENCE DAY UPRISING AND MASSACRE OF 1680

The leader of the Uprising and Massacre of 1680 was "el Popé", "Ripe Squash" in the Teguá (Tewa) language, a San Juan Pueblo sorcerer rumored to have been in league with a Mexican mulatto and three fire-emitting infernal spirits, Caudi, Tilini and Tleume, who with "their war god, Montezuma" in the far-off land of Pohe-yemu, a Pueblo god, had advised El Popé to exterminate the Spaniards, sparing no man, woman or child.¹

The reign of terror was planned to begin throughout New Mexico at dawn, Saturday, August 10, 1680, St. Lawrence Day on the Christian calendar, but began prematurely on the evening of August 9 at Tesuque Pueblo with the death of Cristóbal de Herrera, a young Spaniard. On the morning of August 10 Father Fray Juan Bautista Pío, who had gone from Santa Fé to Tesuque to preach mass, was murdered. Most of the deaths occurred on August 10. Several more deaths occurred the next day, Sunday, August 11.

OFFICIAL HISPANIC DEATH COUNT (380)

At La Salineta on October 3, 1680 the Santa Fé Cabildo reported that "more than 380 Spaniards - men, women, and children - with some servants" had perished. This figure did not include the 21 Franciscan friars who also perished.²

PRE-MASSACRE HISPANIC POPULATION (2000)

1629 Hispanics were recorded in the Salineta muster rolls.³ Since the number of deaths reported by the Santa Fé Cabildo was 380

the pre-Massacre Hispanic population was about 2000 (1629 + 380).⁴

RÍO ARRIBA HISPANIC SURVIVORS (1000)

Some 1000 survivors gathered at Santa Fé following the outbreak of hostilities and before retreating toward the mission settlements at El Paso del Río del Norte.⁵

RÍO ABAJO HISPANIC SURVIVORS (550)

Twenty-eight (28) soldiers⁶ and more than fifty-one (51) young men⁷ were with the Leyva wagon-train escort in El Paso in August of 1680. 1629 Hispanics passed muster at La Salineta between September 29th and Oct 3rd, 1680. The number of Hispanic refugees gathered at Isleta following the outbreak of hostilities was therefore about 550 (1629 – 1000 - 79).⁸

The number 550 is validated by the estimate of "a little more than 200 Spaniards" at Socorro as reported by Sergeant Major Luis Granillo on August 26, 1680 (Revolt I: 82). About half the Hispanic population was Spanish, the other half being Indian, mestizo and mulatto.

PHANTOM HISPANIC DEFECTORS

Presumably some Hispanic survivors fled into Nueva Vizcaya (New Biscay) before the first muster at La Salineta. There would have been 800 such defectors using C. W. Hackett's erroneous estimate of a pre-Massacre Hispanic population 2800. There would have been 300 defectors using F. W. Scholes' smaller but still erroneous estimate of 2300. There is, however, no evidence for the existence of any Hispanic defectors much less such large numbers.⁹

SPANISH MEN KILLED (73)

The Santa Fé Cabildo reported the deaths of 73 Spanish men of

military age of which 61 or 62 have been identified in this study but not always individually or by name.¹⁰

HOSTILE INDIANS KILLED (350)

"More than three hundred" Indian warriors were reported killed during the seven-day siege and defense of Santa Fé (August 15 - August 21). As many as 2500 Indians took part in the assault, many of them on horseback armed with arquebuses and other arms taken from slaughtered Spaniards. Forty-seven (47) Indians were captured and executed.^{10a}

HISPANIC CAPTIVES

A list of 61 captives (21 Hispanic, 35 Indian, 5 mulatto) taken to El Paso was made on October 29, 1692 during the first Vargas expedition¹¹. Another 8 Hispanic and 14 Indian captives were also reported freed¹² for a total of some 88 freed captives almost half of which were children born in captivity. At least ten of the 29 freed Hispanic captives were mestizo children born in captivity. 19 Spanish women and children were held captive for twelve years.

These 19 freed Spanish captives were believed dead in 1680 and therefore presumably included in the official count of 380 Hispanic deaths. The two mulatto captives reported killed in 1680 were also presumably included in the official death count of 380.

MISSING INDIAN SERVANTS (61)

61 Indian servants were reported "killed or carried off" and were also presumably included in the official death count of 380. 30 adult Indian captives were freed in 1692. The fate of the other 31 missing servants is unknown.

SPANISH MASSACRE DEATHS (203)

203 Spanish deaths have been identified in this study although not

always individually or by name.¹³ 61 are identified as men, 45 as women, 68 as children and 29 are of unknown age and gender.

INDIAN SERVANTS KILLED (12)

Twelve (12) servants were reported killed in 1680 and one friendly Pueblo Indian was later reported to have been murdered. None of the 12 servants are identified by age or gender.

UNIDENTIFIED DEATHS (83 to 144)

Subtracting the 203 Spanish deaths, the 12 servant deaths, the 19 Hispanic captives and the 2 mulatto captives from the 380 official death count leaves 144 Massacre victims unidentified by name, gender, age, family, group affiliation or any other characteristic. If the 61 missing servants are also subtracted from the 380 death count then 83 Massacre victims remain completely unidentified and unaccounted for.¹⁴

PART I - 203 SPANISH MASSACRE VICTIMS

(61 men, 45 women, 68 children, 29 of unknown age and gender¹⁵)

The four numbers preceding family or other groups are respectively the number of a) men, b) women, c) children and d) other persons who perished. The following abbreviations are used:

1. "Origins" for "Origins of New Mexico Families" by Angélico Chávez.
2. "Revolt I, II" for "Revolt of the Pueblo Indians" by C. W. Hackett, Vols. I, II.
3. "First Expedition" for "First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692"
by J. Manuel Espinosa.
4. "Historical Documents, III" for "Historical Documents relating to New Mexico,

Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773", by Bandelier and Hackett,
Vol. III.

5. "NMHR" for New Mexico Historical Review.

**SECTION A: SPANISH INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILY GROUPS
(125 PERSONS)**

#1 (3,3,2,4) **Anaya** (12): Capt. Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán I, age 55; his wife,

Leonor **Domínguez¹⁶** de Mendoza, age 45; Cristóbal II, age 28; Catalina, age 25; Francisco IV, age 22; María, age 19; two other children; four other persons¹⁷; died on August 11 at Angostura; Origins: 4; Revolt I: 23, 64, 66.

#2 (0,1,5,0) **Anaya¹⁸**(6): Francisca **Domínguez^{16a}** de Mendoza, wife of Capt.

Francisco de Anaya Almazán II and their entire family; one small child (Origins: 4);

four other children assumed¹⁹; died on August 10 near Santa Clara Pueblo;

Origins: 4; Revolt I: 10, 96, 151.

#3 (1,0,0,0) **Anaya** (1): Francisco de Anaya Almazán III, the younger, age 22, son of

Capt. Francisco de Anaya Almazán II and Gerónima **Pérez de Bustillo**; died on

August 10 at Galisteo; Origins: 4; Revolt I: 97.

#4 (1,0,0,0) **Barba**²⁰ (1): Lt. Esteban Barba; died on August 10 at Santo Domingo;

Origins: 64, 71; Revolt I: xlv, 11, 21, 66.

#5 (1,0,0,0) **Blanco** (1): Francisco Blanco de la Vega; soldier, age 18; died on August

10 at Picurís; Revolt I: 98; Historical Documents, III: 320, 324.

#6 (1,3,0,0) **Carvajal** (4): Capt. Agustín de Carvajal, age 60; his wife, Damiana

Domínguez^{16b} de Mendoza, age 50; a grown daughter and another woman;

died on August 11 at Angostura; Origins: 15; Revolt I: 23, 64.

#7 (0,2,4,0) **Chávez** (6): Wife of Maj. Fernando Durán y Chávez; their three children

plus a son and another woman; died on August 10 at Taos;

Origins: 21, 22, 47;

Revolt I: 152.

#8 (1,1,5,0) **Chávez**²¹(7): Don Cristóbal Durán y Chávez, age 41; his wife, Catalina

Domínguez^{16c} de Mendoza; five children assumed^{19a}; assumed to have

died on August 10 in the Sandía jurisdiction; Origins: 20.

#9 (0,2,0,0) **Cuéllar** (2): Wife and daughter of Pedro de Cuéllar Corsado, soldier, age

33; died on August 11 at Angostura; Origins: 24; Revolt I: 143;

Historical

Documents, III: 321.

#10 (0,0,6,0) **Domínguez^{16d}** (6): Six Domínguez de Mendoza relatives; assumed to

have died on August 10 in the Río Abajo; Origins: 25; Revolt I: 35, 138; Revolt II: 145, 151.

#11 (1,0,0,0) **Gamboa** (1): Lucas de Gamboa, soldier, husband of Ysabel de

Archuleta; died sometime after August 9 on his way to Isleta from Santa Fé;

Origins: 31; Revolt I: 12, 95, 158.

#12 (1,0,0,0) **García** (1): Lázaro García de Noriega; died on August 10 at Galisteo;

Origins: 34; Revolt I: 55.

#13 (1,0,0,0) **Goitia** (1): Don José de Goitia (or Goitán); soldier, age 43; died on

August 10 at Pojoaque; Revolt I: 10, 96; Historical Documents, III: 317, 323.

#14 (1,0,0,0) **Gómez²²** (1): Col. Andrés Gómez Robledo, age 37; died sometime

between August 15 and 20 during the defense of Santa Fé; Origins: 37; Revolt I: 16.

#14a (0,1,0,0) **Gómez** (1): Anna María, daughter of Francisco Gómez Robledo; held

captive at Taos, time of death unknown; Jane C. Sánchez, "Spanish-Indian

Relations during the Otermín Administration, 1667-1683", NMHR 58 (April 1983),

p. 146. (This data is taken from the Appendix which was added after the initial compilation).

#15 (1,0,0,0) **Griego** (1): Bartolomé Griego, youth; died on August 10 at or near Santa Clara; Origins: 42; Revolt I: 10.

#16 (1,1,0,0) **Guadarrama** (2): Joseph de Guadarrama, soldier, age 23, and his wife; died on August 10 near Santo Domingo; Revolt I: xlv, 66; Historical Documents, III: 320, 324.

#17 (1,0,0,0) **Heras**²³(1): Capt. Marcos de las Heras, age 25, alcalde mayor of Taos; died on August 10 at Taos; Origins: 44; Revolt I: xxv, 3, 98; Historical Documents, III: 317, 323.

#18 (1,0,0,0) **Herrera** (1): Cristóbal de Herrera, youth; died on the evening of August 9 at Tesuque; Origins: 46; Revolt I: 7, 10.

#19 (0,1,0,0) **Herrera** (1): Juana **López** de Aragón, wife of Maj. Sebastián de Herrera Corrales; died on August 10 at Taos; Origins: 54-55; Revolt I: 57, 139.

#20 (0,1,7,0) **Herrera** (8): María **Ramos**, wife of Domingo de Herrera and their seven children; died on August 10 at Taos; Origins: 46; Revolt I: 147.

#21 (1,1,5,0) **Jiménez** (7): Capt. Francisco Jiménez; his wife and family; five children

assumed^{19b}; died on August 10 at Pojoaque; Origins: 50;
Revolt I: 10, 96.

#22 (2,3,0,0) **Leyva** (5): Catalina **García** Holgado, wife of Col. Pedro de Leyva; their

son, Juan de Leyva, soldier, assistant Alcalde Mayor of Galisteo; their son, Nicolás de Leyva, soldier; their daughter, Dorotea de Leyva, died on August 10 at

Galisteo; another daughter, held captive, time of death unknown; Origins: 53;

Revolt I: 11, 25, 52, 97, 138-139; Jane C. Sánchez, "Spanish-Indian Relations

during the Otermín Administration, 1667-1683", NMHR (April 1983), p. 146.

#23 (0,1,1,0) **Leyva**²⁴ (2): Juana **Fresqui**, wife of José de Leyva, and one child;

died on August 10 at Galisteo; Origins: 30, 53; Revolt I: 138-139.

#24 (1,1,0,0) **López** (2): brother of Juana López de Aragón (wife of Maj. Sebastián de

Herrera Corrales), and their mother, Ana **Baca**; died on August 10 at Taos;

Origins: 54; Revolt I: 57, 139.

#25 (1,0,0,0) **López**²⁵ (1): Felipe López, soldier, age 23; died on August 10 at

daybreak at Santa Clara; Origins: 59; Revolt I: 9, 10; Historical

Documents, III:

322, 324.

#26) (1,0,0,0) **López** (1): Nicolás López, soldier; died on August 10 at Santo Domingo;

Origins: 58; Revolt I: 11, 21, 66.

#27) (0,4,0,0) **Lucero²⁶** (4): Francisca **Gómez** Robledo, mother, and three sisters of

Maj. Diego Lucero de Godoy; died on August 10 at Taos;

Origins: 60; Revolt I:

52, 140, 151.

#28) (2,0,0,6) **Lucero^{26a}**(2): Two nephews of Catalina de **Zamora** (**Lucero** de

Godoy) plus six other unidentified relatives; died on August 10 presumably in the

Río Abajo; Origins: 60; Revolt I: 140, 151.

#29) (0,1,2,0) **Lucero^{26b}** (3): Wife of Lt. Antonio Lucero de Godoy (she was a

blood niece of Juan **Domínguez^{16e}** de Mendoza) and their two children; died

on August 10 presumably in the Río Abajo; Origins: 60, 61;

Revolt I: 145.

#30) (2,0,0,0) **Luz²⁷** (2): Two sons-in-law of Doña Inez Luz; died on August 10

presumably in the Río Abajo; Revolt I: 151.

#31) (1,3,0,0) **Nieto** (4): Capt. José Nieto, age 64, August 10, at Galisteo; his wife,

Lucía **López** de Gracia, and their daughters, María and Juana,

died sometime after

August 15; first taken captive on August 10 at Galisteo;

Origins: 81; Revolt I: 11,

12, 25, 97, 146.

#32 (3,0,0,0) **Peralta**²⁸(3): Sargento Mayor Andrés de Peralta, alcalde mayor of

Santo Domingo; Manuel de Peralta, soldier; Andrés de Peralta II, soldier; died on

August 10 at Santo Domingo; Origins: 74, 86; Revolt I: 11, 21, 64, 66.

#33 (1,0,0,0) **Ramos** (1): Marcos Ramos, soldier, age 20; died on August 10 at

daybreak at Santa Clara; Origins: 91; Revolt I: 9, 10; Historical Documents, III:

320, 324.

#34 (2,1,0,0) **Ramos** (3): The mother and two brothers of María Ramos (wife of

Domingo de **Herrera**); died on August 10 at Taos; Origins: 46; Revolt I: 147.

#35 (3,4,4,0) **Romero** (11): Doña Petronila de **Salas**, wife of Pedro Romero; ten

children (3 grown sons, some grown daughters and the rest young); died on August

10 at Pojoaque; Origins: 97, 100; Revolt I: 10, 96.

#35a (0,1,0,0) **Romero** (1): Daughter of Bartolomé Romero; held captive at Taos,

time of death unknown; Jane C. Sánchez, "Spanish-Indian Relations during the

Otermín Administration, 1667-1683", NMHR 58 (April 1983), p. 146. (This data is taken from the Appendix which was added after the initial compilation).

#36) (1,1,1,0) Torres (3): Sebastián de Torres, his wife and their child; died on August 10 at Nambé; Origins: 107; Revolt I: 10, 96.

#37) (0,1,0,0) Varela (1): Wife of Lt. Francisco de Varela; died on August 10 presumably in the Río Abajo; Origins: 111; Revolt I: 140.

SECTION B: SEVENTY-EIGHT (78) OTHER SPANISH DEATHS

A) (4,0,0,0) Soldiers (4): Four (4) unidentified soldiers; sometime between August 15 and August 20 during the defense of Santa Fé; Revolt I: 16, 100.

B) (6,0,0,0) Men (6): Six (6) unidentified men; August 10 on the road between Santo Domingo and San Felipe; Revolt I: 64, 95.

C) (14,0,0,0) Soldiers (14 or 15): Fourteen (14) or fifteen (15) unidentified soldiers; August 10 at Taos; Revolt I: 98.^{28a}

D) (0,7,23,0) Women²⁹ and Children (30): Thirty (30) wives and children of soldiers stationed at Taos and Picurís; August 10 at Taos; Revolt I: 73, 98. See discussion under Taos area deaths.

E) (0,2,3,0) Women and Children (5): Two (2) women and three (3) children; August
10 at Pecos; Revolt I: 97.

F) (0,0,0,18) Spaniards (18): Eighteen (18) unidentified deaths in the Río Abajo. A
total of 76 Spaniards perished in the Río Abajo according to Fray Antonio de Sierra,
Revolt I: 59-60. Fifty-eight (58) deaths have been otherwise identified in the Río
Abajo for a total of 76. See discussion below on Río Abajo deaths.

G) (0,0,0,1) Spaniard (1): An unidentified resident of Taos killed at Nambé; Revolt I:
96.

PART II - OTHER VICTIMS

SECTION A - TWELVE (12) INDIAN MASSACRE VICTIMS

Anaya (1 servant): A servant of Capt. Francisco de Anaya Almazán; Revolt I: 151.

Lucero (4 servants): Four servants of Lt. Antonio Lucero de Godoy; Origins: 60, 61;
Revolt I: 145.

Lucero^{26c} (6 servants): Six servants of Maj. Diego Lucero de Godoy; Revolt I:
140-141.

Torres (1 servant): A servant of Sebastián de Torres; August 10 at Nambé; Revolt I:
10, 96.

SECTION B - A PUEBLO INDIAN MASSACRE VICTIM

Naranjo (1 Indian): Bartolomé Naranjo; August 10 at San Felipe;

Origins: 80;

Revolt II: 250.

SECTION C - SIXTY-ONE (61) SERVANTS REPORTED MISSING

Chávez (28 servants): 28 servants of Maj. Fernando Durán y

Chávez were "killed or

carried off"; Revolt I: 152.

Leyva (27 servants): 27 servants of Col. Pedro de Leyva were

"killed or carried off";

Revolt I: 139.

Madrid (2 servants): Two servants of Maj. Lorenzo de Madrid were

carried

off; Revolt I: 143.

Nieto (4 servants): Four Indian servants of Capt. José Nieto were

carried off;

Revolt I: 146.

SECTION D - A SPANISH NEW MEXICAN DEATH

Maj. Tomé Domínguez de Mendoza III, age 38, was killed in an

Indian attack in January, 1681 in the El Paso area and was

therefore, strictly speaking, not a Massacre victim; Origins: 25;

Revolt II: 145, 146, 151.

PART III – EIGHTY-EIGHT (88) FREED CAPTIVES

SECTION A – TWENTY-NINE (29) HISPANIC CAPTIVES

(including at least ten mestizo children born in captivity)

Anaya³⁰(1 captive): Adjutant Francisco de Anaya Almazán V, son of Cristóbal de

Anaya Almazán II; Origins: 4; First Expedition: 130, 134.

Apodaca (1 captive, 2 births): Juana de Apodaca (alias Arzate or Maese), unmarried,

found at San Juan, related to Diego García, a soldier of El Paso presidio; she

gave birth to a daughter and a son in captivity; Origins: 5, 33; First Expedition:

144, 184.

Hurtado (2 captives, 2 births): Juana Hurtado, widowed sister of Martín Hurtado,

found at Alona with her daughter, María Naranjo, age 14 (in 1692), and two

children born in captivity, the youngest 3 years old;

Origins: 49, 50, 80; First

Expedition: 237.

Leyva (2 captives): Two daughters of José de Leyva and Juana Fresqui, Ángela and

?, found at San Juan; Origins: 30, 53; First Expedition: 144, 184. Juana

Fresqui and another daughter were killed.

Luján (5 captives, 1 birth): Juana Domínguez, wife of Domingo Luján, and five

children, Juan, Antonia, Josefa, Leonor and another daughter. One of the

daughters, Josefa, is known to have been born in captivity in 1684.

Origins: 27, 64, 212, 369; First Expedition: 184.

Madrid (1 captive, 2 births): Lucía de Madrid, unmarried sister of José de Madrid,

found at Alona; she gave birth to two sons in captivity, one about 12 years

old; Origins: 66, 68; First Expedition: 237.

Márquez (2 captives): Lucía, wife of Pedro Márquez, and their daughter; Origins: 70;

First Expedition: 184.

Nieto (5 captives, 3 births): Petrona Pacheco, wife of Cristóbal Nieto, found at San

Juan with five daughters and two sons (including 3 new births); Origins: 81;

Revolt I: 146; First Expedition: 144, 184.

SECTION B – FIFTY-FOUR (54) INDIAN CAPTIVES

Fifty-four (54) Indian captives were reported freed in 1992. (First Expedition: 130, 134, 144-5, 156, 183-5, 237).

SECTION C – FIVE (5) MULATTO CAPTIVES

Rendón (2 captives, 3 births): María Madrid and her son, Francisco Rendón, mulatto

slaves of Col. Francisco Xavier were reported slain on August 10 at Picurías

(Revolt I: 98) but were found alive in 1692. María gave birth to three daughters

during her captivity.(First Expedition: 184; Origins: 386).

PART IV - SEVENTY-THREE (73) MEN OF MILITARY AGE

73 of the 380 reported deaths were men of military age (Revolt I: 178). 61 or 62 of these men have been identified in this study but not always by name or individually:

1. Capt. Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán I, age 55
2. Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán II, age 28
3. Francisco de Anaya Almazán IV, age 22
4. Adjutant Francisco de Anaya Almazán III, el Mozo, age 22
5. Lt. Esteban Barba
6. Francisco Blanco de la Vega, age 18
7. Capt. Agustín de Carvajal, age 60
8. Capt. Marcos de las Heras, age 25
9. Don Cristóbal Durán y Chávez, age 41
10. Lucas de Gamboa, soldier
11. Lázaro García de Noriega
12. Don José de Goitia, age 43
13. Maj. Andrés Gómez Robledo, age 37
14. Bartolomé Griego, youth
15. Joseph de Guadarrama, age 23
16. Cristóbal de Herrera, youth
17. Capt. Francisco Jiménez
18. Juan de Leyva, soldier
19. Nicolás de Leyva, soldier
20. A brother of Juana López de Aragón
21. Felipe López, soldier, age 23
22. Nicolás López, soldier
- 23-24. Two sons-in-law of Doña Inez Luz
- 25-26. Two (2) nephews of Catalina de Zamora (Lucero de Godoy)
27. Capt. José Nieto, age 64
28. Sargento Mayor Andrés de Peralta
29. Manuel de Peralta, soldier
30. Andrés de Peralta II, soldier
- 31-32. Two (2) brothers of María Ramos
33. Marcos Ramos, soldier, age 20
- 34-36. Three (3) grown sons of Doña Petronila de Salas and Pedro

Romero

37. Sebastián de Torres

38-41. Four (4) soldiers at Santa Fé

42-47. Six (6) men on the road between Santo Domingo and San Felipe

48-61. Fourteen (14) or fifteen (15) soldiers at Taos

62-73. Eleven (11) or twelve (12) men.^{30a}

PART V - REPORTED DEATH COUNTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

SECTION A. THE HERRERA-CHÁVEZ REPORT OF OVER 70 DEATHS IN TAOS.

Majors Sebastián de Herrera Corrales and Don Fernando Durán y Chávez escaped from Taos and reported the deaths of all the Spaniards in that jurisdiction - "something more than seventy persons" (Revolt I: 73).

SECTION B. THE GÓMEZ ROBLEDO REPORT OF OVER 30 DEATHS IN THE TEWA JURISDICTION.

The reported count of deaths in the Tewa jurisdiction which included Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Pojoaque, Nambé, Jacona and Cuyamunque was "more than thirty" (Revolt I: 10).

SECTION C. FATHER SIERRA'S REPORT OF 76 DEATHS IN THE RÍO ABAJO

Fray Antonio de Sierra, visitador at Isleta in 1680, reported on September 4, 1680 that "seventy-six Spaniards are already dead

according to the count of men, women and children" presumably excluding friars (Revolt I: 59-60).³¹

PART VI - COMPILED DEATH COUNTS BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

SECTION A - TAOS

SECTION B - RÍO ABAJO

SECTION C - ZUÑI AND MOQUI (HOPI)

SECTION D - SANTA FÉ

SECTION E - TANOS

SECTION F - TEWA

SECTION A - TAOS JURISDICTION (70 SPANISH, 3 FRIARS)

The reported count of deaths in the Taos area including Picurís, three leagues from Taos, was "more than seventy" as reported by Majors Sebastián de Herrera and Fernando de Chávez after their escape from there (Revolt I: 73). It is therefore assumed that 30 additional deaths of women and children occurred in the Taos area beyond the 40 deaths (excluding 3 friars) which have been identified or partially identified.

Thirty-nine (39) reported Spanish deaths at Taos

(1,0,0,0) Capt. Marcos **de las Heras**, Alcalde Mayor of Taos; Revolt I: 98.

(14,0,0,0) 14 or 15 soldiers; Revolt I: 98.

(0,2,4,0) Wife of Maj. Fernando Durán y **Chávez**; 3 children plus a son and another

woman; Revolt I: 152.

(0,1,7,0) María **Ramos**, wife of Domingo de **Herrera**; their seven children; Revolt I:

147.

(2,1,0,0) Mother and two brothers of María **Ramos**; Revolt I: 147.

(1,1,0,0) A brother of Juana **López** de Aragón (wife of Maj.

Sebastián de **Herrera**

Corrales), and their mother, Ana **Baca**; Revolt I: 57, 139.

(0,1,0,0) Juana **López** de Aragón, wife of Maj. Sebastián de

Herrera Corrales;

Revolt I: 57, 139.

(0,4,0,0) Mother and three sisters of Col. Diego **Lucero** de Godoy;

Revolt I: 52.

One (1) Spanish death at Picurís

(1,0,0,0) Francisco **Blanco** de la Vega; Revolt I: 98.

Thirty (30) Partially Identified Spanish deaths at Taos

(0,7,23,0) Members of the families of soldiers in Taos and Picurís;

Revolt I: 73, 98.

(Computed to conform to an assumed total of 70 Spanish deaths at Taos

and Picurís).

Three (3) Franciscan deaths at Taos

Father Fray Antonio de Mora, killed at Taos; Revolt I: 98, 110.

Father Fray Matías Rendón, guardian of Picurís, killed at Taos;

Revolt I: 98, 110.

Brother Fray Antonio Sánchez de Pío from San Ildefonso, killed at

Taos; Revolt I: 98,

109.

SECTION B - RÍO ABAJO JURISDICTION (76 SPANISH, 5 FRIARS)

Father Sierra reported 76 Spanish deaths in the Río Abajo. 58 of these 76 deaths have been identified (13 are only "partially" identified). "Identified" as used in the following paragraphs means "identified" or "partially identified" by other than the Sierra count of 76. It is assumed, therefore, that 18 other deaths occurred in the Río Abajo for a total of 76.³²

Thirteen (13) known Spanish deaths at Santo Domingo

(1,0,0,0) Maj. Andrés de **Peralta**; Revolt I: 11, 21, 97.

(4,0,0,0) 4 soldiers; Revolt I: 11, 21, 97.

(6,0,0,0) 6 men on road below Santo Domingo; Revolt I: 64, 95.

(1,1,0,0) Joseph de **Guadarrama** and his wife; Revolt I: 66.

Eighteen (18) known Spanish deaths at Angostura

(1,0,0,0) Capt. Agustín de **Carvajal**; Revolt I: 23, 30, 57

(0,1,0,0) Doña Damiana **Domínguez** de Mendoza; Revolt I: 23, 30

(0,1,0,0) A grown **Carvajal** daughter; Revolt I: 23

(0,1,0,0) Another woman in **Carvajal** household; Revolt I: 23

(1,0,0,0) Capt. Cristóbal de **Anaya**; Revolt I: 23, 30, 57

(0,1,0,0) Leonor **Domínguez** de Mendoza; Revolt I: 23, 30

(2,2,2,0) Two grown sons, two grown daughters, 2 other children of Cristóbal de

Anaya and Leonor **Domínguez**; Revolt I: 23

(0,0,0,4) Four other persons in household of Cristóbal de **Anaya**; Revolt I: 23.

(0,1,1,0) Wife and child of Pedro de **Cuellar**; Revolt I: 143.

Eight (8) known Spanish deaths assumed to have occurred in the Río Abajo

(0,1,2,0) Wife and two children of Antonio **Lucero** de Godoy

(0,1,0,0) Wife of Francisco **Varela**

(2,0,0,0) 2 nephews of Catalina de **Zamora (Lucero)**

(2,0,0,0) 2 sons-in-law of Doña Inez **Luz**

Thirteen (19) partially identified Spanish deaths assumed to have occurred in the Río Abajo

(0,0,6,0) Six unidentified **Domínguez** de Mendoza relatives (of 38 deaths of Domínguez relatives)

(1,1,5,0) Cristóbal Durán y **Chávez**, his wife and five children (of 38 deaths of Domínguez relatives)

(0,0,6,0) Six unidentified **Lucero** de Godoy relatives (of 32 deaths in Lucero household)

Eighteen (18) additional Spanish deaths in the Río Abajo

Eighteen additional Spanish deaths occurred in the Río Abajo for a total of 76 deaths as reported by Father Sierra.

Five (5) Franciscans deaths in the Río Abajo

Father Fray Juan de Talabán, at Santo Domingo; Revolt I: 11, 21, 31, 97, 110.

Father Fray Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, at Santo Domingo; Revolt I: 11, 21, 31, 97, 110.

Father Fray Joseph de Montes de Oca, at Santo Domingo; Revolt I: 11, 21, 31, 97, 110.

Father Fray Juan de Jesús, at Jémez; Revolt I: 31, 110.

Father Fray Lucas Maldonado, at Ácoma; Revolt I: 111.

SECTION C - ZUÑI AND HOPI JURISDICTION (5 FRIARS)

Five (5) friars are known to have died in the Zuñi and Moqui (Hopi) jurisdictions. It is known that some soldiers were with the friars but there is no record of how many soldiers and who these soldiers were. 61 (or 62) adult men have been identified (or partially identified) of the 73 reported killed. Some or all of the 11 or 12 totally unidentified male adult victims could well have been in the Zuñi-Moqui area. These unnamed escort soldiers were probably convict soldiers who came to New Mexico in 1677.

Father Fray Juan de Bal at Alona; Revolt I: 111.

Father Fray Joseph de Figueroa at Aguatubi; Revolt I: 111.

Father Fray Joseph de Trujillo at Xongo Pavi; Revolt I: 111.

Father Fray Joseph de Espeleta at Oraybi; Revolt I: 111.

Father Fray Agustín de Santa María at Oraybi; Revolt I: 111.

SECTION D - SANTA FÉ (6 SPANISH)

(1,0,0,0) Lucas de **Gamboa**, soldier; Revolt I: 12, 158.

(1,0,0,0) Col. Andrés **Gómez** Robledo; Revolt I: 16, 57, 59.

(4,0,0,0) 4 unidentified Spanish soldiers; Revolt I: 16, 57, 59.

SECTION E - TANOS JURISDICTION (18 SPANISH, 5 FRIARS)

The reported deaths in the Tanos jurisdiction which included the three Tanos towns of Galisteo, San Cristóbal and San Lázaro plus San Marcos and La Cienega are:

Thirteen (13) Spanish deaths at Galisteo

(1,0,0,0) Juan de **Leiva**, assistant Alcalde Mayor; Revolt I: 11, 25, 97.

(1,0,0,0) Nicolás de **Leiva**; Revolt I: 11, 25, 97.

(1,0,0,0) Capt. Joseph **Nieto**; Revolt I: 11, 25, 97.

(0,3,0,0) Lucía, María and Juana, wife and two daughters of Capt. Joseph **Nieto**;

Revolt I: 11, 25, 97.

(0,1,0,0) Dorotea de **Leiva**, daughter of Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leiva;

Revolt I: 25, 97.

(0,1,0,0) Another daughter of Maestre de Campo Pedro de **Leiva**;
Revolt I: 97

(0,1,0,0) Catalina **García**, wife of Maestre de Campo Pedro de **Leiva**; Revolt I: 97.

(0,1,1,0) Juana **Fresqui**, wife of José de **Leiva** and one child; Revolt I: 138-139;

Revolt II: 55.

(1,0,0,0) Lázaro **García** de Noriega; Revolt I: 55.

(1,0,0,0) Francisco de **Anaya** Almazán III, the younger; Revolt I: 97.

Five (5) Spanish deaths at Pecos

(0,2,3,0) Two Spanish women and three children; Revolt I: 97.

Five (5) Franciscan deaths

Father Fray Juan Bernal, custodian, at Galisteo; Revolt I: 11, 97, 109.

Father Fray Fernando de Velasco, guardian of Pecos, at Galisteo; Revolt I: 11, 25,

97, 109.

Father Fray Manuel Tinoco, guardian of San Marcos, at Galisteo;

Revolt I: 11, 25,
97, 109.

Father Fray Domingo de Vera, at Galisteo; Revolt I: 11, 25, 97,
109.

Brother Fray Juan de la Pedrosa, at Pecos; Revolt I: 97, 110.

SECTION F - TEWA JURISDICTION (33 SPANISH, 3 FRIARS)

The reported count of deaths in the Tewa jurisdiction which included Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Pojoaque, Nambé, Jacona and Cuyamunque was "more than thirty" (Revolt I: 10).

One (1) Spanish death at Tesuque

(1,0,0,0) Cristóbal de **Herrera**, youth; Revolt I: 7, 10.

Eight (8) Spanish deaths at Santa Clara

(1,0,0,0) Felipe **López**, soldier; Revolt I: 9, 10, 96.

(1,0,0,0) Marcos **Ramos**, soldier; Revolt I: 9, 10, 96.

(0,1,5,0) Francisca **Domínguez** de Mendoza, wife of Francisco de **Anaya**, and their
children; Revolt I: 10, 96.

Four (4) Spanish deaths at Nambé

(1,1,1,0) Sebastián de **Torres**, his wife and child; Revolt I: 10, 96.

(0,0,0,1) An unidentified resident of Taos; Revolt I: 96.

Twenty (20) Spanish deaths at Pojoaque

(1,1,5,0) Capt. Francisco **Jiménez**, his wife and family; Revolt I: 10,
96.

(1,0,0,0) Don Joseph de **Goitia**; Revolt I: 10, 96.

(3,4,4,0) Doña Petronila de **Salas** (wife or widow of Pedro **Romero**),
3 grown sons,
grown daughters and the rest children; Revolt I: 10, 96.
(1,0,0,0) Bartolomé **Griego**, youth; Revolt I: 10.

Three (3) Franciscans deaths

Father Fray Juan Bautista Pío from Santa Fé, at Tesuque; Revolt I:
6-7, 96, 109.

Father Fray Tomás de Torres, guardian and definidor, at Nambé;
Revolt I: 10, 96, 109.

Father Fray Luis de Morales, guardian, at San Ildefonso; Revolt I:
10, 96, 109.

PART VII - REPORTED DEATH COUNTS BY FAMILY GROUP

There are four death counts by family group in the official records of the Massacre: 1) The Tomé Domínguez de Mendoza report of 38 deaths of Spanish relatives, 2) The Diego Lucero de Godoy report of 32 deaths of household members, 3) the Catalina de Zamora report of more than 32 deaths of relatives and 4) the Juan Domínguez de Mendoza report of 66 deaths of relatives.

SECTION A - TOMÉ DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA FAMILY (38 SPANISH DEATHS)

Thirty-eight relatives: daughters, grandchildren, two sons-in-law, sisters, nephews, nieces, and sisters-in-law of former interim governor Col. Tomé Domínguez de Mendoza were reported killed (Origins: 25; Revolt I: 138; Revolt II: 145).

Thirty-two relatives are enumerated under Cristóbal de Anaya (12), Francisco de Anaya (6), Agustín de Carvajal (4), Cristóbal Durán y Chávez (7) and Antonio Lucero de Godoy (3). Another six (6) Domínguez relatives are not individually identified. Tomé's presumed natural daughter, Juana, and her five children, captives for twelve years (one daughter is known to have been born in captivity), are not included in the count of thirty-eight Tomé Domínguez relatives reported killed in 1680.

SECTION B - DIEGO LUCERO DE GODOY FAMILY (32 HOUSEHOLD DEATHS)

Thirty-two household members were reported killed including the mother, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters and servants of Maj. Diego Lucero de Godoy. Two nephews and "more than 30 other relatives" of Diego's sister, Catalina de Zamora, were reported killed (Origins: 60; Revolt I: 140-141, 158). Twenty-six Lucero household members reported killed are assumed to be relatives and the other six are assumed to be servants.

The twenty-six Lucero relatives identified as massacre victims are: a) two nephews of Catalina de Zamora in the Río Abajo, b) the wife³³ and two children of Antonio Lucero de Godoy in the Río Abajo, c) the mother and three sisters of Diego Lucero de Godoy in Taos, d) Doña Petronila de Salas and her ten children in Taos³⁴ and e) six unidentified relatives in the Río Abajo.

SECTION C - JUAN DOMÍNGUEZ DE MENDOZA RELATIVES (66 SPANISH DEATHS)

Juan Domínguez reported the death of 66 relatives (Historical Documents, III, p. 356). These 66 deaths would have included the

38 deaths of relatives of Tomé who was Juan's brother plus an additional 28 deaths.

Juan was married to Isabel Durán y Chávez. The additional 28 deaths were therefore relatives of Isabel not already included in the 38 deaths of relatives of Tomé. Six of these deaths would be the six members of the family of Maj. Fernando Durán y Chávez who perished at Taos. Who the other 22 persons were remains undetermined but it is interesting to note the number 22 is close to the 18 unidentified deaths in the Río Abajo as determined from Father Sierra's count of 76 deaths.

NOTES

1. Revolt I: xxiii, 4-5, 15-16.

2. It is assumed that the figure of 380 deaths included Indian servants (Revolt I: liii).

3. The La Salineta muster-rolls show that among the refugees there were 317 Pueblo Indians, 942 Spaniards, 565 servants, 69 Mexican Indians, 38 mestizos, 7 Tewa Indians and 8 mulattos for a total of 1629 Hispanics and 1946 (1629 + 317) refugees (Revolt I: 136-159). This count agrees with the official total of 1946 refugees (Revolt I: 161; see also the accompanying chart of La Salineta refugees broken down into categories).

4. There is debate among historians with respect to the size of the Hispanic population of New Mexico prior to the Massacre of 1680. It was thought by F. W. Scholes to not have exceeded 2500 at anytime prior to the Massacre. In "Civil Government and Society in the Seventeenth Century", New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. X (April 1935), p.96, F. W. Scholes concludes that there were some

2300 Hispanics on the eve of the Massacre. This figure is off, however, by 317 for Scholes failed to exclude the 317 Pueblo Indians who were with the refugees at La Salineta.

C. W. Hackett, on the other hand, erroneously concluded that there was a pre-Massacre population of 2800 (Revolt I: xx). Using the erroneous number 1500 (see note 8, below) Hackett ought to have concluded that the pre-Massacre population was close to 3000 (1000 Santa Fé refugees + 1500 Isleta refugees + 380 reported deaths + 28 Leyva escort soldiers + 51 young men with the Leyva escort). In any event Hackett's figure of a pre-Massacre Hispanic population of 2800 is clearly wrong.

5. Revolt I: lix-lx, 18, 19, 62, 90.

6. The number of soldiers in the escort commanded by Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leyva is variously given as 26 (Revolt I: p. 32), 27 (pp. 28, 51, 52) or as 30 (p. 78). Twenty-two (22) of these men have been identified by name (pp. 37-38) and three others were reported absent on official business on August 25, 1680 (p. 36). Leyva himself states that there were 27 men under his command (p. 28).

7. Revolt I: 51-52.

8. 550 Río Abajo survivors compares with 1500 erroneously assumed by Hackett. There were some 1500 persons at Fray Cristóbal in early September (Revolt I: 90). This figure included many Piro Indians (Revolt I: 70-71) who did not continue the retreat south to La Salineta. Hackett ignored that fact.

9. See notes 4 and 8, above, for an explanation of the discrepancies in Hackett's and Scholes' figures.

10. Revolt I: 178.

10a. Revolt I: 15.

11. First Expedition: 184-185.

12. First Expedition: 130, 134, 143-144, 144-145, 156, 183-185, 237.

13. "Confirmation" and "identification" are used in this study more or less interchangeably. Either indicates the existence of a statement in the official documentation which "identifies" or "confirms" the death of an individual or the deaths of a group of individuals otherwise presumably also included in the official count of 380.

14. There were a small but unknown number of soldiers serving as escorts to the friars in the Acoma, Zuñi and Hopi pueblos (Revolt I: 78). No Spanish soldiers are known to have survived in these pueblos. This handful of soldiers would account for some of the unidentified deaths.

15. The 29 Spaniards whose age and gender remain undetermined are a) four persons in the Cristóbal de Anaya household, b) six Lucero relatives, c) the 18 additional Spanish deaths implied in Father Sierra's count of 76 Spanish deaths in the Río Abajo and d) the unidentified resident of Taos killed at Nambé .

16. 16a. 16b. 16c. 16d. 16e. See discussion under Domínguez de Mendoza (38 Spanish deaths) in Part VII, Section A and Part VII, Section C.

17. The four "other persons" in the household of Capt. Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán are assumed to have been relatives.

18. At Revolt I: 10 it is reported that Capt. Francisco de Anaya's "wife and children" perished. On p. 96 it is reported that his "family" perished. On p. 151 it is reported that his "wife and three other persons - children, relatives and servants" perished. This last statement is ambiguous. Perhaps "three" is "thirteen". An examination of the original document is necessary to clear up this ambiguity. What is certain is that several children perished. The body of a small child was seen (Origins: 4). A son, Francisco III, by his first wife also perished elsewhere (Revolt I: 97). Juana de Anaya Almazán (Origins: 11) married to Ignacio Baca survived the Massacre of 1680. She was also an offspring by Francisco's first wife (Origins: 4).

19. 19a. 19b. The number of children in three families of unknown size was assumed to be five.

20. "Barba" is "Barcía" in Revolt I, p. xlv and "Barcia" on page 66. In Origins, p. 71, Chávez associates Esteban Barba with the Martín Barba family.

21. The Cristóbal Durán y Chávez family was living in the Sandía jurisdiction and is not heard of again after August 10, 1680. They are therefore assumed to have perished in 1680.

22. Various identified as Maestre de Campo Andrés Gómez (Revolt I: 16), Maestre de Campo Andrés Domínguez (Revolt I: 57), Sargento Mayor Andrés Gómez Parra (Revolt I: 59) and Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez (Revolt I: 100).

23. "de las Heras" is "de Dehezas" in Revolt I, pp. xxv, 3 and "Heral" in Historical Documents, III, p. 323.

24. Two daughters were held captive for 12 years.

25. There is a Felipe López García, soldier, also age 23, and also listed in Historical Documents, III, pp. 319, 323, as one of the convict soldiers who came to New Mexico in 1677.

26. 26a. 26b. 26c. See discussion under Lucero de Godoy (32 household deaths) in Part VII, Section B.

27. These two individuals of unknown surname could be among the persons listed elsewhere.

28. The deaths of two Peralta sons is based on the research and speculation of Angélico Chávez (Origins: 74).

28a. These soldiers were likely from the group of 47 convict soldiers which arrived in New Mexico in 1677.

29. The number of women and children has been adjusted to conform to an estimate of "70 or more" reported Spanish deaths in Taos and Picurís. The ratio of women to children is more or less arbitrary.

30. The Adjutant Francisco de Anaya Almazán V, who died in 1694, was freed from captivity in 1692 claiming to be the son of Cristóbal II de Anaya Almazán. The Armorer Francisco Lucero de Godoy was Francisco's uncle (second-degree uncle or first cousin once removed) by marriage (ONMF: 4). Francisco de Anaya Almazán III, age 22, who died in 1680 at Galisteo was the son of Capt. Francisco de Anaya Almazán II (Origins: 4; Revolt I: 97). Francisco de Anaya Almazán IV, also age 22, who died in 1680 at Angostura, was the son of Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán I (Origins: 4; Revolt I: 23, 64, 66).

30a. The four (4) unnamed soldiers who died at Santa Fe, the six (6) unnamed men who died on the road between Santo Domingo

and San Felipe, the fourteen (14) or fifteen (15) unnamed soldiers who died at Taos and the twelve (12) or eleven (11) unaccounted for adult men total 36 adult males. An examination of the various muster rolls and lists of the period reveals that five (5) convict soldiers are among the named Massacre victims and that ten (10) convict soldiers are among the adult males who passed muster at La Salineta. 15 plus 36 equals 51, a number which is close to the number (47) of convict soldiers which came to New Mexico in 1677. It appears that these unnamed Massacre victims, were, in fact, convict soldiers who were in New Mexico serving two- to six-year terms. Some had completed their terms but all were still in New Mexico in August 1680. Those with plans to leave had, no doubt, been waiting for the wagon-train of 1680 to arrive.

31. September 4, 1680, was the day that the Río Abajo people learned that Gov. Otermín and the Río Arriba settlers were alive from Father Farfán who had reached Gen. García's group near Fray Cristóbal with a four-soldier escort sent by Gov. Otermín to catch up with the Río Abajo settlers. At that time there were some 127 known deaths in the Río Arriba. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Father Sierra's report was exclusively of the known deaths in the Río Abajo.

32. The count of 58 "identified" deaths in the Río Abajo can be broken up in the following manner: 1) 32 Domínguez de Mendoza deaths of which 16 are known and 16 are assumed to have occurred in the Río Abajo, 2) 8 Lucero de Godoy deaths assumed to have occurred in the Río Abajo, 3) 15 deaths known to have occurred in the Río Abajo, 4) 3 deaths assumed to have occurred in the Río Abajo.

33. The wife of Antonio Lucero de Godoy was a blood niece of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza. She and her two children are therefore included in the Tomé Domínguez de Mendoza death count. The three are also included in the Lucero death count.

34. Doña Petronila de Salas was related to the Lucero de Godoy family by marriage and adoption (Origins: 100). She and her ten children are therefore included in the count of 32 Lucero de Godoy deaths.

APPENDIX (added November 18, 2000)

Two More Identified Spanish Deaths

#14a) (0,1,0,0) **Gómez** (1): Anna María, daughter of Francisco Gómez Robledo; held

captive at Taos, time of death unknown; Jane C. Sánchez, "Spanish-Indian

Relations during the Otermín Administration, 1667-1683", NMHR 58 (April 1983), p. 146.

#35a) (0,1,0,0) **Romero** (1): Daughter of Bartolomé Romero; held captive at Taos,

time of death unknown; Jane C. Sánchez, "Spanish-Indian Relations during the

Otermín Administration, 1667-1683", NMHR 58 (April 1983), p. 146.
