

*The Presidio and Militia on  
the Northern Frontier of New Spain*

*Volume Two, Part One  
The Californias and Sinaloa-Sonora  
1700–1765*

Charles W. Polzer, S.J., & Thomas E. Sheridan, eds.



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*The  
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Northern Frontier of New Spain*

*Volume Two, Part One  
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The  
Presidio and Militia  
on the  
Northern Frontier of New Spain

A Documentary History

Volume Two, Part One

The Californias and Sinaloa-Sonora, 1700–1765

*Compiled and edited by*  
Charles W. Polzer, S.J., and  
Thomas E. Sheridan

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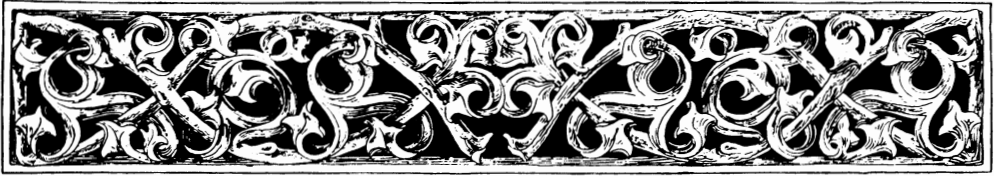
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## Acknowledgments

**T**he writing of history has a way of creating its own history. As Volume Two of *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* came to completion, we looked back over years of involvement with only a faint hope of remembering the contributions of archivists, scholars, and students toward its production. When Volume One came off the press in 1986, the ten-year period of its preparation seemed unusually long, and the promise of Volume Two appeared invitingly close. It was not to be. Little did we realize that political winds were shifting and that vital funding would be sharply curtailed at both the federal and state levels.

Those circumstances actually generated our first debts of gratitude, because the director of the Arizona State Museum, Raymond H. Thompson, defended the value of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW) project despite perilous budget recisions. And the executive directors of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), Richard Jacobs and Gerald George, maintained at least minimal funding for the project when scores of others were jeopardized. We are deeply indebted to Roger Bruns, Mary Giunta, and Nancy Sahli, under whose management the Publications Program of the NHPRC stood steadfastly by us in difficult times. And naturally, we have also to thank the commissioners of the NHPRC, who maintained their confidence in the DRSW project and its worthiness for publication.

We proceeded confidently to structure the forthcoming book, only to learn that its size would far exceed the limitations of book crafting. The central document of this period, Pedro de Rivera's tour of inspection of 1724, discussed in the introduction, was broken out for separate publication. This decision greatly affected the team involved in preparing the remaining documents. Within a month it was clear that an adequate documentary portrayal of the presidio in the north of New Spain would require a second volume in two books. The first book, referred to as Part One, under the general editorship of Charles W. Polzer, S.J., and Thomas E. Sheridan, was entrusted to a varied team of transcribers and translators. The California documents first came into the care of Laura Cummings, then a doctoral candidate in linguistics. Daniel S. Matson, a retired professor of linguistics, began the tedious work of translating a series of select documents. Zarina Estrada, another linguistics doctoral candidate, tackled long and abstruse texts that were mired in historical trivia. The work was accomplished with dogged

## Acknowledgments

determination, even though several of these efforts later had to be excised from the final manuscript. The remaining documents for the California section, some of which proved rather troublesome, were handled by Dale Brenneman and Michael Brescia, both graduate assistants on the DRSW project. The Sinaloa-Sonora documents were entrusted to Jorge Acero, Luz María Hernández, Lauren McElroy, Dan Matson, Rafael Saavedra, Elizabeth Wheeler, and Emily Wilson; the team exchanged work on transcription, translation, verification, and annotation.

Part Two began under the skilled supervision of Thomas H. Naylor, then a doctoral candidate in history. He was originally assisted by Diana Hadley, Patrick Hays, and Raul and Raymunda Saba. Naylor's work was tragically interrupted by his death in a horseback riding accident in the spring of 1990. None of the DRSW staff was prepared to make up for such a substantial loss. His knowledge and love of central Mexico and Texas simply was unmatched, so the task that befell his chief assistant, Diana Hadley, was overwhelming. Part Two of Volume Two slowed to a near-halt. Hadley was best prepared of anyone on the staff to take over the reins of editorship for Part Two. She quickly reached out for help, and it came in the person of Mardith Schuetz-Miller, a longtime scholar of Spanish Texas history. As a friend and confidant of Naylor, Schuetz-Miller was able to flesh out the selection of documents cut short by Naylor's death. By 1992, Part Two was taking shape, and a new team of graduate assistants joined with Hadley to transcribe, translate, verify, and annotate the array of documents that would accompany Schuetz-Miller's contributions to the Texas material. Once again, many efforts were in vain because several selections had to be excised to make the size of the volume manageable. Nevertheless, the DRSW project recognizes the work and skills of Jorge Acero, Jennifer Gilbert, Dan Matson, Raul and Raymunda Saba, and Catherine Tucker. Again, the team of Spanish linguistic scholars of Zarina Estrada, Rosa García Barragán, Lupita Martínez, and Gloria Ciria Valdez-Gardea was indispensable. Osvaldo Barreneche, Dale Brenneman, and Philip Coyle were of special assistance in the preparation of Part Two and have been recognized as assistant editors.

*Presidio and Militia*, Volume Two, like all the publications of the DRSW, represents the work of a team of scholars and students, backed up by a quiet, dedicated staff of persons who manipulate the research database and manage the word processing of documentary texts. In these days of computer typesetting, the responsibility of copyediting has fallen back into the laps of the composers. Our special gratitude goes to Frederick Jandrey, the loyal guardian of the DRSW Master Indexes, to Martha O. Martin for her meticulous entry of Spanish text, to Rubén Flores-Díaz for his computer wizardry, and to Carmen Villa Prezelski and Lupita Martínez for efficient office management while handling scholars, students, and an inquisitive public. With the texts in place, Adam Savin extracted all the terms for the glossary and provided explanatory definitions. Victoria Juárez de Savin inherited the task of finalizing the manuscript with all the complications of modern computer technology; she has performed with distinction.

Once the manuscripts were completed, the University of Arizona Press assigned dedicated editors to hone down the final copy. Special thanks go to Joanne O'Hare, general editor, to Al Schroeder for editing and composition, and Kirsteen Anderson, who saw the bulky manuscripts through final publication.

Charles W. Polzer, S.J.  
*General Editor*

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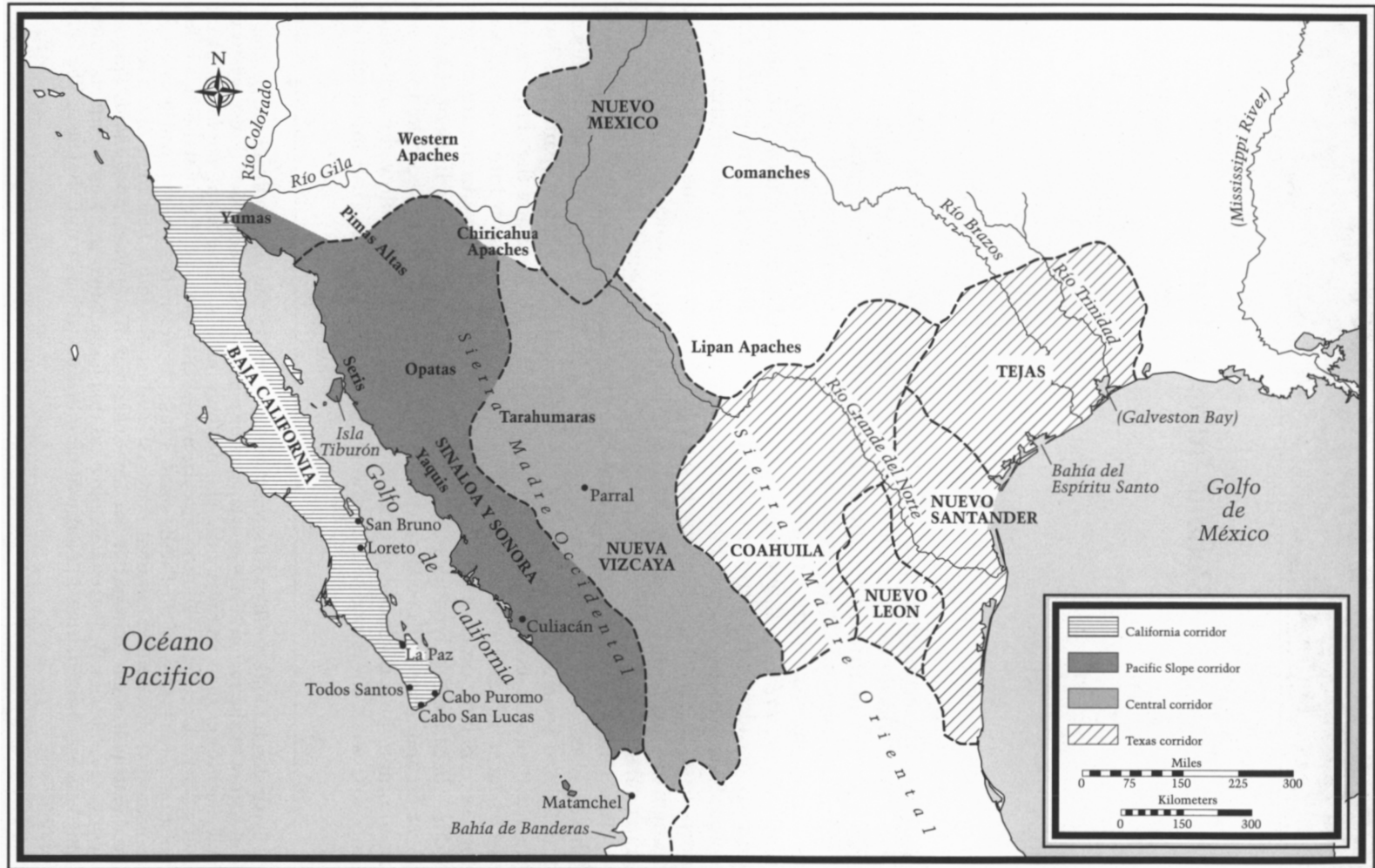
## Volume Introduction

**T**his second volume of *The Presidio and Militia in Northern New Spain*, divided into Parts One and Two, continues the documentary study of the institutional military history of the Spanish Empire in northern New Spain. Whereas the earlier volume, known internally as *Presidio I*, treated a long span of time in a relatively confined geographical region, the current volume, *Presidio II*, picks up the story around 1700 and moves it through only six decades to the early 1760s, but covers a much vaster territory. The first volume was structured primarily on chronology, plotting out the evolution of the presidio as it gained prominence in an expanding frontier. This second volume recognizes regional distinctions and is consequently divided into several geographical sections, which are then handled in chronological fashion.

Part One, this volume, is devoted to events and episodes in the Californias (the early colonial referent for the peninsula of Baja California) and events in Sinaloa and Sonora, the mainland of the northwest coast of New Spain. Part Two, the next volume, concentrates first on presidial presence along the central corridor as far north as New Mexico, then on presidial expansion into Texas. These four sectors have on occasion been described in interpretative literature as “corridors” because the dynamics of expansion followed these four lines of communication and trade with central Mexico. Spillover between the corridors was not uncommon, but in general the major historical dynamics followed north-south lines and were contained within the regions.<sup>1</sup> Another historical interpretation

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1. Expansion into the north of New Spain was dictated by the topographical and geographical nature of the region. Early movements out of the valley of Mexico thrust westward and northward, then to the south. The northern probes followed the *cordillera* of the Sierra Madre Occidental, and the western movements followed the coastal deltas below the mountainous ridge of the Pacific coast. These characteristics created “corridors” of expansion that experienced minimal east-west contact due to the harshness of the terrain. John Francis Bannon follows this corridor concept in his *Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513–1821*. Charles W. Polzer elaborated on this formulation in “Four Corridors to the Kingdom: Spanish Missions in Northern New Spain,” in Jonathan E. Reyman, *The Gran Chichimeca*.



Northern New Spain

sees northern expansion as centered in the heartland of Nueva Vizcaya; this is a thoroughly defensible thesis, but it does not lend itself to an evolutionary analysis of institutions such as the presidio and the mission.<sup>2</sup> After the creation of the Provincias Internas in the last half of the eighteenth century, the corridor concept diminishes in usefulness because Bourbon attempts at uniform administration of the north clouded regional issues. These attempts at uniformity in the Intendancies actually played into the hands of regional division, if for no other reason than the impossibility of administering the political, social, and military needs of a region that stretched from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico from a central headquarters in a tiny village in Sonora.<sup>3</sup> Those who have traversed this terrain know that the idea of controlling such a vast region from Arizpe (Sonora) borders on the ludicrous because of the isolation and asperity of the area. Yet this truth never really registered with the high-minded aristocrats from Europe. The problems of political organization and military effectiveness in this later period do not concern the present documentary study, but they do illustrate the inadequacy of critiquing Spanish colonial policy, especially in regard to the presidial system, according to the model of eighteenth-century reforms, a point discussed in the introduction to Volume One.

When the DRSW project was inaugurated in 1975, the publication objectives were arranged into three categories: (1) the Jesuit Relations of the Southwest, (2) the Franciscan Relations of the Southwest, and (3) the Civil-Military Relations of the Southwest. The third category was recognized and financed by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission as a fundamental contribution to the history of the American West. The earliest research revealed a pattern to presidial history that showed this frontier institution as a response to internal Indian hostility. In other words, the purpose of the presidio was not to advance the military frontier into "enemy" territory which would then be settled by civilian immigrants. The controlling notion behind expansion was the abrupt claim to all lands, occupied or not, that were not in the control of acknowledged sovereigns. More often than not, settlers moved into "unoccupied" lands, only to be followed by military support when conflict arose between the newcomers and native residents. Clearly, this demonstrates both a mentality and a policy quite distinct from our contemporary concepts of aggression, expansion, and occupation.

As Volume One indicated, the presidio as a frontier institution used the model of the North African garrisons that Spain had successfully employed to protect trade routes in the desert. Over time the militia aspects of the presidio gave way more and more to professional soldiering, the ragtag descriptions of the men and their posts notwithstanding. *Presidio I* brought the story of the presidio up to a "pre-professional" period, so when *Presidio II* was being designed, the inspection of the presidial system by Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera emerged as

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2. See O. kah L. Jones, Jr., *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier*.

3. No comprehensive study of the Provincias Internas has been written, although several studies have been done on individual commanders and aspects of their governance. Perhaps the most useful source in expanding on the concerns of this introduction is Luis Navarro García's *José de Gálvez y la comandancia general de las Provincias Internas*.



the linchpin of the study. Around this document the others were to be arranged. It became indisputably clear, however, that the Rivera material was too lengthy to be included with all the other documents in a single volume. Hence, the editors, Naylor and Polzer, chose to present the Rivera material in a separate volume that has been published as *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations of Northern New Spain, 1724–1729*. The linchpin of *Presidio II* was thus broken out, necessitating a different arrangement of documents in this sequel volume. This decision led to the geographical partition of the remaining documents and the further decision to break the second volume into two parts.

### Part One: California and Sinaloa-Sonora

Drought and Indian rebellions in northern New Spain in the last quarter of the seventeenth century unquestionably stalled Spanish expansion into the north. The aftermath of the Toboso Revolt (1660) and the shock of the successful Pueblo Revolt (1680) forced a reconsolidation of Spanish forces in the two existing corridors (Pacific slope and central plateau); the Texas and California corridors were yet to be opened. The almost premature expansion into New Mexico in the early part of the seventeenth century left that colony nearly isolated and dependent on a thin line of supply and communication. The shredding of security in the central corridor by the events of the Toboso rebellion placed the survival of the Spanish settlements of the upper Río Grande in peril.<sup>4</sup> When the Pueblos finally threw off the yoke of Spanish dominion, the settlers retreated to the fringes of Chihuahua, where they found the land poorer for farming and ranching and where they were still subject to hostile raiding.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of the Pueblo Revolt, the other center of Spanish expansion was at Culiacán, Sinaloa, the more-than-century-old base of Nuño de Guzmán and Francisco Ibarra. The Villa de Sinaloa had sprung up in the rich delta lands of the rivers flowing westward from the rugged canyons of the Sierra Madre Occidental. It was a lush, subtropical headquarters for ranching, farming, and lucrative mining. The Crown recognized it as the hub of military activity for the region and supported a fifty-man garrison, whose duties rarely brought them into hostile action against local natives. As a matter of fact, one of the primary responsibilities of the Sinaloa garrison was to respond to threats of French, Dutch, and English pirates who occasionally raided the west-coast ports of New Spain.<sup>6</sup> Curiously, when the Pueblo Revolt erupted, Governor Isidro Atondo y Antillón adamantly refused to send military relief to the beleaguered New Mexican garrison; he had

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4. See chapter ten of *Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard*, by Jack D. Forbes, in which he sets out the idea of the "Great Southwestern Revolt."

5. Studies on the Pueblo Revolt are numerous and of differing value. See Charles Wilson Hackett and Charmion Clair Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, and a more recent overview, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*, by Andrew L. Knaut.

6. See Peter Gerhard, *Pirates on the West Coast of New Spain, 1575–1742*.

been preparing for a new thrust into California to exploit the pearls of the “island” and establish more settlements along the western shores of the Sea of Cortés to increase security. The sense of regional security for the whole frontier was not well defined or generally shared, and Atondo was able to avoid becoming embroiled in the fiasco of New Mexico. After his failure to maintain settlements in California, however, New Spain’s higher administration prevailed on the governors of Sinaloa to split the presidial force and station a “flying company” in the heart of Sonora, in order to keep the flame of revolt from spreading too deeply into the western flanks of the Sierra.<sup>7</sup> This detachment was in full operation at the time the reconquest of New Mexico was begun by Diego de Vargas (1692–93), which meant that the western perimeter would be maintained as a secure front against hostile Indians from New Mexico. In fact, it was during this very period that the classical Apache menace grew to new proportions and called for increased Spanish military action, a policy well illustrated in *Presidio I* in the campaigns of Generals Domingo Jironza and Fernández de la Fuente.

The opening of the California corridor had stronger apostolic motives than military ones. Continual failures to settle the island were adequate proof to the Crown that California would prove valuable only as a possible site to succor the Manila galleon and to save countless abandoned peoples through religious conversion. As the documents in the California section will show, the conversion of California loomed as a major ascetical exercise. Everything, it seemed, became subject to the judgment and purposes of the rector of the California missions. From the moment of the agreement between the Society of Jesus and the viceroy that the Californias could be reopened without expense to the Crown, the Jesuits carefully controlled entry into and residence on the peninsula. The twenty years when the California missions were under the jurisdiction of Father Juan María Salvatierra (1697–1717)—who insisted on the independence of the missions—and almost twenty more years under subsequent rectors, were nearly void of challenges to the religious hegemony. Only after the Guaicuro Revolt (1734) did the secular authority of the governor of Sinaloa mount a serious challenge. The fight ensued for several years, with Governor Bernal de Huidobro ultimately losing upon the removal of his hand-picked Captain Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo. The controversy was both philosophical and pragmatic, as the documents of Miguel Venegas and Licenciado Vedoya will demonstrate. But what the missionaries genuinely did not perceive was the profound change of Bourbon policy under Charles III. In retrospect, while the Jesuits were winning battles of authority in protecting the primacy of the rector of the missions, they were losing a larger war as the Crown instituted more and more secular policies that one day would lead to the expulsion of the Jesuits not only from the Californias, but from the entire empire. The role of the California missions was perhaps more influential in contributing to Charles III’s decision to expel the Society than many commentators have intimated.

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7. See Charles W. Polzer, “Long Before the Blue Dragoons: Spanish Military Operations in Northern Sonora and the Pimería Alta,” in Bruno J. Rolak, *Military History of the Spanish-American Southwest*.

Huidobro's rebuff in his challenge to Jesuit authority in California came at a turbulent time in his own political and military career, because the Yaqui Indians of the Sonoran deltas rose in revolt against Spanish rule. The revolt, as the documents will show, was not unconnected to the situation in California, where the Yaquis had performed valiantly in suppressing the southern revolt on the peninsula. But Huidobro's military power and political prowess were strained to the breaking point by a revolt that threatened isolated Spanish settlements in the northwest as well as supply and communication with California. Much attention was being paid to northern expansion, spearheaded by Francisco de Aysa, the Marqués de Castillos de Aysa, president and governor of Nueva Galicia. These events played into the hands of Viceroy Pedro Cebrian, the Conde de Fuenclara, and more so his successor, Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas, the Conde de Revillagigedo. A very unsubtle solution was to remove Huidobro from the governorship and to bestow it on the effective military commander Agustín de Vildósola. This change merged well with the overall designs for expansion into the northwest in the decade of the 1740s—the only unforeseen drawback was the stubborn resurgence of Seri opposition, which was later joined by a revolt among the Pimas in 1751. Each of these developments is followed in the Sinaloa-Sonora section, showing how very clear changes in Spanish policy and attitude elicited staunch opposition from native peoples who until then had been attracted to inclusion in the empire by generous and relatively tolerant mission policies. The new climate of military dominance charged the atmosphere of resentment and resistance.

## Part Two: *The Central Corridor: New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya*

Although New Mexico is frequently portrayed as the heartland of the Spanish Southwest, it was really the tip of a rapidly thrust sword of expansion that was always difficult to sustain and more difficult to administer. Cabeza de Vaca had inadvertently wandered across its southern flanks on his desperate trek of survival in 1539, and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's pseudo-triumphant expedition of empire building in 1542 linked the fortunes of the Pueblos and the Spaniards together almost from the beginning of the conquest. It was always a strange, tumultuous, and fragile marriage. New Mexico, thought to be a land of inestimable riches, revealed itself as the "land of enchantment" that beguiled adventurers, offered respite from the searing desert transits, and flirted with political and social disaster. More than one Spanish *adelantado* saw his fortunes dashed or reversed there.

South of New Mexico, the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya was truly the heartland of the northern provinces. The historical reality was that the north-central corridor of New Spain was the trunk from which the Crown drained a flow of silver that justified vast commitments of manpower and money. The writing of United States history has so over-concentrated on the flower of New Mexico it has overlooked the fount of nutrients that gushed from the mining and military communities of Nueva Vizcaya. Were it not for the riches of these northern provinces,

Spain may never have tolerated the much less lucrative and more contentious province on New Spain's northern rim.

Following an editorial and historiographic philosophy that views Spanish expansion from south to north, *Presidio II* concerns itself less with explaining social or military events in New Mexico in isolation than presenting them as a component of a more integrated picture that predated the political divisions of nineteenth-century border making. The documentary portrayal of New Mexico in this study is comparatively sketchy because we consider that the work of earlier scholars has presented an ample array of critical documents.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the surviving record does not provide evidence for any evolutionary analysis of the Santa Fe presidio. Without question this garrison was firmly in the hands of the colonists, who demonstrated a staunch military presence in the province. Apparently, the merchant-settlers maintained control over presidial assignments through the decisions of the *cabildo*—a typical frontier procedure. But only a careful microanalysis of extant documents might reveal these particulars, and such a research requirement exceeds the capabilities of this editorial project. We hope that the documents devoted to New Mexico in this volume will place that presidio in a sufficient context to evoke the kind of investigation that will lead to a much more elaborate and exhaustive treatment.

## Part Two: The Texas Corridor

A tenuous parallel exists between the expansionist moves into California and Texas. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 shook the Crown into the realization that maintaining colonies on a vast and distant frontier required firm military commitment. No sooner had the Native Americans rebelled on the Río Grande than word drifted into New Spain of French incursions into neighboring Texas. The abortive settlement of Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, spurred the Crown to order protective expeditions into the endless Texas hill country. Indian villages needed to be stitched into a new missionary frontier as protection against French expansion. The closer French settlements moved toward the eastern flanks of the Sierra Madre Oriental, the stronger the threat to previously secure silver mines in the central corridor. Having proven La Salle's presence at Fort St. Louis on the Lavaca River, Spain decided on a series of major expeditions to open mission communities in the far eastern plains. As the documents in Part Two demonstrate, the sheer expanse and hostile natural environment made the opening of the fourth corridor a costly and fragile venture. Far distant California was a totally different problem set for the Crown, because the only defense required there was adequate sea power and vigilance against northern European marauders.

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8. The effort to provide documentary translations for the history of New Mexico has been an impressive undertaking. See especially Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* and Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*. See also the works of George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, such as *The Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542*, and *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580–1594*.

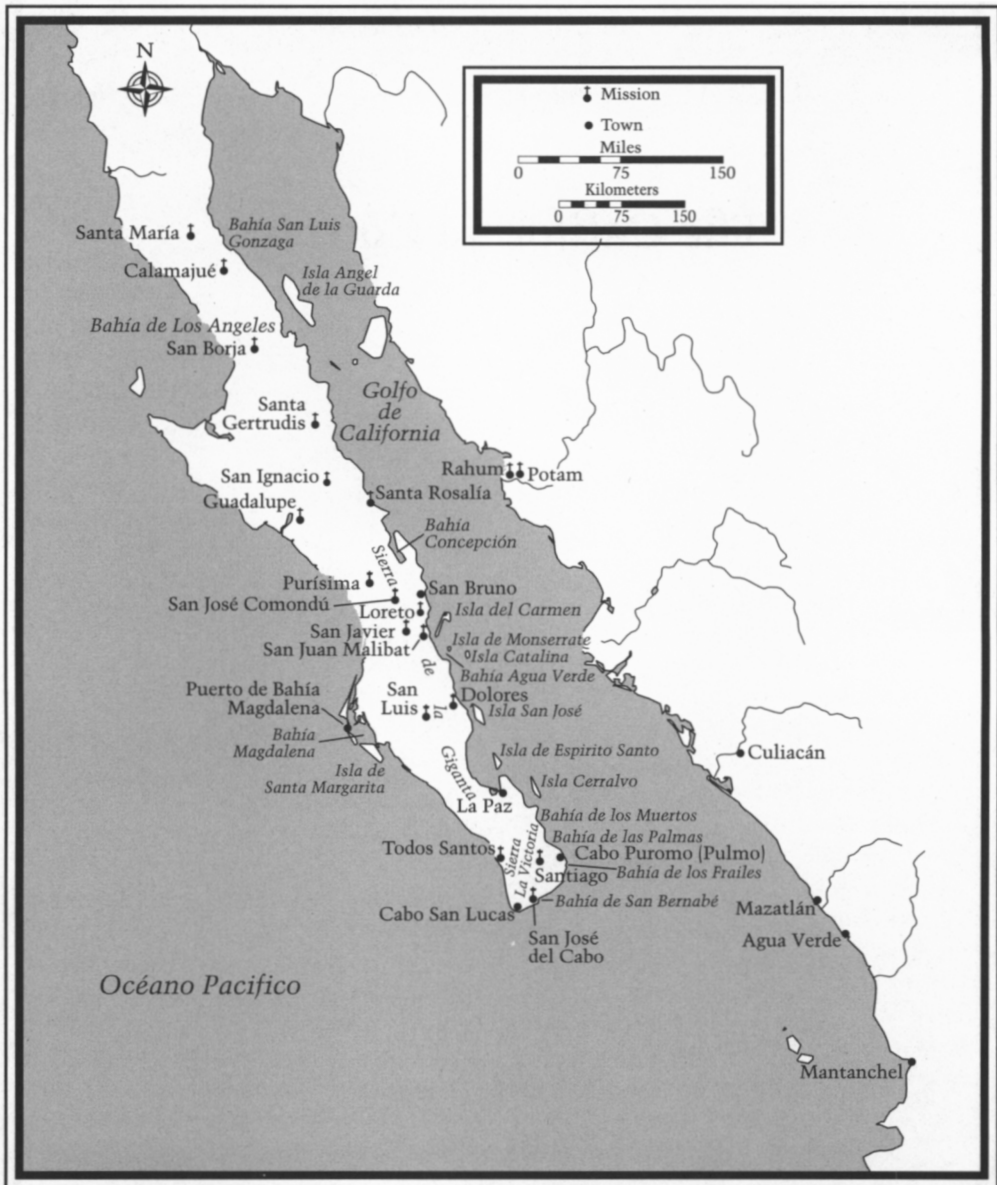
Texas, in contrast, called for networks of cooperative Indian missions and strategically placed presidios that truly taxed the ability of New Spain to sustain overland supply and communication; New Mexico's isolation was paltry by comparison. Nor was the problem solved until the Spaniards finally established support services by ship in the Gulf of Mexico. If anything, the documents presented here reflect the back-breaking work of trying to maintain military posts across endless rivers, streams, arroyos, and arid hill country. "Bridging Texas" might be the fairest characterization of Spanish expansion as far as Los Adaes; it is a feat rarely celebrated in historical memory.

### *The Methodology of PRESIDIO II*

No significant differences between the methods employed in *Presidio I* and *Presidio II* exist. The documents for the volume were selected in each instance by the editor of the particular geographic section or corridor. Charles W. Polzer, S.J., investigated California; Thomas E. Sheridan, Sinaloa and Sonora; Diana J. Hadley, New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya; and Mardith Schuetz-Miller, Texas. Each section followed the same procedures, namely, that after pertinent documents were selected to demonstrate the patterns of presidial development and involvement, those texts were established, transcribed, and verified. The transcriptions were altered into modern orthography to assist Spanish readers, but no attempt was made to change words or proper names, especially place-names. These transcriptions were submitted to graduate student translators whose texts were reviewed, corrected if necessary, and verified against the original paleographic script. The editors, sometimes assisted by advanced graduate students, then annotated the translations where explanations were deemed beneficial.

A more detailed description of the methodology for these volumes can be found in the introduction to Volume One. There has been no significant departure from any of those processes from selection to final translation. Every attempt has been made to standardize spellings, but in such a vast amount of documentary material pertaining to adjacent geographical regions and almost contemporaneous time periods, orthography and individual usages may have escaped our vigilance. For example, Licenciado Vedoya may have signed himself with a "V," whereas a commentator ten years earlier may have referred to him as Bedoya. Even with the modern marvels of word processors and global changes, not every instance will have been altered. Place-names have been preserved in their more original forms with only slight modernizations allowed. For example, "Theuricatzi" was altered to "Teuricachi" to conform with contemporary spelling, but "Puromo," as an original place-name, was preserved rather than using its contemporary corruption, "Cabo Pulmo." The editors acknowledge the immense and sensitive problem encountered in translating such an array of writing styles, rhetorical nuances, and sometimes, undeniable literary incompetence. Whenever we reached a point of total frustration, we consoled ourselves with the knowledge that the reader would have access to the original text. These moments notwithstanding, we assert confidence in the work of the DRSW team and its dogged determination to present the best text and translation possible; the history of America deserves no less.

# *The California Corridor*



Baja California



## Introduction

**T**he military history of the Californias may at first appear peripheral to significant events in New Spain. In terms of military strategy, tactics, engagements with hostiles, and manpower, presidial presence was almost marginal in comparison to the responsibilities of military commanders on the mainland, in New Mexico and Texas. The Californias were isolated in almost every imaginable way from the commerce-driven expansion north from Mexico City. Nor was the peninsula a favorite duty post for most Spanish soldiers; in fact, the austerity and isolation made it nearly ideal as a destination for criminals who were sentenced to service in the presidios. For the most part, the firm control of the Jesuits turned this policy around, however, and men sent to serve on the peninsula had to meet stringent disciplinary criteria. This unusual situation will be borne out in the documents that follow.

Throughout this section reference is made to “the Californias,” which may easily be misconstrued in modern terminology. At the time of Spanish expansion in northwestern New Spain, the Californias began as a geographical mystery. Some of the earliest explorers understood well that in the southern latitudes California was a narrow peninsula, but in time the desire to find a northwest passage to the Orient led Spaniards to believe that the Sea of Cortés split off the great island of California from the mainland of New Spain; a northern passage seemed more feasible if the Californias were an island chain.

Fernán Cortés’s ill-fated colony at La Paz and another nearly 150 years of failures to establish pearl-fishing settlements on the peninsula kept California free from development. Serious interest in the peninsula was rekindled by Miguel López de Legaspi’s expedition across the Pacific that began the Manila galleon trade in 1565.<sup>1</sup> The treacherously long return trip, which utilized trade winds and currents in the northern Pacific, invariably found the sailors falling deathly ill

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1. For summary descriptions of explorations along the California coast in the early years of contact, see Alvaro del Portillo, *Descubrimientos y exploraciones en las costas de California, 1532–1650*. The classic work on the Manila galleon remains William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*.



from scurvy about the time they made landfall on the west coast of North America. Spain searched frantically for a suitable port along the vast extent of coastline but found no place that could be supplied and sustained so far from Acapulco. The southerly currents and prevailing winds sped the inbound galleons to Acapulco, but the same conditions stymied northbound supply ships from efficiently supporting a north Pacific base. California was the recognized turning point for the dash to Mexico's coastal ports, but by then the crews were suffering immensely. So one of the prime objects of California occupation was the discovery and maintenance of a Pacific coast port to give succor to the galleon crews. No port was ever successfully established to service the galleon trade, even after the occupation of Alta California in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In choosing documents to illustrate the role of the presidio in the Californias, several choices were made that allude to the critical role of the maritime supply for the peninsula. While the central issue of *Presidio II* has been to document the establishment and operation of the presidio on the frontier of New Spain, no other sector was as dependent on naval forces and supply. The importance of maritime involvement in the Californias persisted down to the establishment of the naval district of San Blas that supported the expeditions to Monterey and Alta California in the post-Jesuit period.<sup>2</sup> Hence, we chose to include several documents that underscored the difficulty and the cost of maintaining ships in the warm gulf waters. Even shipwrecks were meticulously scavenged to reclaim scarce woods and hardware.

#### COLONIZATION, MISSIONS, AND PRESIDIOS

Historians have inferred an almost substantive relation between presidial garrisons and missions among the indigenous peoples of the New World. The sword and the cross are understood as the *sine qua non* of Spanish imperial expansion such that the conversion of native peoples happened less from free acceptance of Christianity than steel-enforced submission to ecclesiastical authority. These observations and interpretations unfortunately oversimplify the rather complex interplay between these two frontier institutions. The case of California provides an unusually insightful, albeit somewhat esoteric and exceptional, occasion to study this relationship. As will be seen from the documents, the first permanent occupation of the peninsula was masterminded and managed minutely by the Jesuit missionaries under Father Juan María Salvatierra in 1697. His accurate assessment of errors in previous attempts to colonize California fashioned a very effective policy to control secular presence on the peninsula. And it should be added that Salvatierra's own notions were deeply influenced and conditioned by the experience of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who had served as rector of the missions on the expeditions of Admiral Atondo y Antillón in the 1680s.<sup>3</sup> The Jesuits had grown to distrust military procedures in dealing with native peoples. So

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2. See Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas*.

3. Kino's insistence on returning to missionize the Californias after Atondo's abortive expeditions impressed Salvatierra so deeply he concurred with Kino in 1691 that a renewed

from the outset, when Viceroy José Sarmiento Valladares granted the Jesuits permission to reopen the Californias at their own expense, the California missionaries were granted control over selecting manpower for the peninsula. Again, this unusual situation will be borne out in the documents; the control was maintained even after the Crown consented to pay the salaries of the soldiers and sailors assigned to duty in the Californias.<sup>4</sup>

The discovery of California happened quite by accident when the mutinous pilot Fortún Jiménez de Bertandoña encountered the "island" in 1533, although rumors had persisted for nearly a decade about an island to the west peopled entirely by women.<sup>5</sup> Two years later Cortés decided to colonize the island so he could establish a base to interdict the activities of his rival, Nuño de Guzmán. But political and family problems beset the young marqués, who had to return to Mexico City in 1536. The recently arrived viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, ordered the abandonment of the California enterprise, which languished for more than half a century until the concerted expeditions of Sebastián de Vizcaíno. True, Francisco de Ulloa,<sup>6</sup> acting on the orders of Cortés, had explored and reached the northern limits of the Gulf of California in 1539, but nothing came of that venture because Mendoza was committed to the overland explorations of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado at the same time.

The earliest phase of California history began with the attempt of Fernán Cortés to establish a *población* on the southeastern part of the peninsula along the bay of La Paz. This was an appealing and well-sheltered harbor that could serve as a base for northern explorations, because no one was yet sure how far west Aníán (Japan) might be. Cortés's colony was established in 1533 but was very short-lived. Spain saw no reason to commit men and money to the sterile colony and abandoned efforts on the peninsula. Even the successful galleon trade did not influence efforts to colonize California until Sir Francis Drake breached the security of the Pacific in 1585, twenty years after Andrés de Urdaneta opened the trans-Pacific route between Acapulco and Manila.<sup>7</sup> Even then, the Spaniards continued in a false sense of safety until Thomas Cavendish with three small ships seized the treasure-laden *Santa Ana* off the tip of Baja California. As fate would have it, one of the survivors was a merchant, Sebastián Vizcaíno, whose losses stimulated him to search out a defensible site for the exposed and under-

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effort should be mounted by the Society; see *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, edited by Herbert E. Bolton.

4. For a relatively complete investigation into the economics of the California missions, see Ignacio del Río, *Conquista y aculturación en la California jesuitica, 1697-1768*. For an instructive analysis of the financing of the California missions, see María del Carmen Velázquez, *Cuentos de sirvientes de tres haciendas*.

5. See Portillo, *Descubrimientos*, p.120ff.

6. Francisco de Ulloa was a relative of Fernán Cortés and was familiar with the western waters and the California coast. He was sent out by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to explore the northern waters of the gulf prior to Coronado's overland expedition. See Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado*.

7. See John Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake*.

defended merchant ships returning from the Philippines.<sup>8</sup> In 1596, just nine years after the humiliating defeat at Cavendish's hands, Vizcaíno returned to California to establish a port and to exploit the pearl beds. Then in 1602, under direct orders from King Philip III, he led a major expedition to map the California coast and select a suitable port for protecting the galleons. Although his expedition reached the high latitudes of the Pacific, he failed to find a port or a way to supply one.

Attempts to colonize the Californias waned once again, but the victorious invasion of the South Sea by Admiral Joris van Spilbergen jolted the Spanish Crown to resume defensive measures to protect both the coastal villages of the Pacific and the vulnerable, lightly armed galleons. From 1615 onwards, the fear of Dutch pirates infected the coast, and every unfamiliar sail was thought to be that of a *pichilingue*, a derogatory Spanish name for a Dutchman; the name has lingered on to this day for a particular small bay near La Paz, Baja California Sur.<sup>9</sup> Viceroy Francisco Pacheco y Orozco, the Marqués de Cerralvo, ordered Francisco de Ortega in 1628 to explore the coast to find a suitable and defensible harbor. Ortega's two expeditions, which lasted into the mid-1630s, were responsible for the erection of a small fort and settlement at La Paz, but this venture was abandoned for lack of food and supplies, according to the Jesuit historian Miguel Venegas. Ortega disappeared from the scene and two other futile attempts were made by his pilot, Esteban Carbonel and a Francisco Vergara.

The next serious effort to colonize California occurred in late 1636, when Captain Don Pedro Porter de Casanate was licensed to settle on the peninsula, but legalities and a furtive trip to Spain delayed his preparations until 1640. Ships were constructed for the crossing, but jealous speculators on the Sinaloa coast burned the ships and destroyed the base Porter had made at the mouth of the Río de Santiago. He made a final effort in 1648–49 to find a suitable place to establish a settlement, but nothing could be found, and he terminated the enterprise while accepting a governorship in Chile.<sup>10</sup> Then in 1663, Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero sought permission to exploit the Californias, which he did by pearl fishing and mistreating the Indians. He failed to fulfill contractual promises and was ordered to try again in 1667. Nothing seems to have happened under Piñadero's leadership; he then relinquished his interests in the Californias to Admiral Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón in 1678. Atondo's California expedition five years later finally opened the door to permanent settlement, not so much for its expeditionary success as for its definitive failure, which made the subsequent offers of the Society of Jesus more attractive to the Crown. It is at this point that the documents in this volume resume the story of presidial presence in the Californias.

The repeated failures to colonize California from Cortés to Atondo discouraged the Spanish Crown from further attempts. Hence, when the second attempt of Atondo to maintain a permanent settlement at San Bruno collapsed because of

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8. See Portillo, *Descubrimientos*.

9. See Engel Sluiter, *The Dutch on the Pacific Coast of America, 1598–1621*.

10. See Portillo, *Descubrimientos*.

drought and lack of supplies from the mainland, Father Eusebio Kino's insistence on returning to evangelize the Indian peoples was acceptable on the grounds that the missionization effort would be mounted at no expense to the royal treasury. Kino had been rector for the incipient missions as well as the royal cosmographer on the expedition, so he knew the situation very well. Years of frustration were met with a firm, if foolhardy, plan to accomplish at least a part of the royal design for California. There would be no effort to establish a colony, but the missionaries could work on the conversion of the natives and, through them, maintain a secure port for the galleon trade. It made sense, as it promised to be free from royal expense.

Missionization of the Californias really did not resemble that of the mainland, especially in regard to the relations between the clergy and the secular individuals permitted to reside on the peninsula. However one may wish to typify colonization on the peninsula during Jesuit times, the process was clearly distinguished from what was happening elsewhere. Since the only non-religious persons allowed on the peninsula were subject to the approval and control of the rector of the missions, there was tight control over any exploitation of Indian peoples and expansion into Indian lands. Obviously this aggravated the tensions between those Spaniards who saw California as a land of untapped resources and the missionaries, who knew from experience that exploitation and poor example would only destroy any efforts for permanent settlement. Jesuit control continued without serious challenge until the rebellion of the Pericúes in the southern sector in 1734. Although the presidial forces under Captain Esteban Rodríguez were bringing the rebels under control, the viceroy ordered Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, to intervene more than a year after the initial uprising.<sup>11</sup> Having put the rebellion to rest to his satisfaction, he attempted to control the military personnel and to satisfy their economic ambitions, which so irritated the missionaries that Huidobro himself was brought under sustained attack. The archives are filled with accusations, rejoinders, decrees, and appeals that have added fuel to a relatively unproductive dispute. Some of these materials are included in this documentary history as evidence of the nature of the controversy.

The colonization of California had failed, but the missionization, although a terrible struggle, was relatively successful. Just as colonization failed because resources were so limited on the peninsula, so would the missions have failed except for the fact that the Society of Jesus settled on a policy of subsidizing the missions with charitable donations from the mainland and with a system of supply from the closest missions in Sinaloa and Sonora. Thus, the Jesuits' problem remained one of constant supply and protection of the maritime trade. Some of the documents in this section deal with appeals for the replacement of ships that were disintegrating or that were lost at sea. California was flatly dependent on the mainland for food, tools, and clothing. It is frankly difficult to imagine how the missionaries and Spanish soldiers lived in such deprivation with patience and equanimity. But the high purpose of converting the Indian peoples to Christianity demanded an asceticism found only in rare individuals. This explains the rigorous

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11. See Sigismundo Taraval, *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734-1737*.

screening of candidates for the California missions. Only those Jesuits who could meet the requirements of health, personal character, and spiritual motivation had a chance to serve on the peninsula. Similarly, the rector of the missions applied stringent rules in selecting the men who were to be assigned to the presidial company—who were not always as satisfactory as in the case of religious designees.

Throughout these volumes on the presidio and the militia in northern New Spain, the central question has been how and why the presidios were established and, to a limited degree, how they functioned in their specific regions. As intimated previously, the presidio in California was primarily a garrison of men selected to protect the establishment of missions among the native peoples of the peninsula. There were no commercial or secular settlements, save those of the soldiers themselves, that demanded military protection. This remained true for the better part of half a century, and even then secular interests were very limited.

With the aftermath of the Pericúe rebellion in 1734 the issue of a second presidio in the south was broached, but to establish a full garrison and maintain it with the limited number of supply vessels and limited funds available was virtually impossible. The decision was finally made to reduce the garrison to a squadron of cavalry based at San José del Cabo whose entire complement was subject to the captain at Loreto. Even this garrison was considered too far removed and difficult to supply, so the unit was moved to Todos Santos, which was relatively close to La Paz, and to some small bays on the Pacific shores of the peninsula. This remained the situation in California until the coming of Inspector General José de Gálvez, who directed the establishment of a presidio at San Diego in what was to become Alta California.<sup>12</sup> Hence, the military history of the Californias centers on Loreto and the frustrated desire of the Crown to open a port on the southern tip of the peninsula that could protect both missions and itinerant galleons.

#### PRESIDIOS, MISSIONS, AND THEOCRACY

The presidial history of California in itself is of minor significance and would not merit so much attention were it not for its role in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish Empire in 1767. The fixation on the Jesuits by Charles III only compounded his fears, and the members of the court and the Council of the Indies were solicitous of the wildest rumors to confirm their strong anti-Jesuit convictions. The arrival in Mexico of José de Gálvez in 1765 introduced a powerful personality into the political scene of New Spain and played into the hands of the critics of Jesuit mission policy in the Californias as well as expansionist speculators. Gálvez was ready to believe almost any exaggeration that placed the Jesuits in a poor light; one can detect a special rancor in his distaste for the powers exer-

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12. See Luis Navarro García, *José de Gálvez y la comandancia general de las Provincias Internas del norte de Nueva España*.

cised by the missionary authorities. But the solutions he proposed were precisely the ones that were unworkable in the austere environment of the peninsula.

Not a few commentators through the centuries have tried to characterize the Jesuit venture in the Californias as an unabashed attempt to establish a theocracy. This extreme accusation is very well offset by the detailed comments of Father Miguel Venegas in his unpublished manuscript "Empresas apostólicas," a part of which is included in this documentary overview. Venegas's analysis is, in fact, a critical statement about the relationship of the California missions and the secular power of the Crown, particularly as it relates to military authority. These chapters from Venegas's manuscript reveal an unusual and complex situation in which the religious superiors of the California missions exercised almost unparalleled powers over both land and sea forces. Nevertheless, the power held and exercised by the rector of the missions was totally subject to the Crown, the Council of the Indies, and the viceroy. Clearly, the organizational plan for the operation of the missions was not concocted in some philosophical vacuum to align itself with avant-garde theories. Yet, the primacy of the religious goals of Christianity are sharply in evidence. In many ways, this is what makes the case of the Californias so fascinating as a study in the development and refinement of church and state relations. Without question, the unusual arrangement in California attracted the attention of secular absolutists in Spain and made California a prime target at the time of the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the empire. The arrival of Gálvez in Mexico and his fixation on the California missions constitute one of the more bizarre aberrations in the history of northern New Spain. These documents will cast a great deal of light on the fiction of how California's mission system was thought to menace the security of royal interests in northern expansion. Precisely because the mission system of California was so distinct from that of the northwest coast, some Bourbon ideologues conceived a worst-case scenario that would help to justify the elimination of the Jesuits as rivals to their worldly ambitions. California was born in a shroud of mythology, and California continued to cloak the truth from them because they refused to accept the austere reality of one of the world's most hostile environments.

Depending on one's definition of theocracy, California under the Jesuits may or may not fulfill the definition. Certainly the religious leaders were not absolute in their authority, which was always subject to viceregal approval. But the rector of the California missions had unusual powers in naming the presidial commanders and in controlling the manpower and activities of the maritime complements. The central issue of control was never over the exercise of professional duties, which were left to the discretion of the particular captain or commander, but over personal conduct. The missionaries were adamant that the soldiers' lives would be exemplary—not taking advantage of native women or exploiting native labor. Unbefitting conduct frequently led to expulsion from the peninsula or a severe reduction in pay—it was the missionaries' prerogative to approve the payment of salaries. Immoral or irreligious conduct was subject to punishment. So in this sense the role of authority served the purposes of a religious society, but that is where the issue ends. Eventually, as Spain's concerns for coastal defense increased, there was more and more concentration on exploration; new impetus was being given to colonization. Hence, the weight of authority exercised by the

rector of the missions began to work against newly perceived interests. Nonetheless, the system was sustained until the expulsion of the Jesuits from the empire in 1767, when the Bourbon reforms radically altered the relation of secular to ecclesiastical authority in the missions. As many documents in other sections of this presidial study will demonstrate, the social climate of New Spain was experiencing a growing professionalism among the military, and even the militia character of defense was giving way to a concerted policy of professional militarism.

#### DOCUMENTS IN THIS SECTION: AN OVERVIEW

As the introduction has indicated, the military history of the Californias has an unusual and uneven record. The earliest contact with the regions did not really require a permanent military post, as Spanish presence was exploitative. The conversion of native peoples, which might require protective measures, became an issue only in the mid-1650s. Hence, this section opens with a document of Admiral Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón regarding the establishment of the *real* of San Bruno in 1685. We consider this the first stage of what eventually became a permanent Spanish presence on the peninsula, and the results of his expedition set the tone for the return of the Jesuit missionaries in 1697. Indeed, the problems Atondo faced and the frustrations experienced by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino shaped the policies by which the Society of Jesus offered to evangelize the peninsula at their own expense. The decision by Father Juan María Salvatierra to abandon the site of San Bruno and to open the mission of Loreto slightly to the south launched the permanent settlement of the Californias. Again, presidial presence was entirely auxiliary to the program of missionization. The changing evaluation of the Crown's role can be seen in the subsequent documents, and by the time of Salvatierra's death (1717) the control of the rector of the missions over the military was confirmed, as was the financial support awarded by the royal treasury. The documents then continue to underscore the recurrent concerns for shipping and for protection for the Manila galleons.

The major military engagement in the Californias in the eighteenth century is omitted from this study because the key document has been published as a separate book. Father Sigismundo Taraval's detailed account has appeared in translation by Marguerite Eyre Wilbur in *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734–1737*. The aftermath of the campaign against the Guaicuros in the southern sectors of the peninsula is, however, included in these documents because the relations between the Jesuits and Governor Manuel Bernal de Huidobro directly affected the organization and functioning of the military. The campaign itself did not differ in any particulars from any other presidial police action on the mainland. One of the muster rolls provided reveals the significant involvement of Indian auxiliaries.

Despite intense efforts to discover presidial records for Loreto in the archives of Spain and Mexico, very few have survived, if they ever existed. This seems to confirm the observation that the presidio was far less a military outpost than a garrison of soldiers assigned to protect and assist missionaries in their remote sites—a point strongly insisted on by Father Miguel Venegas. The lengthy treatise on the relation of the presidio and the Jesuit missions is a cardinal issue; it explains why the history of the California presidios is so unique and outside the

mainstream of documentation. Since Venegas wrote the “*Empresas apostólicas*” at the height of the controversy with Governor Manuel Huidobro, some of the documents regarding the controversy are included. Unfortunately, more ink was spilled over the litigation regarding Huidobro and his choices for captaincies than the issue fundamentally merited. It seems that the attorneys for the viceroyalty were as anxious to have done with the squabble as the Jesuits were.

As these documents will indicate, the question of a southern presidio was resolved when it was decided to maintain only a mobile garrison in the south—effectively a “flying company” that required almost no manpower for separate maintenance. After much trial and error, the squadron of the south was assigned to the environs of Todos Santos, where it could still patrol the coast as far as Cabo San Lucas and remain in close support of La Paz, which was the key communications link to Loreto and the mainland. The documents conclude with a review of the acquisition of a new vessel and the account of a shipwreck on the remote southern coast. These documents were chosen in order to emphasize the critical role of the maritime supply route in the establishment and maintenance of the presidial garrisons, which was a rather unique problem as compared with the supply of mainland forces. Indeed, the stark nature of military operations on the peninsula stands in such sharp contrast to the rest of New Spain that deficiencies of expansionist policies become more obvious.







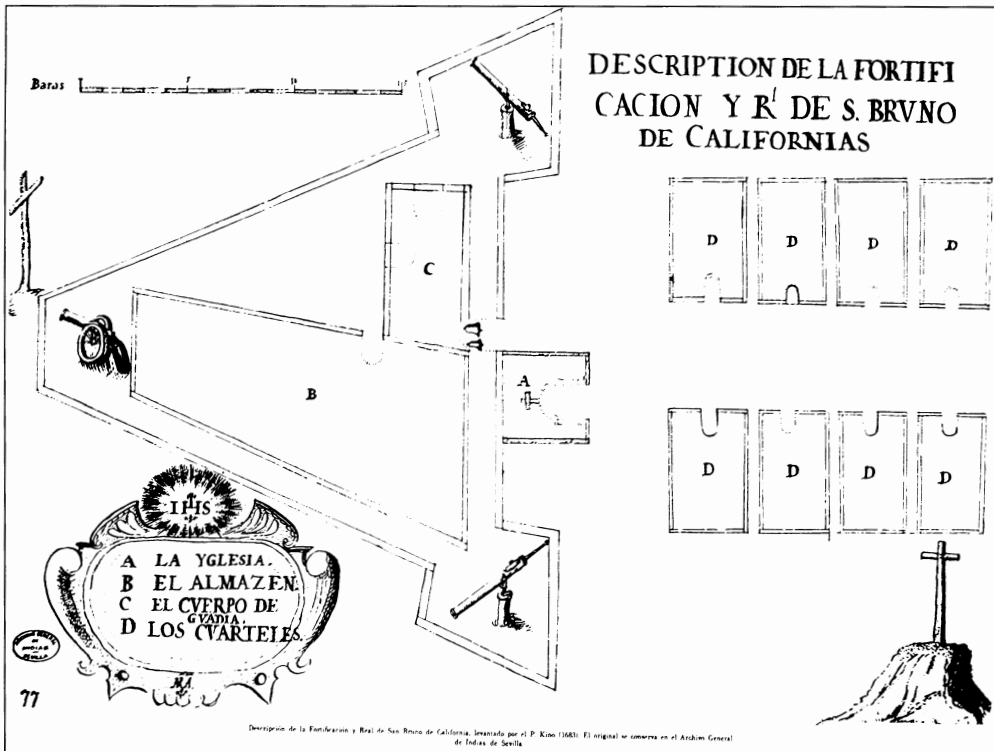
# I

## Return to the Californias (1683-1722)

### Admiral Don Isidro Atondo to Viceroy de la Cerda y Aragón, 1683

**A**fter two weeks on the eastern California coast Admiral Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón reports on his successful landing. The California expedition demonstrated Atondo's strong commitment to the project inasmuch as he had denied assistance to the other northern provinces in the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico (1680). As presidial captain of Sinaloa, he was called upon for immediate aid, but he adamantly refused on the grounds that he had been preparing for the all-important entrada into California. His first abortive landing at the bay of La Paz was fresh in his mind, so he was looking for an equally favorable location among Indians who did not manifest the same degree of hostility as the peoples of the southern region. The letter reveals some interesting misconceptions about California and where he thought he had landed. In noting the place where the expedition disembarked, he calls it the "Río Grande" that had been reported at much higher latitudes — that is, the Río Colorado. Most probably a large discharge of water from the Sierra de la Giganta confused the Spaniards, who had heard many conflicting descriptions of rivers flowing into the gulf.

Over the next several months Atondo constructed an ample stone fortification at the bend of the river about two miles from the beach. The ruins of the presidio have survived into this century as a memorial to the isolation and austerity of the region. Atondo's appraisal of the presidial site was not inaccurate, given a sufficient supply of water. Several cattle ranches flourish in the vicinity, and upstream there are several hundred acres of agricultural fields. All these endeavors are dependent on deep water wells with mechanical pumps, unavailable to the Spaniards of the time.



*Plan of Admiral Don Isidro Atondo's fortification at San Bruno in Baja California, drawn P. Eusebio F. Kino, S. J. (Courtesy Archivo General de Indias, Seville)*

October 15, 1683

ATONDO TO THE VICEROY



our Lordship:

I place at your feet a short report covering the period from September 27. I have already sent a letter to your excellency relating what happened up to that time in California.<sup>1</sup>

On the feast day of San Miguel, the twenty-ninth of last month, I set out from the port of San Lucas (since the weather permitted), and on the sixth of this present month the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* dropped anchor on this coast that the maps and charts call Río Grande.<sup>2</sup> Although it is reported at a latitude of 30 degrees, and in some cases at 31 degrees, the pilots of this fleet, by different obser-

1. Atondo to the viceroy. AGI, Mexico 56; San Lucas, September 25, 1683.

2. The Río Grande, thirty-three kilometers north of Loreto, is actually the arroyo of San Bruno, which intermittently drains one section of the Sierra de la Giganta to the west.

vations, have found it to be at  $26\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, notwithstanding that, comprised of islands and inlets, it lacks a coastline.<sup>3</sup>

On the feast day of San Bruno, I disembarked with some infantry and the missionary fathers. The *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung and a prayer said in honor of the Holy Cross, which was made from the first piece of wood found on the beach.<sup>4</sup> I continued up river about a league until we met some twelve or thirteen friendly Indians, to whom we gave some trifles from the alms his majesty provided for this new conversion. The valley and land where the said natives live appears good; it is more pleasing than what we have seen until now in California. The natives say that corn, wheat, and all kinds of grains can be grown in a circumference of ten leagues from where we are looking as far as the mountains that surround the valley. There are abundant pastures for the horses and cattle, although we found the river short of water. For drinking water it has been necessary to dig holes in the sand on the beach. As it is so near the beginning of October, which is the dry season in New Spain, we expect there will be no water until the wet season, when the rains will come with great force. All this is attested to by dead leaves and twigs in the trees, which are signs of the two seasons.

While rounding up the fifteen horses and mules I have brought, I will follow the river and climb the sierra. I shall then descend the hill that overlooks the entire valley, where we have in the canyon below an assured water supply and abundant wood. I shall make some sort of breastwork for the protection of the supplies, clothing, and arms.<sup>5</sup>

The language of these natives is so different from that spoken by the Guai-curos of the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz that we understand nothing expressed in it. Nonetheless, they have given us to understand that they are at war with the Indians of that nation, who live beyond the aforementioned sierra.<sup>6</sup>

Since the *Almiranta* is leaking a great deal, I am not detaining it. It is carrying harquebuses to be repaired. The need for these weapons and an armorer is great, as it is for the rest of the things that I have requested of your excellency in my previous letter. I hope it merits your excellency's consideration and that you see fit to send the *Almiranta* and the launch with all speed, inasmuch as its captain, Diego de la Parra, informs us (from the port of Mazatlán) that it may be full of shipworms, and it will be necessary to put a new bottom on it.<sup>7</sup> It is also carrying

3. The latitude on modern maps is  $26^{\circ}12''$  N., and the longitude,  $111^{\circ}26''$  W.

4. "We Praise You Our God" was a formal hymn of praise sung on major feasts and special occasions.

5. The site for the presidio and *real* of San Bruno sits on a low hill where the river turns southeast to empty into the Gulf of California three kilometers distant.

6. These were most probably Monquis Indians, who belonged to one of the three main linguistic groups on the peninsula. Padre Eusebio Kino called them the "Didius" and their language "Nebe." See Miguel del Barco, *Historia Natural y Crónica de la Antigua California*, p. 17 iff.

7. Shipworms were marine mollusks of the genus *Teredo* that bored into the wood of ships in the warm waters of the gulf. Mazatlán is located on the southern coastal border of Sinaloa 222 kilometers southeast of Culiacán.

pitch, wax, tar, and oakum for the launch; I have also ordered that, in passing, it take the launch to the port of Matanchel, as weather permits.<sup>8</sup>

I am again sending the *Capitana* to the Yaqui coast for more supplies and to see if they can buy, in the brief time that necessity dictates, more horses and mules with harnesses (although I may be without a shirt on my back), which are very essential to continuing the conversion, penetrating the land, and carrying supplies, munitions, and armament.<sup>9</sup> We are experiencing great difficulty in transporting these things from the boats to this camp, even though the distance is not more than a league. The trip to the Yaqui coast is twenty-eight leagues unless the northeast winds, which now rule these seas, hinder the outgoing and returning voyages of the *Capitana*. I will keep you informed of what happens until then, fulfilling my obligations as your excellency's servant.

May God keep your excellency's most eminent person in the greatest grandeur for the many years I wish you, as is necessary. In this camp of Río Grande on October 15, 1683.

Most excellent lord, at the feet of your excellency.  
Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón

*From the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México 56, f. 248.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

15 de octubre de Año 1683

#### ATONDO AL VIRREY

**E**xcelentísimo señor:

Pongo a los pies de vuestra excelencia la breve relación que puedo hacer desde [el] 27 de septiembre, que despaché correo a vuestra excelencia dando cuenta de lo sucedido hasta entonces en la California.

Día de San Miguel, 29 del pasado (que lo permitieron los tiempos) salí del puerto de San Lucas, y el día 6 del corriente dí fondo con Capitana y Almiranta en esta costa que intitulan los mapas y derroteros, río Grande. Y aunque refieren está en altura de treinta grados, otros en treinta y uno, han hallado los pilotos de esta armada, por diferentes observaciones, está en veintiséis grados y medio, sin que le falte a la costa circunstancia en islas y bajos.

Dicho día de San Bruno, salté en tierra, con alguna infantería y los padres misioneros. Se cantó el *Te Deum Laudamus* y oración a la Santa Cruz que se formó entonces del primer palo que se halló en la playa. Proseguí río arriba como una

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8. Matanchel is the large exterior bay located on the coast of Nayarit, seventy-five kilometers west-northwest of Tepic, Nayarit. More commonly known as San Blas, it is where the naval district was headquartered after 1768.

9. Supplies were picked up at the Jesuit missions of Rahum and Belén on the lower Yaqui River in southern Sonora.

legua, hasta que encontré doce o trece indios afables a quienes repartimos algunas chucherías de la limosna que su majestad dió para esta nueva conversión. Parece bueno el valle y paraje en que habitan dichos naturales, pues es más ameno que lo que hemos visto hasta ahora en California, y que en la circunferencia de diez leguas que estamos mirando hasta la serranía, de que está rodeado el valle, dicen los naturales, se puede sembrar maíz, trigo y todas semillas. Hay abundantes pastos para la caballada y ganado; si bien hemos hallado dicho río cortado, y para el agua que bebemos ha sido necesario abrir cacimbas o jageyes, que con ser tan a los principios de octubre en que corren los estériles de la Nueva España, nos prometemos no sucederá en éste sino en tiempo de aguas, y en ése será con tal fuerza, que todo lo acredita las señales de dos estados que hay de broza y palizada en los árboles.

En recobrándose los quince caballos y mulas que he traído, seguiré el río y montaré la sierra. En ese intermedio, acabaré de desmontar el cerro que domina todo el valle, en que tendremos debajo, el cañón, asegurada agua y abundante leña. Formaré algún género de trinchera para resguardo del bastimento, ropa y herramientas.

La lengua de estos naturales es tan distinta a la que profesan los guaicuros del puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, que no nos aprovecha nada de lo trabajado en ella. Pero estos dan a entender, tienen guerra con los de aquella nación y que viven detrás de dicha sierra.

Por ser mucha el agua que hace la Almiranta, no la detengo. Lleva arcabuces para que se aderecen. Es mucha la necesidad de éstas, y de armero, como lo demás que he suplicado a vuestra excelencia en el correo antecedente. Espero merecerlo a la grandeza de vuestra excelencia y que se sirva mándese de carrera a dicha Almiranta y patache balandra, pues avisa su capitán Diego de la Parra (desde el puerto de Mazatlán), esté llena de broma, será preciso se le echen fondos nuevos. También lleva para dicha balandra, alquitrán, sebo, brea y estopa, como así mismo orden que de paso la lleve al puerto de Matanchel, como se lo permitan los tiempos.

A la Capitana vuelvo a despachar a la costa de Yaqui por más bastimento, y si en la brevedad que pide la necesidad de su carrera, pueden comprar (aunque me quede sin camisa) más caballos y mulas aparejadas, que tanto importan para continuar la conversión, penetrar la tierra, cargar bastimento, municiones y herramientas. Pues estamos experimentando mucho trabajo en conducir lo dicho, desde los navíos a este real, no siendo la distancia de más de una legua.

La travesía a dicha costa de Yaqui es de veintiocho leguas sin que los vientos noroestes, que reina ahora en estas mares, embaracen los viajes de ida y vuelta con dicha Capitana. Avisaré de lo sucedido hasta entonces, cumpliendo con la obligación de criado de vuestra excelencia.

Dios guarde de la excelentísima persona de vuestra excelencia en su mayor grandeza los muchos años que deseo, y es menester. En este real de río Grande y octubre 15 de 1683.

Excelentísimo señor, a los pies de vuestra excelencia.  
Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón

## Father Rector Juan María Salvatierra to Viceroy de la Cueva, 1705

*The following report by Father Salvatierra to Viceroy Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, the Duke of Albuquerque, is a watershed document because Salvatierra had returned to Mexico City to assume the responsibilities of Jesuit Provincial of New Spain, which placed him at the highest administrative level over the apostolate of the Society of Jesus throughout the viceroyalty. The clear instructions of Philip V in his cédulas of 1701 and 1703 regarding the Californias had not been followed with enthusiasm or complete compliance.*

*Salvatierra would remain in Mexico City until 1707, when he rejoined the California missionaries in their arduous efforts to expand the missions as far as the Pacific coast.*

Report of Father Juan María Salvatierra to His Excellency, the Duke of Albuquerque,<sup>1</sup> concerning the contents of the royal cédula that assigns 13,000 pesos for wages to the presidio of California, ordering that the payments be made by a secular person.

**M**ost Excellent Lord:

I, Juan María de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus, rector of the missions of the Californias, was summoned by your excellency in obedience to the cédula of his majesty issued on September 28, 1703, in which he commands your excellency to hear the opinions of the fathers. In obedience to the cédula and your excellency's orders, I arrived a little over a month ago at this city from the Californias. On entering this city I learned that Father Visitor, Manuel Piñeiro, had died.<sup>2</sup> On his death, I became provincial of this Province of New Spain, while remaining a California missionary.

In obedience to the cédula of his majesty I would say:

First, it is impossible to live in the Californias with only one ship. For seven and a half years we have always had three ships, and still we lacked enough boats due to the unpredictability of the sea. At times we have lost their entire cargos. The ships have been detained for long periods of time because of the lack of supplies, of aid and contributions, and of officers required to provision and repair them, as well as the distance from ports and coves where it would be possible to

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1. Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez, Duque de Albuquerque, was viceroy from December 1702 until January 1711.

2. Padre Piñeiro held several provincial positions in Spain before coming to America. He died suddenly in Mexico City on October 21, 1704.

careen them. Our enterprise is so new that there are as yet no adequate facilities. And this would still be the case even if we had plenty of money, as it was in the time of Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo, who had access to all the royal wealth. He had three vessels that were built for California. Of these, the sloop never went to the Californias; it did nothing more than serve [as a pretext] to spend his majesty's money in constructing and provisioning it, and for soldiers and naval officers. The other two ships, the *Almiranta* and the *Capitana*, were both useless. The *Almiranta* never arrived on time with needed equipment, leading to the loss at that time of the port of La Paz, which had just been established and was the center of the [pearl] beds. The Guaicuro nation then rebelled because the admiral had murdered some Indians who were gathered around a large kettle where they had been invited to eat some cooked corn [that he had provided].<sup>3</sup> Later, the admiral settled sixty pueblos farther north at San Bruno, where he remained for ten months without [the arrival of] a single ship.

Second, I would remind your excellency about the ruggedness of the land, which it has not been possible to settle in 180 years since the time of Fernán Cortés and many others who followed him, an indication of the great difficulties they all encountered.<sup>4</sup> If it had not been this time for the *Pobladora* and *Conquistadora*, the Most Holy Virgin of Loreto, the depopulation [of this land] would have been happening not only every year, but every day.<sup>5</sup>

I did not come fresh to this activity, because I had already been aged in the labors of Nueva Vizcaya, putting the brake on the uprisings of those tribes, helped by fine cooperation of both Spanish settlers and soldiers, and by good relations with the Indians.<sup>6</sup> Yet I am relegating such knowledge and experience to second place while I present to your excellency the great difficulties and dangers to which we are subject. We will almost certainly lose this land if in the beginning the fathers, or the father superior, are deprived of the authority to place or remove the commander of the small squadron of soldiers. I have personally found that if I had not had that authority during the course of the [last] eight years, not a single step would have been taken in California. We would still be biding our time on the beach where we first landed. The commanders, mostly out of fear of being removed, mounted expeditions and made discoveries at the effective urging of the fathers, strengthened by their authority. Since the attraction of pearls is quite strong, if the fathers did not have the aforementioned authority, which they have used in overcoming obstacles, the soldiers under various pretexts would

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3. The Guaicuro comprised several groups or bands of Indians south of Loreto.

4. Cortés attempted a colony at the bay of La Paz; landing on May 3, 1535, he named the locale Santa Cruz in honor of the feast day.

5. Salvatierra had an exceptionally strong devotion to Our Lady of Loreto, constructing shrines in her honor in the mountains of Chínipas (Chihuahua), at the Jesuit novitiate of Tepotzotlán, and in Baja California. *Pobladora* and *Conquistadora* are epithets to depict the goals of settlement and conquest.

6. This is a reference to Salvatierra's previous mission experience in Chínipas, where he labored from 1680 to 1693.



have obliged the Indians, both pagan and Christian, to dive for pearls. This forced labor would almost certainly have quickly brought about an uprising of the Indians, and once the countryside was involved, there would be no way to remedy its loss because of the rugged terrain; even the cavalry could not be used to reclaim it.

And as to the contentment of the Spanish soldiers, who are serving overseas in a country quite far away, they are less discontent, knowing that they will suffer no unjust vexation, because they recognize that they enjoy the powerful protection of the fathers or the father superior, who has the authority to remove the military commander. This country is prone to many dangerous envies. For example, if an Indian sells a fine pearl to a soldier who is his friend and does not sell it to the captain, then the captain has ill will toward both the soldier and the Indian. And if a Spanish soldier is discontent, he despairs and gives himself over to serious errors, as was often seen in the time of Don Isidro de Atondo, who was in danger of losing his life at the hands of the soldiers and sailors.

I say also that the generosity of the king's vassals, who have been giving alms, will diminish if they see that authority taken from the fathers. Now they are confident that the alms they have given will be useful, but they will be afraid that what is done with one hand will be undone by the other. Furthermore, personal reinforcements of Spaniards and Indian warriors from Nueva Vizcaya will be cut off. On one occasion they were called by the California fathers, and the Indians and Spaniards immediately left their ports, coming with well-laden boats. This happened three years ago. At that time an open launch [*canoa*] filled with Spaniards from Sinaloa came to the rescue. Some Indian warriors of the most faithful Yaqui tribe filled a boat they had and came very well armed. They landed at Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias, terrorizing the California tribes. When these things happen, both Spaniards and Indians can be disheartened, losing confidence in the sea, in aid, and in friendship, through not being treated like sons or not directed by the fathers. This is one of the greatest harms a new conquest can suffer.

It is well known that Don Isidro de Atondo was not only admiral of the Californias but also captain of the presidio of Sinaloa and governor of that province. And yet, with all this authority, and acting on the express orders of the viceroy, he could not obtain a single Indian volunteer from Sinaloa or Sonora. And the few he brought, because they were so bad, were the cause of the first uprising he experienced on his expedition. I insist that all the aforementioned reasons touch the security of the land and the assurance of the Christian religion.

And here it seems proper to report to your excellency a situation that illustrates this point. So far, 225,000 pesos have been expended in this undertaking until today, not counting the six missions, which amount to 58,000 pesos. In all these years until now, I have received only 18,000 pesos from the royal treasury; the rest has been acquired only by the great labors and sweat of the fathers of the Company. And all this redounds to the service of his majesty and to a savings for the royal treasury. And now, in view of this past service, I beg your majesty [for the power] to appoint a commander with a squadron of twenty-five soldiers, or to remove him. I do not consider this to be contrary to the generous heart of our king. I am not taking into consideration the decision of the Royal Cabinet which

was made in the year 1685 concerning the abandonment of the Californias.<sup>7</sup> After all the great expenses that resulted in nothing, the Royal Cabinet summoned the father provincial of the Company. Since he was not in Mexico City at the time, the vice provincial, Father Daniel Angelo Marras, came instead.<sup>8</sup> The cabinet proposed that the Company of Jesus take charge of the entire enterprise of the Californias. They offered to provide 90,000 pesos annually from the royal treasury. Father Daniel Angelo Marras summoned the advisors of the province, but they declined the offer. It is true that when Father Provincial Bernabé de Soto came back from his visitation [of the province], he was sorry that the request of the Royal Cabinet had not been approved in view of what was best for the poor Californians, considering that this was the only possible way that remained to plant the faith in the Californias. And the conviction of the Royal Cabinet was so firm that there was probably no other way to bring about the conversion of the Californias except to turn it over to the fathers of the Company. When a petition came from Captain Francisco de Lucenilla in which he requested much less money than the amount offered to the Company, the cabinet ignored it.<sup>9</sup>

But now, the Company no longer excuses itself. Persuaded by Father General Tirso González its sons have been dragged into all the houses of pious people and to all the tribunals begging for help for the conversion of this realm to our holy Catholic faith.<sup>10</sup> It is my opinion that this undertaking will not be accomplished outside our Company. With new requests and orders from your excellency, while a report is being made to his majesty, the fathers should be encouraged to take charge of both spiritual and temporal affairs. Moreover, with the aid of the 13,000 pesos his majesty has recently offered, the fathers would be relieved, but it would be a great burden for any secular. Based on my experience in managing these affairs for nearly eight years, I say that it would be impossible to meet the conditions of the new *cédula* with that amount. If someone should decide to comply and to administer this country with 13,000 pesos, it would be out of ignorance or an attempt to deceive the king. Meanwhile, it would be business as usual; there would still be a thousand disagreements with the fathers, who must necessarily counter the oppression by the soldiers and sailors and especially the ill-treatment of the Indians, both Christian converts and unbelievers, who will certainly rebel.

While letters and *memoriales* are sent to this court, even before replies favorable to the Indians are returned, the Indians will already have rebelled, like a

7. Real *cédula*, Madrid, December 22, 1685. AGI, Guadalajara 134.

8. Marras was a major figure in the development of northwestern New Spain. He was the rector of the mission of San José de Mátape in Sonora and was responsible for the development of cattle ranching in the region.

9. Francisco de Lucenilla, a merchant from Paradas, Andalucía, went to Mexico in 1665. His return to Spain was delayed, so he petitioned to make an expedition to California in 1668 in place of Captain Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero. Accompanied by two Franciscan friars, the venture was a complete failure that probably influenced the council's later decision.

10. Tirso González was Praepositus General of the Society of Jesus from July 1687, to October 1705.

newcomer who is inexperienced, knowing no other recourse than to resort to weapons and natural ferocity. The aforementioned commander would have to buy all his supplies from overseas for many years; customarily they arrive rotten and worm-eaten, especially the meat. In actual practice, the expenses are triple what was estimated. Thus, no one can be supported without great expense to the royal treasury.

From the foregoing I conclude that the country is still not capable of admitting Spanish settlers due to its harshness. It still cannot support even two fathers. Today there are no Spaniards who want to settle new lands, even though the lands are good ones, unless they are paid by the king or exiled by law. They are of no use except to cause the land to rebel and to support dissensions with the soldiers, thus threatening civil war, as happened a few years ago in New Mexico between soldiers and settlers.

The last point is to reply to the proposal of founding a new presidio on the opposite shore or on the west coast where ships pass by on their way from the Philippines. This proposal comes from the most Catholic breast of our king, who pities so many Christian subjects dying from the Berber sickness [scurvy] because there is no beach where they can land for thousands of leagues. If there were, with fresh meat and bittersweet greens, almost all of them would get well. To this I reply that now I will die contented, seeing that our king desires what I too have desired for so many years, compassion for the sick and dying. I have done all my work with this in mind. But now, in order to avoid new and greater expenses to the royal treasury by giving more help to the fathers, whose reductions of unbelievers are approaching the west coast, what his majesty desires can quickly be achieved without the expense of a new presidio.

I suggest that the fathers be entrusted with the 13,000 pesos to help out with their expenses. With this and the alms of faithful Christians, they can hope to achieve what the king wants. Presently, the 6,000 pesos in assistance does not amount to even a third of what is spent. My hopes are great because the rest can be made up by alms. Besides the 13,000 pesos, there will only be the need to charter a fishing boat for a year or two at about 4,000 pesos in cash. This boat can explore and map the west coast from [18] to 21 degrees, listing the ports, inlets, or bays found in that region. I would also sail that boat up the east coast where we could set foot on grassy shores, just as on the west coast, where we might assist the China ship, and let it be known whether there are any enemies on the coasts of New Spain.

The actual situation of California consists in this: the king our lord today owns fifty leagues of coast from Concepción Bay to Agua Verde,<sup>11</sup> and another fifty leagues in the interior in the heart of the mountains between the two seas. In this circumference of 100 leagues, all is peaceful; the fathers travel through it alone and without military escort. The natives throughout the whole region are obedient to the ministrations of the fathers as well as to the orders of the military

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11. Concepción Bay lies fifty kilometers north of Loreto, about one-third of the way up the peninsula's east coast. Agua Verde Bay, named by one of Vizcaíno's captains in 1596, is fifty kilometers south of Loreto, near Isla de Monserrate.

officers. They are ready to take up arms in our favor with 1,200 Christians and an equal number of catechumens and gentiles.

Besides the land around here that is already conquered, there is still more that has only been explored. Three roads run through this country to the beaches on the west coast. It is a two-day journey from one coast to the other where the ship comes from the Philippines. Even though the Indians on the west coast have fled and hidden themselves during these expeditions for fear of the soldiers, they are still tame and have even come to visit Father Juan de Ugarte, who lives in the heart of the mountains between the seas.<sup>12</sup>

California is now a refuge for Spaniards who have been shipwrecked by storms in the South Sea. Two years ago seventy persons, who were all thought to have perished, took refuge there when their ships were lost. Now we are beginning to find good signs of mines in these newly discovered and subdued lands.

This is, in short, what I can report to your excellency in obedience to the royal cédula. So that it may be known that everything I have said is true, I sign it with my name in Mexico [City], May 25, 1705.

Juan María de Salvatierra [signature]

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 63, ff. 62–66.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Informe del padre Juan María Salvatierra al excelentísimo señor duque de Alburquerque sobre el contexto de la real cédula que señala 13,000 pesos de sueldo al presidio de California, encargando que su paga corra por mano de secular.



xcelentísimo señor:

Yo, Juan María de Salvatierra, de la Compañía de Jesús, rector de las misiones de Californias, llamado de vuestra excelencia, en obediencia de la cédula de su majestad que su señoría ha dado en 28 de septiembre del año de 1703, en que ordena que vuestra excelencia oiga el parecer de los padres. Y por obedecer a dicha cédula y orden de vuestra excelencia, en poco más de un mes llegué a esta ciudad desde Californias. Y llegado a las puertas de ellas, supe haber muerto el padre visitador Manuel Piñero; y por su muerte me hallo yo provincial de esta provincia de Nueva España, y juntamente misionero de Californias.

Y en obediencia de la cédula de su majestad, represento lo primero:

La imposibilidad de poderse vivir en Californias con una sola embarcación, pues en siete años y medio, siempre hemos tenido tres embarcaciones, y no obstante hemos pasado grandes desamparos de barcos, por las contingencias del mar, barcados de ellos, y aún pérdidas totales, detenciones de mucho tiempo en sus

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12. Ugarte was born in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, in 1679. He stands with Salvatierra as one of the most important figures in the founding of California. He was the founder of mission San Javier Viggé in the mountains between Loreto and the Pacific coast.

avíos y carenas por falta de pertrechos, de socorros y limosnas, de oficiales, y distancia de puertos o caletas, adonde poderse carenar. Pues la empresa es tan nueva que no da todavía lugar a mayor facilidad, y esto fuera así aunque hubiese mucho dinero, como fue en tiempo del almirante don Isidro de Atondo, que teniendo abiertas todas las cajas reales, de tres embarcaciones de [que] había fabricadas para California, la balandra, no vió a Californias, ni servido más para que su majestad gastase en la fábrica, avíos, soldados y oficiales de mar. Y de los dos barcos, Almiranta y Capitana, sirvieron tan poco que por no llegar el Almiranta con el socorro a tiempo, se desamparó y perdió, hasta la hora de ésta, la fundación del puerto de La Paz, centro de los placeres, quedando todavía alzada esa nación Guaycura, por la muerte que hizo el almirante, con los indios que estaban alrededor de un caso grande comiendo, actualmente, maíz cocido, a que los había [convi]ldado. Y habiendo después poblado sesenta pueblos más arriba, en San Bruno, se halló diez meses sin una sola embarcación.

Lo segundo que represento a vuestra excelencia, es la mucha aspereza de la tierra, que pues no ha podido poblar en como ciento y ochenta años desde el tiempo de Fernán Cortés, y de otros muchos que después entraron, señal es que se hallaron grandes dificultades. Y a no haber sido en esta ocasión la pobladora y conquistadora la Virgen Santísima de Loreto, hubiera sucedido el despoblarse, no cada año, sino cada día.

Yo no entré n[uevo] en este trabajo, sino envejecido en los trabajos de la Nueva Vizcaya, poniendo freno a los alzamientos de esas naciones, ayudándome de la buena correspondencia de los españoles, así soldados como vecinos, y buena amistad con los indios, ante pues, al dicho conocimiento y experiencia. [Pro]pongo en segundo lugar a vuestra excelencia las dificultades grandes y peligros, casi ciertos, de perder[se] la tierra si se quita en estos principios la potestad a los padres, o al padre superior de poner o remover el que fuere cabo de esa pequeña escuadra de soldados. Pues he tocado con manos, que a no haber tenido yo esa potestad en el espacio de estos ocho años, no se hubiera dado paso ninguno dentro de la California, y hubiéramos estado ga[stan]do y más gastando en la primera playa adonde saltamos. Y por miedo, o mas, de no [ilegible] dos los cabos, han ido haciendo entradas y descubrimientos por la persuasión eficaz de los padres, y fortalecida con la autoridad. Aunque que es fuerte el atractivo de la perla, y a no estar los padres de medio con dicha autoridad, que iban atajando inconvenientes, ya hubiera entrado, como entraba aprisa, el obligar con varios pretextos, y atear a los indios, así gentiles como cristianos, al buceo de la perla. Y tras de esta tarea forzada seguro se sigue el alzamiento, y una vez alzada la tierra, será sin remedio la pérdida por la aspereza de ella, y no poder servir gente a caballo para su recobro.

También para sosiego de los soldados españoles, que en tierra tan distante y ultramarina sirven menos descontentos, reconociendo que con la seguridad del amparo válido de los padres, o del superior que tiene poder de remover al cabo, tienen seguridad de que no llegará a hacerles vejación injusta. Y está sujeta la tierra a ellas con muchos peligros de envidias; como por ejemplo, porque el indio va a vender una perla buena a un soldado su amigo, y no la vendió al capitán, entra ojeriza contra el soldado y contra el indio; y si el soldado español no está contento, se desespera y se arroja a cosas graves como se vió en muchas ocasiones en tiempo de don Isidro de Atondo, que estuvo por perder la vida en muchas ocasiones por los soldados y marineros.

Digo, asimismo, que se va retirando la piedad de los vasallos de nuestro rey, que concurren con sus limosnas, viendo se les quita esta potestad a los padres; corriendo con la confianza del logro de sus limosnas antes, y temiendo que lo que ellos hacen con una mano se deshaga por otra. También se atajan los socorros personales de gente española y de los indios guerreros de la Nueva Vizcaya, que a una vez de los padres, californios e indios y españoles, luego se movían de sus puertos, y vienen barcos llenos de unos y otros, como sucedió tres años ha, llenándose una canoa de españoles de Sinaloa que vinieron a socorrer, y haciendo lo mismo los indios guerreros de la fidelísima nación Yaqui, que se llenó, un barco que había, de ellos, muy bien armados, y desembarcaron en nuestro Loreto de Californias, aterrorizando a las naciones de Californias. Y en esto podrán desmayar, así los españoles como indios, desafiando del mar, amparo y cariño, y no ser mandados como hijos, no corriendo por los padres. Y será uno de los mayores daños que se padecerán en la nueva conquista.

Pues, es sabido que don Isidro de Atondo, no sólo era almirante de Californias, sino también capitán del presidio de Sinaloa y gobernador de esa provincia, y con toda esa autoridad, y versados encargos del excelentísimo señor virrey, no pudo conseguir un indio solo voluntario de Sinaloa y Sonora; y unos pocos que llevó a causa de [ilegible] de cómo tan malévolos fueron causa del primer alzamiento que tuvo en su entrada. Y digo que todos los motivos susodichos mir[an] a la seguridad de la tierra y aseguran [en] ella la religión cristiana.

Asimismo me parece representar a vuestra excelencia una circunstancia que conduce a este propósito; y es que se han gastado en esta empresa, hasta el día de hoy, doscientos y veinticinco mil pesos, sin la fundación de seis misiones, que montan de princip[io] cincuenta y ocho mil pesos. Y de las cajas reales sólo he recibido, a la hora de ésta en todos estos años, dieciocho mil pesos, y el resto se ha sacado con grandes trabajos y sudores de los padres de la Compañía, lo cual todo redundando en servicio de su majestad, y ahorro de su real caja. Y atento a este servicio, le pido yo, a su majestad, el poner cabo y removerle en una escuadra de 25 soldados, no la tengo por petición de contrapeso al corazón magnánimo de nuestro rey. Dejo de ponderar la resolución de este que tomó el año de 1685 en el desamparo de Californias. Después de grandes gastos con ningún logro, llamó este real acuerdo al padre provincial de la Compañía, y por no hallarse en México acudió el padre vice-provincial Daniel Angelo Marras y se le propuso con ruego y encargo que la Compañía de Jesús se encargue de toda la empresa de Californias, ofreciendo 90 mil pesos de la caja por cada año. Y juntando el padre Daniel Angelo Marras la consulta de provincia, se excusaron. Bien es verdad que vuelto de la visita el padre provincial Bernabé de Soto, sintió que no se hubiese admitido el ruego y encargo, atendiendo a la parte más favorable, a los pobres californios, y ser éste el único medio que quedaba, que podrán, para ver si con eso se plantaba la fe en ese reino. Y la persuasión de este real acuerdo fue tan firme, de que no tenía ya otro medio, sino de estar parte, todo, en los padres de la Compañía, para la probabilidad de surtir efecto la conversión de las Californias, que acudiendo luego la petición del capitán Francisco de Lucenilla, pidiendo mucho menos dinero de lo que se ofrecía a la Compañía, no se hizo caso de ella.

Pues ahora, que no se ha excusado la Compañía, sino que se ha arrastrado con sus hijos, por persuasión del padre general Tirso González, a todas las casas de los hombres piosos y a todos los tribunales pidiendo socorro para la [conver]sión de

este reino a nuestra santa fe católica, es mi parecer de que no se haga afuera n[uestra] Compañía, sino que con nuevos ruegos y encargos de vuestra excelencia, en el ínterin se dé cuenta a su [majestad], y se alienten los padres a cuidar no sólo de lo espiritual, sino asimismo de lo temporal, y más aún con el alivio de los 13 mil pesos que ofreció de nuevo su majestad que para los padres sea de alivio, pero para cualquier secular será de mucho peso; pues por la experiencia que tengo, y haber manejado como ocho años esta empresa, digo que es imposible que con dicha cantidad puedan guardarse las condiciones de la nueva cédula, y si admitiere cumplirlas, y m[inist]rar la tierra con los 13 mil pesos, será por ignorancia o por engañar al rey. Haciendo en el ínterin su negocio, y teniendo mil disensiones con los padres que de fuerza se habrán de oponer a las vejaciones contra los soldados y marineros y más en especial contra los [indios], nuevos cristianos e infieles, que con seguridad se alzarán.

Y mientras se atiende con cartas y memoriales a esta corte, aún antes que [traigan] las respuestas favorables a los indios, ya ellos se hallan alzados, pues como gente nueva, e incapaz, no conoce más recurso que a sus armas y fiereza natural, habrá dicho cabo, de comprar allende la mar, por muchos años, todo género de bastimentos, y como suelen llegar, no pocas veces podridos y apollados, especialmente la carne, son triplicados los gastos, en la práctica, de lo que parecen en la especulativa, y así nadie se podrá mantener sino con grandes gastos de la real hacienda.

De lo susodicho deduzco, que no está la tierra, todavía, capaz de admitir vecinos españoles, por su aspereza, y no poder, todavía, sustentar a dos solos padres. Y el día de hoy no se hallan vecinos españoles que quieran poblar tierras nuevas, aunque buenas, sino es asalariándolos el rey, o echándolos la justicia desterrados. Y no sirven más que para alzar la tierra y tener disensiones con los soldados, peligrosos a una guerra civil, como pocos años ha sucedía en el Nuevo México, entre soldados y pobladores.

El último punto es responder a la propuesta de nueva planta de presidio en la contracosta, o costa del poniente por donde pasan las naos de Filipinas. Movido este punto del pecho catolicísimo de nuestro rey, apiadándose de tantos vasallos cristianos que se mueren del mal de Berbér, por no tener playa en qué poderlos dejar en millares de leguas, en la cual, con carne fresca y cosas agrias verdes, podían sanar casi todos. Lo que a esto respondo es que yo moriré contento viendo que nuestro rey desea lo que en tantos años he deseado, compadeciéndome de tantos enfermos y muertos, y así lo que he trabajado siempre ha sido con la mira a esto. Pero hoy día por no acrecentar nuevos y mayores gastos a la real hacienda con dar más socorro a los padres, cuyas reducciones de infieles se van ya acercando a la costa de poniente, se podía conseguir en breve, sin gasto de nuevo presidio, lo que su majestad desea.

Y entregándose a los padres los 13 mil pesos por ayuda de costa, con eso y con limosnas de los fieles cristianos, se podrá esperar el conseguirse, pues hoy los 6 mil pesos de ayuda de costa, no son ni la tercera parte de lo que se gasta, y son grandes mis afanes porque de limosnas se acabale el resto. Sólo es menester, por un año, o dos, además de los [13] mil pesos, un barco pescadero, fletado con unos 4 mil pesos de contado para que visitar y demarcarse la costa del poniente de [ilegible] hasta los 21 grados, los puertos y callos o bahías que en este espacio se topasen, y yo fuera en dicho barco, y con esto se dieran la mano la costa del

levante, a donde fijamos el pie en dichos prados, y la costa del poniente en los mismos, para socorro de la nao de China, y avisarla allí si andan enemigos en las costas de la Nueva España.

El estado hoy día de la California, consiste en ser hoy día el rey nuestro señor, poseedor de cincuenta leguas de playa desde la Bahía de la Concepción hasta el Agua Verde, y otra cincuenta leguas de la tierra adentro o riñón de la sierra entre los dos mares. Y en estas cien leguas de circun[ferencia] toda tierra de paz, que toda la andan los padres solos, sin escolta de soldados, obedientes los naturales de toda esta circunferencia a la m[inistración] de los padres, y órdenes del cabo militar, prontos a tomar las armas a nuestro favor con mil y doscientos cristianos, y otros más catecúmenos y gentiles.

Hay más de la tierra reducida o conquistada, otras descubiertas solamente, como son tres caminos para la contracosta del poniente, hasta llegar a las mismas playas, y visitadas, dos jornadas de dicha playa, por donde viene la nao de Filipinas, y aunque se huyeron y retiraron los indios de la costa del poniente en estas entradas, por miedo natural a los soldados, pero ya hoy se van amansando, y ellos mismos bajan a visitar al padre Juan de Ugarte, que vive en el riñón de la sierra entre mar y mar.

Es ya la California refugio de españoles derrotados de tempestades del mar del sur, de modo que dos años ha se abrigaron setenta personas, pérdidas ya sus embarcaciones, que todos hubieran perecido. Y ya empieza a haber buenos asomos de minas en lo descubierto, y obediente país.

Este es, en breve, lo que en obediencia de la real cédula, puedo representar a vuestra excelencia, y por entender ser todo lo dicho como lo represento. Lo firmo de mi letra en México y 25 de mayo de 1705.

Juan María de Salvatierra [firma]



## Testimony of the Viceregal Junta on Promoting the Californias, 1722

*The situation in California had once again reached crisis proportions with respect to the lack of reliable supplies from and communication with the mainland. Salvatierra had returned to the peninsula in 1707 and continued to expand the mission chain both to the south and the north in accord with the express wishes of Philip V. The expansion had placed a strain on the presidial complement, which was divided among the resident missions, leaving only a small contingent at Loreto where there was little threat of hostilities. The largest secular complement was that of the officers and sailors for the tiny fleet of small boats that plied the coastal waters to serve the missions on the eastern seaboard. One misfortune after another befell the ships; several of the larger vessels ran aground or were stripped by Indians, blown across the gulf, or lost at sea. One missionary, Benito Guisi, drowned when the incompetently built replacement for the Rosario sank off the southern coast. Then, in 1717, Salvatierra's health began to fail, and he died in Guadalajara en route to Mexico where the new viceroy, Baltazar de Zúñiga, the Marqués de Valero, had arrived with news of new royal support for California. The document that is presented here is a summary of the actions that were taken by the viceroy and his council two months after Salvatierra's death. But by 1720 little or nothing had been accomplished to fulfill the king's orders. The Jesuits had mounted an overland expedition to the Pacific at Magdalena Bay, but no port and fortress had yet been built. The ship required for the coastal exploration still had not been acquired by 1720, and perforce, Father Juan de Ugarte set about building a boat on the peninsula. This resulted in the famous Triunfo de la Cruz which explored the gulf waters and supplied the California missions for the next three decades.*

*The following document is a copy of the testimony of the agreement reached in 1717 and reviewed in the junta of 1722 that found the implementation of the king's orders deficient and incomplete. This document is continually referred to throughout the administrative history of the development of the Californias because it succinctly states the royal disposition toward the frontier territory.*

1722

Testimony of the junta held by the Marqués de Valero on September 25, 1717, regarding measures to promote the growth of the Californias.

April 3

**T**he special junta held today, September 25, 1717, by the most excellent Marqués de Valero, viceroy, governor and captain general of New Spain and president of the *Real Audiencia*, was attended by the Licenciado Don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas, knight of the Order of Santiago, and Doctor Don

Juan Díez de Bracamonte, judges of this Real Audiencia; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila and Don Isidro Nicolás Pardo de Nájera of the same order, accountants for the Royal Tribunal of Accounts of New Spain; Don José Solís and Don Simón de Carragal, provisional royal officers for the royal treasury of this court, and Don José Antonio de Espinoza Ocampo y Cornejo of the mentioned Order of Santiago, his majesty's counsel in civil matters.<sup>1</sup> Also attending, by order of his most excellent lordship, were Father Gaspar Rodero, father provincial of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, the Reverend Father Alejandro Romano, and Brother Jaime Bravo of the same Society of Jesus, and Don Pedro Pablo de Orduña.<sup>2</sup> The *autos* of discovery, conquest, and reduction of the Californias were reviewed, whereby the fathers of the aforementioned Society of Jesus were made to understand the cost and expenses to his majesty (may God keep him) and of the rest of the faithful. The content of the royal decrees attested to in the *autos* was also examined, especially all that was resolved and ordered by his majesty in the decree of September 28, 1703, which, along with the counsel's response of April 18, 1704, brought about the general conference held in this city on June 6 of the same year.<sup>3</sup> Considered next were reports presented by Father Juan María de Salvatierra of the same Society of Jesus on May 25, 1705, another on June 27 of the said year, and a royal decree dated August 13 of the same year, another from September 24, 1706, and the final royal decree dated July 26, 1708.<sup>4</sup> These were presented together with the news recently imparted to his excellency and matters contained in the report presented by Brother Jaime Bravo on the seventeenth of this current month and year. Accompanying the *autos* pertaining to this matter is the verbal response of his majesty's counsel, who said he would put it in writing. Everything that should be discussed with Father Alejandro Romano and Brother Jaime Bravo as men familiar with the territory and coast of the Californias, as well as with Don Pablo de Orduña, who also has had firsthand experience and is a military man.

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1. Licenciado Don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas and Doctor Don Juan Díez de Bracamonte were judges; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila and Don Isidro Nicolás Pardo de Nájera were accountants for the Royal Tribunal of Accounts; Don José Solís and Don Simón de Carragal were provisional royal officers for the royal treasury of this court; and Don José Antonio de Espinoza Ocampo y Cornejo had previous military experience on the peninsula.

2. Father Gaspar Rodero was in his first term as father provincial of the Society of Jesus in New Spain from November 1715 to July 1719. Returning to Spain he headed a new group of missionaries and again became father provincial from 1723 until 1726, when he assumed the major responsibility of Procurator of the Indies in Spain.

Father Alejandro Romano, a native of Naples, succeeded Rodero as father provincial from July 1719 to the middle of 1722. Then he was made superior of the professed house until his death in 1724.

Brother Jaime Bravo, a native of Aragón, served in the California missions for fourteen years before being ordained a priest. He finished his life as an exemplary missionary, dying in California in 1744.

Nothing is known of Don Pedro Pablo de Orduña.

3. See AGN, Reales Cédulas, vol. xxxi, exp. 131, fols. 367–72.

4. These cédulas are discussed in Miguel Venegas, "Empresas apostólicas," paragraphs 645 through 648. They can also be found in the appropriate chronological section of AGN, Reales Cédulas.

It was resolved in compliance with his majesty's orders that the California missions be furnished everything necessary to pay the wages of the twenty-five soldiers, their captain, navigator, cabin boys, and the rest of the officers for the vessel. Payment is to be made upon arrival at their destination, and another small amount for the transport of the supplies. If the 13,000 pesos assigned are not sufficient to pay these expenses, everything necessary is to be provided from the *Real Hacienda* for now, it being estimated that a large allotment will be needed to cover them. The funds must not be delayed or halted, due to the risk of wasting the labor that this reduction has already cost the ardent, religious zeal of the holy Society of Jesus (without causing considerable expense to the Real Hacienda and burdening the alms gathered by their fervent and charitable devotion, which have increased to such an extent that more than 600,000 pesos have been distributed by the aforementioned fathers toward the work achieved in the service of God and of his majesty. It is the will of his majesty, charged repeatedly, not only that these missions be maintained, but that they be improved as much as possible. Every appropriate action should be taken toward the discovery of a port that can be fortified and where a presidio can be built for the relief of the *Nao de Filipinas*. There it can anchor in complete safety, supply itself, revitalize the men, leave the sick, and resume its journey to Acapulco without the risks of facing enemy pirates or losing the many men who die traversing the coast. In order to achieve such an important goal, once the aforementioned ship has been finished, manned with soldiers and sailors (as might seem suitable), and guided by the most intelligent pilot who can be found, and under the supervision of the missionary fathers (having one or more on board as might seem necessary), the vessel can go on to reconnoiter the interior coast or wherever the aforementioned fathers might choose. Because they are experienced men and such Christian and truthful persons, the good management and success of this enterprise may be entrusted to their direction. (Experience has shown that this has not been achieved by other subjects, who ran up huge expenses to the royal treasury. What we have wanted to know and what matters so much remains as puzzling as at the beginning.) With the map, reports, and opinions of the aforementioned fathers, pilot, and knowledgeable men, the port may be selected and decisions made for the construction of the fort that has been ordered to be built, together with the other decisions that pertain to the achievement of what is desired by his majesty. Regarding the stipends of the missionaries in the missions that may be established in the future, the toilsome effort with which they must apply themselves to achieve their charitable work in this place must be kept in mind. Also one must remember the difficulty of transporting food and other types of supplies and the greater costs that are incurred by transporting by ship, unlike the other missions that transport their supplies overland. Regarding the saltworks that are requested for the Santuario de Loreto, since this belongs properly to his excellency's royal prerogative, it is left to his judgment to grant this concession as he sees fit, temporarily or in perpetuity, and to issue the necessary dispatches.

[Signed with seven rubrics.]

His excellency [and] the honorable gentlemen:

Valenzuela

Bracamonte

Ardila

Pardo  
Solís  
Carragal

This junta had been missing the *autos* concerning the matter, and they were taken down and put in the office of the secretary of his excellency today, December 22, 1720; for the record I set down this explanation.

Mendoza

This concurs with the junta whose original is located among the *autos* pertaining to the matter, which, for the purpose of obtaining this copy, were shown to me at the accounting office of the royal treasury of this court, where I returned them so that they might be delivered to the government office where they belong (to which I am referring), so that they might be on record as appropriate, in virtue of the decree of the most excellent Viceroy Marqués de Valero, which was dispatched to the conference of the royal officials, which also was shown to me and which I returned.

I give the present [testimony] in Mexico on January 21, 1722. Present as witnesses are Don Manuel Dávila, Don Juan del Campo, and Don Antonio de Fierro. Among [illegible] in the missions. Vale.

I have hereby signed in attestation of the truth.

Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno  
Royal Notary

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 63, ff. 329–31.*

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Año de 1722

Testimonio de la junta que tuvo el Marqués de Valero en 25 de septiembre de 1717 para las providencias conducentes al aumento de Californias.

3 abril

**E**n la junta particular que hoy veinte y cinco de septiembre de mil setecientos diez y siete años tuvo el excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, virrey gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la Real Audiencia, a que asistieron los señores licenciado don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas, caballero del Orden de Santiago, doctor don Juan Díez de Bracamonte, oidores de esta Real Audiencia; don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila y don Isidro Nicolás Pardo de Nájera del mismo orden, contadores del Real Tribunal de Cuentas de esta Nueva España; don José Solís, don Simón de Carragal, oficiales reales interinos de la Real Caja de esta corte, y señor don José Antonio de Espinoza Ocampo y Cornejo del referido Orden de Santiago, fiscal de su majestad en lo civil, y en donde concurrieron de orden de dicho excelentísimo señor el referido padre Gaspar Rodero, provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de esta Nueva España, el reverendo padre Alejandro Romano y hermano Jaime Bravo de la misma Compañía de Jesús, don Pedro Pablo de Orduña. Habiéndose visto los autos del descubrimiento, conquista y reducción de las Californias, en que a costa y expensas

de su majestad (que Dios guarde) y de los demás fieles se ha entendido por los padres de la referida Compañía de Jesús, y el contenido de las reales cédulas que se hallan testimoniadas en ellos, y especialmente lo resuelto y mandado por su majestad en la del veinte y ocho de septiembre del año de mil setecientos tres, de que con respuesta del señor fiscal de diez y ocho de abril de mil setecientos y cuatro dimanó la junta general que a los seis de junio del propio año se tuvo en esta ciudad, y después a consulta presentada por el padre Juan María de Salvatierra de la misma Compañía de Jesús a los veinte y cinco de mayo de mil setecientos y cinco, otra de veinte y siete de junio de dicho año, y por real cédula de trece de agosto del mismo año, otra a los veinte y cuatro de septiembre de mil setecientos seis, y el de la última real cédula de veinte y seis de julio de mil setecientos y ocho, con las noticias nuevamente participadas a su excelencia y puntos que contiene la consulta presentada por el referido hermano Jaime Bravo a los diez y siete de este corriente mes y año, y respuesta dada por el señor fiscal de su majestad in voce, quien dijo la pondría por escrito para que estuviese adjunta con los autos de esta materia, comunicado todo lo que debió serlo con el padre Alejandro Romano y hermano Jaime Bravo, como prácticos del país y costa de las Californias, y con don Pablo de Orduña, que también lo ha sido, y militar.

Fue resuelto en conformidad de las órdenes de su majestad se ministre a las misiones de Californias todo lo necesario para la paga de los sueldos de los veinte y cinco soldados, su capitán, marinero, grumetes y demás oficiales para la embarcación, que ésta se haga correspondiente al fin de su destino, y otra pequeña para el transporte de los bastimentos; y si los trece mil pesos asignados no fuesen bastantes para reportar estos gastos, se dé todo lo necesario de la Real Hacienda por ahora, considerándose que será preciso mayor porción para ejecutarlos, que no se deben retardar ni reparar en ellos por el peligro de que se pierda el trabajo que ha costado esta reducción al ardiente celo de la religión de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús (sin costar costo considerable de la Real Hacienda) y cargo de su fervoroso y caritativo celo en las limosnas tan crecidas que éste ha conseguido para obra tan del servicio de Dios y del de su majestad, que pasan de seiscientos mil pesos lo que en ella se ha erogado por los referidos padres, siendo voluntad de su majestad, encargada geminadamente, el que no solo se conserven estas misiones, sino que se adelanten en cuanto fuese posible y se hagan todas las diligencias convenientes a fin de que se descubra puerto para que se pueda fortificar, y en el construir presidio para alivio de la Nao de Filipinas, en el que pueda entrar con todo seguro, bastimentarse, refrescar la gente, dejar los enfermos, y poder proseguir su viaje hasta el de Acapulco, sin los riesgos que experimentan, así por los enemigos piratas, como por la mucha gente que muere en recorriendo la costa; y para conseguir tan importante fin acabada dicha embarcación, guarnecida con gente de guerra y marinería (la que pareciere correspondiente) y el piloto que se hallare más inteligente, con intervención de los padres misioneros, y embarcándose en ella él que fuere o los que parecieren necesarios, se pase a reconocer la costa por adentro o por la parte que los referidos padres eligieren, que como tan prácticos y personas de tanta cristiandad y verdad por que se puede confiar la buena conducta y acierto de este negocio en su dirección (habiéndose experimentado que por otros sujetos no se ha logrado, haciendo crecidísimos gastos a la Real Hacienda y quedándose en la misma confusión que a los principios lo que se desea saber e importa tanto). Y con el mapa y informes y pareceres de los dichos padres, piloto, y

hombres inteligentes, se elija el puerto y se den las providencias para construcción de la fuerza que en él se manda fabricar, con las demás correspondientes a que se logre lo que se desea por su majestad. Y en cuanto a los estipendios de los misioneros en las misiones que en lo de adelante se fundasen, se tendrá presente el trabajo de comodidad, con que se aplican en este paraje a su instituto caritativo la dificultad de transporte de los bastimentos y demás géneros de vestuario, los mayores costos que puede causar el referido transporte por haber de hacerlo en embarcaciones, y no como a los demás que ejercen este empleo en tierra firme; y por lo que mira a las salinas que se piden para el Santuario de Loreto, siendo esta propia regalía de su excelencia, se deja a su arbitrio para que dispense esta gracia como le pareciere, temporal o perpetua, y se libren los despachos necesarios.

[Señalado con siete rúbricas.]

Su excelencia señores:

Valenzuela.

Bracamonte.

Ardila.

Pardo.

Solís.

Carragal.

Esta junta se había echado menos en los autos de la materia, y se bajó y puso en el oficio de la secretaría de su excelencia hoy, veinte y dos de diciembre de mil setecientos y veinte, y para que conste pongo esta razón.

Mendoza.

Concuerta con la junta que original se halla en los autos de la materia, los que para efecto de sacar este traslado se me demostraron en la Contaduría de Real Hacienda de esta corte, a donde los devolví para que lo hiciesen al Oficio de Gobierno donde tocan (a que me refiero), y para que conste donde convenga en virtud de decreto del excelentísimo señor Virrey Marqués de Valero, expedido a consulta de los señores oficiales reales, que también se me demostró y devolví.

Doy el presente en México a veinte y uno de enero de mil setecientos veinte y dos años, siendo testigos a su corrección don Manuel Dávila, don Juan del Campo y don Antonio de Fierro presentes. entre visto [ilegible]. En las misiones. Vale.

Testimonio de verdad lo signé.

Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno.

Escribano Real.

## Testimony of the Royal Treasury Regarding a Ship for the Californias, 1722

*The sequence of documents regarding Philip V's orders to protect the Californias and encourage exploration terminates with these bureaucratic papers indicating the litigious and frustrating character of politics in New Spain. Already, the Jesuit missionaries had initiated work on a vessel to fulfill the king's desires, but the royal officials continued to dicker over what kind of ship was available and whether it were affordable. The final selection of the Peru ship was apparently a compromise with maritime merchants trading between New Spain and northern Peru. As later documents will show, these compromises continuously jeopardized the availability of adequately strong supply ships for California.*

Testimony of the temporary decree given at a meeting of the royal treasury regarding the supply of a boat equipped for the missions of the Californias.

April 24, 1720

**T**his meeting of the hacienda was convoked by the most excellent Marqués de Valero, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain, and president of the Real Audiencia, on March 8, 1720. In attendance were the attorneys Don José de Uribe, knight of the Order of Santiago and Don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, judges in this royal court; Don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, knight of the same order, Marqués de Villa Mediana, regent of the royal accounting office; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, official auditor; and Don Simón de Carbajal and Don Pedro Larburu, officials of the royal treasury and the purse of the court. Also present was the fiscal attorney of his majesty, Don José Sáenz de Escobar, who read the representation of the case given by Padre Jaime Bravo of the Sacred Company of Jesus and missionary of the Californias on the fourth of this month. Padre Bravo is empowered to speak by the fathers in charge of those new [~~missions crossed out~~] conversions.

In the document, Padre Bravo stated that the presidio has been without a ship on his majesty's account since May 22 of last year, the date on which the king's sloop, which had served as flagship, was lost. The Company found that not only was it unable to advance, but it could not maintain all that had been conquered without more than one ship. At present, there is only one old boat, one of the first launches sent at the beginning of the conquest, and two canoes that are unable to cross between the coasts of the kingdoms. The document concluded by asking his excellency to order that an adequate ship be provided so that the missions might be restored in the shortest time possible and their earnings and other necessary assistance might be delivered. The ships should be outfitted with everything needed for a sea crossing, along with some of the weapons from his majesty's account in Acapulco for the ship's security and any war munitions your excellency wishes. With these measures the advancement of that kingdom, of such interest

## Testimony Regarding a Ship

to both majesties, would be assured. The padre suggested that difficulties would follow if these measures were delayed and he asked for speed so that the officials in Acapulco, as in the other ports of the kingdom, would offer the protection which is their obligation for the safe embarkation of the ship (since it belongs to our lord the king and is the flagship of these seas).

The fiscal attorney replied to the request of the fifth, informing the court of accounts on the sixth:

By common agreement it was decided that his excellency would assign to the missions of the Californias the Peru vessel mentioned in this meeting. The price would be given to the person whom his excellency said had bought the ship. As there was no resolution to the contrary it was thus decided to give a vessel to these missions, with arms and supplies in the form requested. The necessary documents were drawn up and signed with six signatures: their excellencies Uribe, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, Marqués de Villa Mediana, Ardila, Carbajal, and Larburu.

The original documents on this matter were shown to me in the cashier's office of the Real Hacienda of the court in order that this copy could be written. I returned them to this office so that an official letter could be drawn up and forwarded to the place deemed most suitable. I did this in light of the decree of the most excellent Viceroy Marqués de Valero, written in consultation with the royal officials, which was also shown to me and returned. The present document was written in Mexico on January 21, 1722. Witnesses to its correction were Don Ju[lián] del Campo, Don Manuel Dávila, and Don Antonio de Fierro.

I affirm this as truthful testimony,  
Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno  
Royal Notary

## CALIFORNIAS, 1720

A simple copy of the petition was made by the same California missionary, Bravo, regarding the restitution of a boat equipped for California.

April 24, 1720

**M**ost excellent [crossed out]  
I, Jaime Bravo of the Company of Jesus, California missionary, have been charged by the fathers who administer those new conversions to appear before your excellency and relate the following: the California presidio and its lands have been without one of his majesty's boats since May 22 of last year when the king's sloop, which had served as flagship, was lost. Because of this, not only has the Company been unable to advance, but it cannot even maintain the newly conquered lands. There is only one very old launch, which was one of the first ships at the beginning of the conquest, and two canoes incapable of crossing between the coasts of the kingdoms.

I therefore beg your excellency to give me a boat adequate to restore my missions in the briefest time possible, and to deliver the earnings and other necessary aid. This ship should be equipped with everything necessary for a sea voyage, including some of his majesty's weapons from Acapulco for the ship's protection



and any war munitions your excellency desires. With these measures the advancement of that kingdom, so important to the service of God and the king, is assured. I must warn your excellency that grave setbacks will follow if this project is delayed; the seas are hazardous and the storms can be very dangerous if a voyage is not made before the rains.

In addition, I ask your excellency to give me a dispatch written in such a way that the officials of Acapulco, as with other ports in these kingdoms, will extend their protection to the safe embarkation of the ship (since it does belong to our king and is flagship of those seas). I hope to receive the mercy and kindness of your excellency.

Jaime Bravo

Mexico, March 2, 1720

**T**o the fiscal attorney and magistrate  
[Signed by his excellency]

Most excellent sir, if you so desire, would you send a report of this petition to the royal accounting office with all haste? Keep in mind the recent docking of a galleon from the Philippines called the *Sagrada Familia*, a vessel which, according to your excellency's order, was to be used for the traffic between Acapulco and the Californias. Having made that report, the fiscal attorney added the documents that were drawn up when the missions were granted the previous ship, mentioned as having been lost, and asked for the most suitable solution in light of the information presented.

Mexico, March 5, 1720

Maestro Sáenz

Mexico, March 6, 1720

**T**o the royal accounting office for the purpose stated by the fiscal attorney.  
[Signed by his excellency]

Most excellent sir, all of the measures discussed concerning the support of the Californias were arrived at by juntas, who had before them his majesty's mandates regarding this population as well as the documents of the Sacred Company explaining their achievements and the suggestions they feel are suitable. All of these make up the *autos* cited by the prosecutor who, in light of these documents, presents his opinion with full knowledge of the matter. He does not suggest a judgment to the tribunal since there was nothing on which to found such a report. Also, it was announced that a ship from the Philippines has docked and there are reports that it has asked to unload. If the vessel is consigned to the Californias, it will be left to your excellency to determine its best use, as always.

The royal accounting office of Mexico, March 6, 1720.

[Signed with three signatures]

Testimony by order of the superior government of this kingdom with regard to a ship to be given to the California missionaries.

April 11, 1720

**T**his petition was read in Mexico City on April 11, 1720 before Señor Don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas, *alcalde ordinario*.

I, Jaime Bravo, member of the Sacred Company of Jesus of this province of New Spain and proxy for the California missions, wish to present the warrant given to me by his reverence, Padre Juan de Ugarte, father visitor of these missions, as well as the dispatch from the superior government of New Spain regarding a certain ship. Both testimonies were given to me separately in order to ensure the rights of the missions and publicly notarized as to their truthfulness. I therefore entreat your majesty, having been presented with these documents in the proper form (the originals of which I would like returned), to order that which I ask, as is just.

Jaime Bravo

**Y**our Excellency:  
As your grace has seen, the documents to which he refers were included. I order that the father be given the notarized affidavits of the documents and that the original copies be returned to him. Signed and dispatched.

Don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas

AUTO

Jacobo Gómez de Paradelass, royal and public notary.

In fulfillment of the preceding document and of the decree given by the superior government of New Spain I drew up a document whose contents can be seen in the following:

DECREE

**D**on Baltasar de Zúñiga Sotomayor y Mendoza, Marqués de Valero, Ayamonte y Alenquer, gentleman of his majesty's chamber [*cámara*] and of his council and council of war in the Indies, viceroy, deputy, governor, and captain general of New Spain and president of its royal court. Your excellency, I ordered an assembly regarding the following matter:

In attendance at the hacienda assembly, which I ordered convoked on March 8, 1720, were the most excellent Marqués de Valero, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain and president of his royal assembly; the attorneys Don José de Uribe, knight of the Order of Santiago; Doctor Don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, judges of this royal assembly; Don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, knight of the same order; Marqués de Villa Mediana, regent of the royal accounting office; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, first accountant; Don Simón de Carbajal and Don Pedro Larburu, officials of the Real Hacienda and the treasury of this court. The fiscal attorney of his majesty, master

Don José Sáenz de Escobar, read the report made on the fourth of this month by Padre Jaime Bravo of the Sacred Company of Jesus. Padre Bravo is a California missionary and is empowered by the fathers of those new [conversions]. He told how that presidio had not had a boat belonging to his majesty since May 22 of last year when the king's ship, which had served as flagship, was lost. The Company has had no way of advancing nor of maintaining the newly conquered lands, for it has only one very old boat, which was one of the first ships at the beginning of the conquest, and two canoes incapable of crossing from one coast to the other. The conclusion of the father is that his excellency should send a boat capable of restoring the missions in the briefest time possible, and of carrying the earnings and necessary relief. The boat should be outfitted with everything necessary for a sea voyage, including some of the weapons from his majesty's possessions in Acapulco for the ship's security and any munitions his excellency wishes to give. These measures, the father added, should ensure the advancement of that kingdom, of such interest to both majesties and he suggested that problems might follow if these measures were delayed. Padre Bravo asked for haste so that the authorities of Acapulco, as in other ports of those kingdoms, would as far as they were able offer safe embarkation to the ship, which is his majesty's and flagship of these seas.

**T**he response of the fiscal attorney:

It was decided by general agreement that his excellency would assign the Peru ship to the California missions, as reported by his excellency in this meeting. The price for the ship would be given to the person whom his excellency indicated had bought it. Since there was no resolution to the contrary, it was decided to give a ship to the missions with arms and supplies in the form requested, and to draw up the necessary documents. The matter was thus resolved and signed.

[signed with seven signatures]

So that this resolution would be properly and entirely fulfilled, the *castellano* and royal officers of Acapulco ordered that the most necessary measures be taken with the aim that this ship assigned to the Californias be delivered to Padre Jaime. Also, the price for the ship should be given to its buyer, and it should be delivered to the father with arms and supplies in the form requested. Thus with this document and the other messages justifying the importance of this ship, the missions will be restored.

Mexico, March 15, 1720  
The Marqués of Valero,  
through His Excellency Antonio de Avilés

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 63, ff. 319–23.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Testimonio de la providencia tomada en junta de real hacienda sobre que se dé a las misiones de Californias un barco pertrechado.

Con 24 abril, año de 1720.

**E**n la junta de hacienda que mandó convocar el excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España, y presidente de la real audiencia de ella, el día ocho de marzo de mil setecientos y veinte, con los señores licenciados don José de Uribe, caballero del orden de Santiago, señor don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, oidores de esta real audiencia; don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, caballero del mismo orden, marqués de Villa Mediana, regente del real tribunal de cuentas, don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, contador mayor de él; don Simón de Carbajal, y don Pedro Larburu, oficiales reales de la real hacienda y caja de esta corte, presente el abogado fiscal de su majestad, maestro don José Sáenz de Escobar, se vido y leyó la representación que a su excelencia hizo en cuatro del corriente el padre Jaime Bravo, de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús, misionero de Californias y apoderado de los padres que componen aquellas nuevas [misiones tachado] conversiones.

[E]n que expresó hallarse aquel presidio sin barco de cuenta de su majestad desde el día veinte y dos de mayo del año pasado, en que se había perdido la balandra del rey que servía de capitana; hallándose la compañía sin forma de poder no solo adelantar, pero ni aun mantener toda aquella conquista, sin que tuviese más de una lancha, tan vieja, que era de las primeras embarcaciones que habían ido al principio de la conquista, y dos piraguas incapaces de atravesar a las costas de estos reinos; concluyendo en que su excelencia demandase dar barco suficiente en que con la mayor brevedad restituirse a sus misiones y llevar el situado y demás socorros necesarios, dándoseles pertrechado de todo lo necesario para salir a la mar, y con algunas armas de las que hubiere en Acapulco de cuenta de su majestad, para seguridad del barco, y municiones de guerra, que fuese del agrado de su excelencia; medio con que se aseguraría el adelantamiento de aquel reino en que tanto interesaba el servicio de ambas majestades, insinuando los inconvenientes que de retardarse esta providencia se pueden seguir, pidiendo despacho para que, así en Acapulco como en los demás puertos de aquellos reinos, las justicias que en ellos hubiese diesen el amparo que era de su obligación en cuanto pudiese ofrecerse al buen despacho de dicho barco (como que era del rey nuestro señor y capitana de aquellos mares).

Lo que el abogado fiscal dijo en respuesta de cinco, informó el tribunal de cuentas en seis.

Se resolvió de común acuerdo que se asigne por su excelencia para las expresadas misiones de Californias la embarcación del Perú de que su excelencia dio noticia en esta junta, dando el precio de ella a la persona que su excelencia dijo haberla comprado, entendiéndose por el mismo en que la compró, no habiendo resolución en contrario, para que se de embarcación a estas misiones y que se les de con armas y pertrechos en la forma que se pide, librándose para ello los despachos que fueren necesarios, y así quedó resuelto y lo rubricaron. Señalado con seis rúbricas. Su excelencia señores: Uribe, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, Marqués de Villa Mediana, Ardila, Carbajal, Larburu.

Concuerta [ilegible] con la junta que original consta en los autos de la materia, los que para efecto de sacar este traslado se me demostraron en la contaduría de real hacienda de esta corte, adonde los devolví para que lo hiciesen al oficio de gobierno a donde tocan (a que me refiero) y para que conste donde convenga, en

virtud de decreto del excelentísimo señor virrey Marqués de Valero, expedido a consulta de los señores oficiales reales, que también se me demostró y devolví. Doy el presente en México a veinte y uno de enero de mil setecientos veinte y dos años, siendo testigos a su corrección don Ju[liá?]n del Campo, don Manuel Dávila y don Antonio de Fierro, presentes. [ilegible] testado. Misiones. No vale.

Testimonio de verdad, lo signé

Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno

Escribano Real

CALIFORNIAS, 1720

Copia simple del pedimento hecho por el mismo Bravo, misionero de California, sobre que se le de barco pertrechado para restituirse a ella.

Con 24 abril. Año de 1720.

**E**xcelentísimo [tachado] Jaime Bravo de la Compañía de Jesús, misionero de Californias y apoderado de los padres que componen aquellas nuevas conversiones, aparece ante vuestra excelencia y dice que: hallándose el Presidio de Californias y toda aquella tierra sin barco de cuenta de su majestad desde el día veinte y dos de mayo del año pasado, en que se perdió la balandra del rey que servía de capitana, se halla la compañía sin forma de poder no solo adelantar, pero ni aun mantener toda aquella nueva conquista, sin que tenga más de una lancha, tan vieja, que es de las primeras embarcaciones que fueron al principio de la conquista, y dos piraguas incapaces de atravesar las costas de estos reinos.

Por tanto, a vuestra excelencia pide y suplica se sirva de mandar se me de barco suficiente en que poder con la mayor brevedad posible restituirme a mis misiones y llevar el situado y demás socorros necesarios, y que dicho barco se me de pertrechado de todo lo necesario para salir a la mar, y con algunas armas de las que en Acapulco hubiere de cuenta de su majestad, para seguridad del barco, y las municiones de guerra que fuere del agrado de vuestra excelencia, medio con que se asegura el adelantamiento de aquel reino, en que tanto interesa el servicio de Dios y del rey; protestando a vuestra excelencia que, de dilatarse esta providencia, pueden seguirse graves atrasos por lo arriesgado de aquellos mares, no cogiéndose el viaje antes que entre el tiempo de aguas, que es muy peligroso por las tempestades.

Otrosí, a vuestra excelencia suplica se sirva de mandar se me de despacho en toda forma para que, así en Acapulco como en los demás puertos de estos reinos, las justicias que en ellos hubiere den el amparo que es de su obligación en cuanto pudiere ofrecerse al buen despacho de dicho barco (como que es del rey nuestro señor y capitana de aquellos mares) en que espero recibir merced y gran benignidad de vuestra excelencia.

Jaime Bravo.

México, 2 de marzo 1720.

**A** l abogado fiscal y magistrado.

[Rubricado de su excelencia.]

Excelentísimo señor, siendo del agrado de vuestras excelencia, podrá mandar que el real tribunal de cuentas informe sobre este pedimento con toda brevedad y teniendo presente así el haber venido en presente galeón de Filipinas nombrado la Sacra Familia una embarcación en cuarteles que, según se enuncia [ilegible], fue de orden de vuestra excelencia para el tráfico de Acapulco a Californias; y hecho dicho informe vuelva a él el abogado fiscal este expediente, con los autos que se hicieron cuando se adjudicó a las misiones la otra embarcación que se refiere haberse perdido, que en vista de todo pedirá lo que sea conveniente.

México y marzo 5 de 1720.

Maestro Sáenz.

México 6 de marzo de 1720.

**A** l real tribunal de cuentas para el efecto que dice el abogado fiscal

[Rubricado de su excelencia.]

Excelentísimo señor, todas las providencias que se han deliberado sobre la manutención de las Californias se han determinado en juntas en donde se ha tenido presente lo mandado [ilegible] por su majestad sobre esta población, y lo que la sagrada compañía se ha dedicado a su logro, con las proposiciones que les han parecido convenientes que todo constara en los autos que cita el abogado fiscal, que en vista de ellos expondrá con pleno conocimiento su dictamen, no ofreciéndosele al tribunal qué decir, por no haber en el instrumento en que fundar informe. Y por [ilegible] se enuncia de la embarcación que en cuarteles ha venido de Filipinas, se tiene noticia se ha pedido [ilegible] para el desembarque del galeón, y si para el fin de Californias es remitida, le constará a vuestra excelencia que determinará lo que hubiere por conveniente, y lo mejor como siempre.

Tribunal y real audiencia de cuentas de México, marzo 6 de 1720.

[Rubricado con tres rúbricas.]

Testimonio de una orden del superior gobierno de este reino para la entrega de un navío a los misioneros de Californias.

Con 11 abries. Año de 1720.

[“sello cuarto, un cuartillo, años de mil setecientos y diez y seis y diez y siete.”]

**E** n la Ciudad de México, con once días del mes de abril, de mil setecientos y veinte años, ante el señor don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas, alcalde ordinario en ella por su majestad, se leyó esta petición:

Jaime Bravo, religioso de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús, de esta provincia de Nueva España, y procurador de las misiones de Californias, digo que de la licencia y patente que el muy reverendo padre Juan de Ugarte, visitador de dichas misiones, me ha dado y demuestro, y del despacho que también demuestro del superior

gobierno de esta Nueva España sobre cierta embarcación, se me den, de cada cosa separadamente, los testimonios que pidiere autorizados en pública forma y manera que hagan fe, por necesitarlos para enguarda del derecho de dichas misiones. Por tanto a vuestra majestad suplico que, habiendo por demostrados dichos recaudos en debida forma (los cuales se me devuelvan originales), se sirva de mandar hacer como pido, que es justicia.

Jaime Bravo

**S**

u excelencia

Y por su merced vista, hubo por demostrados los recaudos que refiere, y mando que a dicho padre se le den los testimonios de los recaudos que demuestra en la forma que los pide, autorizados en pública forma y manera que hagan fe y obra la que hubiese lugar por derecho, y se le devuelvan los originales demostrados, y así lo proveo y firmo.

Don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas.

#### AUTO

Jacobo Gómez de Paradelass, notario real y público.

En cumplimiento del auto que precede, y del mandamiento del superior gobierno de esta Nueva España, hice sacar, y saqué, un tanto cuyo tenor a la letra es como se sigue:

#### MANDAMIENTO

**D**

on Baltasar de Zúñiga y Guzmán Sotomayor y Mendoza, Marqués de Valero, Ayamonte y Alenquer, gentilhombre de la cámara de su majestad, de su consejo, cámara y junta de guerra de Indias, virrey, lugarteniente, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España, y presidente de la real audiencia de ella, su excelencia. Por cuanto yo mandé formar la junta del tenor siguiente:

En la junta de hacienda que mandó convocar el excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, virrey gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la real audiencia de ella, el día ocho de marzo de mil setecientos y veinte, con los señores licenciados don José de Uribe, caballero del orden de Santiago; doctor don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, oidores de esta real audiencia; don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, caballero del mismo orden; Marqués de Villa Mediana, regente del real tribunal de cuentas; don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, contador mayor de él; don Simón de Carbajal y don Pedro Larburu, oficiales reales de la real hacienda y caja de esta corte. Presente el abogado fiscal de su majestad, maestro don José Sáenz de Escobar, se vido y leyó la representación que a su excelencia hizo en cuatro del corriente el padre Jaime Bravo de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, misionero de Californias y apoderado de los padres

que componen aquellas nuevas conversiones, en que expresó hallarse aquel presidio sin barco de cuenta de su majestad desde el día veinte y dos de mayo del año pasado, en que se había perdido la balandra del rey que servía de capitana, hallándose la compañía sin forma de poder no solo adelantar, pero ni aun mantener toda aquella nueva conquista, sin que tuviese más de una lancha, tan vieja, que era de las primeras embarcaciones que habían ido al principio de la conquista, y dos piraguas incapaces de atravesar a las costas de estos reinos; concluyendo en que su excelencia le mandase dar barco suficiente en que poder con la mayor brevedad restituirse a sus misiones y llevar el situado y demás socorros necesarios, dándosele pertrechado de todo lo necesario para salir a la mar, y con algunas armas de las que hubiese en Acapulco de cuenta de su majestad, para seguridad del barco y municiones de guerra que fuese del agrado de su excelencia—medio con que se aseguraba el adelantamiento de aquel reino que tanto interesaba el servicio de ambas majestades—insinuando los inconvenientes que de retardarse esta providencia se pueden seguir; pidiendo despacho para que, así en Acapulco como en los demás puertos de aquellos reinos, las justicias que en ellos hubiese diesen el amparo que era de su obligación en cuanto pudiese ofrecerse al buen despacho de dicho barco; como que era del rey nuestro señor y capitana de aquellos mares.

Y lo que el abogado fiscal dijo en respuesta de cinco e informó el real tribunal de cuentas en seis:

Se resolvió de común acuerdo que se asigne por su excelencia para las expresadas misiones de Californias la embarcación del Perú, de que su excelencia dio noticia en esta junta, dando el precio de ella a la persona que su excelencia dijo haberla comprado, entendiéndose por el mismo en que la comprara [ilegible]; no habiendo resolución en contrario para que se de embarcación a estas misiones y que se les de con armas y pertrechos en la forma que se pide, librándose para ello los despachos que fueren necesarios. Y así quedó resuelto y lo rubricaron.

[Señalado con siete rúbricas.]

Y para que esta resolución tenga debido y entero cumplimiento, por el presente, mando del castellano y oficiales reales de Acapulco den las providencias más necesarias y convenientes a fin de que se entregue a dicho padre Jaime la expresada embarcación asignada para las misiones de Californias, dando el precio de ella a la persona que la compró por lo mismo en que se la dieron; la cual se ha de entregar a dicho padre con armas y pertrechos en la forma que pide y se refiere en la junta inserta, que con este despacho y los demás recaudos que justifique la importancia de todo lo que importare así dicha embarcación, como lo demás que va expresado, se les retribuirá y pasará en data.

México y marzo quince de mil setecientos y veinte.

El Marqués de Valero,

por medio de su excelencia Antonio de Avilés.







## II

### Protecting the Peninsula from Indian Rebellion and Aiding the Manila Galleons (1733-1735)

#### Muster Roll of the Presidio of Loreto, 1733

**T**his muster roll of the presidio of Loreto gives a good summary view of the manpower situation in California immediately prior to the rebellion of the Guaicuro Indians on the southern tip of the peninsula. Up to this time, 1733, hostilities had been minimal and the presidial complement was scattered around the missions on routine "detached" duty. Although it is commonly held that life in a Spanish presidio was burdensomely autocratic, this document reveals the rather unusual practice of resolving common problems democratically, inasmuch as the soldiers and sailors were requested to choose the manner of the distribution of their earnings. It was not uncommon on the mainland for the local commander to run a company store that offered needed supplies at inflated prices; apparently Loreto under Captain Rodríguez adhered strictly to the reforms of Pedro de Rivera as imposed by the Marqués de Casafuerte (1729). Captain Rodríguez's certification indicates that the established rates of salaries and wages had been maintained at this level since 1718, when an agreement was reached between the soldiers and the Jesuit father superior and procurator. Father Bravo explains in this document that he is sending a copy of the original agreement to the viceroy, and he requests its return. The document presented here is a copy of that complete expediente, which makes possible a comparison of the change of personnel, as well as its numerical increase. The price list is also most informative because it stands in contrast to those established by Rivera in his frontier inspection and in the Reglamento of 1729.

Statement of the posts of soldiers, as well as those of the sailors, officers and other laborers, given in 1733 by Don Esteban Rodríguez, captain of the presidio of Loreto; with five applicable pages, 1733.

**T**his is the record of the current posts of soldiers, as well as sailors, officers, and the other laborers assigned to working the lands, for whom the management of royal funds is administered by Father Jaime Bravo, our procurator. I testify so far as I reasonably can that everything listed here is as stated, using this common paper because stamped paper is not available in this land. Due to the lack of either royal or public notaries in this land, I am acting as the official recipient with two witnesses attending me, done on this the eleventh day of December 1733.

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

José Antonio de Rodríguez

Bernardo Rodríguez

I, the aforementioned captain, certify before whomever receives this agreement that the venerable Father Juan de Ugarte, as father superior of the missions of this land at the time, and the most excellent Father Jaime Bravo, procurator and general administrator of the royal funds assigned by the king our lord (may God keep him) for the payment of this royal presidio and its naval forces, met with all of us in the guardroom about that payment. Before everyone, the most reverend fathers presented the plan by which his majesty granted 18,275 pesos and 4 reales to pay for twenty-five positions, along with those of the captain, sixteen sailors, and two masters for two ships. The venerable Father Juan de Ugarte then gave the captain the option of taking charge of the payments in the manner his majesty had ordered or of having the money in Mexico or of deciding that half be brought in reales and the other half in clothing. He stated that it would be our responsibility to pay for expenses and the risks of sea and land. The captain responded that he could in no way take charge of handling the money in a land overseas, and the soldiers requested time to respond on the part that affected them, as they would have to purchase supplies, munitions, and horses in order to perform their military duties. The venerable father said they should think it over and reply so that he would know how to proceed.

After the captain and the soldiers conferred about what would be most suitable, they came to an agreement and verbally told the venerable father that up to that time the Society of Jesus had managed the payments very much to the satisfaction of all those concerned. For this reason, they asked that payments be continued in the same manner as before, so that their salaries would always remain free from any taxes or risks of land and sea. This being the opinion of the captain and the soldiers, they presented a written document in everyone's name, the content of which is as follows:

I, Captain Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, as present captain of this royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias for his majesty, appear before you, most reverend father, with all the soldiers of this presidio, to reply to what you presented to us on July 29, [1718]. We have seen and heard the representation made by the Most Reverend Father Jaime Bravo, our procurator, on behalf of the viceroy regarding the well-being of the presidio. We are very grateful to him for the good that he does for us, and we all declare that, in regard to the proposals you have made, we are leaving it for you to decide, most reverend father. We all give this as something very well done. In truth whereof, I am signing this in this royal presidio, with all the soldiers, on July 31, 1718.

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo  
 Don Joseph de la Rea  
 Juan Villalobos  
 Ignacio de Acevedo  
 Sebastián Martínez  
 Fermincillo Meneses  
 Joseph Altamirano  
 Francisco de la Rosa  
 Manuel Joseph de Sosa

Because the following did not know how to sign their names, I have signed for them:

Manuel de Sosa  
 Ignacio Valdés  
 Nicolás Valdés  
 Jesús Sabalza  
 Francisco de Orozco  
 Cayetano de Aguilar  
 Lázaro Mill[án]  
 Manuel González  
 Manuel Ruiz  
 Joseph Romero  
 Martín de Armenta

I have taken into consideration the representation made by Captain Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, his *alférez*, Don Joseph de la Rea, and the rest of the soldiers of this royal presidio. Reconciling this with the new assignment made by his majesty of each one's annual wage, with the obligations imposed on them—which are the same as those in the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya, some being difficult or even almost impossible for the said royal presidio to handle at this time—and attending as much as possible to the relief and consolation of everyone, I have decided on an appropriate plan as follows:

For the captain a salary of	525 pesos and 2 rations
For the <i>alférez</i> an assignment of	380 pesos and 2 rations
For the squadron leader	330 pesos and 2 rations
For married soldiers	300 pesos and 2 rations
For unmarried soldiers	325 pesos
	<hr/>
All these salaries amount to	8,355 pesos

These salaries are free from all deductions, except for reimbursements of those amounts that might be incurred on our account for purchasing privileges, prerequisites, and other unavoidable expenses. Likewise, the presidio's annual support and munitions are in our keeping, on our account. The officers and soldiers are only obliged to cover the cost of two horses each, assuming there is a way by which they

can acquire them. Until they get them, we are obliged to provide them with the horses they might need for military expeditions. Because of how useful married soldiers can be to this land through their good example, they are given 300 pesos and the rations for their wives, which costs much more than the 25 pesos added to the bachelors' pay. This arrangement conforms with what has been decided by the royal presidio. In fulfillment thereof, I have signed this document in this pueblo and camp of Nuestra Señora de Loreto on August 1, 1718.

Juan de Ugarte

I, the aforesaid captain, also certify that from the day on which the agreement was made with the reverend fathers to the present they have not failed to comply with all their obligations to the presidios. Nor has there been any increase in prices; rather, everything is very satisfactory, and the punctual provisioning [by] the reverend fathers superior has made the entire presidio and the seamen content. Today we have many of the items needed here at lower prices than before, as the following shows: for sugar, 2 pesos per arroba; for tobacco, 2 rations per hand-ful; men's silk stockings have been reduced 4 pesos; women's [silk] stockings, 2 pesos; knit stockings are reduced 5 reales; flannel, 2 reales; sackcloth, ½ real; [illegible] from León 1 real; medium-grade linen, 3 reales; Dutch blue linen, 2 reales per vara; spun and unspun silk, 4 reales an ounce; thread, 4 reales an ounce; paper is one more sheet to the real; work hats were reduced 12 reales; a blanket from Villalta [Oaxaca], 4 reales; women's shoes, 4 reales; embroidered ribbon, 2 reales per vara; double for agave thread; twill, 4 reales per vara; satin from Toledo, 1 peso per vara; cups and other small items are greatly reduced; horses have been reduced 10 pesos; mules 5 pesos; colts have been reduced 5 pesos; for a jerkin, 2 reales;<sup>1</sup> for ribbons for tying, 1 real; skirts from Puebla, 1 peso; shawls, 1 peso; stockings from Tornay, 4 reales.

Likewise, I certify that the twenty-five positions assigned by his majesty have been maintained, and even some additional positions during various emergencies that tend to occur in this land. I am writing down the current positions in this presidio individually, and the exact wage each one receives, including those of the officers and their aides, as well as a list of the wages of the men who help with the forge, the carpentry, [illegible], and other laborers who are indispensable. These are shown as follows:

The captain's wage is	880 pesos and 3 rations
The sergeant	330 pesos and 1 ration
Don Simón Rodríguez	325 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Carrillo	300 pesos and 2 rations

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1. The two Spanish terms *coleta* and *belduques* are clearly so written in the document. But the change of context of the items listed and the prices make it more probable that the items should have been written *coleta* and *balduque*—two misspellings closely adjoining in the text.

Muster Roll of Loreto, 1733

Diego de Estrada	300 pesos and 2 rations
Pedro de Piña	300 pesos and 2 rations
Andrés de Cota	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Antonio Velasco	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Manuel Morales	300 pesos and 2 rations
Joseph de León	325 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de Rivas	300 pesos and 2 rations
Francisco Antonio Mendes	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan de Estrada	325 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Miguel Montaña	325 pesos and 1 ration
Don Manuel Romero	325 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Luis Torzolén	325 pesos and 1 ration
Francisco Javier Cras	325 pesos and 1 ration
Santiago de Pico	300 pesos and 2 rations
Felipe Villalobos	300 pesos and 2 rations
Don Manuel de Ossio	325 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Torres	300 pesos and 2 rations
Diego Pérez	325 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de la Rosa	325 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de Trejo	325 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Altamirano	325 pesos and 1 ration
Miguel Cordero	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Romero	300 pesos and 2 rations
Don Joseph Marcio Romero	162 pesos
Francisco Rudelo	162 pesos and 2 rations
Manuel Villavicencio	162 pesos and 1 ration
Juan de Aguilar	162 pesos and 1 ration
Nicolás López	162 pesos and 1 ration

*Sailors*

Arraez, Julio de Santa Cruz	320 pesos and 2 rations
Arraez, Julio Agustín	320 pesos and 2 rations
Pascual Cruz, assistant	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Sánchez, assistant	300 pesos and 2 rations
Gregorio de la Cruz, assistant	300 pesos and 2 rations
Francisco Manríquez	180 pesos and 2 rations
Pedro Regalado	122 pesos and 2 rations
Juan de Santa Cruz	122 pesos and 1 ration
Manuel Quijano	120 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro Gerónimo	120 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro Adriano	120 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph de Santa Cruz	180 pesos and 1 ration
Isidro de la Cruz	180 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Contreras	72 pesos and 1 ration
Gregorio Uribis	120 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Bautista Vizaya	122 pesos and 2 rations
Matheo de la Cruz	122 pesos and 2 rations

## Protecting the Peninsula

Ignacio Lorenzo	122 pesos and 1 ration
Lorenzo de la Cruz	122 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Peñuelas	96 pesos and 1 ration
Lorenzo Juan	96 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Girón	120 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de Robles	120 pesos and 1 ration
Gaspar Guaynamota	120 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Antonio	122 pesos and 1 ration
Nicolás Villanueva	120 pesos and 1 ration
Lucas Santa Cruz	72 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro Contreras	72 pesos and 1 ration
Juan de Villanueva	120 pesos and 1 ration
Miguel de los Santos	120 pesos and 1 ration
Miguel de la Cruz	96 pesos and 1 ration
Antonio de la Cruz	72 pesos and 1 ration
Gaspar Molina	180 pesos and 1 ration
Juan de la Cruz	122 pesos and 1 ration
Francisco Javie	96 pesos and 2 rations
Jacinto Carbajal	96 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Antonio Peñuelas	72 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Ignacio	72 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Guerrero	120 pesos and 1 ration
Commanders of the two ships	382 pesos, 2 rations each

### *Skilled Blacksmith and Three Aides*

Gunsmith, Juan Botillar	300 pesos and 2 rations
Cristóbal Acencio	192 pesos and 2 rations
Joseph Acencio	72 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Bautista	96 pesos and 2 rations

### *Skilled Carpenters*

Manuel Morillo	300 pesos and 2 rations
Sebastián Manríquez	72 pesos and 2 rations
Cristóbal Márquez	72 pesos and 1 ration
Antonio Manríquez	72 pesos and 1 ration

### *Skilled Shipwrights*

Salvador Márquez	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Ignacio, assistant	72 pesos and 1 ration
Carlos Márquez	72 pesos and 1 ration
Agustín Alejandro	192 pesos and 2 rations

### *Cowboys*

Juan de Ugarte	168 pesos and 2 rations
Pedro Fuydu	122 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Andrés	122 pesos and 2 rations

All of the wages mentioned are paid from the funds that his majesty (may God keep him) assigns every year, and they are as follows:

Captain	620 pesos
24 soldiers at 450 pesos	10,800 pesos
14 sailors at 150 pesos	2,100 pesos
2 muleteers at 200 pesos	400 pesos
3 officers at 200 pesos	600 pesos
2 cooks at 140 pesos	280 pesos
Rations of corn and officers	3,275 pesos
	<hr/>
	18,275 pesos

By virtue of the petition mentioned above, judged to be very proper, this should be given to the Reverend Father Jaime Bravo, rector of these missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias.

I, Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, *capitán de mar y guerra* for this royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias, and chief justice before whom all decrees pass, in addition to documents that are submitted to me as his majesty's investigating officer for this entire land, [do hereby state] that a document of the following nature was presented to me.

Captain Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

I, Jaime Bravo of the Society of Jesus, rector of the missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, procurator and general administrator of the royal funds that the king our lord (God keep him) has assigned to the spiritual conquest of the Californias, state that the written agreement dated July 31, 1718, which I am presenting to your grace (and requesting return of the original), does not contain certain parts of the agreement because they were made orally and did not seem necessary at that time. Now there is no person remaining in this presidio, other than your grace, who was present at the meeting. I therefore request your grace to clearly state the matters or propositions which were discussed, so that there will be for the present superiors, as well as future ones, a permanent record of what was then decided.

I also request that a transcript be made of the said agreement that faithfully copies it to the letter. Further, would your grace please certify that the Society of Jesus has punctually fulfilled all its obligations, and that, as promised, it has not increased the prices of the goods that have been supplied on its account to the presidio and the sailors. Those goods [illegible] that have been reduced from [prices] current at that time should be stated, with a list of the goods and the amount by which each has been discounted. It should be mentioned that the number of assigned positions has been maintained, and the military positions that presently exist, as well as those of the sailors, officers, and their aides, should also be given, with a list of their salaries and rations. I assure you that I have no motive for creating this document other than judging it most appropriate that the manner in which the Society has acted in regard to the management of the royal



funds assigned to this presidio always be on record for his excellency the viceroy, the official justices of the royal treasury, and other superiors. I also present a statement of the assignment made by the higher government; there should be an accounting of it for the satisfaction of those concerned. For these reasons I request and beg your grace to provide whatever you may justly deem appropriate.

Loreto, December 1, 1733

Jaime Bravo

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, 3, ff. 19-24.*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Estado de las plazas así de soldados como de marineros, oficiales y demás peones, dado en 1733 por don Esteban Rodríguez, capitán del presidio de Loreto. Con 5 folios útiles. Año de 1733.

**E**l traslado de plazas que al presente existen, así de soldados, como de marina, oficiales y demás peones anexos a los ministerios de tierra, en quienes se consume este manejo de real hacienda, administrado por dicho reverendo padre Jaime Bravo, nuestro procurador. Testifico en cuanto puedo en derecho, ser según va expresado, todo lo referido. En este papel común por no usarse de ningún sello en esta tierra. Actuando por receptoría con dos testigos de mi asistencia, a falta de escribanos real o público que no hay en esta tierra. Fecho en 11 días del mes de diciembre de 1733.

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

José Antonio de Rodríguez

Bernardo Rodríguez

Certifico yo, dicho capitán, ante quien paso dicho convenio, que el venerable padre Juan de Ugarte como superior que era entonces de las misiones de esta tierra, y el excelentísimo padre Jaime Bravo, procurador general administrador del real situado que da el rey nuestro señor (Dios le guarde) para pagamento de este real presidio y marinería, y para lo cual nos juntamos todos en el cuerpo de guardia, y ante todos sacaron los reverendísimos padres la propuesta de que su majestad daba dieciocho mil doscientos setenta y cinco pesos y cuatro reales para los pagamentos de veinticinco plazas con la del capitán, dieciséis marineros con dos arráez para dos embarcaciones. Y luego le ofreció, el venerable padre Juan de Ugarte, al capitán, que si quería hacerse cargo de estos pagamentos en la forma que su majestad mandaba, o si querían el dinero en México, o que se trajese la mitad en reales, y la mitad en ropa, expresando que sería por nuestra cuenta los gastos, y riesgos de mar y tierra. A lo cual respondió dicho capitán, de que de ninguna manera se podía hacer cargo de correr con ello en una tierra ultra marina. Y los soldados pidieron tiempo para responder por la parte que les tocaba, pues se habían de comprar los bastimentos y municiones, y bestias para ejercer el oficio de soldados. Para lo cual dijo dicho venerable padre que lo pensasen y respondiesen para ver en la forma en que habían de quedar.

Y después de haber conferido el capitán y los soldados lo que les era más conveniente, fueron de mancomún, y le dijeron de palabra, al venerable padre, que

visto que hasta entonces había corrido la Compañía con las pagas, muy a satisfacción de los interesados, por cuya razón suplicaban de que se continuase de la misma forma que antes, con tal de que sus sueldos en todo tiempo quedasen libres de toda contribución y riesgos de mar y tierra. Y quedando en este estado el parecer del capitán [y] soldados, presentaron un escrito en nombre de todos, que es del tenor siguiente:

El capitán Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, como capitán actual de este real presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, por su majestad. Vale. Parece ante vuestra persona reverendísima, con todos los soldados de este dicho presidio, y decimos, tocante a lo que vuestra persona reverendísima nos representó el día 29 de julio de [1718]: "Hemos visto y oído la representación, que hizo el reverendísimo padre Jaime Bravo nuestro procurador, del señor virrey por el bien del presidio. Decimos que le agradecemos mucho el bien que nos hace, a lo que decimos todos, que lo dejamos a la elección de vuestra persona reverendísima que [de] cuanto vuestra reverendísima hiciere, tocante a las propuestas que vuestra persona reverendísima nos ha hecho, lo damos todos por muy bien hecho. Y por ser verdad lo firm[amos] en este real presidio, con todos los soldados, en 31 de julio 1718."

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo.  
Don Joseph de la Rea. Juan Villalobos.  
Ignacio de Acevedo.  
Sebastián Martínez.  
Fermincillo Meneses.  
Joseph Altamirano.  
Francisco de la Rosa.  
Manuel Joseph de Sosa.

Y por no saber firmar los siguientes, lo firmé [yo]:

Manuel de Sosa.  
Ignacio Valdés.  
Nicolás Valdés.  
Jesús Sabalza.  
Francisco de Orozco.  
Cayetano de Aguilar.  
Lázaro Mill[án].  
Manuel González.  
Manuel Ruiz.  
Joseph Romero.  
Martín de Armenta.

En vista de la representación hecha por el señor capitán don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, su alférez don Joseph de la Rea y demás soldados de este real presidio, y reduciéndose su fin a que en la nueva asignación he[cha] por su majestad, del sueldo anual de cada uno, con las obliga[ciones] que les impone, las mismas que tienen los de los presidios de la Nueva Vizcaya, y siendo algunas difíciles, y aún casi imposibles por ahora, el poderse cargar con ellas dicho real presidio.

Atendiendo pues, en cuanto es posible, al alivio y consuelo de todos, he tenido por conveniente determinar el modo, y planta que se sigue:

Al señor capitán se le dé de sueldo	525 pesos y dos raciones
Al señor alférez se le asignan	380 pesos y dos raciones
Al cabo de escuadra	300 pesos y dos raciones
A los soldados casados	300 pesos y dos raciones
A los soldados solteros	325 pesos
Y los sueldos solos importan	<hr/> 8,355 pesos

Los cuales son libres de toda contribución, sino que se les hayan de enterar, corriendo de nuestra cuenta el pagar los derechos de las cobranzas, regalías, y otros inexcusables gastos. Y queda, así mismo de nuestra cuenta y cuidado, el sustento y municiones para el gasto anual del presidio. Y sólo quedaron los cabos y soldados obligados a tener de su cuenta y de su cuidado, dos caballos cada uno, en habiendo forma de que los puedan adquirir. Obligándonos hasta que los tengan, a dar las bestias convenientes para las expediciones de su empleo, que se necesitaren. Y el dar a los soldados casados trescientos pesos, y la ración de su mujer, que cuesta mucho más de los veinticinco pesos que se les añaden a los solteros, es por lo útil que pueden ser a la tierra dichos casados con su buen ejemplo. Y en esta conformidad queda determinado lo representado por el real presidio. Y porque así se cumplirá, y exentará todo, lo firmé en este pueblo y real de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, en primero de agosto de 1718 años.

Juan de Ugarte.

También certifico yo, dicho capitán, que desde el día que se hizo este convenio con los reverendos padres, no ha habido ninguna falla en todo a que se obligaron con el presidio hasta el día de hoy. Ni menos ha [habi]do alteración alguna de precios, sino todo muy a satisfacción, y contento todo el presidio y marinería por la puntual providencia [de] los reverendísimos padres superiores, pues el día de hoy tenemos muchos de [los] géneros que aquí necesitamos a menos precio del corriente que ante[s] te[n]ían como van expresados en la forma siguiente: en la panocha dos pesos cada arroba, en el tabaco dos reales al manojo, a las medias de seda de hombre se han rebajado cuatro pesos, a las de mujer dos pesos, a las calcetas [se] han rebajado cinco reales, a la bayeta dos reales, al sayal medio real, a la [ilegible] de León un real, al cotence tres reales, al mitán dos reales en la vara, seda torcida y floja en la onza cuatro reales, hilo cuatro reales en la onza, al papel un pliego más en el real, a los sombreros de tarea se rebajaron doce reales, en la manta de Villalta cuatro reales, a los zapatos de mujer cuatro reales, al listón labrado dos reales en la vara, pita al doble, a la sarga cuatro reales en la vara, en el raso de Toledo un peso en la vara, júcaras y otras menud[encias] ha habido mucha rebaja; en los caballos se han rebajado diez pesos, en las mulas cinco pesos, en los potros se han rebajado cinco pesos, a la coleta dos reales, a los belduques un real, a las naguas poblanas un peso, a los rebozos un peso, a las medias de Tornay cuatro reales.

Así mismo, certifico cómo se han mantenido las veinticinco plazas que asignó su majestad y aún algunas más, en varias ocasiones por urgencias que se suelen

ofrecer en esta tierra; y las que al presente [haben] en este presidio pongo aquí con individualidad, y a la letra el sueldo que cada uno percibe, así de los que existen en este presidio, como también de los oficiales de mar y sus ayudantes, como también la razón de los salarios de los ayudantes de fragua, carpintería, [ilegible] y otros peones inexcusables. Cuya razón es en la forma siguiente:

El capitán tiene de sueldo	880 pesos y tres raciones
El sargento	330 pesos y una ración
Don Simón Rodríguez	325 pesos y una ración
Juan Carrillo	300 pesos y dos raciones
Diego de Estrada	300 pesos y dos raciones
Pedro de Piña	300 pesos y dos raciones
Andrés de Cota	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Antonio Velasco	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Manuel Morales	300 pesos y dos raciones
Joseph de León	325 pesos y una ración
Pedro de Rivas	300 pesos y dos raciones
Francisco Antonio Mendes	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan de Estrada	325 pesos y una ración
Juan Miguel Montaña	325 pesos y una ración
Don Manuel Romero	325 pesos y una ración
Juan Luis Torzolén	325 pesos y una ración
Francisco Javier Cras	325 pesos y una ración
Santiago de Pico	300 pesos y dos raciones
Felipe Villalobos	300 pesos y dos raciones
Don Manuel de Ossio	325 pesos y una ración
Joseph Torres	300 pesos y dos raciones
Diego Pérez	325 pesos y una ración
Pedro de la Rosa	325 pesos y una ración
Pedro de Trejo	325 pesos y una ración
Joseph Altamirano	325 pesos y una ración
Miguel Cordero	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Romero	300 pesos y dos raciones
Don Joseph Marcio Romero	162 pesos
Francisco Rudelo	162 pesos y dos raciones
Manuel Villavicencio	162 pesos y una ración
Juan de Aguilar	162 pesos y una ración
Nicolás López	162 pesos y una ración

*Marineros*

Arraez, Julio de Santa Cruz	320 pesos y dos raciones
Arraez, Julio Agustín	320 pesos y dos raciones
Pascual Cruz, ayudante	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Sánchez, ayudante	300 pesos y dos raciones
Gregorio de la Cruz, ayudante	300 pesos y dos raciones
Francisco Manríquez	180 pesos y dos raciones
Pedro Regalado	122 pesos y dos raciones
Juan de Santa Cruz	122 pesos y una ración

Protecting the Peninsula

Manuel Quijano	120 pesos y una ración
Pedro Gerónimo	120 pesos y una ración
Pedro Adriano	120 pesos y una ración
Joseph de Santa Cruz	180 pesos y una ración
Isidro de la Cruz	180 pesos y una ración
Juan Contreras	72 pesos y una ración
Gregorio Uribis	120 pesos y una ración
Juan Bautista Vizaya	122 pesos y dos raciones
Matheo de la Cruz	122 pesos y dos raciones
Ignacio Lorenzo	122 pesos y una ración
Lorenzo de la Cruz	122 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Peñuelas	96 pesos y una ración
Lorenzo Juan	96 pesos y una ración
Joseph Girón	120 pesos y una ración
Pedro de Robles	120 pesos y una ración
Gaspar Guaynamota	120 pesos y una ración
Juan Antonio	122 pesos y una ración
Nicolás Villanueva	120 pesos y una ración
Lucas Santa Cruz	72 pesos y una ración
Pedro Contreras	72 pesos y una ración
Juan de Villanueva	120 pesos y una ración
Miguel de los Santos	120 pesos y una ración
Miguel de la Cruz	96 pesos y una ración
Antonio de la Cruz	72 pesos y una ración
Gaspar Molina	180 pesos y una ración
Juan de la Cruz	122 pesos y una ración
Francisco Javier	96 pesos y dos raciones
Jacinto Carbajal	96 pesos y una ración
Juan Antonio Peñuelas	72 pesos y una ración
Juan Ignacio	72 pesos y una ración
Joseph Guerrero	120 pesos y una ración
Comandantes de los dos Barcos	382 pesos y sus dos raciones

*Oficial de Herrero y Tres Ayudantes*

Armero Juan Botillar	300 pesos y dos raciones
Cristóbal Acencio	192 pesos y dos raciones
Joseph Acencio	72 pesos y una ración
Juan Bautista	96 pesos y dos raciones

*Oficial de Carpintero*

Manuel Morillo	300 pesos y dos raciones
Sebastián Manríquez	72 pesos y dos raciones
Cristóbal Márquez	72 pesos y una ración
Antonio Manríquez	72 pesos y una ración

*Oficial de Calafate*

Salvador Márquez	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Ignacio, ayudante	72 pesos y una ración

Carlos Márquez	72 pesos y una ración
Agustín Alejandro	192 pesos y dos raciones

*Vaqueros*

Juan de Ugarte	168 pesos y dos raciones
Pedro Fuydu	122 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Andrés	122 pesos y dos raciones

Todos los mencionados sueldos se pagan del situado que su majestad (que Dios guarde) asigna anualmente, que son en la forma siguiente:

Al capitán	620 pesos
Veinticuatro plazas de soldados a 450 pesos	10,800 pesos
Catorce de marineros a 150 pesos	2,100 pesos
Dos plazas de arráez a 200 pesos	400 pesos
Tres oficiales a 200 pesos	600 pesos
Dos cocineros a 140 pesos	280 pesos
Las raciones de maíz y oficiales	3,275 pesos
	<hr/>
	18,275 pesos

En virtud del pedimento arriba mencionado, y juzgado ser muy debido, se le diese al reverendo padre Jaime Bravo, rector de estas misiones de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias.

Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, capitán de mar y guerra de este real presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, y justicia mayor ante quien pasan todos los autos y escritos que se ofrecen como juez receptor en toda esta tierra por su majestad. Vale. Por cuanto se me presentó un escrito del tenor siguiente.

Señor capitán don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo.

Jaime Bravo, de la Compañía de Jesús, rector de las misiones de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, procurador y general administrador del real situado que el rey nuestro señor (Dios lo guarde) tiene asignado a esta espiritual conquista de Californias, dice: que por cuanto en el papel de convenio fecho en 31 de julio de 1718, que presento a vuestra merced (y pido se me vuelva original), no se expresan algunos capítulos del convenio, por haber sido de palabra y no parecer por entonces ser necesario, ahora que no queda en este presidio otra persona que la de vuestra merced, de las que asistieron a la junta que a este fin se hizo, suplico a vuestra merced se expresen con toda distinción los capítulos o proposiciones que se confirieron, para que conste en todo tiempo así a los superiores presentes, como a los venideros, de lo que entonces se determinó.

Otro sí suplica, que se saque traslado que haga del dicho papel a la letra como él está. Que vuestra merced se sirva de certificar, si por parte de la Compañía, se ha dado puntual cumplimiento a todo aquello a que se obligó, que como ofreció [o si] ha hecho mutación alguna en los precios de los géneros que han dado de su cuenta al presidio y marinería; y que se exprese aquellos en que se ha hecho rebaje del corriente que en aquel tiempo tenían, con expresión de los dichos [ilegible]

y lo que en cada uno de ellos se ha hecho rebaje; qué [en qué] número de plazas asignadas se ha mantenido, y las que [al] presente existen, así militares como de la marina, oficiales y sus ayudantes, con expresión de los salarios y raciones que tienen. Asegurando que para hacer este escrito no me mueve otro motivo más que el juzgar muy conveniente que el que en todo tiempo conste al excelentísimo señor virrey y señores jueces oficiales de la real hacienda y a los demás superiores, del modo que la Compañía ha tenido en la administración de este manejo de real hacienda destinado para este real presidio, y lo que expresa la asignación hecha por el superior gobierno, que también presento, y debe quedar razón de ella para satisfacción de los interesados. Para lo cual pido, y suplico a [vuestra merced] provea lo que tuviere por conveniente en justicia. Loreto, y diciembre primero de 1733 años.

Jaime Bravo

## Indian Raid on the Manila Galleon, 1735

*Spain was always sensitive about the safety of the Manila galleons and their exclusive trade with the East Indies via the Philippine-Mexico connection. The voyage from the Orient was typically in excess of five months, so the armaments were greatly reduced to permit the vessels to be supplied with ample food and water, leaving as much free tonnage as possible for the merchandise. Except for relatively brief periods, the galleons remained free from the pirate attacks so common in the West Indies. The passengers and crew were usually armed with muskets, pistols, swords, and daggers in anticipation of close combat in cases when the ship was unable to outgun or outrun an enemy vessel. The image of a Spanish galleon bristling with cannon is not an appropriate depiction of these merchant ships from Manila.*

*But the danger to the huge ships did not always arise from marauders. Early in 1734 the Covadonga under the command of Admiral Gerónimo Montero put in at the bay of San Bernabé, not far from the mission of San José del Cabo. Several deathly ill sailors and an Augustinian priest were put ashore to be nursed back to health by Father Nicolás Tamaral. The aid was so timely and successful that the Philippine governor ordered future galleons to put in at San Bernabé. General Zumalde took the San Cristóbal into the shallow bay expecting to contact the mission Indians and load critical supplies of fruit and water; he was totally unaware that the Guaicuro Indians had rebelled several months before, killing the missionaries at San José and Santiago. The following document briefly summarizes what happened and illustrates the kind of combat the galleon crews were capable of handling.*

An account of what happened with the natives and the flagship *San Cristóbal* under the command of General Don Mateo de Zumalde<sup>1</sup> on the Río de San José near Cabo de San Lucas in California.

### CALIFORNIAS–SAN CRISTÓBAL

**M**ost Excellent Sir:

I wish to inform your excellency that with the scarcity of rains, sailcloth, and ballast on the California coast, it became necessary to resort to the following in order to continue the journey. I called a meeting of the officers, who

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1. When Zumalde entered into the galleon trade and how long he survived remains a question for further research, as is the case for many important figures in the trans-Pacific trade.



unanimously agreed we should put in at the Río de San José. It was noted that other galleons in similar circumstances on this route had done the same, for not only can one replenish all necessary provisions but also leave the gravely ill there. This was done the year before last by General don Gerónimo Montero<sup>2</sup> with the special help of the father minister who resided on the Río de San José.<sup>3</sup> In light of this, I executed the decision to explore the inlet and sent a launch ahead in charge of the third pilot. Once this had been accomplished, the pilot was to notify the ship by firing a cannon in order to send an escort. This he promptly did, leaving eight men on land who could not return on board because of the growing height of the waves. Given the difficulty of setting anchor in that place, they did not exercise the caution required.

After the launch returned, the third pilot informed me about his mission. He reported that immediately upon arriving, he found a large number of Indians on the beach who, when they recognized us as Spaniards, knelt down. One in particular, called Gerónimo, the most *ladino* of them all, was said to be the servant of the missionary priest. He had been posted as a sentinel by him to sight the arrival of the Philippine galleon with orders to report the sighting so that the galleon could be supplied with all necessary provisions. When the pilot inquired about the priest, he was told that he was some twenty miles distant with a sick companion, but that an Indian had already been dispatched to tell him of the arrival of the ship.

After hearing this news, I did everything possible that afternoon and evening to anchor in the inlet, but I was unable to do so because of the contrary weather. The following morning I was able to do so but at some distance from the inlet; shortly thereafter, as I lacked a cable, the weather forced me to set sail for another sheltered bay called Cabo de San Lucas, nine leagues from the first. After anchoring, it seemed fitting to immediately notify the padre and ask him to send the eight men who had remained behind. For this purpose I sent three more men and another who, without my orders, volunteered. Shortly after I had dispatched these men, three Indians arrived, among them the ladino, Gerónimo. They told me that they had been sent by Father Nicolás Tamaral to see whether the ship had by chance come to that inlet. They insisted that I should not write him, and I asked why; they satisfied me by saying that they had had a falling out with the minister and that there had been an affair tinged with distrust, but they were sure that the father and my men would arrive very soon. With that they left, and I carried on without the least suspicion until I realized that the men were slow in returning; I feared that I had somehow offended the Indians. Guided by that suspicion, I ordered musketeers to protect the sick and those digging for water. In my experience, this diligence proved useful because the majority of the men on this ship have not perished. Indeed, the following day about 700 Indians arrived in two complements armed with bows and arrows. Although at first I thought they had

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2. Gerónimo Montero was an experienced pilot-navigator whose career in the galleon trade spanned some fourteen years. He was the commander of the *Covadonga* that finally fell prey to George Anson in the Philippines in 1743.

3. The minister was Father Nicolás Tamaral.

come accompanied by the padre and our men, Gerónimo and his companions came to tell me that the priest and our men would arrive that afternoon. They had come ahead to offer any help they could.

Although his reasoning left no room for doubt, it seemed wise to detain him along with eight of his companions while reinforcing the landing party with more musketeers. I dispatched the capitán de mar y guerra with twelve more armed men and ordered that the sick should be boarded first, while the others remained on land to safeguard the operation. These orders were being carried out when the Indians aboard ship saw that the officer was beginning to board the people; five Indians then threw themselves into the water. Four swam to shore, and despite all our efforts only one was caught. With this new evidence I ordered the captain to board all the men with the greatest order possible. As the last man came aboard, the Indians gave the alarm, firing a shower of arrows at the same time. The men on the launch, while withdrawing from the beach, responded with various rounds of fire. They kept up an effective fire until they arrived at a distance where the arrows could no longer reach them. Returning aboard later, they suffered no greater casualties than light wounds to two soldiers. From what the men could see from the launch, one chief commanding the Indians was dead and others were wounded.

All of the afternoon's excitement, from the moment the alarm was given, was due to Gerónimo, whom they seemed to recognize as their leader. With these occurrences, I no longer doubted that the Indians were in rebellion, and I approached the four I had imprisoned on board. These Indians had seen the outbreak and (considering themselves lost and imploring pardon) they began to recount what had happened without the least resistance. They told how three months ago the Indians had killed Padre Nicolás and Padre Lorenzo, ministers of the pueblos of La Soledad and Santiago. They had wanted to do the same to Padre Sigismundo,<sup>4</sup> but he managed to flee in a small craft accompanied by an officer of the royal squadron. I asked them how the padres were killed; they answered, by arrows. Later, the bodies were burned, along with the churches and images. Only a Spanish woman named María, her sister, and two daughters were spared. When I asked them to whom the woman belonged, they told me Santiago Villalobos,<sup>5</sup> a soldier who had accompanied a religious of the order of San Agustín who had been left sick in the pueblo of La Soledad by General Gerónimo Montero the year before.<sup>6</sup>

In regard to our men, as soon as the ship turned toward the bay, they killed and burned the first ones. The same thing happened to the other four men whom they met on the road. The motive for coming to the bay of Cabo San Lucas with so many Indians was to do the same to those who were left unguarded, because

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4. Nicolás Tamaral resided at San José; La Soledad was a visita of that mission. Sigismundo Taraval was at the mission of La Paz. The son of a Spanish army officer, he was born in Lodi, Lombardy, and raised in Madrid. He was one of the more prolific, literate missionaries in Baja California.

5. Santiago Villalobos does not appear in the Loreto muster for 1733 or 1735, although a "Juan" and a "Phelipe" Villalobos do.

6. The religious was Padre Fray Domingo de Orbigoso, who later returned to Mexico via La Paz and Matanchel.

Gerónimo had observed no arms when he first visited. The Indians planned to win the day without risk, but since this attempt was frustrated in the manner expressed, they planned to do at night what they had been unable to do during the day. That was why Gerónimo and his three companions had repeatedly begged to return to land, but they could not do so because I had immediately ordered them put in shackles. I am now bringing them to the castellano of the port,<sup>7</sup> while your excellency decides what should be done with them.

Aboard the flagship *San Cristóbal*, January 1, 1735

*From the Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 135.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Relación de lo acaecido al patache capitana *San Cristóbal*, del cargo del general don Mateo de Zumalde, en el Río de San José y Cabo de San Lucas en la California, con los naturales de ella.

#### CALIFORNIAS—SAN CRISTÓBAL

**E**xcelentísimo Señor:  
Pongo en noticia de vuestra excelencia que habiendo llegado parco de aguas, lona y lastre a la Costa de la California, y siendo preciso acudir al remedio de lo expresado para poder proseguir el viaje, hice junta de oficiales, y en ella deliberaron todo unánimes y conformes el que era conveniente ir al Río de San José, en atención a haber en ocasiones de la igualdad los galeones de esta carrera hecho lo mismo, en donde no solamente se podía proveerse de lo necesario, sino también dejar los que venían gravemente accidentados, como lo hizo el año próximo pasado el general don Gerónimo Montero, con especial complacencia del padre ministro que residía en dicho Río de San José, en virtud de lo que puse en ejecución la deliberación referida, enviando para ello la lancha delante, a cargo del piloto tercero, para que reconociese y sondase la ensenada y, hecha esta diligencia, esperase avistar el navío que, habiéndolo ejecutado, y disparándole un cañonazo para que saliese a camboyar, lo hizo con toda prontitud, dejando en tierra ocho hombres, los que por entonces no pudieron embarcar por el crecido tumbo de mar, ni ocasionaron el menor cuidado por el ánimo que tenía de ir a dar fondo en aquel paraje.

Luego que llegó la lancha me informó dicho piloto tercero, así en cuanto a la comisión que llevo, como en cuanto a haber encontrado en la playa crecida porción de indios, quienes luego que reconocieron ser españoles se arrimaron, y especial uno llamado Gerónimo, el más ladino de todos, que dijo ser criado del padre ministro, y puesto de centinela por el referido para ver si llegaba el Galeón de Filipinas, con orden que luego que lo avistase le noticiase para poderles proveer de

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7. The port was Acapulco, home base for the Manila galleon on the west coast of New Spain.

todo lo necesario; y habiéndole preguntado por dicho padre dijo se hallaba distante de allí veinte leguas a ver a otro compañero enfermo, pero que ya le había despachado a un indio con la noticia de la llegada de la Nao.

En vista de las expresadas noticias, aquella tarde y noche hice todo lo posible para poder coger fondo en dicha ensenada, lo que no pude conseguir por el tiempo que me fue contrario, y la mañana siguiente, algo distante de la ensenada, pude conseguir; y habiendo dado fondo, a poco rato faltó el cable me precisó el tiempo a hacerme a la vela e ir a otra ensenada llamada del Cabo de San Lucas, distante nueve leguas de la primera; y habiendo dado fondo en ella, me pareció conveniente noticiarle al padre ministro que lo hice inmediatamente, para que me remitiese los ocho hombres quedados, para cuyo efecto despaché a otros tres, y uno que sin mi orden voluntariamente se agregó. A poco de haber despachado a los tres hombres vinieron tres indios, y entre ellos el ladino Gerónimo, quienes me dijeron venían despachados del padre ministro Nicolás Tamaral a ver si el patache había por casualidad ido a aquella ensenada y, habiéndome hecho fuerza el que no escribiese, y preguntándoles el motivo, me satisficieron con decirme haber llegado indispuerto, y aquella había sido diligencia con desconfianzas, pero que estuviese seguro el que con toda brevedad lo tendría allí, así al padre, como a mi gente, con lo que se fue, y yo por entonces quedé sin la menor sospecha, hasta que, viendo que se tardaban, recelé haber hecho los indios alguna infamia, y con este recelo providencia el poner para el resguardo así de los enfermos como de la gente que estaba haciendo aguada, fusileros; diligencia que sirvió, según lo que he experimentado, el no haber perecido la mayor parte de la gente de este navío, pues el día siguiente ví desde él venir como hasta seiscientos indios en dos tropas, con sus arcos y flechas, y aunque al principio discurrí venían acompañando al padre y a nuestra gente, me desengañé breve con la llegada de Gerónimo a bordo con otros compañeros, quien me dijo aquella tarde llegaba el padre con nuestra gente, y que ellos venían delante para ayudar con lo que se ofreciese.

Y aunque al parecer las razones que me dijo no admitían la menor duda, sin embargo me pareció conveniente detenerlos a bordo como a ocho de ellos, que son los que vinieron, y al mismo tiempo reforzar la gente en tierra con más fusileros, que lo hice enviando al capitán de mar y guerra con otros doce fusileros con orden de que fuese embarcado lo primero a los enfermos, a quienes me remitiese a bordo, quedando en ínterin en tierra con la cautela conveniente, que habiendo así ejecutado, y viendo los indios de a bordo el que se iban embarcando la gente, se echaron cinco al agua, y a nado huyeron a tierra los cuatro, sin que por diligencias que se hicieron se pudiese coger más que al uno. Con este nuevo indicio ordené a dicho capitán de mar y guerra embarcase en el mejor orden posible toda la gente; que habiéndolo así ejecutado, al embarse [embarcarse ?] los últimos dieron el alarido los indios, disparando al mismo tiempo un diluvio de flechas, a las que correspondió la gente de la lancha con varias cargas cerradas de fusilería, retirándose al mismo tiempo de la playa, que lo pudieron hacer a toda satisfacción hasta llegar a paraje donde ya no les pudieron ofender las flechas, y luego se retiraron a bordo sin más desgracia que la de haber herido a dos marineros levemente; y de los indios, a lo que se pudo percibir de la lancha, quedó muerto uno de los cabecillas que los comandaban, y otros heridos.

Y todo su anhelo así toda aquella tarde, como al tiempo de dar el alarido, era por Gerónimo, a quien parece reconocían como a cabeza, y con lo acaecido, no

quedándome duda el que estaban levantados pasé a reconvenir a los cuatro indios que tenía a bordo aprisionados, quienes en vista del rompimiento, y que ya se consideraban perdidos, empezaron a referirme lo que había (sin la menor violencia, bien que primero imploraron el perdón), y fue el que habrá como tres meses mataron al padre Nicolás y al padre Lorenzo, ministros de los pueblos de La Soledad y Santiago, y aunque quisieron hacer lo mismo con el padre Segismundo, este pudo huir en una balsita, acompañado de un cabo de escuadra del real; y preguntándoles el modo, dijeron que a flechazos, y luego los quemaron como también las iglesias y imágenes; y sólo reservaron a una española llamada María, a una hermana suya y dos hijas; y preguntándoles de quién era mujer, me dijeron que de Santiago Villalobos, soldado que había ido acompañando a un religioso del orden de San Agustín que el año pasado dejó el general don Gerónimo Montero enfermo en el Pueblo de La Soledad, a esa ciudad.

Y que a nuestra gente, a los primeros los mataron y quemaron luego que el navío tiró para la ensenada, y a los otros cuatro, habiéndolos encontrado en el camino, hicieron lo mismo con ellos que con los antecedentes; y que el motivo de venir a la ensenada del Cabo de San Lucas toda aquella multitud de indios, era con el ánimo de hacer lo mismo con los que hallasen en tierra descuidados, pues el referido Gerónimo observó cuando vino la primera vez no tenían armas ningunas, por lo que descurrió lograr la ocasión sin el menor riesgo, pero habiéndosele frustrado este intento con la prevención expresada, deliberó hacer de noche, lo que no pudieron de día, por cuya razón hizo repetidas súplicas el expresado Gerónimo para que le dejase ir a tierra, lo que él y otros tres compañeros suyos no pudieron conseguir, pues inmediatamente les mandé poner prisiones, y los traigo con ánimo de entregar al castellano de este puerto ínterin vuestra excelencias providencia lo que deba ejecutar con ellos.

A bordo del patache capitana San Cristóbal, y enero 1 de 1735 años.

## Payroll for the Presidio of Loreto of the Californias, 1735

*From time to time the Jesuit rector of the California missions called on Indian auxiliaries from the mainland to supplement the small contingent of presidial soldiers stationed on the peninsula. This muster roll records the largest infusion of fighting forces ever to have been invited to the peninsula to join in the pacification of a rebellious tribe—in this case the Guaicuros in the southern region. Not all episodes in which Indian troops were employed were exemplary; in fact, the Indians were known to break discipline and engage the enemy in a ferocious and uncontrolled fashion. Captain Rodríguez more than once had to ride into the fray to calm the auxiliaries.*

*This muster roll is included here to illustrate the changes in the military complement in just two years and to identify the Indian auxiliaries who were named and paid. Too often the notion is that Indians fought alongside Spaniards as nameless bands, when in reality their participation was seen as a step toward acculturation in the vast overseas empire.*

List of the troops and Indians of the Yaqui, Fuerte, and Guaymas Rivers who served during the uprising of some missions of California, and the expense of their support.

### CALIFORNIAS, 1735, YEAR OF OUR LORD

**L**ist of the squads of soldiers and the Indians of the Yaqui, Fuerte, and Guaymas Rivers who served the our lord the king, may God keep him, in the uprising of some missions of California from October 8, 1734 to June 8, 1735.

#### *List of the Soldiers*

Don Francisco Cortés de Monroy, alférez	Andrés Romero
Ignacio Romero	Juan María de la Peña
Ignacio de Acosta	Antonio de Silva
Francisco Xavier de Castro	Luis de Iribe
Don Pedro Jácome Induz	Matías de Silva
Joseph Gerardo	Pedro Romero
Nicolás López	Manuel de Urvina
Manuel Nuño	Juan de Aguilar
Don Tomás Moscoso	Nicolás Solórzano
Fernando de la Peña	Don Cristóval de Góngora

Protecting the Peninsula

*Partial Positions*

Ignacio de Valenzuela	Pablo de Haro
Manuel Morales	Fabián de la Isla
Miguel García	Luis de San Pablo
Juan de Dios de Morales	Mateo de la Cruz
Manuel de Miranda	Juan Antonio de Montes
Juan Rodríguez	Juan Onofre
Juan Anselmo Cobarrubias	Lucas Careaga
Jacinto Carabajal	

The twenty interior positions at 450 pesos yearly amount to 6,000 pesos for eight months. The fifteen half positions, which amount to 18 pesos 6 reales a month, total 2,252 pesos.

*Squads of Yaqui, Guaymas, and Sinaloa Indians<sup>1</sup>*

Marcos, captain	Agustín Ninanque Mea
Antonio, alférez	Mateo Matua Mea
Pablo, sergeant	Bartolo Alamea
Clemente Ignacio, adjutant	Joseph Noquia Mea
Hipólito, adjutant	Bartolo Tasma
Ignacio de Osuna, corporal	Ignacio Macomea
Marcos, <i>alguacil</i>	Calisto Buite Mea
Benito Puite Mea	Francisco Xavier Mamea
Gonzalo Noquia Mea	Ignacio Baumea
Carry over 8,252 pesos	

For the sum of the two preceding sections: 8,252 pesos

Antonio Jaemea	Tomás
Luis Sisa Guiman	Luis
Mateo Bui Suai	Pedro
Mauricio Alamea	Luis Guaimas
Estevan Tonomea	Hipólito
Ignacio Sitaba	Un hermano de Hipólito
Calisto Buicua	Balthasar
Calisto Buite	Andrés
Hernando Imepuique	Juan Teco
Gregorio Buisua	Andrés Guimas
Lorenzo Bricamaca	Bentura
Hipólito Goit	Tomás
Benito Buite mea	Manuel
Calisto Garechi mea	Hernando
Lorenzo Ugicamea	Vicente
Miguel Uita mea	Juan
Calisto Puite mea	Bartholomé

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1. Yaqui transcriptions for many of these names are provided in square brackets in the Spanish document. The names were edited for contemporary spelling by Fernando Escalante, director of the Yaqui Family Literacy Partnership Program.

Payroll for Loreto

Ignacio Noquiamea	Juan Batué
Dionisio Pusacaquiai	Andrés Guasiguari
Joachuín Tonopoa mea	Gregorio Ahome
Antonio Pessi mea	Mateo Yaqui
Bartolo Sietabú	Santiago Jalisco
Martín Buire mea	Eligio Nío
Calisto Baje boa	Francisco Xavier Tegueco
Francisco Goite mea	Roque Moreno
Hipólito Teguainque	Juan Rafael
Francisco Bobit mea	Andrés Nicolás
Clemente Obomea	Jacinto Manuel
Mateo Toza Sey	Juan Andrés Ahome
Hernando Echua Pisuan	Joseph Antonio
Bartolo Cobabuan	Juan Francisco de Nío
Sebastián Viraca mea	Salvador
Ignacio Icuchucia mea	Martín
Agustín Buicuamea	Marcos
Hipólito Buisua	Pedro
Antonio Sancoari	Plácido
Nicolás	Francisco de Sales
Agustín	Juan Hermenegildo
Hernando Belén	Antonio Manrique
Gerónimo	Joseph Asencio
Sebastián	Antonio Peñato (100)

The six officers of the squadron of Indians have earned	
12 pesos a month, that is	576 pesos
The ninety-four men will be paid at 8 pesos, that is,	6,016 pesos
Food for these 100 men at 4 pesos each month, that is	3,200 pesos
The three sections amount to	9,792 pesos
The two previous sections of Spanish soldiers amount to	8,252 pesos
Payment for use of the canoes of San Nicolás Gallardi and Joseph de Arroyo for transporting people and supplies to La Paz	112 pesos
Carryover to the next page	18,156 pesos
Carried over from the preceding page	18,156 pesos

*Supplies*

For the purchase of 13 arrobas of fine gunpowder at 2 pesos a pound, 650 pesos	650 pesos
Nine quintales of lead at 12 pesos a quintal	108 pesos
One canoe lost on the coast of Los Dolores bringing supplies for the squadron at a cost of 350 pesos	350 pesos
A canoe that was purchased and then given to the island Indians of San Joseph because they had proved to be very loyal and also they had lost two of their own boats in helping and protecting our armed forces. The boats cost 200 pesos.	200 pesos



## Protecting the Peninsula

To Joseph de Arroyo and Manuel de Arroyo, who had been assisting in person and with their weapons for a period of five months: salary and rations, 150 pesos	150 pesos
In the same way Juan María de Ulloa and his brother, who helped us for three months with their weapons, was given the sum of 72 pesos	72 pesos
For a messenger who was dispatched in October of last year, 1734, to his excellency, on business concerning the royal service. 300 pesos	300 pesos
For the wounded and the sick, three large jugs of brandy which cost 180 pesos.	180 pesos
	20,166 pesos

These are the expenditures which were made in the eight months being accounted for, together with the number and rank of people. All this was reported to his excellency, and the expenditures were approved. Others were not taken into consideration which might have been considered as expenditures and provisions, such as vessels of copper, sacks for storage, pack horses and mules that died on the expedition, and all the missions that have helped with whatever amount they were able to contribute. Other expenses were not included along with those of the messengers and the wages of the boatmen who have been transporting people and various supplies. Neither were the expenses listed for the squadrons of friendly Indians who served as soldiers and came from missions near Loreto. This was all stated to the viceroy so that he might decide whether some pay should be given them for their labor, which would serve as a stimulus for them to do the same whenever there was need. This could be of great importance, especially at some time or other when one or more enemy ships might come to these shores. Experience has shown that if the Californians are kept faithful, other Indians from the opposite shore, who are more expensive and of less fortitude in their labors, would not be needed.

Starting in November, some squads were being sent out from mission Dolores so that on December 15, 118 men happened to be in La Paz. During the enemy attacks against our soldiers on November 14 and 29, they were of great assistance to the Spanish forces; nine of them were wounded.

On March 11, two squads left the missions of San Francisco Xavier and San Joseph de Comondú. There were fifty-six Indians who went with our soldiers to the very center of the rebel land, which was 130 leagues from the missions. They were very helpful in defeating the foe. Some of the enemy were killed, others were taken prisoner, and the rest fled.

At present on the frontiers of Dolores there are ninety-three Indians belonging to that mission who are under the orders of the commander, Don Francisco Cortés de Monrroy. There were also fifty-eight from the two missions of San Francisco Xavier and San Joseph de Comondú in two squads. From the mission of La Purísima there are sixty-five ready to start out tomorrow, June 23. These people are all being supplied with food and some clothing against the inclemency of the weather so far as can be judged at present.

It can be seen in the listings that surnames have not been given to various Indians. Some tribes do not use them at all. Others only use them when an Indian

has performed some memorable action like killing a tiger, lion, or wildcat and other similar feats. In such cases the name means "the one who killed that particular animal."

It can also be seen that of the thirty-five total military posts, fifteen are only partial posts because these fifteen men are not veterans nor have they had the training of the other twenty; it was not possible to get men with that same level of training. Even though they are a great help, they do not earn the same wage as the veterans until they are well trained in this type of service.

On the nineteenth of the present month, eighteen posts of Yaqui Indians who have been stationed in this presidio will be reformed. Tomorrow I will send a messenger to the frontier of Los Dolores asking the commander to send me forty-four men who are presently serving there. They are also Yaquis. As soon as they get here, they will be paid and dismissed, and I will send them back to their country. Together with the troops of California Indians that have been sent here, the Yaquis are no longer needed.

And because all said above is the truth, I certify it formally; and for still greater certitude I swear to it *as a priest* so that it may thus be proved to the most excellent viceroy of New Spain and to the judges, officials of the Real Hacienda and treasury of Mexico, so that they may deign to pay the expenses listed. I signed this in this royal presidio and pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Loreto on June 23 of this present year of 1735.

Captain Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo  
Pedro de la Riva  
Jaime Bravo  
Miguel Cordero

As a precaution concerning the military officers of this royal presidio who have signed these lists, I hereby certify as to the truth that Captain Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo is located here and that the others are away on a distant campaign and that the two men who signed in their stead are veteran soldiers who have been present on the expeditions of this war. Since this is the truth I have signed it as above.

Jaime Bravo

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, ff. 33-38.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Lista de la tropa de indios del Río Yaqui, del Fuerte y de Guaymas, que sirvieron en la sublevación de algunas misiones de California, y costo que tuvo su manutención.

#### CALIFORNIAS 1735, AÑO DE NUESTRO SEÑOR

**L**ista de las escuadras de soldados, e indios de los ríos del Yaqui, del Fuerte y de Guaymas, que han servido al rey nuestro señor, que Dios guarde, en la sublevación de algunas misiones de Californias desde 8 de octubre de 1734 hasta 8 de junio de 1735 años.

*Lista de los Soldados*

Don Francisco Cortés de Monroy, alférez	Andrés Romero
Ignacio Romero	Juan María de la Peña
Ignacio de Acosta	Antonio de Silva
Francisco Xavier de Castro	Luis de Iribe
Don Pedro Jácome Induz	Matías de Silva
Joseph Gerardo	Pedro Romero
Nicolás López	Manuel de Urvina
Manuel Nuño	Juan de Aguilar
Don Tomás Moscoso	Nicolás Solórzano
Fernando de la Peña	Don Cristóval de Góngora

*Medias Plazas*

Ignacio de Valenzuela	Pablo de Haro
Manuel Morales	Fabián de la Isla
Miguel García	Luis de San Pablo
Juan de Dios de Morales	Mateo de la Cruz
Manuel de Miranda	Juan Antonio de Montes
Juan Rodríguez	Juan Onofre
Juan Anselmo Cobarrubias	Lucas Careaga
Jacinto Carabajal	

Las veinte plazas internas a razón de cuatrocientos y cincuenta pesos al año parece importan los ocho meses la cantidad de 6,000 pesos. Las quince medias que corresponden dieciocho pesos y seis reales al mes importan 2,252 pesos.

*Escuadras de Indios Yaquis, Guaymas y Sinaloa*

Marcos, capitán	Agustín Ninanque Mea [Hinankeme'a]
Antonio, alférez	Mateo Matua Mea [Matuame'a]
Pablo, sargento	Bartolo Alamea [Alame'a]
Clemente Ignacio, ayudante	José Noquia Mea [Nokiame'a]
Hipólito, ayudante	Bartolo Tasmae [Tasme'a]
Ignacio de Osuna, cabo	Ignacio Macomea [Makome'a]
Marcos, alguacil	Calisto Buite Mea [Vuiteme'a]
Benito Puite Mea [Vuiteme'a]	Francisco Xavier Mamea [Mame'a]
Gonzalo Noquia Mea [Nokiame'a]	Ignacio Baumea [Vaume'a]
Pasa con 8,252 pesos	

Por la suma de las dos partidas antecedentes 8,252 pesos

Antonio Jaemea [Haeme'a]	Tomás
Lucas Sisa Guiman [Sisawiman]	Luis
Mateo Bui Suai [Bwisua'i]	Pedro
Mauricio Alamea	Luis Guaimas
Esteban Tonomea [Tonome'a]	Hipólito
Ignacio Sitaba [Sitava]	Un hermano de Hipólito
Calisto Buicua [Bwikua]	Balthasar
Calisto Buite [Vuite]	Andrés
Hernando Imepuique [Imepuike]	Juan Teco [Teku]
Gregorio Buisua [Bwisua]	Andrés Guimas

Payroll for Loreto

Lorenzo Bricamaca	Bentura
Hipólito Goit [Woit]	Tomás
Benito Buite mea [Vuiteme'a]	Manuel
Calisto Garechi mea [Warechime'a]	Hernando
Lorenzo Ugicamea [Uhekame'a]	Vicente
Miguel Uita mea [Vitame'a]	Juan
Calisto Puite mea [Buiteme'a]	Bartholomé
Ignacio Noquiamea [Nokiame'a]	Juan Batué
Dionisio Pusacaquiai [Pusakakia'i]	Andrés Guasiguari [Wasiwari]
Joachuín Tonopoa mea [Tonopuame'a]	Gregorio Ahome
Antonio Pessi mea	Mateo Yaqui
Bartolo Sietabú [Sietavu]	Santiago Jalisco
Martín Buire mea [Bwireme'a]	Eligio Nío
Calisto Baje boa [Pahevoa]	Francisco Xavier Tegueco [Teweko]
Francisco Goite mea [Woiteme'a]	Roque Moreno
Hipólito Teguinque [Tewainke]	Juan Rafael
Francisco Bobit mea [Vovitme'a]	Andrés Nicolás
Clemente Obomea [Ovome'a]	Jacinto Manuel
Mateo Toza Sey [Tosasei]	Juan Andrés Ahome
Hernando Echua Pisuan	Joseph Antonio
Bartolo Cobabuan	Juan Francisco de Nío
Sebastián Viraca mea [Virakame'a]	Salvador
Ignacio Icuchucia mea [Kuchusiame'a]	Martín
Agustín Buicuamea [Bwikuame'a]	Marcos
Hipólito Buisua [Bwisua]	Pedro
Antonio Sancoari [Sankoari]	Plácido
Nicolás	Francisco de Sales
Agustín	Juan Hermenegildo
Hernando Belén	Antonio Manrique
Gerónimo	Joseph Ascencio
Sebastián	Antonio Peñato (100)
Los seis oficiales de las escuadras de los indios han ganado doce pesos al mes, e importan:	576 pesos
Los noventa y cuatro a razón de a ocho pesos importan,	6,016 pesos
Los alimentos de estos cien hombres a cuatro pesos cada mes importan	3,200 pesos
Importan las 3 partidas,	9,792 pesos
Las dos partidas antecedentes de los soldados españoles importan	8,252 pesos
Se dio a las canoas de San Nicolás Gallardi y Joseph de Arroyo, por el transporte de gente y bastimentos hasta La Paz,	112 pesos
Pasa a la vuelta con	18,156 pesos
Por la suma antes de atrás,	18,156 pesos

*Bastimentos*

De compra de trece arrobas de pólvora fina a dos pesos libra, seiscientos cincuenta pesos,	650 pesos
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## Protecting the Peninsula

Nueve quintales de plomo, a doce pesos el quintal, importan ciento ocho pesos,	108 pesos
Una canoa que se perdió en la costa de los Dolores conduciendo bastimentos para las escuadras, tuvo de costo trescientos cincuenta pesos,	350 pesos
Una canoa que se compró y se dió a los indios isleños de San Joseph por haberse mostrado muy fieles y haber perdido 2 que ellos tenían, por favorecer y amparar nuestras armas, tuvo de costo doscientos pesos,	200 pesos
A Joseph de Arroyo y a Manuel de Arroyo, que estuvieron ayudando con sus personas y armas por espacio de cinco meses, se les dio de salario y ración, ciento cincuenta pesos,	150 pesos
En la misma forma a Juan María de Ulloa, y a un hermano suyo que asistieron 3 meses con sus armas, se les dieron setenta y dos pesos,	72 pesos
Por un correo que se despachó a su excelencia por octubre del año pasado de 1734 por negocios del real servicio, se le dieron trescientos pesos,	300 pesos
Se gastaron para los heridos y enfermos, 3 tibores de aguardiente que costaron ciento ochenta pesos,	180 pesos
	20,166 pesos

Hasta aquí los gastos que se han hecho en los ocho meses expresados, con el número y calidad de gente que tenía avisado a su excelencia, y aprobados los gastos que se hiciesen; sin haber puesto otros que podían pertenecerles, como gastos y consumos, como vasijas de cobre, costalarias, bestias caballares y mulares que han muerto en la expedición, y han ayudado todas las misiones con cuantas han podido contribuir. Ni tampoco se cargan varios gastos, con correos ni salarios de canoeros, que en todo este tiempo han estado conduciendo gente y víveres varios. Tampoco se puso por gasto las escuadras de indios amigos que han militado y son de las misiones cercanas a ésta de Loreto, y van expresadas por si el excelentísimo señor virrey determinare que se les dé algún pagamento por su trabajo, que les sirva de estímulo a ejecutar lo mismo siempre que se ofreciere, lo que podrá ser de mucha importancia, y más si en algún tiempo llegare a estas costas alguna, o algunas embarcaciones enemigas. Y la experiencia ha mostrado que teniendo fieles a los californios, no se necesitarán indios de la otra banda que son más costosos y de menos aguante en los trabajos.

Desde el mes de noviembre fueron remitiéndose algunas escuadras de la misión de los Dolores, de suerte que el día 15 de diciembre se hallaron en La Paz, ciento dieciocho, y en los asaltos que los enemigos dieron a nuestra gente de armas, los días 14 y 29 de noviembre, ayudaron mucho a nuestros españoles, y nueve quedaron heridos.

En 11 de marzo, salieron en dos escuadras de las misiones de San Francisco Xavier y de San Joseph de Comondú, cincuenta y seis indios que acompañaron a nuestros soldados hasta el centro de las tierras de los alzados en distancia de 130 leguas de sus misiones, y ayudaron bien en el albazo que dieron a los enemigos en que algunos de estos murieron, apresaron otros, y huyó el resto.

Actualmente se hallan en las fronteras de los Dolores [once/do]ce indios pertenecientes a la dicha misión, noventa y tres debajo de las órdenes del jefe, don Francisco Cortés de Monroy. Fueron así mismo de las dos misiones, San Francisco Xavier y San Joseph de Comondú, cincuenta y ocho en dos escuadras. Y están para salir mañana, 23 de junio, sesenta y cinco de la misión de la Purísima. A toda esta gente se están manteniendo de bastimentos y de algún abrigo de ropa contra las inclemencias de los tiempos según la posibilidad presente.

Podrá repararse en las listas que a varios indios no se les pone apellidos. Algunas naciones no lo usan, otras sólo se lo ponen cuando hacen alguna acción memorable, como el matar un tigre, león, gato montés u otros semejantes, y el apellido se deduce a significar "matador de tal animal."

También se podrá reparar que del número de las treinta y cinco plazas militares, las quince son medias plazas; esto es porque los dichos quince hombres no son soldados veteranos, ni tan ejercitados como los veinte, porque no se pudieron adquirir otros de esta calidad. Y aunque ayudan muy bien, no merecen tanto sueldo hasta que estén bien habilitados en este modo de milicia.

A 19 de este presente mes, se reformarán dieciocho plazas de indios yaquis que se hallaban en este presidio, y mañana despacho correo a las fronteras de los Dolores para que el jefe me remita cuarenta y cuatro que se hallan militando allá, y son también yaquis. Que luego lleguen serán pagados y reformados, y los despacharé a sus tierras, pues con las escuadras que se han ido remitiendo de indios californios, no serán ya necesarios.

Y porque de todo lo expresado es verdad, lo certifico en toda forma, y a mayor abundamiento, lo juro *in verbo sacerdotis*, para que así conste al excelentísimo señor virrey de esta Nueva España y a los señores jueces, oficiales de la real hacienda y caja de México, y se sirvan de mandar pagar los dichos gastos. Y lo firmé en este real presidio y pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, en 23 días del mes de junio de este presente año de 1735 años.

El capitán Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo.

Pedro de la Riva.

Jaime Bravo.

Miguel Cordero.

Por cuanto se me previene el que estas listas vayan firmadas de los cabos militares de este real presidio, certifico en toda forma, como es verdad, que el señor capitán don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo solamente se halla aquí, y que los otros se hallan en campaña en mucha distancia, y que los dos que en su lugar firmaron son soldados veteranos, y que han asistido en las expediciones de esta guerra. Y por ser así verdad lo firmé. *Ut supra*.

Jaime Bravo.





### III

## Padre Miguel Venegas on the Governance of the Californias (1739)

**M**iguel Venegas comes closer than anyone to claiming the prize as “the documentary historian of California.” The following section has been taken from the unpublished manuscript of the “*Empressas apostólicas*,” a massive and detailed history of the founding of the California missions. Surrounded by stacks of correspondence from the missionaries, with access to their diaries and records in the Jesuit provincial archives of Mexico City, he constructed a narrative so detailed and so genuinely Californian that the manuscript was rejected for publication in Spain as not being sensitive enough to European interests! The manuscript was intensely reworked by Father Andrés Burriel, who eventually published it as the *Noticia de la California*, a ponderous, informative work attributed to Venegas but bereft of the extensive, quoted documentation of the original writing. Venegas, a native of Puebla de los Angeles, earned a bachelor’s degree in philosophy; in fragile health for most of his life, he spent time writing poetry and biographies of famous Mexican Jesuits. Documentary history owes him a debt of gratitude for his preservation of records that would otherwise have been lost.

The entire manuscript of the “*Empressas apostólicas*” is extremely lengthy and not germane to the theme of the military history of California. These paragraphs, nearly all of Book Ten of the “*Empressas*,” provide as succinct a compendium of the relations between the Jesuit missionaries and the military as is available anywhere. It is impossible to fashion a good interpretation of the animosity of the Bourbon leadership toward the Jesuits without understanding the intricacies of Jesuit administration in California. Venegas provides both factual analysis and philosophical argument in these paragraphs, making them indispensable to the history of the peninsula.



## Book Ten

On the Christian government of the Californias after their reduction to the faith.

### CHAPTER ONE

On the royal presidio of the Californias and the reasons for its maintenance in that land.

**1** 710. [From a discussion] of pagan California we move on to a discussion of Christian California. We have already seen the bad government that the Californians exercised because of their paganism; it affected spiritual affairs through their false religion as well as temporal matters through their disjointed political organization. We will now examine the current Christian government. In temporal matters governance is based on obedience to the royal presidio and its commander, who serves as judge and *justicia mayor* of the land. In spiritual matters governance comes under the instruction and direction of the missionary fathers. Beginning with the royal presidio, the first thing we should examine are the reasons why it had to be established, and then why it has had to be maintained in this newly converted land. Among pagan peoples, as it should be, choosing the Catholic religion should be free and spontaneous, because, as Saint Ambrose says, if faith is anything at all, it must be a voluntary act of the understanding made through the free exercise of the will that has not been affected by necessity or coercion: *Quoniam fides non necessitatis, sed voluntatis res est* (2 Corinthians).<sup>1</sup> Thus it seems that there ought not to be compulsion or force of any kind which would oblige the pagans to renounce their heathen life in order to embrace our holy faith. It would seem, moreover, that this liberty precludes the establishment and maintenance of a presidio in the Californias. With a presidio the new Christians would be restrained by the force of arms, and, furthermore, the pagans might think that they were being obliged to accept the faith simply out of fear of those arms.

1711. But, if the reasons we are about to discuss are thoroughly examined and pondered, it will be found and clearly seen that the maintenance of this said presidio in the Californias (and the same may be said of similar missions) not only does not oppose the freedom that is needed to embrace the Catholic faith, it actually enhances it. On the other hand, without the presidio the faith could never be introduced nor preserved in this new kingdom. This, then, is the primary reason put forth by the missionary fathers: that they could never safely enter a strange kingdom of savages without bringing with them a sufficient escort of soldiers for the defense of their lives. If they should enter to preach the Gospel without this precaution, they would be like cattle going to slaughter or like unsuspecting sheep

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1. Saint Ambrose, *Commentary on 2 Corinthians* 3:12ff. "Because faith is not a thing of necessity, but of free will."

among wolves, so they could be quickly ripped apart. Thus wrote Father Joseph de Acosta in his treatise when he wrote *de procuranda indorum salute* ["procuring the health of the Indians"]. Entering into barbarous Indian territory to preach the holy Catholic faith without a sufficient escort to defend one's life is like wanting to go to live amicably among crocodiles, javelinas, and other wild beasts of the mountains. *Quam eodem qui horum Indorum se arbitrio commiserit, poterit his cum apris, et crocodilis amicitiam in ire* (book II, chapter 8).<sup>2</sup>

1712. [section omitted]

1713. According to the writer Father Ferrer of the Society of Jesus, as well as various members of other religious orders, that is the way many lost their lives in those days. So it was with the fathers of Saint Francis, who attempted to enter among the Sucumbis to reduce them, but were soon obliged to flee at great risk of their lives.<sup>3</sup> Afterward Fray Pedro Pecador, the great imitator of the Seraphic Father, entered among them but he never came back nor was he ever heard from again.<sup>4</sup> All were persuaded that he died at the hands of the savages. The same thing happened to some religious of the order of Saint Dominic who left Spain to go to Florida. They arrived there without an armed escort, thinking that by using love and gentleness they could bring the [unbelievers] out of the ferocity of their savagery. They trusted this method more than the fear and dread of arms; but they had no more than arrived than they were killed by the Indians.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, this happened to the first missionaries of the Society who were sent to New Spain by our father Saint Francis Borja. Only a short while after arriving in Florida, they lost their lives at the hands of the Indians.<sup>6</sup>

1714. On the contrary, however, there have always been good outcomes and fortunate results in the conversion of infidels in the New World whenever a goodly complement of soldiers have accompanied missionaries to defend their lives by restraining the boldness of the savages. The Lord does not want the missionaries to be rash or precipitous in works done in his service, but rather, he wants them

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2. Joseph de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute ó predicación del evangelio en las Indias*, book II, chapter 8. Venegas has miscited the quote or is engaging in embellishment.

3. The Sucumbis were an Indian tribe living on the Marañón River in Ecuador who were first evangelized in the early seventeenth century.

4. Fray Pedro Pecador, O.F.M., participated in the exploration and reduction of the river region south of Iquitos in the 1630s. Together with Andrés de Toledo and thirty soldiers, he founded the town of San Diego de Alcalá de los Encabellados in 1636 shortly before his martyrdom.

5. The reference is to Padre Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro, O.P., who had successfully missionized Guatemala, the "Land of War." He was joined in the Florida venture by Fathers Diego de Tolosa, Gregorio de Beteta, Juan García, and Brother Fuentes. Landing at Tampa Bay in May 1549, the priests were martyred less than a month later.

6. Those originally sent were Jesuit Fathers Juan de Segura, Gonzalo del Alamo, and Antonio Sedeño together with Brothers Juan de la Carrera, Pedro Linares, and Domingo Agustín (Váez). Gonzalo was ordered back to Europe and his place was taken by Luis de Quirós. Segura, Quirós, and Brothers Gabriel de Solís, Juan Méndez, Pedro Linares, Gabriel Gómez, and Cristóbal Redondo were all killed in the province of Ajacán, in the modern state of Georgia.

done with foresight and prudence. This is why Christ told his disciples that he was sending them out like sheep to live among wolves: *Ecce ego mitte vos, sicut oves in medio luporum* (Matt. 10:16). Then he added the rule that they would have to be on their guard to avoid danger in their midst. *Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae* ["Therefore, be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves."] (Matt. 10:16). He asked them to have the simplicity of doves in their intention, pure and simple—with that they could procure the conversion of sinners; he also told them they would have to have the prudence of serpents in their wariness and precaution—because they would have to look out for their lives as snakes do. Thus they would preserve their souls from all guilt and their bodies from all danger. So he added: *Cavete autem ab hominibus* ["Beware of men: they will hand you over to the sanhedrin and scourge you in their synagogues."] (Matt. 10:17).

1715. True, it is a glorious action to give one's life for Christ due to another's hatred of the faith; to give one's life for the love of a friend is proof of the highest form of love, as Christ tells us: *Majorem hac dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis* ["Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends."] (John 15:13). But it is also true that in the text cited he ordered his disciples to flee from a city and seek refuge in another if they were being persecuted or if they were being sought out to be killed. *Cum persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam* ["When you are persecuted in one place, flee to another."] (Matt. 10:23). Thus it is neither in the service of the Lord nor praiseworthy, but rather disgraceful, indiscreet, and rash to enter into a strange kingdom of idolatrous pagans without any defense, without hope of converting them, and with the moral certainty of perishing at their hands. If one has perhaps seen similar actions on the part of some servants of the Lord, this does not mean that these actions should be imitated. They did what they did because of a special inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit who thrust them into the midst of danger so they might glorify God either with their lives or their deaths.

[1716. section omitted]

1717. From here it follows that although the pagans appear in the beginning to be tame and peaceful, when they receive the missionaries with kindness and bestow gifts on them, it soon happens that when the missionaries try to change their lives and customs prior to baptism, the pagans begin to resist and work against the minister who preaches to them. Principally, this is because they know they must obey him and also subject themselves to punishment for their crimes when they deserve it. This fear thus inclines them to contrive vengeance and to plot against his life to get out from under the yoke of Christian law if they have already received baptism, or not to accept it if they have not yet been baptized.

1718. On the contrary, none of this occurs when they see the evangelical ministers guarded by an adequate escort of soldiers who can be called to arms against them in case some rebellion is plotted against the ministers who preach to them. With their lives thus assured, the missionaries can win over the will of the pagans with favors, so that afterward, little by little, they can conquer their understanding with the light of Catholic truths, until the pagans freely embrace the faith through holy baptism. This is all that is intended by maintaining a presidio of soldiers; their arms are not offensive ones against the pagans but defensive ones to protect the priests who preach to them. Their jurisdiction is coercive, but

not to force the Indians or oblige them to embrace the faith; it is to defend those who have already embraced the faith.

1719. On this is based the second reason for establishing the presidio, a decision made on behalf of the new Christians who have received holy baptism. In changing their religion by embracing Christian law, they have renounced their pagan customs and superstitions, but this makes them abhorrent to the rest of the pagan peoples who stubbornly resist efforts in the preaching of the Gospel. Living among these pagans, they then find themselves among many enemies who are relatives, servants, and neighbors, and who conspire against the new converts so that their lives are in the same danger as the missionaries who made them Christians. This peril ends when the pagans realize that the newly converted are defended by and have the support of the escort that protects the missionaries, in whose shadow there is safety and defense against their opponents. We have seen this proven in many instances mentioned in this history; every time new Christians are molested or persecuted by the pagans, they appeal for help from the presidio, which comes to their defense with the force of arms. But if they did not have this recourse, they would not receive the faith, or if they did accept the faith, they would apostatize afterward. Thus a presidio of soldiers is not only not contrary to the propagation of the faith, it is absolutely necessary.

1720. The third reason for the establishment of a presidio is based on the need for newly converted peoples to have someone to govern them in civil and political aspects of human affairs. As they are converted to the faith, they become subject to the honorable servitude of Christ, together with giving their voluntary vassalage and obedience to the Catholic king who sends them ministers of the Gospel for the good of their souls. It is necessary that there also be someone who holds the power and royal jurisdiction to govern them as vassals of their king. But this power cannot properly be exercised by missionary fathers because their jurisdiction is spiritual and ecclesiastical just as curates over the faithful. The faithful for their part are subject to the secular jurisdiction of whoever governs in the name of the king. And unless grave inconveniences should arise between these two jurisdictions, priests should remain incapable of exercising secular jurisdiction in criminal cases and those involving capital punishment.

1721. Since all of this is required for the secular and civil governance of the new Christians of the Californias, it is also necessary that a royal presidio be maintained and preserved among these peoples. Such power and royal jurisdiction should reside in the person of the commander and captain of the presidio. He is the one who administers justice to the pueblos, governing them in a Christian manner in conformity with the laws; he is the one who metes out just punishment to delinquents. This has been the practice from the beginning of the conquest until now. This could never have been done in any other way except by maintaining a royal presidio where the captain as *justicia mayor* of the whole land, together with his soldiers as subordinate ministers, maintains justice.

1722. The fourth and last reason for the establishment of a presidio is the control that, by means of the spiritual conquest of these nations, his Catholic majesty has acquired not only over the land, but also over the sea and the coasts of the Californias, whose borders have been voluntarily offered by their vassals. For this reason, it is necessary that someone exercise royal jurisdiction over all the sea and coasts of the Californias. This same person is the one who executes the orders

that from time to time are issued by the viceroys—sometimes to assist the *Nao de Filipinas* when threatened by pirates or in need of provisions or for the discharge of sick passengers and crew, and for whatever may concern pearl diving so that the king is not defrauded of his royal fifth.<sup>7</sup> None of these things can be handled by missionary fathers because they are foreign to their religious state and incompatible with their apostolic ministries. On the other hand, there are not, nor could there be from what we have shown previously, any colonies or Spanish families here in the Californias among whom these responsibilities might be divided. Thus it is absolutely necessary to maintain a royal presidio in the Californias so that the universal jurisdiction over land and sea might reside in the person of its commander as the *justicia mayor*.

## CHAPTER TWO

Concerning the rights and privileges conceded to the presidio of the Californias, its superior, corporal, and soldiers.

1723. In all human actions that are ordered as a means to some end, there must be, as Saint Thomas says, some proportion and relation, which have in themselves that which is intended as means to the desired end: *Actus perducentes ad finem oportet esse fini proportionatos* ["Acts leading to an end must be proportioned to the end."] (1.2, q. 109, art. 5 in corp.).<sup>8</sup> Wherefore, as the saint says in another place, whatever operation is performed as a means toward some end ought to be determined by those forms and qualities that are fitting and conducive in order to achieve the intended end. *Omni rei qui est propter finem, forma determinatur secundum proportionem ad finem* ["Whenever a thing is for an end, its form must be determined proportionately to that end."] (1.2.q. 95, art. 3 in corp.).<sup>9</sup> Father Juan María Salvatierra followed this prudent advice in founding the presidio of the Californias. He felt it was totally necessary for the introduction and spread of the faith in that kingdom for the reasons we have expressed in the previous chapter. So that the means would not become an impediment or obstacle to that conquest, he resolved to establish it with the form and qualities that would be most conducive to its purposes.

1724. In order to achieve this proportion and conduciveness the father looked at three things. First, the presidio had to have legitimate jurisdiction and power, derived from royal authority, for the sound military and political governance of the kingdom. Second, all the presidio, together with the commander and the soldiers, would have to be subject to the obedience and disposition of the superior of all the missionaries, and the visitor of all the missions of the Californias. Third, the said

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7. See the preceding document for episodes regarding the Manila galleon that were fresh in the mind of Venegas.

8. Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, part 2, question 109, article 5, in the body of the commentary.

9. *Summa*, part 2, question 95, article 3.

superior of the presidio and of all the missions would have, by reason of his religious appointment, legitimate authority and jurisdiction over those missions with all the appropriate faculties for the good discharge of his responsibility and office.

1725. Leaving aside what pertains to the second and third points for other chapters, we will now address the first, which pertains to the legitimate power and royal jurisdiction enjoyed by the presidio of the Californias. This was solicited by Father Juan María in his first request, and he obtained permission from Viceroy Conde de Galves [Galve], to enter the Californias with the appropriate faculties for the foundation and maintenance of the royal presidio in those lands.<sup>10</sup> And although later Viceroy Duque de Alburquerque<sup>11</sup> tried to impede the use of some of those faculties, Father Juan María opposed him, pointing out that his [the viceroy's] objections were raised after his majesty had confirmed the faculties by *cédula*.<sup>12</sup> The *cédula* ordered that nothing was to be changed regarding the government that the Californias had had up to that time. Of the faculties conceded in the *cédula*, some pertain to the visitor of the Californias, who is the superior of the presidio there; others pertain to all the presidio with its corporal and soldiers; and finally some others pertain only to the captain. Various faculties were afterward augmented by the viceroys as circumstances warranted.

1726. The faculties that pertain to the superior of the presidio are the following: First, he can bring to the Californias any armed persons or soldiers whom he can pay and supply at his own expense. And although his majesty now pays the salaries of the soldiers and sailors of the Californias, the faculty that was conceded from the beginning, that is, to bring over more people at his own cost, has not been rescinded; this faculty has always been employed during Indian insurrections in order to contain them. Second, he can name the commander of his choice to govern the presidio; the commander should be a fully experienced and valorous man, of proven virtue and Christianity. Third, the superior can remove the commander when he fails in his duties and can name another in his place, giving an account to the viceroy about whom he is naming and submitting it for his approval. In the case of removal, he will also give an account in order to expedite orders in the service of the king.

1727. From this last point is derived the fourth faculty, which is implicitly contained in the third. Although it is not explicitly mentioned in the dispatch from the viceroy, it is said to be contained in the former faculty just as a minor privilege is included in a major one and derived from it. It is certain according to the rule of Canon Law that whatever is conceded, when greater, also extends to whatever is lesser. *Ubi magnus conceditur, minus concessum esse videtur* ["Where a greater matter is granted, the lesser would seem also to be granted."] (see Ecc. parte tua: de Decimo X). This faculty states that the superior of the presidio

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10. Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval de la Silva y Mendoza, Conde de Galve, was viceroy from November 1688 to January 1696.

11. Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez was viceroy from November 1701 to December 1702.

12. Real *cédula*, July 17, 1701. AGN, Reales Cédulas.

may approve admission of soldiers. Likewise, he has the power to remove men from their posts and dismiss them when they do not fulfill their duties. Fifth, the superior of the presidio can conscript people into service and hoist the colors whenever necessary for the good beginning and progress of the conquest. Sixth, for the sake of peace, observance, and good governance of all people in the Californias, the superior of the presidio can name persons to administer justice to whom everyone owes obedience and who can restrain the disobedient with just punishment.

1728. The faculties and privileges that apply to the soldiers of the presidio with respect to their captain are the following: First, the soldiers who came during the conquest and all the rest, including those who may be assigned to the Californias in the future, are subject to the commander whom the fathers may name for the presidio. They enjoy all the rights and privileges that his majesty has conceded to all the rest of the commanders and soldiers in the royal armies. Second, their services shall be considered to be the same as in actual war, just as has been conceded to the soldiers of Parral and the other presidios of this kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Third, inasmuch as his majesty now pays the allowances of the California soldiers, these salaries will not be regulated according to the rates of the presidio of Veracruz but according to those paid to the presidios of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya, which receive larger salaries because of the greater distance at which [the soldiers] live.<sup>14</sup> And the salaries of the sailors shall be regulated by those that are earned by the sailors of Acapulco and not by those of the Armada of Barlovento.<sup>15</sup> Fourth, the certificates of military service that the soldiers carry, which are signed by the superior of the presidio, will be given full credit just as if they were confirmed by any authentic justice subject to the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara and higher government.

1729. Finally the rights and privileges that apply to the captain of the presidio as adjuncts to his office and distinct from those that have been given to the soldiers are the following: First, he will act as the *justicia mayor* for all the land of the Californias. Second, he will be the judge of the soldiers not only in military matters, but also in political, civil, and criminal matters. Third, just as he will be the judge, he will be the governor of all the other people who live in the Californias, such as sailors and servants of the presidio or missions, as well as all the Indians. He ought to know about all litigation from its inception through sentencing and execution. Fourth, he will be the captain general not only of the land, but of the sea and the coasts of the Californias. For this reason the principal ship of the presidio will have the title of *Capitana*. As such, this vessel, flying its proper

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13. Frontier duty was considered hazardous, so the soldiers were granted the same privileges as combat forces. This did not affect salaries as such.

14. Presidial salaries were set by the Reglamento of 1729; Parral is the presidio of Nueva Vizcaya mentioned in the Muster of Loreto document presented in this section.

15. The Armada de Barlovento or "Windward Fleet" in the Caribbean was historically older than the maritime service on the Pacific. Pay for the more remote duty on the western shores was considerably higher than for the Caribbean.

flags, will be able to enter into all ports; these flags will have to be furled only on entering the port of Acapulco where the ship of the Philippines is harbored. Fifth, [the captain] will supervise, in a manner we will describe, everyone who goes to the Californias to dive for pearls.

CHAPTER THREE

Concerning the superior of the presidio and the faculties he enjoys as a religious.

1730. From discussing the presidio, its commander, and its soldiers, let us go on to talk about the superior upon whom they depend and to whom they are subject. This is the father visitor of the missions and the superior of all the missionaries of the Californias. The office of the superior of the presidio for twenty years has been attached to the missionary at Loreto, which is the first mission that was founded and the one where Father Juan María Salvatierra resided the entire time.<sup>16</sup> It was very convenient that this priest have charge of that office because it was he who at the cost of so many toils, labors, contradictions, and troubles finally embarked on the conquest of that land which according to human judgment was unconquerable. Because of his extensive experience, there was no one better qualified than that father who was able to apply energy to the arduous tasks that always present themselves in the beginning. Those tasks could not be managed solely through a speculative sense; rather, they required a practical one that comes only from experience—and this Father Juan María had.

1731. Another reason must be added to this one, [a reason] rooted in the preservation of the conquest. This relates to the alms that were given by benefactors to pay for presidial soldiers without whose escort no attempts at discovery could have been made. Just as it is necessary to bear the expense of the ships and to maintain people at sea, so too it is necessary to provision the missionary fathers and the soldiers of the presidio. These alms were given out of respect and veneration for Father Juan María, and they depended on a continual solicitation, which he maintained by correspondence with everyone. In it he recounted the needs of that conquest, and he asked for assistance with holy and discreet witticisms through which he stole their hearts. It was fortunate that this father was charged with the office of superior of the presidio and that he was the one who managed all the affairs of the Californias—so well that he was able to secure real estate and sufficient funds for the preservation of that conquest.

1732. After the Lord saw fit to take his aged, meritorious, faithful servant to himself (he died in July 1717),<sup>17</sup> the superiors of the province decided that the office of the superior of the presidio would not always be attached to that of the missionary of Loreto, but rather to whoever was named as superior and visitor of all the missions. And so, after the death of Father Juan María, Father Juan de

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16. Loreto was founded in October 1697, after San Bruno, the earlier site of the *real*, was determined to be unsuitable.

17. Salvatierra died in Guadalajara on July 17, 1717, en route to Mexico City.



Ugarte, the missionary of San Pablo, was named visitor.<sup>18</sup> And since that time at each triennium a different visitor has been named for those missions by the province. He retains the office and powers of superior of the presidio for three years.

1733. In addition to this reason for alternating the office of visitor, there are three other very prudent ones. First, the need for benefactors, upon whom Father Juan María had so depended, had now ceased because such generous alms for the missions were given in his memory. After [the father's] death, his majesty began to pay the costs of the soldiers of the presidio. Likewise the king also paid for the sailors and some costs of shipping. Together with this aid, earnings from the mission properties added security because formerly they were used to pay for the salaries of soldiers and sailors. These earnings had never been sufficient, so the alms of benefactors whom Father Juan María had contacted were added. Meanwhile, the missionaries remained at their labors cultivating the land, and the missionaries on the other shore contributed to almsgiving.

1734. Second, other missions continued to be founded in the north and the south, and they were compelled to provide for the visitor, who was superior of all the missionaries, just as the other missions had to. This office was changed every three years; it would not be fitting to have a perpetual visitor. Because this is a three-year term, it ought to be held by different missionaries in the Californias, who should be named by obedience according to the merits and experience of each one. For this reason, the office cannot always be tied to that of the missionary of Loreto. Third, if one wanted to separate the offices, and if the missionary of Loreto remained superior of the presidio, and if the father visitor were only the superior of the missionaries, then it would follow that there would have to be two heads, each independent of the other, which would lead to jurisdictional disputes and other grave inconveniences. To avoid this, it was thought better that all governance—military, civil, ecclesiastical, and religious—be under one hand, one head, and one superior who would govern all.

1735. For the universal good governance of that land the superior of the Californias not only has the faculties he needs for secular government of the presidio and the people in the land, as we have seen in the last chapter, but he also has those faculties that the order has been able to confer on him as superior of the missionaries. Father Juan María was not satisfied with seeking only the former faculties that deal with the secular arm, but he also procured the latter ones on behalf of the order—all of which he judged fitting so that the superior of those missions could exercise his office with complete freedom and authority, without difficulties or frustrations that might arise on the part of the domestic government of the Order.

1736. To acquire these faculties he wrote to our Father General Tirso González from the start of this conquest, informing him of the beginnings, the progress, and the present situation of it, and asking for three faculties for the superior of the missions of the Californias that he judged necessary at the time. Father General, acknowledging the accomplishments of that enterprise, graciously conceded

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18. Until Salvatierra's death the rector of Loreto was considered *ex-officio* the superior of the California missions.

all three. First, the visitor of the Californias might send any subject back to the missions of the mainland whenever he judged it fitting to send him or when he was ill, disheartened, or for any other just motive. Second, the province could designate a subject to his satisfaction to administer the haciendas of the Californias as their procurator in Mexico. Third, the said visitor could send any of his subordinates anywhere to engage in the business and undertakings of the missions.

1737. These same faculties were confirmed by Father General Miguel Angel Tamburini shortly after his taking office in response to a petition of Father Juan María.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, he conceded another six faculties as follows: First, the procurators and administrators of the haciendas of the Californias would be under the direct supervision of the visitor of the Californias. Second, the father provincial alone could intervene in the inspection of accounts that were the responsibility of the procurator of the Californias. Third, the visitor of the Californias, as the immediate superior, could grant permission for all purchases and sales that might arise concerning the Californias. Fourth, the visitor, if he wished and judged it fitting, could come every three years to the province to inspect books, to go carefully over the accounts, and arrange whatever matters were fitting. Fifth, if any subject sent by the visitor were to come to Mexico to engage in business dealings concerning the Californias, he could exercise the office of procurator while staying there, as the one who was most knowledgeable about those missions. Sixth, the father provincial might not take into his charge, or that of the procurator of the province, responsibility for any property of the Californias.

1738. These are the principal faculties that are held by the visitor of the Californias as far as the Order is concerned. These faculties, together with those that deal with the presidio of soldiers, have been practiced without prejudice from the beginning until now; no one has ever complained about them or opposed them, because they are so important for the spiritual and temporal welfare of those missions. Even though the fourth faculty, whereby the visitor can come to the province, has not been used because of the great distance involved and other inconveniences, it still remains in effect for whenever the visitor might judge it necessary to use it. In regard to the sixth faculty, as Father Juan María testified, it was the will of the founders that the missions' real estate would be administered by a separate procurator because any practice to the contrary would result in damage to and the ruin of the missions.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

Reasons for maintaining the presidio under the supervision of the father visitor of the Californias.

1739. As Saint Thomas says, those means that are efficacious and appropriate to achieve some end serve also to conserve it and to insure its stability. *Idem est, per quod aliquid conservatur in fine, et per quod movetur ad finem* ["A thing is maintained in the end and moved towards the end by one and the same cause."] (1.2,

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19. Tamburini was the father general of the Society of Jesus from January 31, 1706 until February 28, 1730.

q.93, art. 6, ad 3).<sup>20</sup> We should say the same with regard to the present conquest of the Californias so that it will remain stable and secure, thus assuring the joyous progress of that Christianity. So will it be, as long as those same means continue to advance the conquest. To abandon them or change them, however, would be the ruin of that Christianity because all their effect would cease, and it would be destroyed. As the philosophers say: remove the cause, lose the effect: *Remota causa, removetur effectus* (*Summa* part 1, q. 76 art. 2, in 2).<sup>21</sup>

1740. The conquest of the Californias was achieved with two kinds of means, one spiritual and the other temporal. The spiritual ones are those employed by the missionary fathers in their apostolic ministries, accompanied by all religious virtues. We pray to God that they never fail, as long as the Society of Jesus is preserved in the purity of its institute. The temporal means can be reduced principally to two: First, which has been done from the beginning, to assure the necessary sustenance of the missionaries through ample properties that can provide all that is needed. No mission has ever been established without first securing its farm with 10,000 pesos.<sup>22</sup> The second has been to establish a sound, Christian government in the presidio because the security of the conquest and the control of the natives depends on it.

1741. In order to insure that the presidio would always be well governed, Father Juan María arranged that the presidio, its commander, and its soldiers would be subject to the father visitor of those missions. He has always been responsible for the admission or removal of men from their posts. With this arrangement the presidio achieved the conquest of that land, and it has preserved and advanced that conquest for more than forty years. Without it all would be in ruins. So that we can clearly see the truth of this, we will discuss the reasons that Father Juan María put forth for having the presidio be subject to the authority and disposition of the father visitor of the missions, adding some others that also confirm this.

1742. Let us begin with Father Juan María's reasons, which reduce to six. These were expressed by him in an official *memorial* to Viceroy Duque de Albuquerque in May 1705.<sup>23</sup> Using the excuse of complying with a royal cédula, the viceroy attempted some innovations to the government of the Californias. He stripped the superior of the presidio of the powers he held over the commander and soldiers of the Californias. In the aforementioned *memorial* Father Juan María expressed the serious difficulties that would follow and the almost certain danger of completely losing the conquest. To demonstrate his point, he presented these six reasons, which we will examine here, so that it can be seen how the conquest was accomplished. Heretofore, the Californias had resisted the full power of the Catholic

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20. *Summa Theologia*, part 1, question 93, article 6, response to objection 3.

21. When Thomas speaks of "the philosopher" he refers to Aristotle, but he is not so named in the objection; Venegas quotes correctly but misappropriates the remark.

22. These "farms" were agricultural investments in central Mexico, typically an hacienda of cattle, sugar, pulque, or tobacco.

23. Salvatierra to the viceroy, the Duque de Alburquerque, May 25, 1705; AGI, Guadalajara 134. Cited completely in Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, II, 104-11.

kings, the riches of talented men, and the valor of the most spirited soldiers—even more, the valor and experience of the conqueror of all New Spain, Hernando Cortés. The fact that the success of the conquest has lasted for so many years is due to the Society's having power over the presidio; if that power is taken from it, that whole kingdom will be lost.

1743. The first reason is based on the harshness of the terrain. It is so harsh, as we have seen in the preceding books, that each mission establishment has had to overcome innumerable difficulties throughout its entire history. These problems never would have been overcome if the commander and the soldiers had been independent of the control of the Society. So Father Juan María asserts, "I know for a fact that if I had not had that power during these last eight years, no one would have penetrated into California. We would have spent more and more, and we would still be on the beach where we first landed. The commanders, out of fear of being removed, have mounted expeditions and made discoveries in response to the effective persuasion of the fathers, reinforced by their authority."

1744. The second reason is the great covetousness for pearls found in the human heart. If the soldiers were independent of the Society, the last thing they would do, as Father Juan María says in his report, would be to comply with their duty to assist in exploration, to defend the land, and to serve as escorts to the missionaries. This is confirmed by so many fruitless expeditions in the 180 years that others tried to conquer California. All failed. Why? Because everyone stayed on the beach and engaged in pearl diving until hunger and the lack of supplies drove them from the land. The soldiers tried the same thing at the start of this conquest, even though they were subject to the order and disposition of the fathers. But Father Juan María asserted his full authority to curb and stop this disorder.

1745. The third reason grows out of the preceding one. The soldiers, in order to better succeed in the business of pearl diving, took advantage of the Indians who are skilled and knowledgeable; they assigned this work in diving to both pagan and newly converted Indians. And as greed never says "enough," they wanted always to add work to work and task to task. If the soldiers had already started to do this during the days of Father Juan María, even though they were subject to his order and control, what might they have done if they were completely independent? Then, partly to satisfy their greed and partly to please and obey those persons to whom they owed their positions and upon whom they depended for their continuance, they would always have the poor Indians occupied in this task. "But in such a case," said Father Juan María, "when there is forced labor, an uprising surely follows. And once the land is in rebellion, it will be lost; it will be impossible to redeem it with horses and soldiers because of its harshness."

1746. Then he goes on to say what amounts to the fourth reason: "The power over the presidio is conducive to the well-being and tranquillity of the Spanish soldiers. They live less discontentedly, soldiering in a land far away and across the seas, because they recognize that they have recourse to and help from the fathers or the superior, who has the power to remove the commander. They have the assurance that no unjust ill-treatment will be inflicted on them, though the land lends itself to ill-treatment and there are many temptations to envy to be overcome. Let me give an example: If an Indian attempts to sell a fine pearl to a friendly soldier and does not sell it to the captain, the captain might bear a grudge against the soldier and the Indian; or if the Spanish soldier is unhappy, he may

become desperate and seriously angry, as has been seen on many occasions during the time of Don Isidro de Atondo, who was at the point of losing his life at the hands of the soldiers and sailors."

1747. This is confirmed by a situation that occurred while Father Juan María was provincial and was visiting the Californias. At that time Father Juan de Ugarte, who had been put in his [Salvatierra's] place, held the office of superior of the presidio. The captain had ordered the arrest of a soldier for certain reasons that Father Juan de Ugarte, having examined the case, considered unjust. So he ordered the captain to set the soldier free. In order to exempt himself from this order, [the captain] appealed to Father Juan María to allow him the freedom to exercise his authority. But Father Juan María, who was well informed about the true situation, commanded him to obey the superior; the soldier was immediately released. Father Juan María always exercised this same power in favor of soldiers as well as foreign divers whenever he saw that they were being handled more strictly than they should have been.

1748. The fifth reason the father found was the need of overseas missions for many benefactors and supporters for their preservation. If the superior of the missions were stripped of his power over the presidio, they would withdraw their support. But he puts it better in his own words: "And I say likewise that the generosity of the vassals of our king and lord, which is confirmed by their alms and the confidence they have in their achieving success, would dwindle at the sight of the fathers' losing this power; they would be fearful that what they were doing with one hand would be undone by the other." Also the personal assistance from the Spanish people and from the Indian warriors from Nueva Vizcaya would be cut off. Three years ago the fathers of the Californias, the Indians, and the Spaniards were of a single accord; they left their lands in boats, some filled by one group and some by another. One launch was filled with Spaniards from Sinaloa who came to help us. The same was true of Indian warriors from the faithful Yaqui nation, who, very well armed, filled a sailboat, and when they disembarked at Loreto in California, they struck terror among the Indian tribes of the Californias.

1749. In this way, the Indians as well as the Spaniards, seeing they were not being treated as sons according to the manner of the fathers, could become disheartened and lose confidence in our support and affection. This can be one of the harms that a new conquest might suffer. It is well known that Don Isidro de Atondo was not only the admiral of the Californias, but he was captain of the presidio of Sinaloa and governor of the province. With all this authority, as well as numerous other powers from his excellency the viceroy, he was not able to obtain even one Indian volunteer from Sinaloa or Sonora. The few he took with him were guilty of serious crimes, and they were the cause of the first uprising that occurred on his expedition. I insist that all these stated motives look to the security of the land and to the strengthening of the Christian religion in it.

1750. This is the extent of Father Juan María's report. He adds, as a sixth reason, the merit the Society has and can claim in appealing to his Catholic majesty to maintain the faculty conceded from the beginning to the superior of the missions. This new kingdom was conquered for his majesty, and its numerous vassals were subjugated without any expense to the royal treasury. Previously there had been six expeditions made at the order and expense of the Catholic kings; the total expenditure was about 1,500,000 [pesos] with no results. It should not seem,

either to the king or his royal ministers, excessive remuneration that the [superior] appoint or remove the commanders and soldiers of the presidio when this is an indispensable means of maintaining what has already been conquered and of preserving so many vassals in obedience to his majesty.

1751. What about the great amount the Society has expended in this conquest, together with the accomplishments, works, and travails of its fathers, for whose respect and in response to whose many prayers the benefactors have continued to contribute? This [expense] has been so great that in the first eight years, at the time Father Juan María presented his *memorial*, the Society had already spent 225,000 pesos; not included in this amount are 58,000 pesos that were contributed by the six mission properties [*haciendas*].<sup>24</sup> During all this time not more than 18,000 pesos was received from the royal treasury—6,000 pesos over each of the last three years. If everything is calculated that was spent over the twelve years up to 1717, when his majesty began to pay the entire cost of the presidio and the sailors, it will be found that up to that time more than 600,000 pesos were spent, as was testified to in the junta that was held at the order of Viceroy Marqués de Valero.<sup>25</sup>

1752. If we add to this amount 130,000 pesos, which represents the income from the thirteen mission properties, as well as the great amount that has been contributed over the last twenty years by the benefactors of the Californias and all the missionaries of Sinaloa and Sonora, we can say without exaggeration that the Society has spent more than 1,000,000 pesos so that those souls could be gained for Jesus Christ and that this kingdom might remain subject to the Crown of his Catholic majesty. It is worth noting that in the other missions his majesty pays the maintenance of the various presidios as well as the sustenance of all the missionaries. But in the Californias he supports only the soldiers because the missionaries are maintained by the properties of benefactors. Taking all this into consideration, who would judge it an excessive favor on the part of his majesty to grant to the Society superintendence and rule over the commanders and soldiers of the Californias, since this is a necessary means lest the conquest be lost?

## CHAPTER FIVE

Other reasons that confirm the same position.

1753. Even with all that has been said in the previous chapter, not everything has been said that could be said about this matter. Here we will add still other reasons that will confirm and clarify that the authority which the Society exercises

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24. These six properties were the original properties whose annual income was turned over to the California missions. Subsequently the properties were given to the Pious Fund "in fee simple." Among these were Guadalupe in the valley of Acolmán, a sheep ranch in Guasteca, and haciendas in Huepango, Arroyo Sarco, and La Quebrada. Venegas argues below about the thirteen properties, which adds confusion to the identity and number of the agricultural enterprises.

25. Valero called the junta after the death of Salvatierra and issued a decree relating to it on September 25, 1717.

over the presidio of soldiers is an indispensable means to maintain the success, preservation, and growth of this conquest. Consequently, if the order and governance of this conquest should be altered from what it was in the beginning and has continued to be until now, the good progress would stop, and each day it would go from bad to worse, leading to its final ruin. In order to establish these reasons, we will review four factors: first, our Catholic king; second, the soldiers of the presidio; third, the California Indians; and finally, the missionaries.

1754. Beginning with our Catholic king, there are two principal reasons which show that it would not be fitting to change the government that the Californias have had until now. One is the greater security of royal dominion over these lands, and the other is the avoidance of greater expenses to the royal treasury. Looking at the first reason, it is certain that as long as the fathers have power over the soldiers, his majesty's possession of this land and all its vassals will remain stable and secure. This is because dominion depends on the obedience vassals give to their king, especially when this dominion is not achieved by force of arms, but by the willing vassalage that is offered by those who accept their king and lord. The vassalage and obedience of the California Indians toward their king depends on the careful selection of the soldiers and the commander. These men must administer justice to the natives and govern them with prudence and Christian discretion. They must not oppress them with annoyances and unjust exactions, nor employ them in toils and exercises for [the soldiers'] own benefit, separating them from seeking their own sustenance in the mountains. And finally they must insure that all live with one another in peace, justice, and harmony.

1755. But in order to achieve all this the soldiers require restraint, which is found in their submission to the fathers. They know that unless they fulfill their obligations and obey the fathers in whatever they are ordered to do, they will be removed from their posts and exiled from the territory to which they were admitted on this condition. On the contrary, if they were not subject to the fathers, they would live as they desired without any fear, and they would use the Indians for their private interests. From here follow the annoyances, the demands, and the oppression that result from using Indians for personal service. As all of this exasperates the spirit, the Indians would revert finally to rebellions and tumults, throwing off the yoke of obedience in favor of their freedom.

1756. The second reason asserts that, with the subjection of the presidio to the fathers, his majesty avoids great expenses that the royal treasury would otherwise have to bear. If the presidio were not subject to the obedience of the fathers, his majesty would have to provide the presidio with a vessel sufficient to ship and transport the soldiers' equipment, requests, and supplies. And he would have to continually maintain a ship with the necessary crew and all its costs—careening, repairs, and furnishings. All of this amounts to many thousands of pesos, which would be a new burden on the royal treasury. Nor could the boat that the fathers now have for the service of the missions be appropriated for this purpose because the boat and its crew are now subject to the disposition of the fathers. They send it several times a year to the missions on the other shore to solicit supplies or to the other ports of the missions of the Californias to transport whatever the missionaries need. In such a case [that the boat were appropriated] the missionaries would not be free to use their boat because the presidio commanders would want to have it at their disposal and command not only for transporting

their supplies, but especially for diving, which has always been the naked manifestation of their greed.

1757. What, then, shall we say about the missionary fathers? Either they have their own boat, which his majesty has permitted them and without which they cannot journey to regions overseas, or they will have to abide by submission and servitude to the boat that would serve the presidios. If they are to have their own boat, as they do now, it will be necessary that his majesty maintain another vessel separately for the presidios; but this would increase the expenses of the royal treasury too much. If they are to be subjects and provide for themselves with the presidio's boat, it would be a harsh servitude to which to condemn them, being always dependent on the whim and will of the commanders who, independent of the jurisdiction of the fathers, would do just as they wanted regardless of how many orders and instructions they had from the viceroys. Very serious difficulties would arise from all of this, to the harm and detriment of the missions.

1758. From here let us pass on to the second factor, the soldiers. Here we will find two more reasons that are no less compelling than the last ones. One is temporal and related to their salaries, which would be significantly affected. The other is spiritual and has to do with their souls, which would be more greatly harmed. As far as their salaries are concerned, it is certain that if the presidio were not subject to the fathers, the soldiers would receive less pay than they do now. The reason is that in such matters it is not fitting for the fathers to take charge of the payroll or the administration of presidial salaries due to serious improprieties that could arise from doing this. Thus it would be necessary for the commanders to appoint at least three commissioners to handle accounts: one in Mexico, another in Matanchel, and another on the coast of the missions for the receipt and administration of the payroll and purchases, for the dispatch of official communications, and for shipments of corn, flour, meat, and other supplies to the Californias.

1759. From this it follows that, as no *encomendero* will want to serve without pay, it would be necessary to pay the legitimate salaries of the commission as well as costs of the collection of duties and the administration of the payroll. All of this would be subtracted from the salaries of the soldiers and sailors. Thus, they would receive less money than they now receive. At present, the procurator of the Californias administers the payroll, and he sends on to everyone whatever is theirs, reducing the sum only by the precise amounts charged for transport and shipping. The point will be reached, as has already happened many times, that the commissioners will buy items at low prices and send them on at inflated values. Thus, the soldiers would receive less because the commissioners will have profited instead, insisting that it is only the fruits of their labor. What can we say? If the commanders engage in marketing all those goods that serve the soldiers and sell them there at very high prices, we ask—at the expense of whose salaries? It is undeniable that the soldiers will suffer a notable loss.

1760. But this is the least of the problems because it results only in damage to the body. Their souls will suffer a worse fate, and this brings up the second reason relating to the soldiers. Now, with their submission to the fathers, the soldiers are restrained against many military excesses that would easily happen if they were independent. At present the fathers teach them through sermons and frequent discussions. They insist on frequent communion, attendance at Mass, devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and the recitation of the holy rosary. They keep the



soldiers from wildly pursuing those excesses that are common to the military in other places. Presently, all this is achieved through the soldiers' dependence on the fathers and the fear they have of losing their posts for not living Christian lives. But none of this could be accomplished if the soldiers were not at the disposition of the fathers, as can easily be seen when [the California presidios are] contrasted to the license and lack of military discipline in other presidios.

1761. The third factor involves the Indians of the Californias and suggests two reasons regarding the same matter. One is the many setbacks that will be experienced by the California Indians because of the poor civil and political government they will have. The other is the spiritual ruin that it will cause to their souls through scandal and bad example. Let us examine first one and then the other. All good governance consists in prudent direction, which is achieved through proper means by leading the governed to the desired goal that they ought to attain—which is the common good. Thus Saint Thomas teaches: *Gubernatio nihil aliud est, quam directio gubernatorum ad finem, qui est aliquod bonum.* ["Governance is nothing more than directing the governed to an end which is some good."] (I, q. 103, art. 3).<sup>26</sup> The right and proper end that Californians should seek, as vassals of their earthly king, is obedience and loyalty to their majesty through the observance of laws and ordinances that all look toward the common good. The goal they should seek as vassals of Jesus Christ is to be good Christians, to serve God, to love him, and to keep his commandments in order to attain eternal life. But these two ends can be frustrated by poor government and the even worse examples of free and independent soldiers.

1762. Later we will discuss the presuppositions underlying the first reason, which is that the soldiers who assist the missions act as lieutenants and agents of the presidial commander in all executions of justice. Although the father visitor now appoints all officials and governors in all the *rancherías*, the commander of the presidio confers jurisdiction on them. However, if the presidio were independent, the father visitor would have no part in these affairs. It would then follow that the soldiers, as well as the governors of the pueblos, would be subject only to the captain and not to the fathers. Neither the power of appointment nor removal nor punishment [would fall to anyone but the captain]. Consequently the political governance of the Indians would go as the captain and the soldiers wanted and not according to the dictates of reason nor the needs of a people so new in the faith and so new to a political life that they never knew before.

1763. But how can the governance of those people proceed when the governors consider only their own avarice? They are merely concerned with satisfying those upon whom they depend for appointment and continuance in their posts. All this is to say that everything will go badly without a principal goal, which ought to consist in the governing of Indians, and the appropriate means to that goal. In such a situation warnings and admonitions of the fathers will be of no avail in avoiding disorder among the soldiers. Independent of the fathers, they will pay no heed. Nor will appealing to the commander of the presidio be of any help because, being no longer dependent on the fathers himself, he would rather aid and abet the soldiers than judge them for their excesses in order to have them on his

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26. *Summa*, part 1, in the body of the question.

side. To seek recourse from Mexico City, so far away and separated by the sea, to inform the viceroy about what may be happening and to seek a remedy would result in a never-ending process. Nothing would get done. And while some resolution was being sought, the land could be lost or at least suffer irreparable damage.

1764. What shall we say with respect to the second point about the harm done to these Indians by the bad example of the soldiers? This says it all: Although these soldiers have been subject to the fathers up till now, they have had much reason to be ashamed, corrected, and made to amend their ways. The soldiers who assist in the missions are the fathers' greatest cross. What would happen if these soldiers were subject to no one? This needs little discussion to know the answer. It is apparent and morally certain that independent soldiers would then be the spiritual ruin of this new conversion because of their evil lives and perverse example. This is all that can be expected from the free and licentious lifestyle that soldiers are wont to live in other places. Even more, if one thinks about it, if the soldiers are not chosen and approved by the fathers, as is now the case, this duty will fall to the captain as an agent of the viceroy. Sometimes outlaws and evildoers are sent from the prisons, as happens in the case of other presidios; they would be pressed into the king's service with no pay in the presidios of the Californias. What will such men do among new Christians? There is no need to explain since they are outlaws pressed into service.

1765. Let us conclude with two more reasons that are founded on the fourth point regarding the missionary fathers. First, they will not be able freely to order expeditions and discoveries for this conquest; second, the fathers will always be in danger of suffering infinite frustrations and griefs brought on by those same soldiers. With regard to the expeditions, it is certain that without the submission of the soldiers to the fathers the conquest of the Californias would never have come to pass—as Father Juan María says in his *memorial*, which we have discussed above in the first reason. It is also certain that even though they are subject to the fathers, it has been necessary to employ those means dictated by charity, prudence, and justice to accomplish what has been done in all the missions because of the reluctance of the soldiers to engage in the heavy labors demanded by the discovery of new lands and the foundation of new missions, especially when roads have to be opened in the rough mountain terrain. For this reason some soldiers were dismissed in the beginning, and others quit their posts before being dismissed. Finally, others wrote the viceroy that the fathers and one commander were inconsiderate men who engaged in the impossible and put the soldiers in clear risk of their lives.

1766. It can be inferred from this how the soldiers will react in the future to all military expeditions that will arise in new discoveries to the north if they should be excused from obedience to and the jurisdiction of the fathers, since the soldiers showed such unwillingness whenever they were subject to them. How can the missionaries make new discoveries and establish new missions if, whenever difficulties and hard labors are encountered, the soldiers oppose them, the captains resist them, and the necessary escorts are denied? These men would say that they had instructions and orders from the viceroy and that it is not in the king's service to engage in impossible ventures. They would say that it pertained to them as to governors of the land to organize expeditions when and how they wanted. They would say that for this reason they should not be subject to the in-

considerate resolves of the fathers cloaked as spiritual zeal. The commanders and soldiers will say this and much more; recourse to the viceroy, whom these men would ply with sinister *informes*, dictated out of passion, would be ineffective because of the distance.

1767. Who can say what infinite troubles and griefs would endanger the missionaries who, regardless, must deal with uncontrollable people who wish to rule everything and to whom they cannot give orders? As we will show later, it is necessary that one or two soldiers assist at each mission. How will the priests tolerate their presence if even now with the soldiers as subjects they can hardly bear them? It is constantly necessary to rotate the soldiers to alleviate the burden of their work. But all of this is seen as very far off from here, and more so from the courts where calumnies and sinister accusations are much more easily registered as expressions in the name of the king's service than are manifestations of the greater service of God sealed and marked with the character of zeal for souls. But even in this matter the servants of the Lord bear the honorable character of being blessed when they are persecuted for truth and for justice. *Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam: quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.* ["Blessed are those who suffer persecution on account of justice because theirs is the kingdom of heaven."] (Matt. 5:10).

## CHAPTER SIX

Concerning the procurator of the presidio of the Californias.

1768. Although the superior of the presidio for many years has handled the administration of the payroll of the soldiers and sailors and everything else that involves their government and maintenance, time showed that it was impossible for him alone to attend to the governance and administration of the presidio. We have already reviewed the reasons that Father Juan María set down during the twenty years of his administration. Following his holy death, the responsibilities of visitor and superior of the presidio no longer were attached to the missionary of Loreto, but to one who held this position as visitor of all the missions for three years. This arrangement continued in practice for ten years, but experience showed that the superior of the presidio, who was also the visitor of all the missions, needed some help if he were not to fail in his duty.

1769. After Father Provincial Andrés Nieto was informed of the tremendous work and weighty responsibilities that fell on the visitor of the Californias, he decided to alleviate some of the burden.<sup>27</sup> He realized that the visitor was performing three jobs at once—all difficult and demanding. One was being the missionary to his own particular mission, which demanded that he be continuously involved in the instruction, assistance, and ministry of the faithful. Another was being the superior of the presidio, which required him to care for its maintenance, to regulate its good governance, to dispatch and receive the ships, to distribute shipments, and to spend hours writing reports, together with all the other

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27. Andrés Nieto was born in Toledo, Spain, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1675 at fifteen years of age. He was the Jesuit Father Provincial of New Spain from June 1726 to November 1729; he died in Mexico City December 26, 1750.

tasks attached to his job. All this required that the person in charge be almost always at Loreto so that he could attend to the proper governance of the presidio and the welfare of the soldiers. If his mission was quite a distance away, this assistance and care was incompatible with what he was expected to do at his own mission. The third responsibility he had was being the visitor of all the missions and superior of all the missionaries, which obligated him not only to proper governance and good guidance of his subjects, but also to visit all the missions by traveling throughout the territory, which extends for almost 300 leagues. While he was on these journeys, it was not possible for him to give the prompt attention that good governance of the presidio required.

1770. Taking these difficulties into account, the father provincial decided to name a priest to serve as the procurator of the presidio of Loreto; this would be the same missionary who resided there, except for those times when it might seem better to appoint a different subject for this job so that one or the other might attend to all the necessary tasks pertaining to the good governance of the presidio and the prompt dispatch of the boats. With the creation of this new office in 1728 the father visitor of the missions was relieved of the previously bothersome, continual care of the presidio. But the presidio did not become exempt from his jurisdiction because of this; it remained under his command as before. The father visitor continued to enjoy all the faculties he had before, whether pertaining to the soldiers and their commander or to the political governance of all the inhabitants of the Californias. The creation of this new office only alleviated him of the work, not his power and jurisdiction.

1771. But when the moment came to put the various powers of the new procurator of the presidio into effect, some doubts arose about their implementation and extent. So the fathers approached the visitor general of all the missions, Father Joseph de Echeverría, in 1730 after he finished visiting the missions of the Californias.<sup>28</sup> Having presented their doubts and the difficulties that could arise in the execution of the new office, the fathers appealed to him to clarify and resolve them. This he did. A meeting of the three oldest missionaries was called at the mission of San Pablo. These were Fathers Juan de Ugarte, Julián de Mayorga, and Clemente Guillén, who had all been founders of their missions.<sup>29</sup> The father visitor asked them to propose all the difficulties that might occur. Having examined and conferred on all the issues that were involved, the visitor general, using the powers he was given by the father provincial, with the opinions and approval

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28. Joseph de Echeverría was a native of San Sebastián in Guipúzcoa, Spain. Born in 1688, he entered the Society in 1704 and served in Mexico City as procurator of the California missions for many years. The last record of him is in 1751.

29. Juan de Ugarte was a native of Tegucigalpa, Honduras. In 1679, at sixteen years of age, he entered the Society. His chief mission was at San Xavier Viggé. He died in California on December 28, 1730.

Julián de Mayorga was born in Toledo, Spain, in 1670, entered the Society in 1684, and arrived in the California missions in 1708. He died in California in November 1736.

Clemente Guillén de Castro was born in Zacatecas, Mexico, in 1675. He entered the Society in 1696 and worked in the missions of the Pimería and California from 1713 to 1748. He died in California.

of the three consultants, decided on May 20, 1730, to declare, order, and establish the following points:

1772. First, the father who is or will be the visitor of the Californias, as it has been from the beginning of their reduction until the present, is the superior of the presidio and will continue to be so without any loss of authority or faculties. Wherefore, the captain, officers and soldiers, the boatswains, yeomen, and sailors remain subject to his orders in the same way as before.

Second, whoever is or will be the procurator of the presidio is completely subject to the father visitor, as is any other father or brother who resides in the Californias, not only in that which concerns the mission, if he should happen to be (as it is today) the missionary of Loreto, but also in everything that pertains to the office of procurator of the presidio—i.e., payroll, boats, and sailors—in the same manner that any procurator of a *colegio* of ours is subject to the rector and the provincial. In this regard whoever is the rector at the mission of Loreto will be the immediate superior of the aforementioned procurator.

Third, whoever holds the office of procurator will attend to the good governance of the presidio with the closeness it demands. He can dismiss or accept soldiers as it may seem fit to him and as necessity requires, and do likewise with the sailors and the people who serve on the boats, even without notifying the father visitor. However, when his reverence is in Loreto, then common courtesy demands that no soldier be admitted or dismissed without notice to his reverence.

Fourth, the selection of a captain, *alférez*, and squad leader will be the sole act of the father visitor, who will first consult the fathers, never excluding him who is the procurator of the presidio. He will choose as captain only the most meritorious man, and he will ask that the viceroy confirm the appointment.

Fifth, planning for necessary provisions to maintain the soldiers and the seamen will fall to the care of the procurator. Likewise, he will care for the equipment that is necessary to fully outfit the boats, which must always be ready to transport supplies and shipments on request. This obligation is not in effect during the months of August and September, which are very dangerous in these seas—unless there is some grave necessity.

Sixth, the father procurator will manage the accounts of the captain, soldiers, boatswains, and seamen. He will pay their salaries and wages in the accustomed way and will not contract more personnel than necessary, nor will he pay out wages to useless people, avoiding whenever possible any expenses that can be avoided.

Seventh, the procurator will not engage in any important matter nor incur extraordinary expense—such as the dismantling of a boat or the building of another or the laying of a new keel—without consulting the father visitor. In these affairs he will not follow merely the advice of the boatswains and sailors, but he will take into consideration the advice of the most knowledgeable persons in the realm, who will recognize the condition of the boats. He will zealously seek with all vigilance to make the boats last because they are very difficult to acquire and because without them this Christianity could never survive.

Eighth, when it happens that a boat is lost, he will make as authentic a report on the occurrence as circumstances allow. He will not write the viceroy asking for a replacement without having the request accompanied by that report nor with-

out having sought out the advice and consent of the visitor. If a boat is lost through the fault of the boatswain or the seamen, the captain of the presidio will take action against the guilty parties without allowing the procurator or anyone else, on the pretext of charity, to intervene in the deliberations that justice demands.

Ninth, since recourse to the father visitor will not always be easy, bad results could follow from the detention of soldiers, sailors, or others who are dismissed; certificates of service, which before could be given only by the superior, can now be given by the father procurator when the superior is absent.

Tenth, the father visitor of the missions of the Californias has full authority from the viceroys to appoint the captain, the officers of the presidio, and those persons who administer justice. But these persons should only execute justice in those instances when the captain is not able to be the judge, or in places where he cannot be personally present. Thus those occasions that might cause jurisdictional conflicts and unpleasanties should be avoided.

1773. These are the principal regulations that the procurator of the presidio ought to follow and can exercise, as established by Father Visitor Joseph de Echeverría on his visit to the Californias. On the one hand, all of them are directed toward relieving the father visitor so that he need not be concerned with the immediate governance of the presidio and the administration of temporal affairs. The jurisdiction and command over the presidio are, however, left to him, just as they were conceded from the beginning. On the other hand, these regulations were enacted in order to attend promptly to the governance of the presidio and to the management of temporal affairs, which the missionary of Loreto can accomplish better than the other fathers because of his proximity. Because of his habitual residence there, he can discharge the offices of the procurator without impairing his duties as a missionary, just as Father Juan María did for twenty years when he resided at that mission.

[Paragraphs 1774 through 1784 have been omitted.]

## CHAPTER EIGHT

Concerning the governing of the presidio, the distribution of soldiers, and the activities carried out in the missions.

1785. We will now move on to relate what is observed in the governing of the presidio and of the soldiers, their distribution in the missions, and the occupations in which they are involved. First, we will examine what happens to the soldiers on entering and leaving the Californias when, either by renouncing their post or by their legitimate expulsion, they go to the other shore. It is certain that if it were left to the discretion of the fathers only the best soldiers that could be found on the mainland would be admitted to the Californias. But scarcity, distance, and the forlorn character of that land obliges them at times to accept men who would not be accepted under other circumstances. Venerable Father Juan María Salvatierra was of this opinion; even in calamitous times when he did not have the means to provide for the sustenance of the presidio, he proceeded to dismiss soldiers. He never wanted to replace them with villainous men nor with exiled criminals. The fiscal of the Audiencia of Guadalajara wrote to [Salvatierra] that, if he wanted, [the fiscal] would negotiate with the Real Audiencia to send exiles

from the jails to serve without pay in the Californias for their crimes.<sup>30</sup> Father Juan María, after acknowledging his kindness, replied that it would not be advisable to admit such men because villainous and perverse people usually cause more harm than good; he felt it was less harmful to go undefended than to be poorly defended by such evil men.

1786. The subsequent superiors of the Californias have held the same opinion. They have not wanted to accept as soldiers any fugitives, exiled criminals, or outlaws, nor have they wanted to admit villainous people who were released from jail and forced to serve in the presidios. The superiors have admitted only those who have been summoned or who have spontaneously offered themselves when there has been a shortage of men in the presidio. Even though royal ordinance prohibits enlisting or admitting any non-Spaniard to serve as a soldier, the lack of soldiers in these remote regions and the sheer impracticality of raising enlistments in New Spain makes full compliance with this ordinance impossible. Hence it is necessary at times to accept mulattoes, *mestizos*, and other people of mixed color. Because it is only just that there be a distinction between them and legitimate Spaniards, they are advised when they enlist that they will earn only half wages. This is the understanding for the enlistees' first two years; if they do well, and if they are judged necessary and useful in the region after completing two years of experience, they are granted their full salary. With this policy, the fathers have found it useful to be able to increase the number of posts in the presidio by paying these half salaries. Now it is customary to have more soldiers in the presidio than are paid for by the king.

1787. It is presumed in the aforementioned prerequisites for the selection and enlistment of the soldiers that when any of them come to serve in the presidio for the first time, they are read the orders that were granted the superior of the missions so that they will understand the submission they owe him, the obedience they must render to the captain, and finally the privileges they enjoy as soldiers serving in the Californias. Then, the ordinances that the fathers visitor have set down for the good governance of the soldiers are explained to them. The most significant are the following: they may not engage in pearl diving, although they are not prohibited from buying [pearls] from the Indians; they are not to mistreat the Indians nor give them bad examples. If they have been married on the mainland, they are not to leave their wives behind but are to bring them, unless they have been legally divorced. If they have children, [the children] are to be sent to the school at Loreto where they can learn to read and write, and [the soldiers] are to pay a just wage to the schoolteacher. Every soldier, in addition to his arms, must maintain two horses of his own, which are to be sold to another soldier in the event he leaves. Each soldier shall take his turn in caring for the horses of all, in conformity to what the captain indicates. They must report promptly for all military expeditions when occasion arises or when so ordered. Those soldiers who are assigned as escorts in the missions must remain obedient to the missionary fathers and perform whatever is ordered according to the custom and need of each mission. Those who are assigned to the presidio must be prompt in fulfilling the military discipline that is followed there. Finally, they are to live there in a Christ-

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30. The original text of this letter has not been established.

ian manner, maintaining union among themselves in mutual peace and harmony.

1788. The fathers are careful to instruct the new soldiers about other policies similar to these so they can fulfill their military obligations as well as their Christian ones. To this purpose those who live in the presidio are to be given spiritual instruction in Castilian apart from that given in the native language. Care is taken that they keep a Christian schedule, i.e., that they hear Mass each day with proper attention and reverence, that they recite the rosary of Mary most holy in unison and with devotion, and at the end of the rosary, her litany. After this recitation on Saturdays they hear a talk on some aspect of devotion to the Virgin, exhorting them to live as Christians and to frequent the sacraments on the feasts of the year.

1789. The military schedule of the presidio is kept exactly as in all other well-regulated presidios. The captain sees to the punishment of any who fail in their duty. If it should happen that some do not want to perform their duties, whether military or Christian, and they do not respond to threats, reprimands, or punishment to correct their errors, then the ultimate action is taken to dismiss them; the same is done with the sailors. Passage to the mainland is provided in the boats to anyone who leaves the region, whether by expulsion or by resignation. All must carry with them certificates of military service signed by the superior of the presidio, or in his absence, by the father procurator who lives in Loreto.

1790. The fathers will take care in the preparation of these certificates to give due credit and to recommend those soldiers who have served well and who leave because they have resigned their posts. But in the case of those who are dismissed, the fathers will charitably give credit where it is due and preserve [the soldiers'] good name by concealing whatever might harm their reputations. The fathers will prepare the certificates with general words that are sufficient to recommend [these men] as soldiers who are obedient to their captain and punctual in their presidial service and on military expeditions without mentioning that they were dismissed. Furthermore, the fathers sometimes have to be careful in wording a resignation in order to keep certain faults secret, so that the soldier's honor can be saved.

1791. Concerning the soldiers' daily schedule, care is always taken that the majority serve at the *real* of Loreto so that they can leave from there on the necessary patrols and operations. The rest of the soldiers are divided among the missions in this way: when a new mission is established, six or eight soldiers accompany the missionary for some months, and with the aid of the Indians they build the church, house, and necessary facilities. In the missions already founded on the frontier of the pagans, two and occasionally three soldiers ordinarily will be on duty, according to need or because of some danger that threatens. But where that danger has passed, as in the oldest missions, ordinarily only one soldier is on duty to accompany the missionary. Although Father Provincial Joseph de Arajó [Arjó]<sup>31</sup> permitted the older missions to excuse the soldier escort when there was no danger of an uprising, in order to increase the number of soldiers at the presidio, this has been difficult to do because of the extreme needs that exist, and so the policy of stationing one soldier at each mission has continued.

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31. Joseph de Arjó was born in Benasque, Huesca, Aragón, in 1663. He worked in Havana, Zacatecas, and Mexico City, and served as father provincial from 1722 to 1725. He died in 1736.



1792. The fundamental reason for this practice is that the soldier has to assist the father at certain times and the captain of the presidio at others. He assists the father in all household matters, in the care of the house, and in the provision of foods for those who are maintained at the mission headquarters. The father missionary is not always able to do all this because he is ordinarily absent hearing confessions of the sick, visiting rancherías, and performing other ministerial duties. To leave the house alone is merely to invite the Indians to steal the mission's provisions and supplies. Each day the house servants, the governor, the fiscal, the aged, the invalids, and the members of ranchería communities who have to come to the mission each week for catechism must be fed. It is necessary that someone look after the foodstuffs that have to be doled out—*atole*, *pozole*, or cooked corn. Sometimes the soldier also has to aid the captain of the presidio in apprehending and punishing Indians in those cases that the father himself cannot handle and that are not serious enough to require an Indian to be sent to the commander of the presidio because of the distance.

1793. For these reasons and because of the current situation in the missions, it is necessary that there be a soldier at each mission. There are no other people there to depend on, nor are servants from the mainland permitted in California because of the various difficulties the fathers have experienced. Thus Father Visitor Joseph de Echeverría ordered that only in the case of new missions can a few servants from the mainland be permitted for a short time, so that they can teach the natives to work the land. Having accomplished this, they must return to the place from which they came, except those who have married Indian women in the region. This being the case, the soldiers' presence is necessary in the missions, and so that there will be no lack of men in the presidio, the fathers have followed the policy of increasing the number of posts by paying half salaries to non-Spaniards, as we have discussed above.

1794. Governing the soldiers in political and military matters belongs to the office of the captain of the presidio. He is the one who gives the orders about what they must do within or outside the presidio. He is the one who sends them out on expeditions for exploration, for war, or for the pacification of uprisings and rebellions. Finally, it is he who indicates who will be stationed at each mission. If any of these men are not suitable to the fathers because they do not fulfill their duties, the captain will recall them to serve at the presidio and will send others in their place—all this being subject to the father visitor as his superior. Although the father visitor customarily leaves the exercise of ordinary powers to the captain, if he sees that [the captain] is seriously failing in some duty, then he will caution him with gentle persuasion. But if this is not enough, he will use his absolute power. In this way it is assured that the governance of the soldiers, as also that of the Indians of the region, will proceed in total harmony with the law of God and the laws of soldiering and civility.

## CHAPTER NINE

Rejoinders to the soldiers' complaints against the missionaries.

1795. No one can be a good judge of unfamiliar issues if one ear is wide open to accusations and quarrels while the other ear is closed to defenses and exonerations. This is what might happen in the present case concerning the soldiers of

the Californias. If one listens to the soldiers complain about the fathers when the soldiers return to this kingdom, it might be easy to listen to the complaints but rash to give them credence. Would it not be thoughtful and prudent at least to suspend judgment when there is no one who can come to the defense of unknown merits? It is true that many soldiers who have served in the Californias, after they have returned to their homeland, have given little credit to the great good they received from the fathers there. They have come to spread many complaints and calumnies against [the fathers] in the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, as well as in Guadalajara and Mexico, indeed throughout all New Spain. Although discreet and knowledgeable men do not pay any heed, nevertheless there are many indiscreet, rash, and credulous men who are quick to spread anything they hear having to do with the honor of others. It will be necessary to come to the defense of the missionaries and to show how much more the fathers should complain about the soldiers than the soldiers about the fathers.

1796. In order to speak with confidence and not to offend those good men, we will have to suppose two things. First, it cannot be denied that some good soldiers have served in the Californias; they were very Christian in their practices; very circumspect, industrious, and disciplined in their military duties; and thorough in the discharge of all that was entrusted to them. But these good men have been in the minority; and, as always in any crowd, the good are few in comparison to the bad. But we are not talking about the good here because they deserve only recommendation and praise for their laudable behavior and for their zeal and good intentions in applying themselves in the service of their king and in aiding the fathers in that conquest. We are only speaking of the majority and, more explicitly, about those who complain against the fathers. They are the ones who were unable or unwilling to suffer the yoke of military submission or the discipline of a Christian life with which the fathers wanted to restrain them. After they left the Californias, they vented their anger and resentment with ill-founded complaints and at times even with false accusations aimed at discrediting the fathers.

1797. Secondly, it must be supposed that the majority of those about whom we are speaking are the scum of the earth and the offal of the rabble. Although the fathers would like to choose the best that can be found for soldiers, because they are in an overseas region and so far removed from these kingdoms, they are forced by necessity to accept whoever chances along. One must realize that mulattoes, mestizos, *lobos*, *coyotes*, and the like—of whatever color and foul mix of blood—immediately reveal the lowliness of their station. One should consider that some of these persons are fugitives from New Spain or Nueva Galicia and that in order not to fall into the hands of justice for their crimes, they voluntarily exile themselves from their homelands and retire to the most remote of our missions. Furthermore, since they have not found a place for themselves there, nor protection, nor an occupation with which to support themselves, they enlist at the first opportunity as soldiers in the Californias.

1798. These men are the very ones who have complained against the fathers and whose complaints immediately expose their vile behavior. They embody the common adage that says: "Do you want to recognize a despicable person? Then give him some responsibility." To them there is no difference between being soldiers in the king's service in the Californias and manifesting their ordinary vile behavior. The soldiers are sent under orders from the viceroy issued on behalf of

the superior of the presidio so that they will understand their duties as well as the military rights they enjoy as soldiers there. But these men, paying little attention to, and at times, even forgetting their duties, value and remember well the honorary and favorable aspects of their military privileges. In this way they become as haughty as if they were already great captains equal to no one. There have been soldiers who were so insolent and shameless that they have dared to tell the father whom they assist that there is no distinction between them except the cassock.

1799. The fathers have recognized that they must deal continuously with such people for the good of their flock. Whoever looks at these things from afar will think that the fathers are fortunate to have a soldier to help look after each mission, but ordinarily they don't have help, only torment. The saying of Saint Ignatius about the ten soldiers who took him prisoner to Rome is equally applicable to these men; that is, that he was bound by day, and at night he was in the company of ten leopards that became more bloody and cruel when he stroked them.<sup>32</sup> These soldiers about whom we are talking reveal themselves like leopards; they are a fierce bunch—unruly, brutal, idiotic, ignorant and, above all, haughty. They think that any consideration the fathers show them is well deserved. They are given to wanton and dissolute conversations among themselves as soldiers, and since they are obliged to deal continuously with the fathers whom they assist, they find their modest, religious, and Christian conversation intolerable. On the contrary, what must the fathers think about being obliged to deal with such coarse, gross, and ill-bred people?

1800. To confirm all of this Father Juan María finally came to say that he had never encountered people more perverse or incorrigible. Even so, the soldiers are needed in those missions because the administration is so dispersed and the fathers ordinarily are absent performing their duties. Someone must care for the house, provide for temporal sustenance, and represent the captain of the presidio in those matters that cannot be delayed while seeking recourse from the presidio. It is true that Father Juan de Ugarte was reduced to living without soldiers at his mission, but he was able to do this because he had some Sinaloan Indians with him who cared for the house, the crops, and the cattle. To pay for their expenses he had the produce of the pueblo of San Miguel, as explained elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> Other missionaries cannot do this—some because they have nothing with which to pay expenses, and others because, as mentioned, servants from the mainland are no longer permitted in the Californias. It so happens that the mission of Father Ugarte was the closest of all to the presidio, and it was thus easy to make up for the absence of a soldier by having recourse to the captain, but this is not the case with the other missions.

1801. Nevertheless, Father Ugarte, knowing the need for soldiers in our missions, used to say, applying to them a verse from Marcial: *Nec tecum possum vi-*

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32. The allusion is to Ignatius's autobiography, which does mention an incident with soldiers on his way to Rome, but the reference to "ten leopards" seems to come from another unidentified source.

33. The pueblo of San Miguel Comondú lies west-northwest of Viggé. Ugarte established it as a visita in 1714.

*vere, nec sine te* ["I can't live with you, and I can't live without you"].<sup>34</sup> So it is with the missionary fathers—they can neither live with the soldiers nor without them. They cannot live with them because they are so obstinate and uncouth in their manners, and they cannot live without them because of the indispensable need for them at each mission. It is uncommon for any soldier to last a year at any mission. After a year the father is weary because of the soldier's carelessness, his scandals, or many other things that pertain to his duties. He finds himself obliged to write the captain to send another soldier and return the one he has to the presidio. But this is nothing more than exchanging troubles. Usually the one sent is worse than the one before, and sometimes a soldier who has just been removed from one mission for bad conduct is assigned to another. Since every soldier is a heavy burden to the father to whom he is assigned, each priest finds himself obliged to carry the burden that another found intolerable. Thus they follow the counsel of the apostle: *Alter alterius onera portate* ["Let each one carry the other's burden"].<sup>35</sup> Burdens are shifted, but nothing improves in the exchange. Only the spirit was benefited because the new soldier, once received, occasioned an exercise of charity: *Suportantes invicem in caritate* ["Support each other in turn through charity"].

1802. From what has been said, it can be inferred that if this happens now while all the presidio is subject to the superior, what would happen if it were independent? We have already weighed this before, and it is enough to note that in such a case a presidio in the Californias would not last long because the soldiers would mistreat the Indians to such an extent that they would rebel and kill the soldiers or they would throw them out of their land. And if this doesn't happen, then hunger will drive them out as it did before. At present, all provisions there depend on the industry and work of the fathers and on the providence by which they manage the ships and seamen. With this in mind Father Juan María wrote Señor Miranda: "If the expedition to and the conquest of the Californias had not been carried out as they were, and if Mary most holy, in the image of Our Lady of Loreto, had not been the conquistadora of that land, it would have been impossible for any royal arms, no matter how powerful, to conquer that kingdom."<sup>36</sup>

## CHAPTER TEN

Replies to particular complaints of the soldiers.

1803. But now let us direct ourselves specifically to shut the mouths of those quarrelsome soldiers whose complaints are quite baseless. We have already shown in the previous chapter who the complaining soldiers are and against whom they lodge their complaints. It is fitting to recall that they are wanton soldiers of low station—perverse, undisciplined, and incorrigible men. They gripe about the missionary fathers—priests, religious, and servants of Jesus Christ—who accept exile

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34. Although Venegas attributes this to Marcial, the commonly quoted source is Ovid, *Amores*, III, xi, 39.

35. Saint Paul *I Thessalonians*, 12–22.

36. Salvatierra to José de Miranda Villaisón, fiscal of Guadalajara, October 1700.

and abandonment in that land out of obedience, without help, and who are employed out of love of the Lord in procuring the salvation of souls. The reason for the quarrel is based on the opposition between a holy and religious life and the dissolute life of soldiering, and the opposition between the spiritual goals that apostolic zeal longs for and the temporal, earthly gain to which worldly greed aspires. Now we will examine in detail what the soldiers complain about and what they say against the fathers.

1804. First, they say that having enlisted as soldiers in the Californias, they are afterward obliged to work as cowhands. They say this because sometimes a soldier in a mission has to bring in a steer that will be slaughtered for eating; he also has to help in the roundup when cattle are branded. How wrong and baseless are their complaints? In the first place, the soldier is sent only if there is no servant at the mission who can do it. Nor does this happen everywhere, because in many missions the cattle are close by and within sight. Moreover, when the soldier goes out, he does not go alone but is accompanied by the mission Indians. This is properly the work of the Indians, and the soldier is there only to choose the steer and to direct them; this is not being a cowhand. If one considers the fact that the cow is brought in for the sustenance of the father and the soldier, how hard is it for the latter to do a few things to bring in food to eat? Or is it that he wants the priest to wait on him as a servant who brings meat for him to eat? That is placing oneself high above one's superior.

1805. What shall we say about branding? Here they have even less cause for complaint. When there are some animals that need to be branded, it is true that the soldier assists. But in what way? To watch and direct. If he likes it, it is fun because among field hands this serves as a great diversion. We see that they come willingly from all the cattle ranches in the surrounding area without having to be asked. They help at branding with no more reward than the enjoyment they get from doing it. Even if the soldier does not like it, he goes at least out of sheer curiosity; he may bulldog three or four calves for the exercise, and when he is tired, he goes home, leaving the hard work to the Indians. That is what these people call being cowhands in the missions. According to this norm we would also call the owners of haciendas cowhands when they go out to brand their cattle, together with all those who go to the roundups for sport and entertainment. Let's continue to hear more complaints!

1806. Second, the soldiers maintain that in the missions they are the fathers' foremen. Why? Because they hold the keys to all the provisions the father has; it is their job to watch and distribute them. It will certainly be remembered that in Loreto, as in other well-ordered presidios, some soldiers are assigned as quartermasters who are in charge of attending to and distributing the provisions for everyone. In order to save one of these complainers part of the work that he had to do, one missionary father tried to put the greater part of the provisions in a separate room, leaving the soldier enough for ordinary consumption. Because the father kept the key the soldier was so hurt that he asked to leave the mission. Yet how would they feel if their keys were taken away and given to the Indians? This is the kind of foremanship about which they complain so much. In essence, it is nothing less than being the owners of everything the mission has and being able to dispose of it at will.

1807. Third, they complain that in the missions they are cooks rather than soldiers. They have no more basis for saying this than that they look after the ordinary provision of food, which they give each day to the cook who prepares and serves it. This meal is equally for the father as for the soldier. The soldier not only eats the same as the father, but all the provisions are in his hands, and he partakes of them at his own will for meals and snacks. In the first place he cannot be called a cook but a quartermaster, which post exists in all presidios. He has no reason to complain. In the second matter regarding going into the kitchen to prepare snacks that he eats outside the assigned time, this is done not by order of the father, but by his own choice. So let him complain about himself; he cooks according to his own fancy. If the father were to assume his duties and take away the keys to the storehouse, what would he say? Would he stop complaining? No, he would complain about just the opposite, claiming that the father was starving him to death and that he was taking over his job because there was no one there who could do the job better than the father. But this is characteristic of malcontents—to seek out every pretext for complaint.

1808. Fourth, they say that in the missions they are more galley floggers than soldiers because whenever an occasion presents itself they punish the Indians for their little thefts. The soldier is usually a good deal to blame because of his own carelessness about things in his charge. But it is certain that the soldier does not intervene in any way in anything that the Indians do at the order of the father or the governor of the pueblo. Those who have so complained ought to remember that in the presidios of Parras, Sinaloa, and Sonora, the soldiers are the ones who round up misguided Indians and go in search of fugitives, which is a big job. They are not assigned this duty in the Californias because the father sends Indians to search for fugitives except when murder is involved. In that case it falls to the soldier, helped by the Indians, to hunt and apprehend the guilty party. This is not being a galley flogger or hangman either, but rather a minister of justice in the name of the captain from whom he has authority in such cases.

1809. Finally they say that in the Californias they are hardly even soldiers because they are only servants of the fathers and also the Indians. The only basis they have for this complaint is that they watch over the cooking of the corn that they eat and see that the atole that they drink is made for them. But this task is more suitable for Indians because the soldier only distributes it. He would not even be involved in doing this if he were smart enough to have an Indian do it. If a soldier is just present during the distribution, any Indian could do it well by following the soldier's orders. This is the real difficulty: at times the same one who complains about this work doesn't want to give it up or entrust it to another. When he distributes food by his own hand, he measures it out according to his own whims without fairness, favoring certain persons. He gives some more, others less, according to the dictates of his passion—love, hate, interest, or shame. The worst thing is that at times this is born of lustful inclinations.

1810. For this reason Fathers Juan María Salvatierra, Juan Ugarte, Francisco María Piccolo, and Pedro de Ugarte almost always took care to distribute the sustenance of the poor by their own hands in order to avoid unfairness and the harm that can result. This was possible at a time when the missions were closer to-

gether and there was less to do. Now it is no longer possible because of the extensiveness of each mission's ministry. Now the fathers spend the greater part of the day away from the house. Meanwhile, let those who complain state how this charitable ministry contradicts their military duties. Is the distribution of provisions to soldiers not practiced in all armies? Very much so. How much of what they are complaining about has been done by Indians who voluntarily help on expeditions against the enemy on the frontiers, or who, armed, accompany the soldiers on new discoveries, facing the same dangers?

1811. In addition to this they should remember that the conquest of the Californias has not been attained with the arms of an earthly army, but with the arms of the spirit. It is good to realize that the light of the word of God and the darts of his goodness did it. By doing good to poor, abandoned, and unfortunate people and by performing spiritual and corporal works of mercy they have allowed themselves to be conquered and won for Christ. All these effects are inherently maintained by the very causes that produced them in the first place, so it is necessary to say that the conquest of the Californias, which was achieved from the beginning through charitable efforts, will be preserved the same way in the future. This is what it is to be a soldier in the Californias: to show compassion, together with the missionary fathers, for these new Christians in order to keep them subject to Christ and his holy law.

1812. For this reason among their privileges it was conceded that any service performed for the good of that conquest is considered of equal rank with the service that soldiers perform in actual combat for the king. Whatever the soldiers have done in the Californias—be it serving in the presidio, accompanying the missionary, building churches or houses, opening roads, guarding cattle, or distributing alms to the poor—all these his majesty has seen fit to reward as if they were services done in battle. All of this redounds to aid in the conquest. This is what it means to be a soldier in the Californias. The fathers perform works of spiritual mercy for the souls of those new Christians, and they perform corporal works for their bodies. Is it so much to ask a soldier to carry out a small part of those corporal works by giving food to the hungry? To state it more exactly, he is not giving away anything of his own, but rather distributing what the mission is giving to the poor, is he not?

1813. They should also consider a rule of law that states: *Scienti, et volenti non fit injuria* ["Harm will not happen to the knowing and the willing"]. No harm is done to one who holds an office and is asked only to fulfill his duty since he is so obliged. The soldiers who went to the Californias did not go there blindly; from the outset they were told about what they would be doing at the presidio and in the missions. Why do they complain afterward when they are asked to do what they voluntarily accepted to do and for which they are earning their royal salary? With much more reason the fathers could complain about the soldiers' poor assistance and carelessness about the things placed in their charge. It is also true that through scandal the soldiers destroy what the fathers have built up by their ministries among those little ones. But this is a very lengthy subject and something about which the fathers would have a lot to say if they wanted to complain. We make our point in concluding here that the complaints of such soldiers are false, baseless, and vain.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

Concerning the management of the ships and the jurisdiction held by the captain over the sea and coasts of the Californias.

1814. Just as the presidio, all the soldiers and their commander are subject to the superior of the Californias, so also are the ships and seamen dependent on his command and disposition. Before the procurator was separately appointed for the presidio of Loreto, the superior of the Californias exercised immediate control over the presidio and the ships. This was an impossible job for anyone; he neither lived permanently at Loreto, nor could he reside at his own mission because he was always out visiting the others. But now this material and mechanical burden has been lifted from the superior; the procurator of the presidio now has immediate jurisdiction. Being the missionary of Loreto, his jurisdiction does not extend very far, and he can more conveniently assist in the care of the presidio and the management of the ships. The procurator receives all shipments and provisions for the fathers as well as the soldiers and sailors. He is responsible for whatever is sent by the procurator of Mexico including the revenues of the missions and the payroll that his majesty provides for forty-six soldiers and sailors. This does not include the payroll for the new presidio that has been established at Cabo San Lucas, which consists of thirty soldiers.

1815. In addition to the shipment that is received each year from Mexico via the port of Matanchel and is carried from there to California by ship, the fathers procure supplies and other items the missions need from the mainland. Sometimes they go to the port of Yaqui, sometimes to Ahome, and sometimes to Guaymas, where they receive provisions in exchange for products from the Californias—wines, sugar, incense, and similar things. In order to maintain this commerce two ships are ordinarily maintained in the Californias, one large ship and one launch. The launch serves for ordinary shipments of supplies which are solicited from the mainland; the ship is used on longer, more dangerous voyages to Matanchel or Acapulco. It also is used for the transport of cattle and people from the mainland whenever there is need, when the smaller craft is lost, or when a voyage cannot be made because of some problem.

1816. These two ships are operated at the expense of his majesty. Just as the original fabrication or purchase was done at his expense, so too are the careening and refitting in accordance with the decree of the royal accord that was held by Viceroy Marqués de Valero, in September 1717. It is certainly true that there has always been need for a new ship, and acquiring one from the viceroys has created great difficulty. It has been necessary that the office of the Californias set aside no small sum for its costs. What has been obtained and is presently being carried out under a decree from Viceroy Marqués de Casafuerte is that regularly every two years the ships go down to the port of Acapulco where the señor castellano and the royal officers careen them at his majesty's expense.

1817. All seamen who sail on the ships are subject to the captain of the presidio as the justicia mayor of land and sea. Not only does he have jurisdiction over these seamen, but also over all those who ply the sea and coasts of the Californias. Since that region belongs to the domains of his majesty by the willing submission of its inhabitants, there ought to be some person who exercises royal au-



thority in administering justice among the people, executing his majesty's orders and those of his ministers, the viceroys of New Spain. But in all this new kingdom there is no other person who can discharge this office except the captain of the presidio of the Californias, who has jurisdiction over the soldiers. [The soldiers] are the only persons there who, under [the captain], can effectively administer justice among the peoples. Equally, the captain is the only one who has effective jurisdiction over affairs in service of the king on the high seas and along the coasts of the Californias.

1818. This office could not be discharged by any other person because of the serious disadvantages that would arise. This jurisdiction cannot be exercised by the governor of Sinaloa, nor the *alcalde mayor* of the Province of Acaponeta, nor by any other *alcaldes mayores* of Nueva Galicia because they could only poorly care for another extensive foreign province across the seas while their own provinces and *alcaldías* demand so much attention. Moreover, they would need serviceable ships to cross the seas and visit the coastal regions of the Californias. They neither could nor would pay for these ships and their required crews; thus, whatever they might do and whatever they might maintain would be done at his majesty's expense. This would be a superfluous and very costly venture for the royal treasury because it is necessary for his majesty to maintain the California ships at his expense. These now operate at the king's expense; it is also very natural for the person who holds jurisdiction over the ships and crews to hold also royal jurisdiction over the seas.

1819. Nor could any other person named by his majesty live in the Californias and manage this jurisdiction over land and sea. First, would this new governor be subject to or superior to the captain of the presidio? If he were subject, he would not be the supreme commander of land and sea, nor would he want anyone else to be admitted to the office with higher powers. If he were superior, it would be necessary that the captain of the presidio and his soldiers be subject to his orders, and consequently all the seamen as well. In such a case the governor would have to be subject to the superior of the presidio as the captain now is, or he would be superfluous because what need would there be for something that already exists inasmuch as the captain more easily exercises this jurisdiction with his soldiers? Or what would happen if he were not subject, but had absolute power and independence from other superiors? From this serious difficulties would follow.

1820. Let us examine some of these. First, there would be continual jurisdictional competition between the captain and the governor, which would result in very pernicious harm and setbacks for this conquest. Second, it follows that the soldiers would not do anything beneficial on their military campaigns or discovery expeditions because the governor, with the absolute power that he would have, would meddle in everything. He would disturb the operations of the captain and the soldiers under the guise of performing a higher service for his majesty. Third, it would be necessary for his majesty to assign a salary appropriate to a governor's position together with ministers who would execute justice and who would also require their own salaries because the land does not offer anything from which they could extract their sustenance. This would needlessly multiply expenses to the Crown.

1821. Fourth, if this salary were not conceded to the governor and his ministers, they would try to recover it through pearl diving, with endless mistreatment

of the Indians; it would set this Christianity back. Fifth, if the governor were not given ministers but soldiers from the presidio were assigned instead, there would be no one who would want to serve as captain under such conditions: to be and not be at the same time the superior of the soldiers. If, on the other hand, the governor were subject to the captain, there would be no one who would want to be governor because he really would be subject while not being subject! This would result in many anxieties. Sixth, such an independent governor would want to have all the ships and seamen at his disposition. Then the superior of the missions would not be able to send the fleet out in search of provisions and supplies whenever it was necessary. This would have to be done at the behest of the governor, with no small detriment to the missions. Seventh, he would also want to employ the ships for pearl diving, which has always been the ultimate goal of the would-be rulers of the Californias. This is the reason that its conquest was not accomplished for so many years; what has now been conquered would be lost if the governor should dedicate himself to pearl diving.

1822. In order to understand the truth of this, it will be enough to reflect on a demand that was made by one of these pearl seekers in 1715 or 1716. This petition was presented in the Royal Council of the Indies, suggesting that [the applicant] would tender his majesty 80,000 pesos if he would bestow on him the government of the Californias and the *alcaldía mayor* of Acaponeta and Santipac.<sup>37</sup> But his majesty considered the purpose of that petition and replied that in order to process the petition, [the applicant] should first bring certification from the prelate who was in charge of that new Christianity. The religious superior would have to certify that the petition did not jeopardize the growth of that conquest nor hinder the propagation of the faith in that new kingdom. With that decree the petitioner desisted, thinking that it would be impossible, as it was, that the said superior would give a certification opposed to the truth and detrimental to the welfare of those missions.

1823. But let us now suppose that his majesty, influenced by sinister reports, did not give such a prudent and Christian response but conceded the government of the Californias to the petitioner. It is probable that the new governor would not be content with extracting from his administration the 80,000 pesos that he paid for his position, for if he were satisfied with this, he would lose his chance to profit. Leaving the capital untouched, 80,000 pesos once invested should earn 4,000 pesos in interest each year. Thus the governor would have to recover at least 100,000 in the five years of his administration—80,000 as capital and 20,000 in interest. But viewed through the eyes of human prudence, this is senseless stupidity since all these gains would go against his own interests. If he were to invest his fortune securely, why would he want to be bothered with personal labors and the anxieties brought on by governing merely to earn the same return? He could remain quietly in some city where he could enjoy his profits free from care and work.

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37. Acaponeta was an *alcaldía mayor* in Nueva Galicia, in the northwest sector of the modern state of Nayarit. In 1713 it was joined with Santipac on the coast, giving rise to the petition here mentioned, which in all likelihood was that of Ignacio Ugarte in 1716.

1824. From this it follows that such an official during the five years of his administration would have to want to recover much more than 100,000 pesos. But let us see, from where will these pesos have to be taken? Not from the earth, which has no produce nor mines. Not from commerce with the Indians, because they don't have any, nor do they have anything of value in their extreme poverty and nakedness. And so it would be necessary for him to extract the sum in pearls, which would have to be recovered by employing Indians in the harsh servitude of diving. Would not even more pernicious consequences result from this? The missionaries would no longer find them disposed for instruction or learning; nor would there be time left for them to search the mountains for their scarce and precious food—for seeds, roots, and the wild fruits of the land. On the other hand, seeing themselves mistreated, oppressed, and working for foreign interests, they would rebel and throw off the yoke not only of obedience to the king, but also of the faith of Jesus Christ. By following this course the new governor, as punishment for his avarice, would leave the land naked—should he have the luck to escape with his life.

[Paragraphs 1825 through 1836 regarding the regulation of pearl diving and paragraphs 1837 through 1868 were omitted because they are irrelevant to the military governance of California.]

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The jurisdiction of the captain of the presidio over the tribes of the Californias.

1869. The most extensive and important matter over which the captain of the presidio exercises jurisdiction is his authority over all the tribes of the California Indians that have been discovered and conquered. As the *justicia mayor* of all that new kingdom, by means of the commission which he holds he not only exercises his jurisdiction over them but also over all outsiders who go there for pearl diving. He has authority over the soldiers of the presidio as the immediate agents of his jurisdiction and also, through them, over all the Indians of the territory. Although the father visitor as the superior of the presidio has the power to bestow canes of office and to name governors in all the pueblos according to the faculty he has had since the beginning of the conquest and which has been confirmed by royal *cédula*, nevertheless the captain of the presidio bestows on those already chosen or named as governors the faculty to apprehend guilty parties in cases of serious crime. They may hold the criminals in jails that are designated for this purpose at the mission headquarters, where there are the necessary shackles to hold the criminals securely.

1870. This is understood to be the situation when there is no soldier at the mission, because where there is a soldier, he has the authority from the captain to exercise justice. The governors of the other pueblos that belong to the mission where he resides assist him so that justice may be dealt to the delinquents. The soldiers exercise this authority only in those cases in which the crime demands some punishment that the missionary himself cannot perform. But if the crime calls for the death penalty or is of such magnitude because of its evil consequence that a moderate public punishment would not suffice (as in the case of uprisings, rebellions, conspiracies, or wars and hostilities between *rancherías*), then the soldier, or in his absence the governor of the pueblo, has the obligation to detain the

criminal or criminals in jail and to give an account to the captain of the presidio. In such a case, if he can, [the captain] will go immediately to the mission where the criminal is. If he cannot go, he will order the criminal to be brought to the presidio. In either case he will proceed with authority as the sole judge in the region. He will examine the criminal, listen to the charges, and ascertain any accomplices. Having substantiated the case, he will pronounce sentence either of death, of whipping, or of banishment according to the nature of the crime.

1871. Carrying out [of the sentence] will follow immediately upon sentencing. If this is death, it will be done according to military custom. Before a death sentence is carried out, the missionary who is responsible [for the criminal] will be notified; the criminal will be given enough time for confession and to prepare to die as a Christian. If the sentence is banishment, the criminal will be removed from his own so that he cannot foment further discord, treason, or vengeance; he shall not be thrown out of the Californias because, although this was done in the beginning, experience has shown that exiles only return afterward worse than when they left. Therefore, those who are condemned to exile should serve for a time on the ships at half pay unless the gravity of their crime is such that they ought to serve out the length of their exile without any pay. Those who are condemned to flogging will be given twenty-five lashes the first time; if they are sentenced again, they will be given up to forty lashes. Because of the delicacy of their sex, this punishment will be much more moderate when dealt to women, realizing that the aim of chastisement should be a warning rather than the painful punishment of guilt.

1872. Before any sentence is executed, whether at the mission where the criminal resides or at the presidio of Loreto where the criminal may have been brought, it shall be seen that the Indians of his pueblo or those from his pueblo who may be in Loreto will be in attendance. In this way news of the punishment will spread among his relatives, and the news will serve as a deterrent to the rest. For this purpose the cause of the punishment will be explained through an interpreter, as well as why the party was imprisoned, the crime or crimes of which he was judged guilty, and the punishment to which he was condemned. This done, the guilty party will be punished for his crime, and the others will be taught a lesson through his punishment. This justice will be meted out by the captain or by the soldiers with his authorization; in this way the whole land will be made subject and all will remain submissive and obedient to him who governs and corrects them and whom they recognize as his majesty's minister. But in those cases of little moment it will suffice that the missionary correct and punish the guilty party through the officials and governors. This is no different from the way a father treats his family or a curate, the faithful.

1873. The captain not only exercises his authority over the Indians in judicial and punitive matters, but also in political affairs for the good governance of the pueblos. It is true that it pertains to the superior of the presidio to name the governors of the pueblos, the officials in the churches, and the teachers of Christian doctrine. With his permission the fathers in each mission exercise this authority. But the captain at times confers on designated parties his responsibility and authority to command and govern others, to make certain that all obey the missionary and execute his orders. It also pertains to the captain to name those who must go on expeditions for the advancement and conservation of the conquest. This

means not only the soldiers of the presidio but also the Indians of the land who have to accompany and assist in discoveries, in battles, in capturing fugitives, or in other tasks that arise in opening roads, clearing land, and similar things.

1874. Because there is no reason to burden the poor Indians with personal labors that do not redound to their own benefit, it is understood and so ordered that when Indians serve on expeditions that the captain, or the soldiers who exercise his authority or commission, may order, the Indians will obey them in everything. If the tasks they will perform should result in a benefit to their welfare or that of their tribe or pueblos, then they are not paid any salary except for the supplies they need for the entire time they are engaged in the expedition, as is done in all well-ordered countries. But if the expeditions take place in very distant nations and are not immediately beneficial to those conducting them, then a moderate salary of 4 or 6 pesos a month ought to be paid each one according to the work he does on the expedition. Thus, the Indians are not obliged to go on expeditions unless they are close by and the expedition is in their own interest. In all these matters the captain acts as the solitary judge and governor general of all the region—but always with proper subordination to the father visitor as the superior of the presidio. With his advice and consent [*margin*: it is assured that the military, judicial, and political governance in that land] will function properly, conforming to reason and to the law of God—for his glory and the great good and increase of that Christianity.

*“Empressas apostólicas,” manuscript. The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.*

## Libro X

Del gobierno cristiano de las Californias después de su reducción a la fe.

### CAPÍTULO I

Del real presidio de Californias, y razones, que hay para mantenerlo en aquella tierra.

**1** 710. De la California gentil, pasamos a la California cristiana. Y habiendo visto ya el mal gobierno que tenían los californios en su gentilidad, así en lo espiritual por lo tocante a su falsa religión, como en lo corporal por lo tocante a su descuadernado gobierno político. Ahora veremos el gobierno cristiano, que ya tienen: en lo corporal debajo de la obediencia del real presidio y de su cabo, que es allí el juez y justicia mayor de la tierra; y en lo espiritual debajo de la enseñanza, y dirección de los padres misioneros. Y comenzando por el real presidio, lo primero que ocurre, es ver, y examinar las razones que había para fundarlo, y para mantenerlo después en aquella nueva cristiandad. Porque, como deba ser en los gentiles, libre, y espontánea la elección de la religión católica, por ser la fe, como nota San Ambrosio, acto voluntario del entendimiento, obrado por el imperio libre de la voluntad, no se compadece con necesidad, y coacción. *Quoniam fides non necessitatis, sed voluntatis res est* (In ep.2. ad Corinth.). Y así no parece, que debe haber apremio, ni fuerza alguna que los obligue, a renunciar la vida gentilica, y abrazar nuestra santa fe. Mas a esta libertad parece que se opone la erección, y manutención del presidio en Californias, pues con él se tienen sujetos por fuerza de armas los nuevos cristianos, y aún pueden pensar los gentiles, que con el temor de ellas pretenden obligarlos a recibir la fe.

1711. Pero si bien se pesan, y examinan las razones que ahora diremos, se hallará, y conocerá claramente, que el mantener el dicho presidio en Californias (y lo mismo es con proporción en otras misiones semejantes) no sólo no se opone a la libertad con que se debe abrazar la fe católica, sino que antes la favorece. Y que por otra parte sin este presidio no pudiera jamás introducirse, ni conservarse la fe en aquel nuevo reino. Es pues la primera razón, tomada por parte de los padres misioneros; porque no pudieran entrar con seguridad en un reino extraño de bárbaros, sin llevar consigo suficiente escolta de soldados para defensa de sus vidas. Si entraran a predicar el evangelio sin este resguardo, fuera lo mismo que irse a meter como reces al matadero, y entregarse como incautas ovejas a los lobos, para ser despedazadas de ellos. Y así dijo el padre Joseph de Acosta en el tratado, que escribió *De procuranda indorum salute*. Que el entrar a las tierras de indios bárbaros a predicarles la santa fe católica, sin suficiente escolta para defensa de su propia vida, es tanto como quererse ir a vivir amigablemente entre cocodrilos y jabalíes, y otras fieras bravas de los montes. *Quam eodem qui horum Indorum se arbitrio commiserit, poterit his cum apris, et crocodilis amicitiam in ire* (Lib. 2. c.8).

[Se omite 1712.]

1713. Así las perdieron por aquel tiempo, dice el citado escritor, el padre Ferrer de la Compañía de Jesús, y varios religiosos de otras órdenes. Así también los padres de San Francisco, que emprendieron entrar a la reducción de los sucumbios, se vieron luego obligados a salir huyendo con mucho riesgo de la vida. Y entrando después el padre fray Pedro Pecedor, grande imitador de su seráfico padre, no salió, ni se supo más de él; y así se persuadieron todos, que había muerto a manos de los bárbaros. Lo mismo sucedió a algunos religiosos de la orden de Santo Domingo, que salieron de España para ir a la Florida. Y entrando allá sin escolta de armas, por pensar que podrían, usando de amor y blandura, reducir la fiereza de aquellos bárbaros, más que con el temor, y espanto de las armas, todos ellos, apenas llegaron, fueron despedazados de los indios. Otro tanto sucedió a los primeros misioneros de la compañía, que envió nuestro padre santo Francisco de Borja a la Nueva España. Porque a poco tiempo de haber entrado en la Florida, perdieron sus vidas a manos de los indios.

1714. Por el contrario siempre han tenido buenos progresos, y felices fines, los que han venido a procurar la conversión de los infieles en este Nuevo Mundo con buena prevención de soldados para defensa de sus vidas, refrenando con ellas la audacia de los bárbaros. No quiere el Señor a sus ministros temerarios, y precipitados en las empresas de su servicio, sino cautos, y prevenidos; por eso cuando dijo Cristo a sus discípulos, que los enviaba como ovejas a vivir entre lobos: *Ecce ego mitto vos, sicut oves in medio luporum*, añadió luego la regla que habían de guardar para no peligrar en medio de ellos. *Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbe* (Math. c. 10. v. 16). Les pide, que tengan la simplicidad de palomas en la intención pura, y sencilla, con que han de procurar la conversión de los pecadores; y que tengan también la prudencia de serpientes en la cautela, y resguardo, con que han de cuidar, a imitación de las serpientes, su propia vida. Así la del alma preservándose de toda culpa, como la del cuerpo, precautelándose de todo peligro de perderla. Y así añade: *Cavete autem ab hominibus*.

1715. Es verdad, que es acción gloriosa, el dar la vida por Cristo en odio de la fe, por ser prueba de la más fina caridad, el perder la propia vida por amor del amigo, como nos dice Cristo: *Majorem hac dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis* (Joan. 15. 13); pero también es verdad, que en el lugar citado les manda a sus discípulos, que en viéndose perseguidos en una ciudad, y buscados para la muerte, huyan de allí y se vayan a refugiar en otra. *Cum persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam* (Math. 10. 23). Y así ni el servicio del Señor, ni acción laudable, sino vituperable, por indiscreta y temeraria, el irse a meter sin defensa alguna en un reino extraño de gentiles idólatras, sin esperanza de convertirlos, y con peligro moralmente cierto de perecer a sus manos. Y si tal vez se ha visto semejante acción en algunos siervos del Señor, esto no funda regla para la imitación. Pues lo han hecho por especial instinto, y moción del Espíritu Santo, que los ha metido en el peligro, para que glorifiquen a Dios, o con su vida, o con su muerte.

[Se omite 1716.]

1717. De aquí se sigue: que aunque a los principios se muestren los gentiles mansos y pacíficos mientras los misioneros los agasajan, y regalan con beneficios; pero en llegando el caso de intimarles la mudanza de vida, y costumbres, necesaria para ser admitidos al bautismo, comienzan ellos a recalcitrar, y a exasperarse contra el ministro que les predica. Y principalmente sabiendo, que han de vivir su-

jetos a su obediencia, y también al castigo, cuando lo merecieren, por sus delitos. Este temor los inclina luego, a maquinar venganzas, y a tramar conjuraciones contra su vida. O para sacudir el yugo de la ley cristiana, si ya la han recibido; o para no admitirla, si aún no se han bautizado.

1718. Por el contrario a nada de esto se atreven, cuando ven resguardados a los ministros evangélicos con buena escolta de soldados. Los cuales se pondrán en arma contra ellos, si maquinaren alguna rebelión contra los ministros que les predicán. Con este seguro de sus vidas pueden los padres misioneros, ir ganando la voluntad de los gentiles con beneficios, para poder después ir conquistando poco a poco sus entendimientos con la luz de las verdades católicas, hasta que ellos voluntariamente abracen la fe con el santo bautismo. Pues esto es sólo, lo que se pretende con mantener el presidio de los soldados; porque sus armas no son ofensivas contra los gentiles, sino defensivas de los sacerdotes que les predicán. Ni su jurisdicción es coactiva, para compelerlos, y obligarlos a abrazar la fe; sino defensiva de aquellos que la abrazan.

1719. Aquí se funda ya la segunda razón, tomada de parte de los nuevos cristianos, que han recibido el santo bautismo. Porque estos sin más causa que la de mudar de religión, abrazando la ley cristiana, y renunciando las costumbres y supersticiones gentílicas, se hacen aborrecibles a los otros gentiles, que resisten protervos, a la predicación del evangelio. Y como viven entre ellos, hallan luego otros tantos enemigos contra sí, cuantos son sus parientes, sus domésticos, sus vecinos; los cuales a una conspiran contra los nuevamente convertidos. Y así entonces pelagra su vida, no menos que la de los misioneros que los han hecho cristianos; pero este peligro cesa del todo, cuando saben, los que se convierten a la fe, que tendrán defensa y amparo, en la escolta que defiende a los misioneros, a cuya sombra estarán seguros, y bien defendidos de sus contrarios. Así lo vemos comprobado en muchos casos que se han referido en esta historia. Pues los nuevos cristianos, siempre que se veían atribulados o perseguidos de los gentiles, acudían a pedir favor al presidio, y con sus armas eran defendidos, y asegurados. Y si no tuvieran este recurso, o no recibieran la fe, o después apostataran de ella. Y así en orden a esto el presidio de los soldados no sólo es contrario a la propagación de la fe, sino que es del todo necesario.

1720. La tercera razón se funda en la necesidad, que hay, de que los nuevamente convertidos tengan quién los gobierne en lo civil, y político de las costumbres humanas. Porque como los que se convierten a la fe, sujetándose a la honrosa servidumbre de Cristo, abrazan juntamente el voluntario vasallaje y obediencia al rey católico que les envía ministros evangélicos para bien de sus almas, es necesario que haya también quien tenga la potestad y jurisdicción real para gobernarlos como a vasallos de su rey. Pero esta potestad no la pueden tener, ni conviene que la tengan los padres misioneros; porque su jurisdicción es espiritual, y eclesiástica, como la que tienen los curas sobre sus feligreses. Los cuales por otra parte están sujetos a la jurisdicción secular de quien los gobierna en nombre del rey. Y fuera de haber graves inconvenientes, en que concurran en uno estas dos jurisdicciones, por otra parte son inhábiles los sacerdotes, para ejercitar la jurisdicción secular en causas criminales, y de muerte.

1721. Siendo pues del todo necesario el gobierno secular, y civil de los nuevos cristianos de Californias. Es también necesaria la manutención, y conservación del real presidio entre aquellas gentes, porque así pueda residir en él, cabo y capitán



del dicho presidio, la potestad y jurisdicción real. Para administrar justicia a los pueblos, gobernarlos cristianamente conforme a las leyes, y reprimir con el justo castigo a los delincuentes. Así se ha practicado desde el principio de la conquista hasta ahora. Y esto no pudiera de otra manera practicarse, sino manteniendo allí el real presidio. Donde el capitán es justicia mayor de toda la tierra, y los soldados son sus ministros subordinados para todas las ejecuciones de la justicia.

1722. La cuarta, y última razón se funda en el dominio, que, por medio de la conquista espiritual de aquellas naciones, adquirió su majestad católica, no sólo sobre la tierra, sino también sobre el mar, y costas de Californias. Como sobre términos, pertenecientes a los que voluntariamente se han ofrecido por sus vasallos. Pues para esto es necesario, que haya, quién ejercite la jurisdicción real en todo el mar, y costas de Californias. Y asimismo, quién ejecute las órdenes que a tiempos suelen enviar los señores virreyes; ya para que favorezcan a la nao de Filipinas, cuando le amenazan piratas; ya para que la provean de refresco, y reciban sus enfermos; ya para lo tocante a la disposición del buceo de las perlas, porque no se defrauden los reales quintos. Nada de esto pudieran ejecutar los padres misioneros, por ser ajeno de su estado religioso, e incompatible con sus ministerios apostólicos. Y como por otra parte en Californias no hay, ni puede haber, según ya queda mostrado en otra parte, colonias, ni familias de españoles, entre quienes se pudieran repartir los cargos de la jurisdicción real, es del todo necesario, mantener en Californias el real presidio. Para que en su cabo, como en justicia mayor, resida la jurisdicción universal sobre mar y tierra.

## CAPÍTULO II

De los fueros, que están concedidos al presidio de Californias, y a su superior, cabo, y soldados.

1723. En todas las operaciones humanas que se ordenan como medios para conseguir algún fin, se ha de atender, dice Santo Tomás, la proporción, y conducencia, que en sí tienen, para que por medio de ellas se consiga el fin, que se pretende. *Actus perducentes ad finem oportet esse fini proportionatos* (1.2. q. 109. art. 5 in corp.). Por eso, como dice el santo en otra parte, cualquier operación que se establece como medio ordenado para algún fin, debe determinarse con aquella forma, y calidades, que la hacen proporcionada, y conducente, para conseguir el fin pretendido. *Omni rei qui est propter finem forma determinatur secundum proportionem ad finem* (1.2 q.95. art. 3. in corp.). Con este prudente dictamen se gobernó el padre Juan María de Salvatierra en la fundación del presidio de Californias. Mirábalo como del todo necesario para la introducción, y dilatación de la fe en aquel reino por las razones, que hemos dicho en el capítulo pasado. Mas para que el medio no se convirtiese en impedimento, y estorbo de aquella conquista, determinó establecerlo con aquella forma, y calidades, que más lo proporcionaban con su fin.

1724. Para darle pues esta proporción, y conducencia puso el padre la mira en tres cosas: la primera fue que el presidio tuviese legítima jurisdicción, y potestad, dimanada de la autoridad real para el buen gobierno militar, y político de aquel reino. La segunda, que todo el presidio con su cabo, y soldados estuviese sujeto a la obediencia, y disposición del superior de todos los misioneros, y visitador de todas las misiones de Californias. La tercera, que el dicho superior del presidio y

de todas las misiones tuviese por parte de la religión la legítima autoridad, y jurisdicción sobre aquellas misiones con todas las facultades convenientes, para el buen expediente de su cargo, y oficio.

1725. Dejando pues para otros capítulos, lo que pertenece al segundo, y tercero punto, ahora hablaremos del primero, que pertenece a la legítima potestad, y jurisdicción real que goza el presidio de Californias. Esta procuró impetrar el padre Juan María en el primer despacho, que obtuvo del señor virrey, conde de Galves, con la licencia, para entrar en las Californias, y las facultades convenientes, para la fundación, y conservación del real presidio en aquellas tierras. Y aunque el señor virrey, duque de Alburquerque, quiso después impedir el uso de algunas de ellas, pero reclamando el padre Juan María, vinieron después confirmadas por cédula de su majestad, en que mandaba que nada se innovase, cuanto al gobierno que habían tenido hasta entonces las Californias. De estas facultades que entonces se concedieron, unas pertenecen al padre visitador de Californias, que es allí superior del presidio; otras a todo el presidio con su cabo, y soldados; otras finalmente a sólo el capitán. Unas y otras se fueron después aumentando por los señores virreyes, según pedían las circunstancias ocurrientes.

1726. Las facultades, que pertenecen al superior del presidio, son las siguientes. La primera: que pueda llevar a las Californias la gente de armas, y soldados que pudiere pagar, y municionar a su costa. Y aunque ahora su majestad paga ya los sueldos de los soldados, y marineros de Californias, no se quita por eso la facultad concedida desde el principio de llevar más gente a su costa, como se ha practicado siempre en las sublevaciones de los indios, para contenerlos. La segunda: que pueda nombrar cabo a su satisfacción para el gobierno del presidio; que sea hombre de entera experiencia, y valor, como también de probada virtud, y cristiandad. La tercera: que pueda remover al dicho cabo, cuando faltare a su obligación, y nombrar otro en su lugar. Dándole cuenta al señor virrey, del que nombrare para su aprobación. Y también en caso de removerlo, para expedir las órdenes al servicio de su majestad.

1727. De aquí se deriva la cuarta facultad que va implícitamente embebida en la tercera, aunque en el dicho despacho del señor virrey no se hizo de ella expresa mención. Porque se supone embebida en la antecedente, como privilegio menor, incluido en el mayor, y derivado de él. Pues es asiento, que según regla del derecho canónico, al que se le concede, lo que es más, se entiende también concedido, lo que es menos. *Ubi magnus conceditur minus concessum esse videtur* (Ex parte tua: de Decimis X). La facultad es, para admitir por soldados del presidio a las que aprobaré el superior de él. Y asimismo, para quitarles la plaza, y despedirlos, cuando no cumplieren con lo que es de su obligación. La quinta: que pueda hacer levas de gente, y enarbolar banderas, siempre, que fuere necesario para el buen principio, y progreso de la conquista. La sexta: que para contener en paz, observancia, y buen gobierno a toda la gente de Californias, pueda el superior del presidio nombrar personas, que administren justicia, a quienes todos obedezcan. Y que pueden contener con el justo castigo a los inobedientes.

1728. Los fueros, y facultades que tocan a los soldados del presidio con su capitán son los siguientes. El primero: que los soldados, que fueren a la conquista, y todos los demás que en adelante militaren en Californias, sujetos al cabo que los padres nombraren para el presidio, gocen de todos los fueros, y privilegios que su majestad concede a todos los demás cabos, y soldados de sus reales ejércitos. El

segundo: que sus servicios se reputen, como hechos en guerra viva, del mismo modo con que se han concedido a los soldados del Parral, y de los demás presidios de este reino. El tercero: que por cuanto ya su majestad paga el situado de los soldados de Californias, que se regulen sus sueldos, no por los del presidio de la Veracruz, sino por los que están concedidos a los de Sonora, Sinaloa, y Nueva Vizcaya, a los cuales se dan mayores sueldos, por la mayor distancia en que viven. Y que asimismo los de los marineros se regulen por los que ganan los marineros de Acapulco, y no por los que tienen los de la armada de Barlovento. El cuarto: que a las certificaciones de sus méritos militares, que trajeren los soldados, firmadas del superior del presidio, les den entero crédito, como si fueran auténticas todas las justicias sujetas a la real audiencia de Guadalajara, y al superior gobierno.

1729. Finalmente los privilegios, y fueros que tocan al capitán del presidio, como anexos a su cargo, fuera de los dichos que son comunes a los soldados, son estos. El primero: que sea justicia mayor de toda la tierra de Californias. El segundo: que sea juez de los soldados, no sólo en lo militar, sino también en lo político, civil, y criminal. El tercero: que asimismo sea juez, y gobernador de todos los demás, que viven en Californias, como son los marineros, y sirvientes del presidio y de las misiones, y también de todos los indios. De cuyas causas deba conocer, procediendo en ellas hasta la sentencia, y su ejecución. El cuarto: que sea capitán general, no sólo de la tierra, sino también del mar, y costas de Californias. Y que por eso el navío principal del presidio tenga título de capitana, y como tal pueda entrar en todos los puertos con las banderas proporcionadas; las cuales sólo deba recoger al entrar en el puerto de Acapulco, cuando allí se hallare la nao de Filipinas. El quinto: que sea superintendente real sobre todos los que van a Californias al buceo de las perlas en la forma que después diremos.

### CAPÍTULO III

Del superior del presidio, y facultades, que goza por parte de la religión.

1730. Del presidio con su capitán, y soldados pasamos, a hablar del superior de quien depende, y a quien está sujeto; que es el padre visitador de las misiones, y superior de todos los misioneros de Californias. Este cargo de superior del presidio estuvo por veinte años anexo al misionero de Loreto, que es la primera misión, que se fundó, y donde residió todo ese tiempo el padre Juan María de Salvatierra. Y fue muy conveniente que siempre estuviese el padre con este cargo, así por haber sido, quien a costa de tantos afanes, y trabajos, contradicciones, y pesadumbres, llegó a emprender y conseguir la conquista de aquella tierra, que era según el juicio humano inconquistable; como porque por su mucha experiencia ninguno mejor que el padre, pudiera dar buen expediente a los negocios arduos, que ocurrían en aquellos principios. Estos no pudieran entonces manejarse con solos los dictámenes de una prudencia especulativa, porque necesitaban de una prudencia práctica, adquirida a fuerza de experiencias. Y éstas las tenía el padre Juan María.

1731. A ésta se añade otra razón, fundada en la conservación de aquella conquista. Esta dependía entonces de las limosnas con que concurrían los bienhechores, así para pagar los soldados del presidio, sin cuya escolta no se podía dar paso en los descubrimientos de la tierra, como para costear las embarcaciones,

mantener la gente de mar, tan necesaria para proveer de bastimentos a los padres misioneros, y a los soldados del presidio. Y como estas limosnas las hacían por respeto, y veneración del padre Juan María; y dependían de la continua correspondencia, que por cartas mantenía con todos, representándoles las necesidades de aquella conquista, y pidiéndoles socorro, con aquel gracejo santo, y discreto, con que robaba los corazones, era forzoso mantener al padre con el cargo de superior del presidio, y con el manejo de todos los negocios de Californias, hasta tanto que pudiese el padre asegurar con fincas, y situados suficientes la conservación de aquella conquista.

1732. Pero después que el Señor quiso llevarse para sí a su fiel siervo, colmado de años, y merecimientos (lo cual fue por el mes de julio del año de 1717) determinaron los superiores de la provincia, que el cargo de superior del presidio no estuviese siempre anexo al misionero de Loreto, sino al que fuese nombrado por superior, y visitador de todas las misiones. Y así entonces, por muerte del padre Juan María, fue nombrado visitador el padre Juan de Ugarte, misionero de la misión de San Pablo. Y desde entonces consecutivamente en cada trienio se ha ido nombrando por la provincia, distinto visitador de aquellas misiones. Y en él reside por tres años el cargo, y la potestad de superior del presidio.

1733. Hubo también, para establecer esta alternada mudanza de visitadores, otras tres razones muy prudentes. De las cuales la primera fue: porque ya cesaba la indispensable necesidad de bienhechores que dependían del padre Juan María, y por su respeto hacían gruesas limosnas a aquellas misiones. Y cesaba esta necesidad, porque ya desde entonces se comenzó a pagar por entero a costa de su majestad el situado de los soldados del presidio, como también la gente de mar, y algunos costos de las embarcaciones. Y con este alivio quedaron aseguradas las fincas de las misiones. Cuyos réditos se aplicaban antes, para pagar los sueldos de mar, y tierra. Y no bastando, se añadían las limosnas de bienhechores que recogía el padre Juan María; quedando entretanto los misioneros a las industrias de sus afanes, en cultivar la tierra, y a las limosnas que contribuían los padres misioneros de la otra banda.

1734. La segunda fue: porque también se iban extendiendo ya las fundaciones de otras misiones hacia el norte, y hacia el sur. Y así era forzoso proveer las de visitador, que fuese superior de todos los misioneros como lo tienen las otras misiones. Este cargo se muda en cada trienio; y no fuera conveniente que hubiese visitador perpetuo. Y siendo trienal este cargo, lo deben ir obteniendo los demás misioneros de Californias, según los fuere nombrando la obediencia, conforme a los méritos, y experiencias de cada uno. Y por eso no puede estar aligado siempre al que fuere misionero en Loreto. La tercera razón fue: porque si quisieran separar los oficios, y que el misionero de Loreto fuese superior del presidio, y el padre visitador fuese sólo superior de los misioneros, se siguiera que hubiera entonces dos cabezas independientes una de otra. De donde pudiera nacer competencia de jurisdicción, y otros graves inconvenientes. Y para evitarlos, se tuvo por mejor, que todo el gobierno de aquella tierra en lo militar, civil, eclesiástico, y religioso vaya siempre debajo de una mano, de una cabeza, y de un superior, que lo gobierne todo.

1735. Para este fin al buen gobierno universal de aquella tierra tiene el superior de las Californias no sólo las facultades que ha menester para el gobierno secular del presidio, y gente de la tierra, como ya vimos en el capítulo pasado, sino

también las que le puede conceder la religión como a superior de los misioneros. No se contentó el padre Juan María, con impetrar las primeras por lo tocante al brazo secular, sino que también procuró solicitar por parte de la religión las segundas, que son todas aquellas, que juzgó convenientes, para que el superior de aquellas misiones pudiese ejercitar su cargo con toda libertad, y autoridad sin las dificultades, o embarazos, que le pudieran sobrevenir por parte del gobierno doméstico de la religión.

1736. Para impetrar estas facultades, escribió desde el principio a nuestro padre general Thyrso Gonzales, informándole del principio, progreso, y estado presente de la conquista, y pidiéndole para el superior de las misiones de Californias tres facultades, que por entonces juzgaba necesarias. Y su paternidad muy reverenda, agradeciéndole con paternal afecto y amor, cuanto había hecho en aquella gloriosa empresa, le concedió benignamente las facultades, que le pedía, que eran las tres siguientes. La primera: que pueda el visitador de Californias, enviar a las misiones de la otra banda, a cualquier sujeto que juzgare conveniente remitir, o por enfermedad, o por hallarse desconsolado, o por cualquier otro justo motivo. La segunda: que la provincia le conceda, y señale un sujeto de toda satisfacción, para que administre las haciendas de Californias, como procurador de ellas en México. La tercera: que pueda el dicho visitador enviar a cualquiera de sus súbditos, para tratar los negocios, y agencias de aquellas misiones en cualquier lugar donde se ofreciere.

1737. Estas mismas facultades confirmó después a los principios de su gobierno nuestro padre general Miguel Angel Tamburini, a petición del mismo padre Juan María. Y a más de éstas, le concedió de nuevo otras seis, que son las siguientes. La primera: que el procurador, y administradores que fueren de las haciendas de Californias, sean súbditos inmediatos del dicho padre visitador. La segunda: que el padre provincial sólo intervenga en la visita de los libros de cuentas, tocantes al oficio del procurador de Californias. La tercera: que el visitador de las Californias, pueda como superior inmediato, dar las licencias para todas las compras, y ventas, que se ofrecieren, tocantes a las Californias. La cuarta: que pueda el visitador, si quisiere, y lo juzgare conveniente, venir cada trienio a la provincia, a visitar los libros, tomar cuentas, y disponer, lo que conviniere. La quinta: que si viniere algún sujeto a México, enviado del padre visitador, a tratar negocios de Californias, pueda estando allí, ejercer el oficio de procurador, como más inteligente en los negocios de aquellas misiones. La sexta: que no pueda el padre provincial, agregar al oficio, y procuraduría de provincia el ramo de bienes, que tocan a las Californias.

1738. Estas son las principales facultades, que tiene el padre visitador de Californias, por parte de la religión. Las cuales, juntas con las que tiene tocantes al presidio de los soldados, han estado en práctica desde el principio hasta el tiempo presente sin perjuicio, ni contradicción de persona alguna, como tan importantes al bien espiritual, y temporal de aquellas misiones. Y aunque la cuarta, de venir el visitador a la provincia, no se ha practicado por la suma distancia, y otros inconvenientes, pero queda siempre en su vigor, para cuando se juzgare necesario el practicarla. Quanto a la sexta testificaba el padre Juan María, haber sido voluntad de los fundadores, el que las fincas de las misiones se administrasen con procurador separado, porque lo contrario redundaría en daño, y ruina de aquellas misiones.

## CAPÍTULO IV

Decláranse las razones, que hubo, para pretender, que el presidio estuviese sujeto al padre visitador de las Californias.

1739. Aquellos medios, dice Santo Tomás, que tuvieron eficacia, y proporción, para conseguir algún fin, sirven también, para conservarlo, y asegurar su estable posesión. *Idem est, per quod aliquid conservatur in fine, et per quod movetur ad finem* (1.2. q. 93. art. 6. ad.3). Lo mismo debemos decir al presente de la conquista de Californias, que permanecerá estable, y segura con felices progresos de aquella cristianidad, mientras se llevaren, con la ejecución, adelante aquellos mismos medios con que se consiguió su conquista; pero en quitándolos, o alterándolos de su primera institución, será la ruina de aquella cristiandad. Porque todo efecto cesa, y se destruye, como dicen los filósofos, en faltando la causa que lo conserva. *Remota causa, removetur effectus* (D.Th. 1.2. q. 76. art.2. in 2).

1740. Con dos clases de medios se consiguió la conquista de Californias, unos espirituales, y otros temporales. Los espirituales son todos aquellos que han practicado los padres misioneros con sus ministerios apostólicos, acompañados de todas la virtudes religiosas. Y estos esperamos en Dios, que nunca faltarán, mientras se conservare la Compañía de Jesús en la pureza de su instituto. Los medios temporales se reducen principalmente a dos: el uno fue, asegurar primero el sustento necesario de los misioneros con fincas suficientes, para proveerlos de todo lo necesario; y éste se ha practicado desde el principio, pues no se ha fundado misión alguna, sin asegurar primero su finca con diez mil pesos de principal. El otro fue, establecer desde el principio, un bien arreglado y cristiano gobierno en el presidio, como que de él depende la seguridad de aquella conquista, y la sujeción de aquellas naciones.

1741. Para conseguir pues, que el presidio estuviese siempre bien gobernado, pretendió, y consiguió el padre Juan María, que todo el presidio con su cabo, y soldados estuviese sujeto al padre visitador de aquellas misiones, y dependiente de él, cuanto al ser admitidos, o removidos de sus plazas. Con esta disposición del presidio se consiguió la conquista de aquella tierra; con ella se ha conservado, y adelantado en espacio de más de cuarenta años, y sin ella se arruinará. Para que se vea claramente esta verdad, discurriremos aquí por las razones, que tuvo el padre Juan María, para pretender, que el presidio estuviese sujeto al mando, y disposición del padre visitador de aquellas misiones, añadiendo después otras que confirman lo mismo.

1742. Comenzando pues por las del padre Juan María las principales se reducen a seis. La cuales representó el mismo padre en un memorial, que presentó al señor virrey, duque de Alburquerque, por el mes de mayo de 1705. Porque como el señor virrey con ocasión de dar cumplimiento a una real cédula, intentase entonces innovar el gobierno de las Californias, quitando al superior del presidio, la facultad que antes gozaba sobre el cabo, y soldados de Californias, el padre Juan María en dicho memorial le propone graves inconvenientes, que de aquí se seguirán con peligro casi cierto, de perderse del todo aquella conquista. En orden a esto le representa seis razones cuya eficacia examinaremos aquí, para que se vea, que el haber conseguido la conquista de aquella tierra, que antes se resistió inconquistable a toda la potencia de los Reyes Católicos, y a las riquezas de los

hombres más acaudalados, y al valor de los soldados más animosos, y lo que es más, al valor, y experiencia del conquistador de toda la Nueva España, Hernando Cortés, y el haberla continuado después por tantos años, ha provenido de tener la compañía la potestad que tiene sobre aquel presidio. Y que lo mismo será quitársela, que perderse del todo aquel reino.

1743. Es pues la primera razón, fundada en la aspereza de aquella tierra, que es tal, como hemos visto en los libros antecedentes, y aún en toda esta historia; y ha sido necesario para cada fundación, vencer más dificultades, que pasos. Pero estas dificultades nunca se vencieran, si estuvieran el cabo, y los soldados independientes del mando, y potestad de la compañía. Pues he tocado con las manos, dice aquí el padre Juan María, que a no haber tenido yo esa potestad en el espacio de estos ocho años, no se hubiera dado paso ninguno dentro de la California. Y hubiéramos estado gastando más, y más en la primera playa, donde saltamos. Y por miedo no más de no ser removidos los cabos, han ido haciendo entradas, y descubrimientos por la persuasión eficaz de los padres, y fortalecida con la autoridad.

1744. La segunda razón se funda en lo mucho, que puede en los corazones humanos de los avaros, la codicia de las perlas. Si estuvieran independientes del mando de la compañía los soldados, lo menos que hicieran, como dice el padre Juan María en su informe, fuera dar cumplimiento a su obligación de asistir en el presidio hacer descubrimientos, defender la tierra, y servir de escolta a los padres misioneros. Así se vio cumplido en tantas infructuosas entradas, que en ciento y ochenta años se hicieron antes, para conquistar la California, y todos se malograron. Y ¿por qué? Porque todos se quedaban en las playas, entregados al buceo de las perlas, hasta que el hambre, y falta de alimentos los echaba de la tierra. Esto mismo iban ya intentando al principio de la conquista los soldados, aún con estar sujetos al mando, y disposición de los padres; pero el padre Juan María usó de toda su autoridad, para reprimir, y atajar este desorden.

1745. La tercera razón nace de la pasada. Y es, que los soldados, para mejor lograr el buceo de las perlas, quisieron valerse de los indios, que son los prácticos, e inteligentes en esto; y trajeran atareados en el buceo así a los gentiles, como a los nuevos cristianos. Y como la codicia nunca dice, basta, quisieran siempre añadir trabajos a trabajos, y tareas a tareas. Y si esto comenzaban ya a hacer los soldados del padre Juan María, aún con ir sujetos a su disposición y mando, ¿qué hicieran, si estuvieran del todo independientes? Entonces, parte por satisfacer a su codicia, parte por agradar y obedecer a aquellas personas, a quienes debían el nombramiento de sus plazas, y de quienes esperaban su conservación, trajeran siempre ocupados en este ejercicio a los pobres indios. Pero en tal caso, dice el padre Juan María, tras esta forzada tarea, seguro se sigue el alzamiento. Y una vez alzada la tierra, será sin remedio la pérdida por la aspereza de ella, y no poder servirse de gente de a caballo para su recobro.

1746. Añade luego por cuarta razón: “que esta potestad sobre el presidio conduce para el consuelo, y sosiego de los soldados españoles. Porque por militar en tierra tan distante, y ultramarina, viven menos descontentos; reconociendo que con el recurso, y amparo de los padres, o del superior, que tiene poder de remover el cabo, tienen seguridad, de que no llegará a hacerles vejación injusta, y está sujeta la tierra a ellas con muchos peligros de envidia. Pongo por ejemplo: porque el indio va a vender una buena perla a un soldado, su amigo, y no la vendió al capitán, entra ojeriza contra el soldado, y contra el indio. Y si el soldado español no está

contento, se desespera, y se arroja a cosas graves. Como se vio en muchas ocasiones en tiempo de don Isidro de Atondo, que estuvo algunas veces, para perder la vida a manos de soldados, y marineros."

1747. Confirmación es de esto un caso, que sucedió, siendo provincial el padre Juan María, y hallándose visitando las Californias. Tenía entonces, por comisión suya, la potestad de superior del presidio el padre Juan de Ugarte, que había quedado en su lugar. Pues como el capitán hubiese mandado prender a un soldado por cierto sentimiento que con él tenía, el padre Juan de Ugarte, examinada la causa, conoció que era injusta la prisión, y así le mandó al capitán, que soltase libre al soldado. Para eximirse de este mandato, acudió al padre Juan María, pidiéndole, que lo dejasen con libertad seguir la causa, pero el padre Juan María, que estaba ya bien informado de la verdad, le mandó, que obedeciese a su superior, y que soltase al preso, como luego lo ejecutó. De esta misma potestad se valió siempre el padre Juan María, así a favor de los soldados, como de los buzos extranjeros, cuando veía que se usaba con ellos más rigor del que se debía.

1748. La quinta razón la funda el padre en la necesidad que tienen aquellas misiones ultramarinas de muchos bienhechores, y fautores para su conservación. Los cuales se retardarán, quitando esta potestad sobre el presidio al superior de aquellas misiones; pero esto mejor lo expresarán sus palabras, que dicen así: "Digo asimismo, que se va retirando la piedad de los vasallos de nuestro rey, y Señor, que concurren con sus limosnas, viendo, se les quita esta potestad a los padres; corriendo con la confianza del logro de sus limosnas, antes sí temiendo que lo que ellos hacen con una mano, se deshaga por otra." También se atajan los socorros personales de gente española, y de los indios guerreros de la Nueva Vizcaya, que a una voz de los padres californios, indios, y españoles, se movían de sus tierras, y vienen barcos llenos de unos, y otros como sucedió tres años ha: llenándose una lancha de españoles de Sinaloa, que vinieron a socorrernos. Y haciendo lo mismo los indios guerreros de la fidelísima nación Yaqui; que se llenó de ellos un barco de gavia, muy bien armados, y desembarcaron en nuestro Loreto de Californias, aterrorizando las naciones de Californias.

1749. Y en esto podrán desmayar, así los indios, como los españoles, desconfiando del amparo, y cariño, y de no ser mirados como hijos, no corriendo por los padres. Y será uno de los daños, que se padecerán en la nueva conquista. Pues es sabido, que don Isidro de Atondo no sólo era almirante de Californias, sino también capitán del presidio de Sinaloa, y gobernador de esa provincia. Y con toda esa autoridad, y repetidos encargos del excelentísimo señor virrey no pudo conseguir un indio voluntario de Sinaloa, y Sonora. Y unos pocos, que llevó a causa de graves delitos, fueron causa del primer alzamiento que tuvo en su entrada. Y digo, que todos los motivos dichos miran a la seguridad de la tierra, y a asegurar en ella la religión cristiana.

1750. Hasta aquí el padre Juan María en su informe. Donde añade por sexta razón el mérito que tiene, y puede alegar la compañía, para pedirle a su majestad católica, que la mantenga en posesión de esta facultad, concedida desde el principio al superior de aquellas misiones. Porque habiéndole conquistado a su majestad un nuevo reino, y sujetado a sus dominios tantos vasallos sin costo alguno de la real hacienda; siendo así que en seis entradas, que se hicieron en los tiempos pasados, de orden y a costa de los Reyes Católicos importó el gasto como un millón y medio, sin logro alguno. No le debe parecer, ni a su majestad, ni a sus reales



ministros excesiva la remuneración, de poder nombrar y remover los cabos, y soldados del presidio, cuando esto es medio indispensable, para mantener lo ya conquistado, y conservar en la obediencia de su majestad a tantos vasallos.

1751. ¿Pues qué, si se atiende lo mucho que ha gastado la compañía en esta conquista, recogido todo con grandes afanes, sudores y trabajos de los padres de la compañía por cuyo respeto, y repetidos ruegos lo han ido contribuyendo los bienhechores? Ha sido esto tanto, que en los primeros ocho años, cuando el padre Juan María presentó su memorial, iban ya gastados en la conquista, doscientos y veinticinco mil pesos. Sin incluir en esta cantidad cincuenta y ocho mil pesos, que importaban las fincas de seis misiones. Y en todo este tiempo no había recibido de las cajas reales más que dieciocho mil, a seis mil por cada año de los tres últimos. Y si se ajusta, lo que fue gastando después en los doce años siguientes hasta los fines del año de 1717, en que comenzó su majestad a pagar por entero el situado del presidio, y de los marineros, se hallará que hasta entonces iban gastados ya más de seiscientos mil pesos, como consta del testimonio de la junta, que se tuvo por orden del señor virrey marqués de Valero.

1752. Pues añádanse ciento y treinta mil pesos, que importaban ya las fincas de trece misiones, como también lo mucho, que han contribuido en otros veinte años, así los bienhechores de Californias, como todos los padres misioneros de Sinaloa, y Sonora. Y podremos decir sin exageración, que ya pasa largamente de un millón, lo que ha gastado la compañía por ganarle a Jesucristo aquellas almas, y mantenerle a su majestad católica aquel reino sujeto a su corona. Y es digno de reparo, que en las otras misiones paga su majestad el situado de varios presidios, y también el sustento de todos los misioneros; pero en Californias sólo sustenta a los soldados, mas no a los misioneros, porque estos se mantienen con las fincas de los bienhechores. ¿Y según todo lo dicho, quién juzgará, que es gracia excesiva, la que hace su majestad en mantenerle a la compañía la superintendencia, y superioridad sobre los cabos, y soldados de Californias, siendo esto por otra parte medio necesario, para que aquello no se pierda?

## CAPÍTULO V

Añádanse otras razones en confirmación del mismo asunto.

1753. Aún con todo lo dicho en el capítulo pasado no se ha dicho todo, cuanto hay que decir sobre el pasado asunto. Por lo cual añadiremos aquí otras razones que lo confirman, y con las cuales se descubre, que el haber pretendido la compañía la superioridad sobre el presidio de los soldados es, por conocer, que éste es medio indispensablemente necesario para el buen logro, conservación, y aumento de aquella conquista. Y que por consiguiente, en alterando el orden, y gobierno con que se principió, y con que se ha proseguido hasta ahora, pararán los buenos progresos; y caminando todo cada día de mal en peor, se seguirá por fin su total ruina. Para fundar pues estas razones, pondremos la vista en cuatro objetos. Primero en nuestro rey católico, luego en los soldados del presidio, después en los indios californios, y por fin en los padres misioneros.

1754. Comenzando pues por nuestro rey católico, se descubren aquí dos razones muy principales, para mostrar que no conviene innovar el gobierno, que han tenido hasta aquí las Californias. La una es para mayor seguridad de su real

dominio en aquellas tierras; la otra es, para evitar mayores gastos de su real hacienda. Viniendo a la primera, es cierto, que mientras tuvieren los padres potestad sobre los soldados, se mantendrá segura, y estable la posesión de su majestad en aquella tierra, y en todos sus vasallos. La razón es: porque el dominio depende de la obediencia que dan los vasallos a su rey; y principalmente cuando el dominio se adquiere no por conquista de armas, sino por voluntario vasallaje, que le ofrecen los que lo admiten por su rey, y señor. Pues este vasallaje y obediencia de los indios californios para con su rey, depende de que los soldados, y el cabo sean los que deben ser: que hagan justicia a los naturales, y los gobiernen con prudencia, y discreción cristiana; que no los opriman con vejaciones, y contribuciones injustas. Que no los ocupen en tareas y ejercicios, ordenados a su propio interés, apartándolos con esto de buscar su propio sustento por los montes. Y finalmente, que los procuren conservar en paz, en justicia, y en concordia de unos con otros.

1755. Pero para cumplir todo esto necesitan los soldados de tener el freno que tienen en la sujeción a los padres. Porque saben, que si no quisieren cumplir con su obligación, ni obedecer a los padres en lo que les mandaren, les han de quitar las plazas, y despedirlos de la tierra, pues fueron admitidos a ellas con esta condición. Por el contrario no estando sujeto a los padres, vivirán, como quisieren, sin temor alguno, y se valdrán de los indios para sus particulares intereses. De aquí se seguirán las vejaciones, las contribuciones, y las opresiones, que les causen, por utilizarse con su servicio personal. Y como todo esto exaspera los ánimos, reventarán por fin en rebeliones, y tumultos, sacudiendo el yugo de la obediencia en favor de su libertad.

1756. La segunda razón persuade, que con esta sujeción del presidio a los padres, evita su majestad mayores gastos que forzosamente ha de tener de sus reales cajas, si el presidio no está sujeto a la obediencia de los padres; porque en tal caso debe su majestad proveerles aparte de barco suficiente para la conducción, y transporte de sus situados, memorias, y bastimentos. Y mantener de continuo un barco con la gente de mar que necesita, y con todos los costos que se añaden de carenas, reparos, y aderezos, necesita de muchos miles pesos, y es nuevo gravamen para las cajas reales. Ni se puede adjudicar para esto el barco, que ahora tienen los padres para el servicio de las misiones, porque ahora barco y marineros están sujetos a la disposición de los padres; y lo envían muchas veces, entre año, a las costas de las misiones de la otra banda, a solicitar bastimentos, y también a los puertos de las misiones de California, para llevar lo necesario a los padres misioneros. Pero en tal caso no tendrán este uso libre de su barco, porque querrán los cabos de los presidios tenerlo a su mando, y disposición, no sólo para el transporte de sus bastimentos, sino mucho más para sus buceos, que ha sido siempre el blanco apetecido de su codicia.

1757. ¿Y qué diremos entonces de los padres misioneros? ¿O han de tener su barco propio que su majestad les concede, y sin el cual no pueden pasar en aquellas regiones ultramarinas, o han de estar atendidos a la sujeción, y servidumbre del barco que sirve a los presidios? Si han de tener su barco propio, como ahora tienen, es forzoso que su majestad mantenga otro barco aparte para los presidios. Y esto es aumentar demasadamente los gastos de sus reales cajas. Si han de estar sujetos, a proveerse con el barco de los presidios, es dura servidumbre condenarlos a estar siempre dependientes del gusto, y voluntad de los cabos. Los cuales,

como independientes de la jurisdicción de los padres, harán lo que quisieren, por más órdenes, y encargos que tengan de los señores virreyes. De donde se seguirán gravísimos inconvenientes en daño, y detrimento de aquellas misiones.

1758. Pasemos de aquí al segundo objeto, que son los soldados, y en ellos descubriremos otras dos razones, no menos eficaces que las pasadas. La una se funda en lo temporal de sus sueldos, en que han de ser notablemente damnificados; la otra en lo espiritual de sus almas, en que recibirán mayor detrimento. Cuanto a los sueldos es cierto, que, estando el presidio sin sujeción a los padres, recibirán los soldados menos sueldos de los que ahora reciben. La razón es, porque en tal caso no conviene que los padres se hagan cargo de la cobranza, y administración del situado de los presidios por graves inconvenientes, que de aquí se pueden seguir. Y así es forzoso, que los cabos pongan por lo menos tres encomenderos de su cuenta: uno en México, otro en Matanchel, y otro en la costa de las misiones para la cobranza, y administración de los situados; compra y despacho de las memorias, agenda de maíces, harinas, carne, y otros bastimentos, y su remisión a Californias.

1759. De aquí se sigue: que como ningún encomendero ha de querer servirles de balde, es forzoso que les paguen los salarios legítimos de la encomienda con los costos de la cobranza, y administración de los situados. Todo esto se ha de rebajar de los sueldos de los soldados, y marineros. Y así por este lado han de recibir entonces menos sueldos de los que ahora reciben, porque corriendo ahora con su administración el procurador de Californias, les envía a todos lo que les toca, rebajando sólo los precisos costos de su transporte, y conducción. A esto se llega, que también sucederá, lo que muchas veces sucede; y es que los encomenderos compren acá los géneros al ínfimo precio, y los remitan avaluados al supremo. Y esto menos recibirán los soldados, porque lo ganan los encomenderos, diciendo: que son frutos de su industria. ¿Pues qué diremos, si los cabos se meten a mercaderes, empleando en todos aquellos géneros, que les sirven a los soldados, y que se los vendan allá muy caros, a cuenta de sus sueldos? Aquí es forzoso también, que padezcan notable detrimento.

1760. Pero esto es lo de menos, porque redundo sólo en daño del cuerpo. Mayor detrimento es, el que padecerán las almas. Y ésta es la segunda razón por parte de los soldados; porque ahora con la sujeción, que tienen los padres, se refrenan en muchos excesos militares en que no será fácil reprimirlos estando independientes. Ahora los padres los doctrinan con sermones, y pláticas frecuentes que les hacen; los imponen en la frecuencia de sacramentos, en la devoción de la virgen, en la asistencia a la misa, y el santo rosario de María; los apartan de los excesos, en que prorrumpe desbocada, la gente militar en otras partes. Para conseguir ahora todo esto puede mucho en los soldados la dependencia que tienen con los padres, y el temor de perder las plazas, si no viven cristianamente. Pero nada de esto se podrá conseguir de los soldados, en caso de no estar sujetos a la disposición de los padres, como se puede fácilmente discurrir al cotejo de la licencia, y disolución militar, con que suelen vivir los soldados de otros presidios.

1761. Síguese ya el tercer objeto, que son los indios californios; en los cuales hallaremos otras dos razones sobre el mismo asunto de que vamos tratando: la una es por los muchos atrasos, que causarán en los indios californios con el mal gobierno civil, y político, que tendrán con ellos; la otra es por la ruina espiritual, que causarán en sus almas con sus escándalos, y malos ejemplos. Examinemos

una, y otra razón. Todo buen gobierno consiste en la prudente dirección, con que se procura por medios convenientes, encaminar a los que son gobernados, al debido fin que deben tener, que es el bien común. Así lo enseña Santo Tomás. *Gubernatio nihil aliud est, quam directio gubernatorum ad finem, qui est aliquod bonum* (I.p. g. 103 art. 3 incorp.). El debido fin que han de buscar los californios, como vasallos de su rey terreno, es la obediencia y lealtad con su majestad, por medio de la observancia de sus leyes, y ordenanzas, que todas miran al bien común. El que deben pretender como vasallos de Jesucristo, es ser buenos cristianos, servir a Dios, amarle, y guardar sus santos mandamientos, para alcanzar la vida eterna. Pero estos dos fines, quedarán frustrados con el mal gobierno, y peores ejemplos de unos soldados libres, e independientes.

1762. Cuanto a lo primero se ha de suponer, lo que después diremos. Y es, que los soldados que asisten en las misiones, son tenientes, y comisarios del cabo del presidio para todas las ejecuciones de la justicia. Y aunque ahora el padre visitador nombra fiscales, y gobernadores de todas las rancherías, y el cabo del presidio les confiere su jurisdicción, pero en estando independiente el presidio, ya no tendrá en eso acción alguna el padre visitador. De aquí se sigue, que como en tal caso, así los soldados, como los gobernadores de los pueblos han de estar sujetos a sólo el capitán, y no a los padres, ni cuanto a ponerlos, ni cuanto a removerlos, ni cuanto a castigarlos. Es consiguiente, que ande entonces el gobierno político de los indios, como quisiere el capitán, y sus soldados, y no como dicta la razón, y como pide la necesidad de aquellos pueblos; nuevos en la fe, y nuevos también en la vida política, que antes no conocían.

1763. Pero cómo ha de andar el gobierno de aquellos, que no miran a otro fin que a los intereses de su avaricia, y cuidarán entonces también de contentar a aquellos, ¿de quiénes depende el nombramiento, y conservación de sus plazas? Ya se deja entender, que todo andará mal encaminado, por faltar al fin principal que deben tener en el gobierno de los indios. Y por no aplicar los medios conducentes para ese fin. En tal caso de nada aprovecharán avisos, y amonestaciones de los padres, para atajar los desordenes de los soldados. Porque estos, como independientes de su jurisdicción, no harán caso. Ni valdrá acudir al cabo del presidio. Porque éste, no dependiendo ya de los padres, se hará antes fautor, que juez de los desafueros de los soldados, por tener a estos de su parte para sus designios. Recurrir entonces a México en tanta distancia de tierras, y con mar de por medio para informar al señor virrey de lo que allá pasa, y pedir remedio, es nunca acabar y no hacer nada. Y entretanto que acá se solicita algún despacho, se puede perder allá la tierra, o suceder algunos otros daños, irreparables.

1764. ¿Y qué diremos ya cuanto al segundo punto del daño que recibirán los indios con los malos ejemplos de los soldados? Con esto se dice todo. Aún estando, como han estado hasta ahora sujetos a los padres ha habido siempre mucho que atajar, qué corregir, y qué enmendar. Siendo los soldados que asisten en las misiones, la mayor cruz que tienen los padres misioneros. ¿Pues qué sucediera en caso de estar los soldados sin esta sujeción? No es menester discurrir mucho, para conocerlo; pues se viene a los ojos como verdad moralmente cierta, que serán entonces los soldados la ruina espiritual de aquellos nuevos cristianos con su mala vida, y perversos ejemplos. Esto sólo se puede esperar de la vida libre, y desvuelta, que en otras partes suelen tener los soldados. Y mucho más, si se considera, que entonces no se recibirán los soldados por elección, y aprobación de los

padres, como ahora se hace, sino que ésta será acción del capitán por comisión del señor virrey. A veces también enviarán de las cárceles, como se envían a otros presidios forajidos, y malhechores que vayan forzados a servir al rey de balde en los presidios de Californias. Y ¿qué harán tales hombres entre aquellos nuevos cristianos? No es menester decirlo; ya está dicho, en decir, que son forzados y forajidos.

1765. Concluyamos con otras dos razones que se fundan en el cuarto objeto, que son los padres misioneros. La una es, porque no podrán ya disponer libremente las expediciones, y descubrimientos de aquella conquista. La otra es, porque se verán siempre expuestos a padecer infinitas vejaciones, y pesadumbres, causadas de los mismos soldados. Por lo tocante a las expediciones, es cierto que sin esta sujeción de los soldados no se hubiera dado paso en la conquista de Californias, como dice el padre Juan María en su memorial, y apuntamos arriba en la primera de sus razones. Es cierto también, que aún estando sujetos a los padres, ha sido menester valerse de aquestos medios: dicta la caridad, la prudencia, y la justicia, para hacer lo que se ha hecho en todas las misiones, por la renuencia de los soldados, fundada en el mucho trabajo que ha costado el descubrimiento de nuevas tierras, y la fundación de nuevas misiones con la necesidad de abrir caminos en unos montes, y sierras tan ásperas. Por esta causa algunos a los principios fueron despedidos; otros renunciaron sus plazas, antes de verse despedidos; otros finalmente escribieron contra los padres, y no faltó un cabo, que escribió al señor virrey, que los padres eran unos hombres temerarios, que emprendían imposibles, y los metían en evidentes riesgos de la vida.

1766. Infírase de aquí, ¿cómo estarán los soldados en adelante para todas las expediciones militares que se irán ofreciendo en nuevos descubrimientos hacia el norte, si les eximen de la obediencia, y jurisdicción de los padres, pues cuando estaban sujetos a ella, se mostraban tan renitentes? ¿Cómo podrán los padres, hacer nuevos descubrimientos para fundar nuevas misiones si en encontrando dificultades, y trabajos, reclamarán los soldados, resistirán los capitanes, y negarán la escolta necesaria, diciendo, que tienen instrucciones, y órdenes del señor virrey, y que no es servicio de su majestad, emprender imposibles? Que a ellos como a gobernadores de la tierra pertenece el disponer estas entradas, cómo, y cuándo con venga. Que por eso no deban sujetarse a las temerarias resoluciones de los padres, revestidas, y coloreadas con la capa de celo de las almas. Esto y mucho más dirán en tales ocasiones los cabos, y soldados, sin que baste el distante recurso al señor virrey, cuyo juicio procurarán ellos preocupar con informes siniestros, dictados al gusto de su pasión.

1767. ¿Y quién podrá aquí declarar las infinitas vejaciones, y pesadumbres a que se verán expuestos los padres misioneros, viéndose necesitados a tratar con una gente indómita, a quien no pueden mandar, y que ellos lo querrán mandar todo? Ello es forzoso, como después diremos, el que asistan uno, o dos soldados en cada misión. ¿Cómo podrán pues los padres tolerar su compañía, si ahora, estando sujetos, apenas los pueden sufrir, y es necesario, andarlas remudando, por aliviar algo el trabajo con su alternación, y mudanza? Pero todo esto se mira de lejos desde acá, y mucho más desde las cortes, donde suelen hallar más fácil entrada las calumnias, y siniestras acusaciones sobrescritas con el nombre del servicio del rey, que las representaciones verídicas, selladas con la impresión del

celo de las almas, y del mayor servicio de Dios. Pero aún en esto mismo llevan los siervos del Señor el carácter honorífico de bienaventurados, cuando son perseguidos por la verdad, y por la justicia. *Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam: quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum* (Math. c.5.v.10).

## CAPÍTULO VI

### Del procurador del presidio de Californias.

1768. Aunque por muchos años corrió el superior del presidio con la administración del situado de los soldados y marineros, y con el cuidado de todo lo tocante a su gobierno, y manutención; pero el tiempo mostró, ser imposible, que pudiese él solo atender a este gobierno, y administración del presidio. Ya vimos las razones que hubo, para que el padre Juan María tuviese por veinte años este cargo. Y las que hubo también, para que después de su santa muerte no estuviese aligado el cargo de visitador, y superior del presidio al padre misionero de Loreto, sino al que fuese nombrado en cada trienio por visitador de todas las misiones. Habiéndose pues practicado así por el tiempo de diez años, la experiencia mostró, que el superior del presidio, por ser también visitador de todas las misiones, sin dejar el cargo, necesitaba de algún alivio.

1769. Informado pues el padre provincial Andrés Nieto del gran trabajo, y peso de ocupaciones que recaían sobre el visitador de las Californias, determinó aliviarle en algo la carga. Consideró, que el dicho padre visitador ejercitaba a un tiempo tres cargos, todos embarazosos, y llenos de ocupaciones: uno era el de misionero particular en su propia misión, que lo ejecutaba para la continua instrucción, asistencia, y administración de sus feligreses; otro era el de superior del presidio, que lo necesitaba al cuidado de su manutención, a su buen gobierno, al despacho de los barcos, al recibo, y dispendio de las memorias, y a las demás providencias, tocantes a este cargo. Todo esto requería un sujeto, casi siempre asistente en Loreto, para atender de cerca al buen gobierno del presidio, y provisión de los soldados. Y si su misión estaba muy distante, era incompatible esta asistencia, y cuidado con la que debía tener en su misión. El tercero era el cargo de visitador de todas las misiones, y superior de los misioneros. Por el cual estaba obligado, no sólo al buen gobierno, y consuelo de sus súbditos, sino también a visitar todas las misiones, y andar toda la tierra por el distrito de casi trescientas leguas. Y mientras andaba en estas visitas, no podía dar las prontas providencias que requería el buen gobierno del presidio.

1770. Considerando pues estos inconvenientes, el padre provincial determinó señalar un padre, que fuese procurador del presidio de Loreto, y que éste fuese el mismo misionero que allí reside, sino es que alguna vez pareciese conveniente, señalar un sujeto aparte para esta ocupación. Para que así uno, u otro atendiese de cerca a todas las providencias necesarias para el buen gobierno del presidio, y pronto expediente de los barcos. Con este nuevo oficio que se dió por el año de 1728, quedó el padre visitador de las misiones aligerado del molesto embarazo, y continuo cuidado, que antes tenía sobre las cosas del presidio. Más no por eso quedó éste exento de su jurisdicción, sino sujeto, como antes estaba. Y asimismo quedó el padre visitador gozando de todas las facultades, que antes tenía, así en

orden a los soldados con su cabo, como en orden al gobierno político de todos los moradores de Californias. Porque con la erección de este nuevo oficio sólo se le alivió el trabajo, mas no se le quitó el mando, y la jurisdicción.

1771. Pero porque para llegar a establecer, con la ejecución, los puntos a que se extendía la comisión del nuevo procurador del presidio por los varios ramos, y acciones, que aqueste comprende, ocurrían algunas dudas, acudieron los padres al padre visitador general de todas las misiones, que era el padre Joseph de Echeverría, cuando por el año de 1730 se hallaba en Californias, y había visitado ya las misiones de aquella tierra. Habiendo pues representado las dudas, y dificultades que podían resultar en la ejecución de aquel nuevo oficio, le suplicaron que las dejase aclaradas, y establecidas. Así lo hizo el dicho padre visitador. Y habiendo juntado en la misión de San Pablo consulta de los tres más antiguos misioneros, que eran el padre Juan de Ugarte, el padre Julián de Mayorga, y el padre Clemente Guillén, que habían sido todos fundadores de sus misiones, hizo, que allí se fuesen proponiendo todas las dificultades que podían ocurrir; y habiéndose examinado y conferido bien todos los puntos concernientes a la materia, en el día 20 de mayo de dicho año de 1730, usando el padre visitador general de la facultad que llevaba del padre provincial, con parecer, y aprobación de la consulta, determinó declarar, ordenar, y establecer los puntos siguientes:

1772. El primero: que el padre visitador, que es, o fuere de Californias, como desde el principio de su reducción hasta ahora ha sido superior del presidio, será también en adelante, sin derogar en nada su autoridad, y facultades. De suerte, que el capitán, oficiales, y soldados, contra maestres, guardianes, y marineros estén sujetos a sus órdenes en la misma forma que antes.

El segundo: que el que es, o fuere procurador del presidio, es, y será en todo, súbdito del padre visitador, como cualquier padre, o hermano de los que viven en Californias; no sólo en lo tocante a la misión, si fuere (como hoy es) misionero de Loreto, sino en todo lo que pertenece a su oficio de procurador del presidio, situado, barcos, y gente de mar, en la misma forma que cualquier procurador de colegio nuestro es súbdito de su rector, y provincial. Y en esta conformidad el rector, que fuere de las misiones de Loreto, será superior inmediato de dicho procurador.

El tercero: que el oficio del que fuere procurador será atender al buen gobierno del presidio con la intermediación que pida. Y podrá despedir, o admitir los soldados que le pareciere, conforme pidiere la necesidad; así como los demás marineros, y gente que sirve en los barcos. Sin que de esto avise al padre visitador, si no es cuando su reverencia se hallare en Loreto. Que entonces pide la urbanidad, que a ningún soldado se admita, ni se despida, sin avisar a su reverencia.

El cuarto: que la elección del capitán, alférez, y cabo de escuadra, sea sólo acción del padre visitador. El cual consultará primero con los padres, sin excluir nunca al que fuere procurador del presidio, y elegirá, al que fuere más benemérito de capitán, y pedirá la confirmación de su elección al señor virrey.

El quinto: que será del cuidado del padre procurador, el prevenir con tiempo las provisiones necesarias a la manutención de los soldados, y gente de mar. Asimismo los pertrechos que son menester para el buen apresto de los barcos, que siempre deberán estar bien aviados, para conducir los bastimentos, y a sus tiempos las memorias. Excusando, el que salgan a viaje en los meses de agosto, y septiembre, muy apeligrados en estos mares, si no es en alguna grave necesidad.

El sexto: que el padre procurador correrá con las cuentas del capitán, y soldados, contra maestres, y toda gente de mar, pagando sus sueldos, y salarios en la forma que hasta ahora; sin admitir más sirvientes, de los que son menester, ni permitir salarios en gente inútil, evitando cuanto es posible, los gastos, que se pueden evitar.

El séptimo: que el procurador no disponga cosa alguna de importancia, ni de gasto extraordinario, como el deshacer un barco, fabricar otro, o echarle fondo nuevo, sin consultar con el padre visitador. Y que en estas materias no se gobierne sólo por los dichos de los contra maestres, y marineros, sino que se valga de las personas más inteligentes, que hubiere en el real, para reconocer el estado de los barcos; celando su duración con la vigilancia que se requiere, donde con tanta dificultad se adquieren, y donde sin ellos no se puede mantener esta cristiandad.

El octavo: que cuando sucediere perderse algún barco, se hará informe auténtico del suceso, conforme permitieren las circunstancias. Y no se escribirá al señor virrey pidiéndole otro, sin que acompañe a la carta dicho informe, y sin que en ello convenga el padre visitador, y su consulta. Si la pérdida sucediere por culpable descuido del contra maestre, o de la gente de mar, procederá contra los culpados, el capitán del presidio, sin que el padre procurador, u otro alguno, con pretexto de caridad, ataje las diligencias, que debe hacer la justicia.

El nono: que porque no siempre será fácil el recurso al padre visitador, y podría seguirse mala obra en la detención a los soldados, y marineros, y a la gente que se despide, las certificaciones de los servicios, que antes sólo los daba el superior, cuando está ausente, podrá darlas el padre que es, o fuere procurador.

El décimo: que el padre visitador de las misiones de Californias tiene plena potestad de los señores virreyes, para señalar, fuera del capitán, y jefes del presidio, personas que administren justicia. Pero sólo se deberá practicar en casos, donde no puede ser juez el capitán, y en parajes, donde no puede asistir en persona. Evitando las ocasiones que puede haber de competencia, y disgustos.

1773. Estas son las principales disposiciones que dejó establecidas en su visita de Californias, el dicho padre visitador Joseph de Echeverría, en orden a las facultades que debe tener, y puede ejecutar, el que allí fuere procurador del presidio. Todas ellas por una parte van dirigidas al mayor alivio del padre visitador, pues se le quitó lo que es embarazo en el gobierno inmediato del presidio, y administración de cosas temporales; y se le dejó la jurisdicción, y mando sobre el presidio con todas las facultades, que se le concedieron desde el principio. Por otra parte, se ordenan, a dar pronta providencia al gobierno del presidio, y manejo de las cosas temporales; a las cuales puede atender más de cerca, y con más inmediatez que los otros padres, el misionero de Loreto. Porque, por tener allí su habitual asistencia, puede sin dispendio de sus ministerios de misionero, dar cumplimiento a los empleos de procurador, como lo hizo el padre Juan María en los veinte años, que residió en aquella misión.

[se omite 1774 hasta 1784.]

## CAPÍTULO VIII

Del gobierno del presidio, distribución de los soldados, y ejercicios, que tienen en las misiones.



1785. Pasamos ya a referir lo que se observa en el gobierno del presidio, y de los soldados; su distribución por las misiones, y ocupaciones que en ellas tienen. Y lo primero, que ocurre acerca de los soldados, es su entrada en Californias, y sus salidas de ellas, cuando, o por renuncia de su plaza, o por legítima expulsión se van a la otra banda. Y es cierto, que por lo que toca a los padres no se admitieran en Californias, sino los mejores soldados que pudieran hallarse en la otra banda, pero la necesidad, retiro, y desamparo de aquella tierra, los obliga a veces, a recibir a los que en otro lugar, y circunstancias no recibieran. De este dictamen fue el venerable padre Juan María de Salvatierra, quien aún en el tiempo calamitoso, en que por no tener con que sustentar el presidio iba despidiendo a los soldados, nunca quiso recibir por soldados hombres forajidos, ni desterrados por sus delitos. Y como el señor fiscal de la audiencia de Guadalajara le escribiese, que si quería negociaría con la real audiencia, que remitiese desterrados a servir sin sueldo en Californias, a los reos que salen de las cárceles, condenados a servir al rey en los presidios. El padre Juan María, después de agradecer su buena voluntad, respondió, que no convenía admitirlos, porque de ordinario aquella gente forajida, y perversa, causaba más daño que provecho; y menos daño era, quedar indefensos, que mal defendidos de gente tan mala.

1786. En este mismo dictamen se han mantenido después acá los superiores de Californias, no queriendo admitir por soldados, ni aún para vivir en la tierra, a los fugitivos, ni a los desterrados, ni a gente forajida, que sale de las cárceles, y va forzada a servir en los presidios. Sólo reciben a los que vienen llamados, o a los que espontáneamente se ofrecen, cuando hay falta de ellos en el presidio. Y aunque por real ordenanza está prohibido que en ningún presidio se aliste, ni se admita soldado que no fuere español, pero por la falta que de estos hay en partes tan remotas, y por no ser factible, el que se lleven de la Nueva España, no se puede dar en el todo, cumplimiento a la dicha ordenanza. Y así a veces es necesario, recibir para soldados a los mulatos, mestizos, y otra gente de color quebrado. Pero porque es justo que haya distinción entre ellos, y los legítimos españoles, cuando se admiten se les advierte, que sólo han de ganar medio sueldo. Esto se entiende en los dos primeros años, porque si proceden bien, y se juzga que son necesarios, y útiles a la tierra, al cabo de los dos años de experiencia, se les paga como por gracia el sueldo por entero. Con esto consiguen los padres otra utilidad, que es aumentar las plazas del presidio, pagándolas con estos medios sueldos. Y así de ordinario hay más soldados en el presidio, que los que paga el rey.

1787. Supuesta pues con las calidades dichas la elección, y admisión de los soldados, cuando algunos entran de nuevo a militar en el presidio se les lee en primer lugar el despacho concedido al superior de las misiones para que por él entiendan la sujeción que deben tener al dicho superior; la obediencia que han de rendir a su capitán, y finalmente los fueros que han de gozar como soldados, por militar en Californias. Después se les intiman las disposiciones, que por orden de los padres visitadores están establecidas acerca de los soldados para su buen gobierno. Las más principales de ellas son las siguientes: que no se han de aplicar al buceo de las perlas, aunque no se les prohíbe comprarlas a los indios; que a estos no se les hagan vejaciones, ni les den mal ejemplo. Que los que son casados en la otra banda, no dejen allá sus mujeres, sino que las lleven consigo, si no es que estén divorciados por legítima sentencia. Que los que tienen hijos, los envíen a la

escuela de Loreto, para que aprendan a leer, y escribir, pagando al maestro su justo salario. Que cada soldado, fuera de sus armas, ha de mantener dos caballos propios, los cuales, en yéndose ellos de la tierra, los venderán a otro; que han de ir siguiéndose de uno en uno, a cuidar los caballos de todos, conforme los fuere señalando el capitán. Que han de acudir con prontitud a todas las expediciones militares que se ofrecieren, según fueren señalados. Que los que asistieren de escolteros en las misiones, han de estar obedientes a los padres, y ocuparse en lo que les mandaren, según la costumbre, y necesidad de cada misión. Que los que asisten en el presidio sean prontos, a cumplir la distribución militar que allí se guarda. Finalmente, que allí vivan cristianamente, y se conserven unidos entre sí con mutua paz, y concordia.

1788. Semejantes a estos son otros avisos, con que los padres procuran instruir a los nuevos soldados, para que den cumplimiento a sus obligaciones, así en lo militar, como en lo cristiano. Para este fin a los que viven en el presidio se les hacen pláticas espirituales en castellano, fuera de las que se hacen en su lengua a los indios. Se procura que guarden una cristiana distribución; que oigan misa cada día con la debida atención, y reverencia, que recen con devoción a coros el rosario de María santísima, y al fin sus letanías; después de las cuales, en los sábados, se les refiere algún ejemplo de la devoción de la virgen. Exhortándolos a vivir cristianamente, y a frecuentar los sacramentos en algunas festividades del año.

1789. La distribución militar del presidio se guarda allí exactamente, como en todos los demás presidios bien arreglados. Corriendo por cuenta del capitán el castigar a los que faltan a su deber; pero si algunos no se quieren arreglar a sus obligaciones, o sea en lo militar, o en lo cristiano, sin que basten amenazas, ni reprensiones, ni castigos para su enmienda, se toma la última resolución de despedirlos. Y lo mismo se hace con la gente de mar. A los que salen de la tierra, o sea por expulsión, o sea por renuncia, se les da pasaje para la otra banda en los barcos. Y todos llevan certificaciones de sus servicios militares, firmados del superior del presidio, o por ausencia suya del padre procurador, que vive en Loreto.

1790. En estas certificaciones procuran los padres abonar, y recomendar las personas de los soldados que han servido bien, y salen de allá no despedidos, sino por renuncia que han hecho de sus plazas. Pero a los que salen despedidos, procuran con caridad, mirar en todo por su crédito, y buen nombre, ocultando todo lo que pudiera desdorar su fama. Y así dan las certificaciones con aquellas palabras generales que bastan para recomendarlos como soldados obedientes a su capitán, y puntuales en la asistencia del presidio, y expediciones militares, sin decir que van despedidos. Y lo que es más, a veces procuran los padres, que aquéllos a quienes despiden por culpas secretas, hagan en lo exterior su renuncia, para que quede salva su honra.

1791. En lo tocante a la distribución de los soldados, se procura siempre, que los más de ellos estén asistentes en el real de Loreto, para que de allí salgan, cuando se ofrece, a las excursiones, y operaciones necesarias. Los demás se reparten por las misiones con este orden: cuando se funda nueva misión, van seis, u ocho soldados que acompañen al padre misionero por algunos meses, y con la ayuda de los indios hagan iglesia, casa, y las piezas necesarias. En las misiones ya fundadas, que están en frontera de gentiles, asisten de ordinario dos soldados, y a veces tres, según es la necesidad, o el peligro que se teme; pero donde cesa este

peligro, como es en las misiones antiguas, de ordinario sólo asiste un soldado, acompañando al padre misionero. Y aunque por ordenación del padre provincial Joseph de Arájó está dispuesto que en las misiones más antiguas, donde no hay peligro de levantamiento, se procura excusar el soldado, para aumentar el número de los del presidio. Pero esto no es fácil siempre de cumplir por la suma necesidad, que hay de que asista de continuo un soldado en cada misión.

1792. La razón en que se funda esta necesidad, es, porque, por una parte el soldado asistente tiene allí las veces del padre, y por otra las del capitán del presidio; tiene las veces del padre misionero para todo lo económico, de cuidar la casa, y proveer del necesario sustento a los que se mantienen, en la cabecera de la misión. Esto no puede siempre hacerlo el padre misionero, porque de ordinario anda ausente en confesiones de enfermos, en visitas de rancherías, y en otros ministerios de su oficio. Dejar entonces la casa sola es exponer al robo de los indios la provisión de bastimentos, que hay en la misión. Y como cada día se les da de comer a los pajes de casa, al gobernador, al fiscal, a los viejos, e impedidos, y a las rancherías que se van remudando cada semana para ser doctrinadas en la cabecera, es forzoso, que haya, quien cuide del sustento, que se les ha de dar, que es atole de maíz, y pozole, o maíz cocido. Tiene también el soldado las veces del capitán del presidio, para prender, y castigar a los indios en algunos casos, en que no puede el padre mandarlo hacer por sí mismo, ni es cosa que deba remitirse al cabo del presidio por la distancia.

1793. Por esta causa, y según el estado presente de las misiones es necesaria la asistencia del soldado en cada misión; porque allí no hay otra gente de quien valerse, ni se permite, que haya en Californias sirvientes de la otra banda por varios inconvenientes que en esto han experimentado los padres. Así lo dejó ordenado el padre visitador Joseph de Echeverría, permitiendo sólo, que en las misiones nuevas se puedan tener por poco tiempo algunos sirvientes de la otra banda, para que enseñen a los indios a labrar la tierra; y que en cumpliendo con esto, los restituyan al lugar de donde vinieron, menos a aquéllos, que se hubieren ya casado con las indias de la tierra. Siendo esto así, es necesaria la asistencia de los soldados en las misiones. Y para que estos no hagan falta en el presidio, se han valido los padres de la industria que ya dijimos, de aumentar las plazas de los soldados con los medios sueldos, que sobran de los que no son españoles.

1794. El gobierno de los soldados en lo político, y militar le toca de oficio al capitán del presidio; el es quien los manda, quien los gobierna, quien da las órdenes de lo que han de hacer dentro, y fuera del presidio. El es quien los envía a las expediciones militares de guerra, o descubrimientos, o pacificaciones de alzamientos, y alborotos. El es finalmente, quien señala los que han de asistir en cada misión. Y si algunos no salen a gusto de los padres, porque no cumplen con su obligación, el capitán envía otros en su lugar, y llama aquéllos, para que asistan en el presidio. En todo lo cual obra con subordinación al padre visitador como a superior suyo. Y aunque habitualmente el dicho padre visitador lo deja usar en todo de su potestad ordinaria, pero si ve, que en algo falta gravemente a su obligación, procura amonestarle con suaves razones, y cuando éstas no bastan, usa de su potestad absoluta. Con esto se consigue, que así el gobierno de los soldados, como de los demás indios de la tierra, ande habitualmente bien concertado, y arreglado en todo a la ley de Dios, y a las leyes de la milicia, y de la política.

## CAPÍTULO IX

Satisfácese a algunas quejas de los soldados contra los padres misioneros.

1795. Ninguno pudiera ser buen juez de causas ajenas, si abriendo mucho una oreja para oír acusaciones, y querellas, cerrará la otra, para no escuchar defensas, ni descargos. Esto sucediera en el caso presente, en que vamos hablando de los soldados de Californias, si el que los oye quejar contra los padres cuando ellos vienen a este reino, fuera fácil en oírlos, y temerario en darles crédito, y no fuera cauto, ni prudente, para suspender a lo menos el juicio, donde no hay quien salga a la defensa del crédito ajeno. Porque es así, que muchos de los soldados que han militado en Californias, cuando después se han vuelto a sus tierras, sin acordarse del mucho bien, que allá recibieron de los padres, han venido a esparcir contra ellos muchas quejas, y calumnias, así en las provincias de Sinaloa, y Sonora, como en Guadalajara, en México, y aún en toda la Nueva España. Y aunque es verdad que los hombres cuerdos, y avisados no les dan crédito porque también hay muchos imprudentes, crédulos, temerarios, y fáciles de propalar cuanto oyen en materia de honras ajenas. Será forzoso, salir aquí a la defensa de los padres misioneros, y mostrar, cuanto más quejosos debían estar los padres contra los soldados, que ellos contra los padres.

1796. Para hablar con seguridad y sin ofensión de los buenos, hemos de suponer aquí dos cosas: la primera es, que no puede negarse que haya habido en Californias algunos soldados buenos, muy cristianos en sus costumbres, muy cabales en sus respetos, muy aplicados al trabajo, muy arreglados a la milicia, y que en todo han procurado, dar cumplimiento a sus obligaciones. Pero estos han sido los menos. Así como en toda muchedumbre siempre son muy pocos los buenos respecto de los malos. Pues de estos pocos no hablamos aquí, porque sus buenos proceder, antes merecen recomendación, y alabanza por sus loables costumbres, y por el celo, y buena intención, con que se aplicaron al servicio de su rey, y al alivio de los padres en aquella conquista. Hablamos sólo de los muchos, y por decirlo con más expresión, hablamos de los mismos, que se quejan contra los padres. Porque ellos son, los que no pudiendo, o no queriendo sufrir el yugo de la sujeción militar, ni la disciplina de la vida cristiana en que querían los padres contenerlos, después que han salido de allá, desfogan su enojo, y sentimiento con quejas mal fundadas, y aún a veces también con imposturas falsas en descrédito de los padres.

1797. La segunda cosa que se ha de suponer, es, que estos muchos, de quienes hablamos, por la mayor parte son la gente vil de la tierra, y el desecho de la plebe. Porque aunque los padres quisieran, escoger para soldados los mejores que pudieran hallarse, pero como están en tierras ultramarinas, y tan apartadas de estos reinos, compelidos de la necesidad, reciben por soldados a los que topan. Conviene a saber, mulatos, mestizos, lobos, coyotes, y otros semejantes, que en su color quebrado y en la mala mixtura de su sangre dan luego a conocer la bajeza de sus obligaciones. Pues que, si se considera, que algunos de estos son gente fugitiva de la Nueva España, o de la Nueva Galicia, que por no caer en manos de la justicia por sus delitos, voluntariamente se destierran de sus patrias, retirándose a lo más apartado de nuestras misiones, mas como ni allí han hallado cabida, ni fomento, ni ocupación en qué buscar el necesario sustento a la primera ocasión, que tuvieron, se alistaron por soldados de Californias.

1798. Estos son pues de los que hablamos, estos son los quejosos contra los padres y estos son los que en sus mismas quejas dan luego a conocer la ruindad de sus proceder. En ellos se cumple el vulgar adagio, que dice: ¿Quiéres conocer al ruin? Pues dale un cargo. Porque lo mismo es, verse admitidos por soldados, para servir al rey en el presidio de Californias, que mostrar luego la ruindad de sus costumbres en su modo de proceder. Recibenlos allí con el despacho del señor virrey, expedido a favor del superior del presidio, para que por él sepan, así sus obligaciones, como los fueros militares de que allí gozan. Pero ellos, haciendo poco caso, y aún a veces olvidando lo oneroso de sus obligaciones, aprecian mucho y toman bien de memoria, lo honorífico, y favorable de sus fueros militares. Con esto se revisten de un espíritu tan soberbio, como si fueran ya unos grandes capitanes, con quienes ninguno se pudiera igualar. Y soldado ha habido tan petulante, y desvergonzado, que ha tenido osadía de decirle al padre, a quien asistía, que entre él y su reverencia no había más distinción, que la sotana.

1799. Con una gente tal se ven obligados los padres a tratar de continuo por el bien de aquella cristiandad. Quien mira las cosas de lejos, pensará por ventura, que tienen los padres mucho alivio, en tener cada uno un soldado que le cuide la misión; y de ordinario no tiene, sino mucho tormento. De ellos se cumple lo que decía San Ignacio de aquellos diez soldados, que lo llevaban preso a Roma; esto es: que iba atado de día y de noche con diez leopardos, que en acariciándolos se hacían más crueles, y sangrientos de que vamos hablando; gente feroz, gente intratable, gente brutal, idiota, ignorante, y sobretodo gente soberbia, que les parece muy debido cualquiera bien, o agasajo, que los padres les hagan. Ellos están hechos a las conversaciones libres, y disolutas, que entre sí tienen con los soldados, y como se ven obligados a tratar de continuo con los padres, a quienes asisten, se les hace intolerable su conversación modesta, religiosa, y cristiana. ¿Pues qué tal les parecerá a los padres, por el contrario, el verse necesitados, a tratar con semejante gente tosca, grosera, y malcriada?

1800. En confirmación de esto llegó a decir el padre Juan María, que en todo cuanto había andado, no había encontrado gente más intratable, y perversa. Mas con todo eso ellos son necesarios en aquellas misiones. Porque, por ser su administración tan dilatada, y andar los padres de ordinario ausentes en sus ministerios, es forzoso, que haya, quien les cuide la casa, quien provea lo temporal del sustento, y quien tenga las veces del capitán del presidio para los casos que no admiten tardanza en el recurso al presidio. Es verdad, que el padre Juan de Ugarte se redujo a vivir sin soldados en su misión; pero esto pudo hacerlo, porque tuvo los indios de Sinaloa que le cuidasen la casa, sus cosechas, y sus ganados; y para costear su servicio, tenía los frutos, que sacaba del pueblo de San Miguel, como en otra parte se dijo. Los otros misioneros no pueden hacer esto, lo uno, por no tener con qué costear estos servicios, lo otro, porque por inconvenientes que se han reconocido, no se permiten ya sirvientes de la otra banda en Californias. A que se llega, que la misión del padre Ugarte era entre todas la más cercana al presidio. Y así era más fácil de suplir la ausencia del soldado con el recurso al capitán, que no en las otras.

1801. Sin embargo de esto conociendo el padre Ugarte esta necesidad de los soldados en nuestras misiones, solía decir aplicándoles el verso de Marcial: *Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te*: que los padres misioneros no pueden vivir ni con ellos, ni sin ellos. No con ellos, por lo intratable, y bronco de sus costumbres.

No sin ellos por la indispensable necesidad, que hay de su asistencia en cada misión. De aquí se sigue, que raro es el soldado que persevera un año en la misión; porque al fin aburrido el padre con él, o por sus descuidos, o por sus escándalos, o por otras muchas causas que dan en lo tocante a su cargo, se ve obligado, a escribirle al capitán, que le envíe otro, y aquél lo remite al presidio. Pero esto no es mas que remudar el trabajo, porque suele venir otro peor que el pasado, y a veces es señalado para servir en aquella misión el que ya fue echado de otra por sus malos servicios. De este modo siendo cada soldado carga pesada para el padre, a quien asiste, se ve cada uno obligado a soportar la carga que otro dejó por intolerable; cumpliendo con esto el consejo del apóstol: *Alter alterius onera portate*: y quedando remudados, pero no mejorados en el cambio, sólo quedan mejorados en el espíritu por la nueva materia que reciben, para ejercitar la caridad: *Supportantes invicem in caritate*.

1802. De lo dicho se puede inferir, que si esto sucede ahora estando sujeto todo el presidio al superior de las Californias, ¿qué sucediera en caso de estar independiente? Ya esto lo ponderamos arriba, y basta sólo notar, que en tal caso durará poco el presidio en Californias; porque ellos hicieron tales vejaciones a los indios, que estos se alzarán, y los matarán, o los echarán de la tierra. Y cuando esto no, el hambre los obligará a salir, como sucedía en lo antiguo; porque ahora toda la provisión que tienen depende de la industria, y trabajo de los padres, y de la providencia con que gobiernan los barcos, y la gente de mar. Por esta causa dijo el padre Juan María escribiendo al señor Miranda: que a no haberse hecho la entrada, y conquista de Californias del modo, que se hizo, y a no haber sido la conquistadora de aquella tierra María Santísima en su sagrada imagen de Loreto, era imposible conquistar aquel reino a cualquier brazo de rey, por poderoso que fuese.

## CAPÍTULO X

Respóndese en particular a las quejas de los soldados.

1803. Pero vengamos ya en particular a tapar las bocas de estos soldados quejumbrosos en sus mal fundadas querellas. Ya hemos dado a conocer en el capítulo pasado, quiénes son los que se quejan, y contra quiénes. Conviene a saber soldados libres, y gente baja; hombres perversos, broncos, intratables, se quejan contra los padres misioneros, sacerdotes, religiosos, y siervos de Jesucristo, que están por obediencia en aquel destierro, y desamparo, empleados por amor del Señor en procurar la salvación de aquellas almas. Y la causa porque se quejan, se funda en la contrariedad de la vida religiosa, y santa, con vida militar, y disoluta; y del fin espiritual a que anhela el celo apostólico, con el fin temporal y terreno, a que aspira la codicia mundana. Ahora examinaremos en particular, de qué se quejan, y qué es lo que dicen contra los padres.

1804. Dicen lo primero: que habiendo ellos asentado plaza de soldados en Californias, se ven después obligados a ejercitar el oficio de vaqueros. Esto lo dicen, porque tal vez el soldado de la misión va a traer la res que se ha de matar, para comer. Y también va a asistir al herradero, cuando hay ganado, que herrar. ¿Pero cuán mal, y sin razón se quejan de esto? Porque en primer lugar no siempre es enviado a esto el soldado, sino cuando no hay sirviente en la misión que lo pueda hacer. Ni esto sucede en todas partes porque en muchas misiones está el ganado cerca, y a la vista. Fuera de que, cuando el soldado va, no va solo, sino acom-

pañado de los indios de la misión; y así propiamente el trabajo es de ellos. Y el soldado sólo va allí, para escoger la res, y mandar a los indios; y esto no es ser vaquero. Y si se mira, que esa res se trae para sustento del padre, y del soldado, ¿qué mucho hará éste en dar algunos pasos, por ir a traer lo que ha de comer? Si no es que quiera, que el padre le sirva de criado en irle a traer la carne que ha de comer. Y eso es levantarse mucho sobre su superior.

1805. ¿Qué diremos del herradero? Aquí tienen menos razón de quejarse. Porque, cuando hay algunas cabezas que herrar, es verdad que asiste el soldado, ¿pero a qué? A ver, y mandar. Si él es aficionado, se divierte. Porque a los hombres de campo les sirve de mucha diversión este ejercicio. Y vemos, que en todas las haciendas de ganado, sin ser llamados, acuden los campistas de todos los contornos, y de su voluntad se ofrecen a ayudar a los herraderos, sin más interés, que el gusto que reciben con la diversión de este ejercicio. Pero si el soldado no es aficionado, va allí al principio por mera curiosidad; colea tres, o cuatro becerros para hacer ejercicio. Y en cansándose, se vuelve a la casa, dejando a los indios con el trabajo. Y esto es, lo que llaman, ser vaqueros en las misiones. Según esto diremos también, que son vaqueros los dueños de haciendas, cuando van a herrar sus ganados, y todos los que por afición, y divertimento van a los herraderos. Más prosigamos oyendo sus quejas.

1806. Dicen lo segundo: que ellos en las misiones son mayordomos de los padres. ¿Y esto por qué? Porque tienen las llaves de cuantas provisiones tiene el padre, y está a su cargo el cuidarlas, y distribuir las. Sin duda se acuerdan, que así en Loreto, como en otros presidios bien arreglados, se van señalando algunos de los soldados con nombre de proveedores, a cuyo cargo está el cuidar, y distribuir la provisión de todos. A uno de estos quejumbrosos, por exonerarle parte del trabajo que en esto tenía, quiso un padre misionero, recoger la mayor parte de la provisión, que tenía, en una pieza separada, dejándole la que bastaba para el gasto ordinario; y porque el padre se guardó la llave, y no se la dio, se sintió tanto, que esto sólo fue bastante para pedir salirse de allí. ¿Pues qué sentimiento hicieran, si les quitaran a ellos las llaves, y se las dieran a los indios? Pues esa es la mayordomía, de que tanto se quejan, que en substancia no es otra cosa, que ser dueños de cuanto hay en la misión, y disponer de ello a su voluntad.

1807. En tercer lugar se quejan, de que ellos en las misiones son cocineros, para decir esto no tienen más fundamento, sino que ellos cuidan la provisión ordinaria de la comida, y la dan al cocinero cada día, para que la guise y prepare. Y esta comida es igualmente para el padre, y para el soldado, que come de todo lo que se da al padre, y mucho más, porque está en su mano toda la provisión, y se vale de ella a su voluntad para sus almuerzos, y meriendas. En lo primero no puede llamarse cocinero, sino proveedor; y pues este oficio lo hay en todos los presidios, no tiene por qué quejarse. En lo segundo de irse él a meter en la cocina, a preparar los bocaditos que ha de comer fuera de tiempo, esto no lo hace por mandado del padre, sino por su propia elección. Y así quéjese de sí mismo, pues por su gusto se mete a cocinero. En lo demás si el padre le quitara este cargo, y las llaves de la despensa, qué dijera? ¿Dejará de quejarse? Antes se quejará entonces de lo contrario, diciendo: que el padre lo mataba de hambre, y que a él le tocaba aquel cargo, por no haber allí, quién lo cuidase mejor que él. Pero esto es propio de los mal contentos; buscar en todo pretextos para sus quejas.

1808. Dicen lo cuarto: que en las misiones ellos más son comitres, que soldados. Lo cual dicen, porque una u otra vez se les ofrece castigar a los indios por sus hurtillos en que suele tener no pequeña parte el soldado por su descuido en las cosas que están a su cargo. Pero es cierto, que en lo demás que hacen los indios por mandado del padre, o del gobernador del pueblo, para nada interviene el soldado. Y debían acordarse, los que así se quejan, que en los presidios de Parras, Sinaloa, y Sonora los soldados son los que sirven de juntar los indios descarriados, y de ir a buscar a los fugitivos, que es un trabajo grande. Este gravamen no tienen en Californias; porque el padre envía a sus indios, a buscar a los fugitivos, menos en caso, de que el delito sea de muerte, porque entonces le toca al soldado, ayudado de los indios, el buscar, y prender al delincuente. Y esto no es ser comitre, ni verdugo, sino ministro ejecutor de la justicia en nombre del capitán, de quien tiene sus veces para estos casos.

1809. Dicen finalmente, que ellos en Californias nada menos son, que soldados. Porque allí sólo son criados de los padres, y criados también de los indios. El único fundamento que tienen, para decir esto, es, porque ellos cuidan, de que se cueza el maíz, que han de comer, y que se les haga el atole, que han de beber. Pero este trabajo más es de los indios, porque el soldado sólo se ocupa después en repartirlo. Y ni en esto se ocupara, si él tuviera la economía de mandar a un indio que fuera repartiendo, pues con sólo estar él presente, y asistir cuando se reparte, lo hiciera bien cualquier indio ejecutando su mandato. Más aquí está la dificultad. Que a veces el mismo que se queja de este trabajo, no lo quiere dejar, ni cometer a otro, por hacerlo él por su propia mano a la medida de su deseo con desigualdad, y con aceptación de personas; porque les da a unos más, y a otros menos, según le dicta su pasión de amor, o de odio, de interés, o venganza. Y lo peor es que todo esto a veces nace de afecto lascivo.

1810. Por esta causa los padres Juan María de Salvatierra, Juan de Ugarte, Francisco María Piccolo, y Pedro de Ugarte procuraban casi siempre repartir por su mano el sustento a los pobres, para evitar toda desigualdad, y los daños que de ella nacen. Pero esto pudo hacerse entonces, cuando por estar las misiones más recogidas, había menos que hacer; ahora no es posible, por la extensión que tiene cada misión en sus ministerios, por los cuales andan los padres lo más del día fuera de casa. Pero entretanto digan los quejumbrosos, ¿en qué se opone este ministerio caritativo a lo militar, y a lo soldado? ¿Por ventura no se practica en todos los ejércitos este repartimiento de víveres a los soldados? Pues que mucho que lo hagan ellos con los indios, los cuales también en las expediciones, que se ofrecen contra los enemigos de las fronteras, o en los nuevos descubrimientos, acompañan con sus armas a los soldados, y se exponen a los mismos peligros.

1811. A más de esto deben acordarse, que la conquista de Californias no se ha conseguido con las armas de la milicia terrena, sino con las armas del espíritu. Conviene a saber con la luz de la palabra de Dios, y con los dardos de la beneficencia. Porque haciéndoles bien a aquellos pobres desamparados, y ejercitando con ellos las obras de misericordia espiritual y corporal, se han dejado conquistar, y ganar para Cristo. Pues si todos los efectos connaturalmente se conservan por las mismas causas que les dieron el ser primero, es forzoso decir, que la conquista de Californias, conseguida desde el principio a fuerza de beneficios caritativos, se ha de conservar con los mismos en lo porvenir. Pues esto es, ser soldados de Califor-



nias; ejercitar en compañía de los padres misioneros la misericordia con aquellos nuevos cristianos, para conservarlos sujetos a Cristo, y a su santa ley.

1812. Por esta causa se les concede entre sus fueros, que los servicios que hicieren en bien de aquella conquista, se reputen en igual grado de merecimiento, como los servicios, que hacen los soldados a su rey en guerra viva. Hagan pues lo que hicieren los soldados en Californias, o sea asistir en el presidio, o sea acompañar a los misioneros, o sea ocuparse en fabricar iglesias, edificar casas, abrir caminos, o sea en cuidar ganados, y repartir la limosna de los pobres, todo esto lo mira su majestad para el premio como si fueran servicios hechos en guerra viva. Porque todo esto redundará en utilidad de aquella conquista. Y esto es ser soldados de Californias. Ejercitando pues los padres las obras de misericordia espiritual con las almas de aquellos nuevos cristianos, y la corporal con sus cuerpos. ¿Qué mucho es, que al soldado le quepa una pequeña parte de la misericordia corporal, cual es, dar de comer al hambriento? ¿Y por decirlo con más propiedad, no el dar, pues nada dan suyo, sino distribuir, lo que da la misión para los pobres?

1813. También deben considerar, que dice una regla del derecho *Scienti, et volenti non fit injuria* no se hace injuria, al que recibe un cargo, en pedirle que cumpla las obligaciones, anexas a él, habiéndose obligado a cumplirlas. Pues si los tales soldados de Californias, no entran allí a ciegas, porque desde el principio se les avisa, a lo que van, y en lo que se han de ocupar en el presidio, y en las misiones. ¿De qué se quejan después, cuando los piden aquellos ejercicios a que voluntariamente se ofrecieron, y por los cuales están ganando los reales sueldos? Con más razón podrán quejarse de ellos los padres por su mala asistencia, y por su descuido en las cosas, que se les encomiendan. Como también, porque ellos destruyen con sus escándalos, lo que han edificado los padres con sus ministerios en aquellos pequeñuelos. Pero porque ésta es materia muy larga, de que tuvieran los padres mucho que hablar, si quisieran quejarse, hagamos aquí punto, concluyendo: que todas las quejas de tales soldados son falsas, vanas, y mal fundadas.

## CAPÍTULO XI

Del gobierno de los barcos, y jurisdicción, que tiene el capitán en el mar, y costas de Californias.

1814. Como el presidio, y todos los soldados con su cabo están sujetos al superior de las Californias, así también los barcos, y la gente de mar están pendientes de su mando, y disposición. Antes que hubiera procurador aparte para el presidio de Loreto, corría inmediatamente el superior de las Californias con el manejo del presidio, y de los barcos, que era un trabajo insoportable para quien ni vivía de asiento en Loreto, ni podía siempre vivir en su propia misión, por andar visitando las otras. Pero ahora que han reservado al superior de este trabajo material y mecánico, corre con él inmediatamente el procurador del presidio, quien por ser misionero de Loreto, y no extenderse a mucho distrito su jurisdicción, puede más cómodamente, asistir al cuidado del presidio y al despacho de los barcos. Al dicho padre procurador pertenece, el recibir las memorias, y la provisión, así para los padres, como para los soldados, y marineros; la cual remite el procurador de México con los réditos de las misiones, y con el situado que paga su majestad para cuarenta y seis plazas de soldados, y marineros; no incluyendo aquí el situado para

el nuevo presidio fundado en el Cabo de San Lucas que consta de treinta soldados.

1815. Fuera de esto, que se envía cada año desde México al puerto de Matanchel, y desde allí se lleva en el barco a Californias, procuran los padres solicitar bastimentos, y otras cosas necesarias en la otra banda de las misiones. Acudiendo ya al puerto de Yaqui, ya al de Ahome, ya al de Guaymas, y de allí se proveen de lo que han menester a cambio de los frutos de Californias, que son vinos, panochas, incienso de la tierra, y cosas semejantes. Para mantener este comercio, tienen de ordinario en Californias dos embarcaciones, que son un barco grande, y una lancha. Esta sirve para el ordinario transporte de bastimentos que se solicitan de la otra banda, y el barco para los viajes más largos, y arriesgados, que se hacen a Matanchel, o al puerto de Acapulco, aunque también sirve para conducir ganados, y gente de la otra banda, cuando es menester. Y asimismo cuando se pierde la embarcación pequeña, o no puede hacer viaje por algún impedimento.

1816. Estas dos embarcaciones corren de cuenta de su majestad, así al fabricarse, o comprarse la primera vez, como después en sus carenas, y aderezos, según quedó decretado en la junta del real acuerdo, que tuvo el señor virrey marqués de Valero por septiembre del año de 1717. Bien es verdad, que siempre que se ha necesitado de nueva embarcación, ha costado mucha dificultad, el conseguirla de los señores virreyes; y ha sido necesario, que el oficio de Californias ponga no pequeña parte de sus costos. Lo que sí se ha conseguido, y está en corriente por decreto del señor virrey, marqués de Casafuerte es que regularmente cada dos años bajen los barcos al puerto de Acapulco, donde el señor castellano, y oficiales reales les hacen dar carena de cuenta de su majestad.

1817. Toda la gente de mar, que anda en los barcos está sujeta al capitán del presidio, como a justicia mayor de mar y tierra; mas no sólo en esta gente ejercita su jurisdicción, sino también en todos los demás navegantes, y marineros que andan por el mar, y costas de Californias. Porque perteneciendo a los dominios de su majestad, aquella tierra, por voluntaria sujeción de sus moradores, debía haber alguna persona, que tuviese la real autoridad para administrar justicia a los pueblos, y hacer ejecutar las órdenes de su majestad, y de sus ministros los señores virreyes de la Nueva España. Pero en todo aquel nuevo reino no hay otra persona, que pueda obtener este cargo, sino el capitán del presidio de Californias, por tener la jurisdicción sobre los soldados, que son allí los únicos; ministro de que puede valerse para administrar justicia a los pueblos, y también por tener igual jurisdicción sobre la gente de mar, de que sólo puede valerse para las cosas del servicio del rey dentro del mar, y costas de Californias.

1818. Este cargo no pudiera obtenerlo otra persona por los graves inconvenientes, que de aquí se siguieran. No pudiera ejercitarlo el gobernador de Sinaloa, ni el alcalde mayor de la provincia de Acaponeta, ni otro alguno de los alcaldes mayores de la Nueva Galicia. Porque mal pudieran cuidar de otra provincia extraña, ultramarina, y tan dilatada, teniendo tanto a qué atender en su propia provincia, y alcaldía. Fuera de que para esto necesitaban de tener barcos en corriente para trasegar los mares, y visitar la tierra, y costas de Californias; y estos barcos con la gente de mar necesaria no pudieran, ni quisieran ellos costearlos. Y así era forzoso, que se hiciesen y mantuviesen siempre a costa de su majestad. Lo cual era superfluo, y muy gravoso a sus cajas reales, por ser necesario por otra parte, que su majestad mantenga a su costa los barcos de Californias. Y pues estos

corren de cuenta del rey, y también es muy connatural, que obtenga la real jurisdicción sobre los mares, quien la obtiene sobre los barcos, y sobre la gente de mar, que los gobiernan.

1819. Tampoco pudiera, obtener esta jurisdicción sobre mar, y tierra otra persona, nombrada por su majestad para vivir en Californias con este cargo. Lo primero: ¿porque este nuevo gobernador, o había de ser súbdito, o había de ser superior del capitán del presidio? Si fuera súbdito, ya no fuera supremo gobernador de mar, y tierra, ni quisiera alguno admitir el cargo con esta sujeción. Si fuera superior, era forzoso, que el capitán del presidio, y sus soldados estuvieran sujetos a su obediencia, y por consiguiente también toda la gente de mar. Y en tal caso este gobernador, o había de estar sujeto al superior del presidio, como ahora lo está el capitán. Y entonces era superfluo, porque ¿qué necesidad había, de que otro hiciera, lo que hace ahora más cómodamente el capitán con sus soldados? ¿O no había de estar sujeto, sino con potestad absoluta, e independiente de otro superior? Y de aquí se siguieran graves inconvenientes.

1820. Examinemos de estos algunos. El primero es, que en ese caso hubiera continua competencia de jurisdicción entre el capitán, y el gobernador. De donde dimanarían muy perniciosas consecuencias en daño, y atraso de aquella conquista. El segundo que de aquí se sigue es, que no hicieran cosa de provecho los soldados en sus expediciones militares, y nuevos descubrimientos. Porque el gobernador con la potestad absoluta que tuviera, se enmetiera en todo, y anduviera estorbando las operaciones del capitán, y de los soldados con la capa del mayor servicio de su majestad. El tercero: que fuera necesario entonces, que su majestad le asignase salario proporcionado a su sustento, y ministros ejecutores de su justicia, que también habían de tener su salario, por no haber en la tierra cosa de donde pudieran sacar utilidad, para sustentarse. Y esto fuera multiplicar gastos de la real hacienda sin necesidad.

1821. El cuarto es, que, si no le concedieran este salario a él, ni a sus ministros, lo quisieran sacar del buceo de las perlas con infinitas vejaciones de los indios, y atrasos de aquella cristiandad. El quinto, que si no les dieran ministros separados, sino que le señalaran los soldados del presidio, no hubiera, quién quisiera ser capitán con esta sujeción, para que fuera, y no fuera superior de sus soldados. Y si por el contrario el gobernador estuviera sujeto al capitán, no hubiera, quién quisiera ser gobernador, porque fuera, y no fuera súbdito. Y de aquí dimanarían muchas pesadumbres. El sexto es, que el tal gobernador independiente quisiera tener a su mando y disposición, los barcos, y la gente de mar, y entonces no pudiera el superior de las misiones enviarlos a buscar provisión de bastimentos, siempre que fuera necesario, sino que estuviera atenido a la voluntad del gobernador con no pequeño detrimento de las misiones. El séptimo, que quisiera también, valerse de los barcos para el buceo de las perlas, que ha sido siempre el fin último de los pretendientes de Californias, por cuyo anhelo no se consiguió su conquista en tantos años. Y ahora se perdiera lo conquistado, si el gobernador se entregara al buceo.

1822. Para conocer, cuánta verdad sea ésta, basta hacer reflexión sobre la demanda que puso uno de estos pretendientes de perlas por el año de 1715, o 1716. Presentóse en el real consejo de Indias, y ofreció, que serviría a su majestad con ochenta mil pesos, porque le diera el gobierno de las Californias, y la alcaldía mayor de Acajoneta, y Santipac, pero su majestad, considerando el fin de aquella

pretensión, respondió: que para dar paso a ella, llevase primero el pretendiente certificación del prelado a cuyo cargo estaba aquella nueva cristiandad, de que su petición no perjudicaba al aumento de aquella conquista, ni embarazaba la propagación de la fe en aquel nuevo reino. Con este decreto desistió de su pretensión pareciéndole imposible, como lo era, que el dicho superior diese una certificación contraria a la verdad, y tan perniciosa al bien de aquellas misiones.

1823. Pero supongamos ahora, que su majestad, sin darle una respuesta tan cristiana, y prudente, por estar preocupado de siniestros informes, le concediera el gobierno de las Californias. En este caso era forzoso, que el nuevo gobernador no se contentase con sacar de su gobierno los ochenta mil pesos, que había dado por el oficio; pues contentarse con esto, era perder en vez de ganar. Porque en ochenta mil pesos, puestos a réditos anuales, tuviera cada año cuatro mil pesos de renta, quedando siempre el capital seguro. Y así cuando menos, había de pretender sacar cien mil pesos en los cinco años de su gobierno; los ochenta del capital, y los veinte de réditos. Pero aún esto, mirado con ojos de prudencia humana, era una fatua necedad, como contraria a los aumentos de su propio interés. Porque si esto mismo tuviera seguro en su caudal, puesto a réditos, para qué era, molestarse con el trabajo personal, y pesadumbres forzosas del gobierno, para ganar lo mismo que tuviera estándose quieto en una ciudad, gozando de sus rentas, y ajeno de todo cuidado, y trabajo?

1824. De aquí se sigue, que un tal pretendiente había de querer sacar en los cinco años de su gobierno mucho más de cien mil pesos. ¿Pero veamos ahora de dónde los había de sacar? No de la tierra, que no tiene frutos, ni minas. No del comercio con los indios, porque no lo tienen, ni cabe en su suma pobreza y desnudez cosa alguna de valor. Y así era preciso, que pretendiese sacarlos de las perlas, y que para su buceo trajese atareados en dura servidumbre a los pobres indios. ¿Mas de aquí qué perniciosas consecuencias no se siguieran? Porque ni los padres misioneros pudieran tenerlos prontos para su instrucción, y enseñanza, ni ellos tuvieran tiempo para buscar por los montes su escaso, y preciso sustento en las semillas, raíces, y frutas silvestres de la tierra. Por otra parte viéndose ellos vejados, oprimidos, y atareados por interés ajeno, se levantarán, sacudiendo el yugo no sólo de la obediencia a su rey, sino también de la fe de Jesucristo. Y por este camino el nuevo gobernador, en castigo de su avaricia, saliera desnudo de la tierra, cuando tuviera la dicha de escapar con vida.

[Se omite 1825 hasta 1836 que tratan de las perlas, y tambien 1837 hasta 1868 que no pertenecer a la historia militar.]

## CAPÍTULO XVI

De la jurisdicción, que ejercita el capitán del presidio en todas las naciones de Californias.

1869. La más dilatada, y principal materia de la jurisdicción del capitán del presidio son todas las naciones de los indios californios en todo lo descubierto, y conquistado. Porque él, como justicia mayor de todo aquel nuevo reino, no sólo ejercita su jurisdicción en los forasteros que llegan al buceo, por la comisión que tiene para ello. Ni sólo en los soldados del presidio, como en ministros inmediatos de su jurisdicción, sino también por medio de ellos en todos los indios de la tierra. Y aunque al padre visitador como a superior del presidio, le toca el dar

varas de justicia, y nombrar en todos los pueblos gobernadores, según la facultad que tiene para esto desde el principio de la conquista, confirmada después con cédula real; pero a los ya electos, y nombrados para gobernadores, les da facultad el capitán del presidio, para que en delitos graves, o criminales, prendan y aseguren a los delincuentes en cárcel destinada para este fin en la cabecera de la misión, con las prisiones necesarias para seguridad de los reos.

1870. Esto se entiende, cuando no hay soldado en la misión, porque donde lo hay, éste tiene las veces, y autoridad del capitán para estas ejecuciones de justicia. Y a él acuden los gobernadores de los otros pueblos, pertenecientes a aquella misión, en que él reside, para que haga justicia en los delincuentes. Esta la ejecutan los soldados solamente en aquellos casos, en que el delito pide algún castigo, que no puede por sí mandar ejecutar el padre misionero. Pero si el delito es de muerte, o de tanta monta por sus perniciosas consecuencias, que no baste para escarmiento público un castigo moderado, como son alzamientos, rebeliones, conjuraciones, o guerras, y hostilidades de unas rancherías con otras. Entonces el soldado, y si no lo hay, el gobernador del pueblo, tiene obligación de asegurar al reo, o reos, en la cárcel, y dar luego cuenta al capitán del presidio. Este en tal caso, si puede ir, va luego a la misión, donde está el reo. Y si no puede, lo manda traer al presidio. Y en ambas partes procede con la autoridad de único juez en la tierra; examina al reo, oye sus descargos, averigua los cómplices; y substanciada la causa, procede a dar sentencia, o de muerte, o de azotes, o de destierro según la calidad del delito.

1871. A la sentencia se sigue luego su ejecución. Si ésta es de muerte se ejecuta a usanza militar, y antes de ella se le avisa al padre misionero, a quien toca; y al reo se le da tiempo para que se confiese, y disponga a morir como cristiano. Si la sentencia es de destierro, por quitarlo de entre los suyos, y que no sirva de fomentar nuevas discordias, o venganzas, o sediciones, no se echa al desterrado fuera de Californias, porque aunque esto se hizo con algunos a los principios, pero la experiencia mostró, que los tales desterrados volvían después peores de lo que habían salido. Por eso a los desterrados los condenan, a que sirvan por algún tiempo en los barcos, dándoles la mitad del salario, que a otros. Si no es que por la gravedad del delito sean condenados a servir allí de balde por el tiempo que dura su destierro. A los condenados a azotes se les dan por la primera vez veinticinco azotes. Y si reinciden, crecen hasta cuarenta. Este castigo en las mujeres por la delicadeza de su sexo es mucho más moderado, pretendiendo con él, más el escarmiento de otras, que el castigo doloroso de las culpadas.

1872. Antes de ejecutar cualquier sentencia, o sea en alguna misión donde está el reo, o sea en el presidio de Loreto, adonde se ha traído, se procura que asistan los indios de su pueblo, o los que del tal pueblo se hallan en Loreto, para que por su medio se divulgue entre los suyos la noticia de su castigo, y sirva de escarmiento a los demás. Para esto por medio de un intérprete se relata la causa porque está preso, y el delito, o delitos, que se le han probado, y la pena a que es condenado por ellos. Con esto el delincuente queda castigado por su delito, y los otros escarmentados con su castigo. Esta justicia se practica por el capitán, o por los soldados con comisión suya. Y por este medio está sujeta toda la tierra, y se mantienen todos rendidos, y obedientes, al que reconocen por ministro de su majestad, para gobernarlos, y corregirlos en su nombre. Pero en las otras causas de poca monta le toca al padre misionero, corregir, y castigar a los culpados por

medio de los fiscales, y gobernadores. No de otra suerte, que como lo hace un padre de familias con sus domésticos, y un cura de almas con sus feligreses.

1873. No sólo en lo judicial, y punitivo ejercita el capitán su jurisdicción con los indios, sino también en lo político para el buen gobierno de los pueblos. Es verdad, que el nombrar gobernadores de los pueblos, fiscales de las iglesias, y maestros que enseñen la doctrina cristiana a los indios, le toca al superior del presidio, y con su facultad lo hacen respectivamente todos los misioneros, cada uno en su misión. Pero a los ya nombrados les confiere el capitán sus veces, y su autoridad, para mandar, y gobernar a los otros, y celar, que todos obedezcan al padre, y ejecuten sus órdenes. También le toca al capitán, el nombrar a los que deben ir a todas las expediciones, que ocurren para conservación, y aumento de aquella conquista, no sólo de los soldados del presidio, sino también de los indios de la tierra que los han de acompañar, y ayudar en los descubrimientos, o en las batallas, o en la prisión de los fugitivos, o en las demás faenas que ocurren, de abrir caminos, desmontar tierras, y cosas semejantes.

1874. Pero porque no fuera razón, gravar a los pobres indios con trabajos personales, que no redundan en su propia utilidad, está dispuesto, y ordenado, que cuando se valen de ellos para tales expediciones el capitán, o los soldados, que de él llevaren autoridad, o comisión, estén obligados los tales indios a obedecerles en todo, pero con esta diferencia: que si las diligencias que van a hacer, redundan en bien, y provecho de su nación, o de sus pueblos, entonces no se les da salario alguno, sino sólo el bastimento necesario para todo el tiempo que durare la expedición, por practicarse así en todas las repúblicas bien ordenadas. Pero si las expediciones se hicieren en tierras de naciones muy separadas, y por eso no se ordenan inmediatamente a la utilidad de los que concurren a ellas, en tal caso se les deba señalar a los tales indios un salario moderado de cuatro, o seis pesos cada mes, según fuere el trabajo de la expedición. Porque entonces no están ellos obligados a ir, sino los inmediatos, y más cercanos, a cuya utilidad se ordena. En todo esto procede el capitán como único juez, y gobernador general de toda la tierra, pero siempre con la debida subordinación al padre visitador como a superior del presidio. Con cuyo consejo y dirección se consigue que el gobierno militar, judicial, y político de aquella tierra ande bien arreglado, y conforme a la razón, y a la ley de Dios para gloria suya, y mucho bien, y aumento de aquella cristiandad.





## IV

### Promoting the Welfare of the Californias (1738-1744)

#### Letters between Archbishop Vizarrón and the Marqués de Torrenueva, 1738

**T**his exchange of letters between the viceroy of New Spain and the treasurer general of Philip V's Council of the Indies summarizes the storm of controversy that raged between Manuel Bernal de Huidobro and the Jesuit missionaries of California. Both Spanish and Mexican archives are filled with papers recounting the dispute. In essence, the Jesuits had employed several Yaqui and Mayo auxiliaries to assist Captain Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo in quelling the Guaicuro uprising of 1734. Governor Huidobro of Sinaloa arrived late on the scene but took advantage of the king's orders to establish a presidio on the southern coast under a separate command. Without consulting the Jesuit visitor at Loreto, Huidobro chose as captain of the southern unit Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, a militia captain from Río Chico in Sonora who had accompanied the governor on his belated expedition to California. Moreover, he made Alvarez directly responsible to him. The Jesuits objected strongly to Alvarez's treatment of the Indians as well as to Huidobro's making the appointment without their prior approval. This was the crux of the dispute, which raged for several years until the missionaries won when the viceroy summarily removed Alvarez over the strong objections of Huidobro.

The next two documents, namely, the viceroy's letter regarding Alvarez and the summary opinion of Pedro de Vedoya Ossorio, the attorney general for the Audiencia of Mexico contain sufficient details to explain the controversy and its resolution. It had the profound effect of reducing the pressure to build and maintain a completely separate presidio on the southern coast, thus altering the developmental course of military history on the peninsula.



Viceroy Vizzarón to the Marqués de Torrenueva, 1738



y dear sir:

I have been informed by Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, in two letters dated May 4 and 5 of this year, of the complete pacification of the California natives and their reduction to their respective missions. Twelve or thirteen fugitive families are still at large, having fled into the ruggedness of the mountains,<sup>1</sup> but there is no doubt that they, too, will soon be reduced and united with the body of their nation. Peace and calm having finally been reestablished among these Indians, it was decided to return them to their province,<sup>2</sup> leaving the command of the garrison and the newly created troop of thirty men in the hands of Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, an experienced individual. With their approval, Don Bernardo Rodríguez, son of Don Esteban Rodríguez and captain of the old garrison at the Loreto presidio, had been previously relieved of his command, having proven remiss and more than a little unscrupulous in the fulfillment of his orders pertaining to the royal service.

At the same time and enclosed with the two letters mentioned, he has sent me all of the original *autos* from the beginning to the end of the enterprise, [in 496 pages?], which he forwarded by way of the government office. Added to these is a list of the Indians reduced at the missions of San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and Pueblo de Todos Santos. By way of my private secretary, the governor has sent a short memorandum of confidential recommendations regarding what has occurred between the said captain, Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, and Father Rector Segismundo Taraval of the Society of Jesus. [They argued] over the manner of administration and control with which the new presidio and the soldiers must be governed not only for the management and maintenance of the soldiers, but also to maintain a proper obedience from the reconquered Indians and to facilitate the reduction of the infidels who still have not given their obedience.

Your lordship has told me of the king's command in a letter dated September 8 of this past year, 1737, in response to mine dated April 10 of the same year; being acquainted with everything I expressed in my letter, his majesty will presently have the report and the testimony that I directed to counsel concerning this matter. He awaits specific notice, as I promised, that the operation in the Isle of California has been completely suspended until his pleasure in this particular matter is known.<sup>3</sup>

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1. These are the Sierra de la Victoria, which divides the peninsula in the south. Todos Santos lies to the west, Santiago to the east. The Indian tribal groups mentioned are members of the Guaicuros and Pericúes.

2. The Indians mentioned here are Yaqui and Mayo Indians who served in the campaign against the rebellious tribes on the southern peninsula.

3. Despite repeated expeditions many royal officials persisted in referring to California as an island, probably because it was the mission and colony most dependent on maritime support.

At present, it is not possible to send the *autos* made by the governor of Sinaloa regarding this expedition. In addition to their being very numerous and time being short, he has yet to render the decisions that may be judged most appropriate for the future safety and security of the island and that may be more in accord with his majesty's royal thinking and more advantageous to the interests of the royal Crown and treasury. Although the *autos* were sent on the sixteenth of this past June to the auditor for his review, there is much to reflect upon in them, and decisions regarding a matter of such importance cannot be made precipitously.

However, I hasten to assure your lordship, and I can thus assure the king, that at least this time we have been able to learn what sort of place California is and who among the inhabitants of those lands are, or could be in time, his majesty's subjects and in the service of God and his own. Discipline, equipment, controls, and military regulations have, until now, been scrupulously maintained by the captain and his soldiers at the Loreto presidio, with the increased expenses of arms and horses borne by the royal treasury. Without all of this for so long a time, no more could be learned of California than its name, which may be the reason why it has always been regarded as a mystery. Now, it has finally been achieved that those subjects of his majesty have begun to hear his royal name and to understand the obedience and reverence owed to his sovereignty.

According to what the aforementioned governor of Sinaloa writes and makes known of actions taken, the rebels have already been punished and taught a lesson, the missions are secure, and there are enough troops in that land to contain and disperse any other tumultuous invasion that might be attempted. It only remains to firmly establish the government and regime of the troops as the foundation of everything else that the king possesses and maintains in these dominions. I consider this undertaking to be perhaps no less difficult than the previous one, but if the orderly subordination to the captains and superiors that is owed in the name of the king is not established and practiced within the limits of their commands, his majesty will not be able to claim that land or its inhabitants as his subjects. For my part, I have not stopped exploring alternative ways and means to make good use of the funds expended by the royal treasury toward California's conservation and advancement. With respect to what measures and decisions should be added to those already ordered for this purpose, they depend upon the amount of guidance provided by the *autos* and documents on the subject. I cannot at present express to your lordship which of these should be [undertaken], but at the first opportunity I will inform his majesty honestly and clearly, with the records and documents of everything performed and understood, of whatever might be able to instruct his royal will most truly. Thus, based upon the certainty of things, his sovereign decisions may begin to produce their desired effects. I beg your lordship to inform his majesty of the contents of this letter and not to hesitate in giving me orders to be fulfilled to his satisfaction and honor.

May God keep your lordship for many years to come.

Mexico, July 10, 1738, your attentive servant, Juan Antonio  
Archbishop of Mexico, kisses the hands of your lordship.

(Rubric)

Marqués de Torrenueva to Viceroy Vizarón



our Excellency:

In a letter dated July 10 of last year, 1738, your excellency states that Don Manuel Bernal Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, had informed you of the complete pacification of the California natives and the reduction of all of them to their respective missions, with the exception of twelve or thirteen families who continued to wander as fugitives in the rough mountain country. At the same time, he sent you the original *autos* that were made from the beginning to the end of this enterprise, and added to those the list of Indians who were reduced in the missions of San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and Pueblo de Todos Santos. Also sent was a memorandum with confidential recommendations regarding the exchange between captain Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, with whom he left the command of the garrison and the newly created troop of thirty men, and Father Rector Segismundo Taraval of the Society of Jesus. [They argued] over the manner of administration and control with which the soldiers must be governed, the management and maintenance of the reconquered Indians' proper obedience, and facilitation of the reduction of the infidels who have not yet given their obedience. Your excellency adds that you did not on this occasion send the *autos* referred to, because it was your opinion that decisions must be rendered that are more appropriate for the safety and security of that island, that those formed in the future would be more in keeping with the interests of the Crown and the royal treasury, and decisions on matters of such importance cannot be made precipitously. However, your excellency assures me that this time, at least, we have been able to learn what sort of place California is, what subjects it has, those it might have in the future, and what we can expect from those lands and their inhabitants. It only remains to firmly establish the government and the regimen of the troops as a basis for everything else to be done in these dominions. Your excellency considers this undertaking to be no less difficult than the conquest, for reasons and circumstances that are widely manifest.

Having been informed of the entire contents of the cited letter, the king was satisfied with what has been done in this matter of such grave importance. His majesty hopes that your lordship will continue to devote yourself to its conclusion, securing the establishment, rule, and order that the newly formed presidio requires in those dominions, in such a manner that it may not only fulfill its mission, but also restrain the attacks of the Indians on that island. Your excellency is also ordered to send a description of the land and other details. As your excellency has said, now that [California] is known, it will be easier to determine whether it is one or several islands, or rather tierra firme; the information on this varies.

May God keep you many years.

Madrid, July 25, 1739<sup>4</sup>

[Marqués de Torrenueva]

*From the Archivo General de Indias, México 1256.*

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4. This reply, which almost duplicates the original letter, was made just at the time the Marqués de Torrenueva was leaving the cabinet. The reaffirmation of the California mystery is of particular note.

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Carta del Virrey Vizarrón al Marqués de Torrenueva, 1738

**M**uy Señor Mío:  
 Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, gobernador de Sinaloa en dos cartas de 4 y 5 de Mayo del corriente año, me ha dado cuenta de la entera pacificación de los naturales de la California y reducción de todos ellos a sus respectivas misiones, a reserva de doce o trece familias que aún andaban vagando fugitivas por haberse internado en las asperezas de los montes; pero que no se duda que también estas se reducirán y unirán cuanto antes al cuerpo de sus nacionales. Que restablecida ya la quietud y sosiego de estos Indios estaba resuelto a restituirse a su provincia, dejando el comando de la guarnición y tropa nuevamente creada de los treinta hombres a cargo de Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, sujeto experto, y de su aprobación habiendo antes separado de este encargo a Don Bernardo Rodríguez, hijo de Don Esteban Rodríguez, capitán de la antigua guarnición y presidio de Loreto, por haberle experimentado omiso y poco legal en el cumplimiento de sus ordenes pertenecientes al real servicio.

Al propio tiempo y con las dos referidas cartas, acompaña y me remite todos los autos originales desde el principio hasta el fin de la expedición en [folios de 496?], los que dirigió por vía del oficio de gobierno, y viene agregados a ellos el padrón de los Indios que quedan reducidos a las misiones de San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, y Pueblo de Todos Santos. Por vía de mi secretaría de cámara, remite dicho gobernador un cuadermito de reservadas diligencias cerca de lo ocurrido entre dicho capitán Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo y el Padre Rector Segismundo Taraval de la Compañía de Jesús sobre el modo de gobierno y subordinación con que ha de correr el nuevo presidio y presidiales, así para el régimen y manutención de los soldados, como para la conservación en la debida obediencia de aquellos indios reconquistados y facilidad de poder reducir a los infieles que aún no han dado la obediencia.

Por carta de 8 de septiembre del año pasado de 1737, responsiva a la mía de diez de abril del mismo, me dice vuestra señoría de orden del rey, que enterado su real ánimo de todo lo por mí expresado en ella, tendrá presente el informe y testimonio que dirigí al consejo concerniente a esta dependencia, y que espera su majestad la noticia individual que ofrecí de haberse evacuado enteramente la operación de la Isla de la California, a fin de hallarse con la satisfacción que desea en este particular.

No es posible poder en esta ocasión remitir los autos formados por el gobernador de Sinaloa en asunto de la mencionada expedición, porque a más de ser muy cumulosos, y corto el tiempo, falta que en su vista se den las providencias que se juzgaren más oportunas al resguardo y seguridad de aquella isla, para lo de adelante, y que sean más conformes a la real mente de su majestad y más proficuas a los intereses de su real corona y hacienda, y aunque con fecha de 16 del próximo pasado junio se remitieron dichos autos al auditor para que exponga su dictámen, hay mucho que reflexionar sobre ellos y no se pueden en cosa de tamaña importancia precipitar las determinaciones.

Pero desde luego aseguro a vuestra señoría y puedo asegurarle así al rey, que a lo menos se ha conseguido esta vez saberse que cosa sea la California, que vasillos tenga y pueda tener en lo sucesivo su majestad en ella, que pueda esperarse en

servicio de Dios y suyo de aquellas tierras y sus habitantes. La disciplina, pertrechos, subordinación, y reglas militares con que han servido hasta aquí el capitán y soldados del presidio de Loreto mantenidos puntualísimamente, y costeados de armas y caballos acrecidas expensas de su real erario. Cúal sea la causa de haberse mirado siempre como misterio la California, sin que se haya podido saber de ella en tanto tiempo más que sólo su nombre; y finalmente se ha logrado que aquellos vasallos de su majestad hayan empezado a oír su real nombre y a entender la sujeción y reverencia que deben a su soberanía.

Según lo que el mencionado gobernador de Sinaloa escribe y se deja conocer de lo actuado, quedan ya bien castigados y escarmentados los sediciosos; aseguradas las misiones y con bastantes fuerzas aquella tierra para contener y disipar cualquiera otra tumultuaria invasión que se intentase, sólo resta establecer de firme el gobierno y régimen de la tropa al pie de toda la demás que tiene y mantiene el rey en estos dominios esta empresa, la considero no menos dificultosa quizá que la antecedente, pero si no se plantea y practica la regular subordinación que a nombre del rey se debe a los capitanes y superiores en los términos de sus comandos, ni se podrá tener por de su majestad aquel terreno ni por súbditos suyos los que le habitan. Yo a lo menos no he de dejar de tentar cuantos modos y medios pueda haber, para que se aprovechen de otra suerte que hasta ahora, los caudales que gastase la real hacienda en asunto de la conservación y adelantamiento de la California y respecto de que las disposiciones y providencias que se hayan de agregar a las dadas para este fin, penden de las más luces que nos ministrasen los autos y diligencias de la materia, no puedo a la presente expresar a vuestra señoría cuáles deberán ser pero en primera ocasión con los procesos y documentos de todo lo obrado y entendido, informaré a su majestad ingenia y claramente cuanto comprendiere poder servir a la más verdadera instrucción de su real ánimo para que fundamentándose sobre la certeza de las cosas, sus soberanas determinaciones empiesen ya a producir aquellos afectos que las corresponden, suplico a vuestra señoría de cuenta del contenido de esta mía a su majestad y que no escasee franquearme mis órdenes de su satisfacción y obsequio.

Dios guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años como puede. México y julio 10 de 1738. Muy señor mío, besa las manos de vuestra señoría su reconocido más atento servidor: Juan Antonio Arpa de Mexico. Rubricado.

Carta del Señor Marqués de Torrenueva al Virrey Vizarrón

**E**xcelencia:  
En carta de 10 de julio del año pasado de 1738, expresa vuestra excelencia que Don Manuel Bernal Huidobro, gobernador de Sinaloa, le había dado cuenta de la entera pacificación de los naturales de la California y reducción de todos ellos a sus respectivas misiones a reserva de 12 o 13 familias que permanecían vagando fugitivas por haberse internado en las asperezas de los montes, remitiéndole al mismo tiempo todos los autos originales causados desde el principio hasta el fin de esta expedición, agregados a ellos el padrón de los indios que quedaban reducidos a las misiones de San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra

Señora del Pilar y Pueblo de Todos Santos y un cuadernito de reservadas diligencias acerca de lo ocurrido entre el capitán Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo a quien dejó el comando de la guarnición y tropa nuevamente creada de 30 hombres y el Padre Rector Segismundo Taraval de la Compañía de Jesús sobre el modo de gobierno y subordinación con que han de correr los soldados su régimen, y manutención y conservaren la debida obediencia aquellos indios reconquistados y facilidad de poder reducir a los infieles que aún no han dado la obediencia y añade vuestra excelencia no remitía en esta ocasión los referidos autos porque en su vista se habían de dar las providencias más oportunas al resguardo y seguridad de aquella isla para lo de adelante de formar que sean las más conformes a los intereses de la corona y real hacienda y no poderse en cosas de tanta importancia precipitar las determinaciones; pero a lo menos asegura vuestra excelencia se ha conseguido esta vez saberse que cosa sea California, que vasallos tiene, los que puede haber en lo sucesivo y esperarse de aquellas tierras y sus habitantes, y que sólo falta que establecer de firme el gobierno y régimen de la tropa al pie de toda la demás que se mantiene en estos dominios, cuya empresa la consideraba vuestra excelencia no menos dificultosa que la conquista, por los motivos y circunstancias que difusamente manifiesta.

Y habiéndose enterado el rey de todo el contexto de la citada carta queda con satisfacción por lo que se ha obrado en esta tan grave importancia y espera su majestad que vuestra señoría procure atender y dedicarse a que se concluya y afirme el establecimiento, regla y subordinación que requiere el presidio nuevamente formado en aquellos dominios de tal forma que no sólo sirva al fin que se mantiene sino a reprimir los insultos de los indios de aquella isla ordenando a vuestra excelencia envíe una descripción de su tierra y demás circunstancias pues ahora que se ha conocido como expresa vuestra excelencia será más fácil de conseguir y de si verdaderamente es isla o islas o bien tierra firme, porque en esto son variables las noticias.

Dios guarde muchos años.

Madrid, 25 de julio de 1739.

[Marqués de Torrenueva]

## Report of Licenciado Vedoya to the Royal Fiscal, 1740

Original copy of the report made by Señor Vedoya, his majesty's fiscal, concerning the decrees that should be issued for the preservation of California, with the response drawn up by the auditor of war. With ten useful folios. 1740.



our Excellency:

His majesty's fiscal has seen the seven packets of *autos* sent to him that led to the decrees already made, which [measures] must be taken for the preservation of the island of the Californias, its missions, its settlements, and the education of the natives assembled there,<sup>1</sup> all of which serve both majesties. To improve the natives by enlightening them in Christian doctrine and removing them from their natural barbarism—thus extending Christianity in his majesty's dominions—is a most praiseworthy goal, and the constant, ready support of funds from the royal treasury will be more acceptable if the end to which they are directed is achieved. Now that the recent disturbance experienced on the island, which had fatal consequences, seems to have ceased or quieted down, we should certainly endeavor to find the most effective means for the security and permanence of the settlement. In order to smother even the slightest sparks of future conspiracy—whether large, small, or the same—every existing avenue that might lead to one must be closed.<sup>2</sup> Wherefore it is necessary to explore everything the *autos* suggest as a possible cause or opportunity for the deplorable disturbances.

Regarding the *autos* in the first packet, your excellency had been informed by letters from the Fathers Jaime Bravo and Clemente Guillén, dated October 18 and 23 of 1734, of the sacrilegious murders of two religious missionaries of the holy Company, Joseph Carranco and Nicolás Tamaral.<sup>3</sup> The same fate befell other sol-

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1. Although written in 1739–40, this document still refers to California as an island. Its status as a peninsula had long since been known and demonstrated, but the difficulties of administering the distant peninsula caused it to retain the character of an island. The term “island” was a way to emphasize the separation of California from mainland Sinaloa.

2. The rebellion referred to throughout the document is the Pericúe unrest of 1734 that took the lives of two Jesuit missionaries and several loyal Indians.

3. Jaime Bravo was born in Aragón around 1683 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1700 as a coadjutor brother in Mexico; he was ordained a priest in 1720. He labored in California from 1705 until his death in May 1744.

Clemente Guillén de Castro, born in Zacatecas, New Spain, entered the Society in 1696 at nineteen years of age. He served in the northwest missions from 1713 until his death in California in 1748.

Joseph Lorenzo Carranco from Puebla, New Spain, was twenty-four years old when he entered the Society in 1720. He was sent to California in 1727 and was killed seven years later by Pericúes at mission Santiago.

Nicolás Tamaral was born in Sevilla, Andalucía, in 1686 and went to New Spain and

diers and servants. The chief authors of the uprising were the Pericúes and other tribes settled along the southern coast.<sup>4</sup> The above-mentioned fathers advised your excellency of the need to create a company of twenty-five soldiers for the security of those missions, since distance prevents timely assistance. At the same time, they related the various measures taken to remedy the disturbance, which was a unique occurrence up to that time. They also told of the arrangements that were planned and implemented for the reinforcement of the vessels that traffic in and carry supplies, and for the restitution of what was stolen during the Indian invasions of the mission churches.

In response your excellency approved what had been done and rendered assistance by expediting appropriate orders for the supply of the ships, as well as assembling presidial soldiers to restrain the rebels. Your excellency also promised to inform his majesty regarding the increase in the number of posts of the said garrisons, because the authority for their actual establishment had not been instituted until then, and his majesty had ordained it thus in the decrees that gave the fathers authorization for their anticipated establishment.

The fire that ignited in that location might spread to other missions, ranche-rías, and tribes, however, as a result of the destructive example and incitement that the uprising caused. For your timely consideration, the same fathers advised your excellency of the threatened movement and agitation—even among the Indians already reduced and quiet—in letters about the uprising of the Pericúes and other tribes.

My predecessor, petitioned by the fiscal and having consulted the auditor, submitted the matter to the junta de hacienda on April 17 and 18, which dates were judged suitable. During this meeting, your excellency and the other ministers in attendance allocated the anticipated sum of more than 18,000 pesos from that presidio's subsidy to reimburse the expenses incurred by the fathers, who had submitted an accounting of their expenditures. Insofar as the main issue was concerned, the governor of Sinaloa was to be immediately contacted and charged with the detachment of those soldiers that he deemed necessary from the presidios under his command and from the island itself. With those [soldiers] he was to pursue the reduction and pacification of the nations, bringing all of them under his dominion. Salaries and expenses were to be paid by [the governor], and an accounting given for reimbursement.

Once the orders were dispatched, the said governor began to carry them out. In a letter dated October 17, 1735, he reported on what had been accomplished up to that time and the increased number of soldiers recruited, with their salaries, asking that his expenses be reimbursed by royal funds to his authorized representative. At the same time he spoke of new disturbances on the island and of his prompt action to stop them. He noted that, by consent of the fiscal at that time, the provisional increase of the aforesaid soldiers, their salaries, and the ammunition that was consigned to them had been approved; [the fiscal had also] arranged

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Californ a in 1716. His major efforts were spent in establishing La Purísima Concepción, he was murdered at San Joseph del Cabo in 1734.

4. The Pericúe were a group within the Guaicuro nation; also involved were the Uchitíes, who lived at the tip of the peninsula.



for the reimbursement of what the governor had spent up to that time. Thus everything has been done.

The continued disturbances are due to the capriciousness of the Indians, who are politically unstable unless they are rebuked and restrained, kept within sight, and managed in every way. The repeated letters of the aforesaid governor well affirm this. At the same time that some nations are quiet, he reports on the commotion of others. Even those who have already been reduced are unpredictable, all of which results in the fruitless but indispensable outlay of funds until such time as the universal pacification of those tribes might be achieved—the sole aim of your excellency's just zeal.

Spurred by this—as is shown in the second packet of the aforesaid *autos*, containing the copy of the letter that your excellency wrote to the said governor of Sinaloa on February 19, 1737—your excellency approved the order to garrison those frontiers with thirty men in addition to those that were stationed at the presidio of Loreto. This measure was facilitated by the recent orders that your excellency received from his majesty. The only difficulty was the lack of instruction as to the type of location and the manner in which this new troop was to be settled and established—whether it was simply to be an addition to the presidio at Loreto, or whether another presidio was to be established, garrisoned, and occupied by more soldiers—for which reason your excellency ordered the governor to advise him of a suitable location and a captain or *caudillo* who would be in command.

Without having received the aforementioned [report], however, your excellency stated in a letter dated March 6, which is found on page 13 of the said second packet, that in respect to the thirty soldiers who were to be settled, as well as the other twenty-five from the presidio of Loreto, you had decided to distribute them in whatever number and posts the governor deemed appropriate to garrison the entire area served by the missions. Your excellency, having decided to issue the order for the aforesaid report, reimbursed the governor. This seems to have been done by your gracious leave on April 30, 1737, as is referred to in [the governor's] letter, dated July 1 of the same year, which is at the beginning of the fifth packet of the conveyed instruments. He also mentions the site where the mission of San Joseph was founded as appropriate for the establishment of a new presidio and the stationing of the new troops. This, and the fact that in his letter he covers everything essential to the continued existence of the said presidio, should be kept in mind when considering this enterprise.

Nevertheless, in another letter of the same date, as well as in a more recent one that he wrote to your excellency from Pótam in the province of Ostimuri on July 28 of last year, 1738, in the second packet, the governor of Sinaloa stated that it would not be necessary to increase the number of soldiers to keep all the tribes already reduced at peace, nor [would it be necessary] to erect the new presidio that the fathers have repeatedly requested.<sup>5</sup> Attributing their fear of being attacked to panic, he considered the number of soldiers assigned in accordance with regulations and specifications governing the disposition, number, and preparedness of

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5. Pótam was a Yaqui town on the mainland. Located on the Yaqui River, it is sixty kilometers southeast of Guaymas, Sonora.

presidial soldiers to be sufficient protection against any hostility, provided that the soldiers attend exclusively to their duties and not become involved in others with which the fathers occupy them. He affirmed that by means of this management and the specifications made, even all of the Indian forces united would not be enough to resist a squad of ten well-armed soldiers. However, the great distance of more than 300 leagues from one end of the island to the other, the overall rough terrain, and the fickleness of those Indians as emphasized by the governor himself in the same letter—and, above all, the grievous and frequent attacks—have given rise to a lack of confidence in the promised security.

True, it is only for the [safety] of the religious missionaries, so that they may freely sow and spread the Gospel, that his majesty pays the wages of those presidial soldiers. Thus, [the soldiers] should not at any time become involved in any business other than vigilance and military preparation, the [prevention of] surprise attacks, or [promotion of] the retreat and peacefulness of the Indians, because they are trained for those [purposes]. Extraneous pursuits render them useless for the [purpose] of the expedition. Consequently, it is only right that the missionary fathers not employ the soldiers for the care of their crops or for other tasks, however necessary they may be for [the fathers'] maintenance. For such matters they can avail themselves of their Indian parishioners insofar as possible, exercising discretion, sagacity, and prudence, as one would expect of them. The soldiers should simply maintain a presence for the safekeeping of the crops and other things, so that [the Indians] do not steal them.

On the other hand, consider that the royal treasury's burden is the same or even greater [when it must] spend large sums for the purpose of putting down rebellions, only to have the land reduced to its former state at the end of its expenditures. As for the harm done, there is no remedy—the past is beyond human agency [to change]. Moreover, the said governor found that in the process of subduing [the Indians], as soon as one uprising was ended, another was stirred up, forcing him and his officers to be constantly on the move. The Indians suffered, although rightly so, the cost of their rebelliousness by losing their lives [or] being physically punished for the sake of justice. Thus it seems that the best remedy is to close the door on the damage, rather than [trying to] repair it. It cannot be denied that with increased strength and attention directed to the newly discovered territories, the tranquillity of that entire land will be more easily accomplished with the erection of the new presidio than by allowing the one that has existed until now to remain in isolation. Although the number [of soldiers] may be enough to contain the many Indians living in the missions and rancherías, as the governor asserts, it will be safer not to rely upon what is sufficient. The season of the year or the poor condition of the horses they bring to use on forays could render impossible, or at least delay, any kind of peaceful situation.

As stated in your previously mentioned letter of February 19, your excellency has recent orders from his majesty authorizing the settlement of this matter in whatever way seems appropriate. This has effectively ended the legal prohibitions that were presented to your excellency in 1734 and discussed in the junta, which precluded a decision upon the erection of the new presidio at that time. Today it seems advantageous and necessary, along with the continuous funding of the thirty presidial soldiers.

It is clear, per the statements of the aforesaid governor and confirmed by the attested censuses that he sent, which comprise the entire third packet of those *autos*, that all the Indians of those missions are to be found completely subdued, submissive, and peaceful. Moreover, the appropriate orders have been given to root out the rivalry of various nations by separating them and uniting them with those that are friendly. There is no doubt, however, that two equal and important advantages are to be gained from the new presidio on the southern coast. One is faster arrival to the aid of immediate and neighboring missions, whatever the circumstances. The other is the assurance of prompt assistance and provisions to the passengers of the Philippine galleon, whenever it arrives, without risk of the havoc they have suffered on occasion—as is shown by these *autos*, which testify to some murders that were pardoned and went unpunished. [These are] all motives that spur the fiscal to consent to the erection of the new presidio and to request that it be permanent.

In order to eventually recompense, or possibly reduce, the burden that the royal treasury carries today [with respect to California], it seems necessary to me that, at the same time and through your excellency's well-known zeal, transport to that island be arranged for the families who voluntarily wish to go there to settle down and extend the community. The establishment of missions for the reduction of infidel Indians is not at variance with such settlement. On the contrary, the interaction will tame savagery, make dispositions more tractable, impress political and moral virtues by example, increase trade, and—through the large number of inhabitants—increase the wealth and strength of regions that otherwise consist of a multitude of uncultivated, barren, and uninhabited lands. In a community, each man protects his neighbor. This is what his majesty has continuously urged through repeated laws and *cédulas* ordering the settlements and whatever else good policy recommends as important and necessary. In an area as large as 300 or more leagues there must be fertile, temperate lands suitable for new establishments.

The royal treasury presently carries an immense burden, due to expenditures equaling or even exceeding income; funds are applied as needed for the benefit of the empire. However, those who want to go to the island will be more than compensated with the assignment of lands allocated for them. These are to be apportioned according to the number [of settlers], for their residence and cultivation, so that they may have everything necessary for their sustenance and their future well-being. Wealthy cities, provinces, and kingdoms have had their origins in this type of arrangement; initial difficulties have not closed the door to future growth. It is less costly to transport those who live close to the island, providing that they do not [already] own their own lands. In that case, the law prohibits their removal for the very sound reason of preventing the depopulation of a settled country.

It is likely that in the encampments of Sinaloa, Sonora, and others within their borders there are many residents without their own means. Certainly, there are many living in the same circumstances who trouble this city and other cities from here to Guadalajara. [They are] totally exhausted of the means with which to maintain themselves and survive; many of them are craftsmen and tradesmen. Thus, to motivate the said population may not be a [difficult] task if an edict is published giving a general permission to Spaniards who wish to go to the said

island and promising that they will be assigned lands they can cultivate for their profit. Weighing this—or in light of the fact that those religious missionaries have not been given the assistance his majesty assigned to them because of a voluntary renunciation they made—your excellency and the junta thought it advisable to convert those [funds], totally or in part, to the transportation of the aforesaid families, according to the fiscal's information. You can decree this or think about some other means with which it can be put gradually into effect. It is not appropriate to do this for families of criminals, exiles, or persons of bad character and worse habits, because of the fatal consequences that have been experienced in doing so. While these [consequences] are necessarily endured, having no remedy, prudence bemoans them.

Granted, then, that the founding of the new presidio is very necessary—along with the number of posts that the governor of Sinaloa advises and the increase that he likewise considers necessary to garrison the old one—the question arises as to who should be responsible for the payment and distribution of wages. This question by its very nature has not been disputed, nor can it be, since in all the presidios of Sinaloa, Sonora, New Mexico, and other provinces where there are missions, [payment] is taken care of by the governors and captains. In times past there have been tiresome proceedings dealing with complaints of abuses, excesses, and frauds [committed by] the commanders themselves to the harm and detriment of their presidial soldiers. However, a remedy has now been made possible today through the new general regulations and rules established in the time of the most excellent Marqués de Casafuerte, and it has been ordered that these be observed in all presidios.<sup>6</sup>

With respect to the [presidio] already in the Californias, however, as well as the newly founded one on the same island, there is a point worthy of reflection and examination, in view of what Father Agustín María Luyando expressed in the statement that was recently placed into your excellency's hands and added to the *autos* concerning the governor of Sinaloa's suggestions, and [considering] what is generally practiced in the rest of the presidios. All of this appears to be resolved, provided that the superior judgment of your excellency and the junta determines the following propositions to be appropriate:

First: Everything available and designated for worship and for the adornment of the mission churches should be delivered to the religious procurator, as is done with the custodians and procurators of the other religious orders that are in charge of missions within the kingdom and overseas. The other part of the funds should go to the agent for the presidial soldiers, as is practiced in the other presidios. So it should be, and it is understood [that] if the presidial soldiers do not choose to be paid by the father visitor of those missions, as has been done until now, the method of handling their wages must be by their judgment and consent, because they are the concerned parties—although his majesty actually furnishes [the wages], and without the slightest delay.

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6. These regulations have been published in Naylor and Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain 1724–1729*.

Second: If payment of wages is to be in trade or merchandise instead of cash, it must be with items that the soldier requests and needs, and these must be at listed prices. The father missionary who administers the said mission is to certify that this has been done and that the number of presidial soldiers is as assigned, in the same manner as is reported by priests in other presidios.

Third: Inasmuch as the value of horses and munitions is charged to presidial soldiers when they are assigned the post and equipped, when they quit the posts, they should not be paid whatever they might have been owed in cash. As an exception to this, in a separate transaction they should be reimbursed in cash for the value of the munitions that they surrender, since not to do so would be an outrageous injustice.

Fourth: Whereas the coarseness of the Indians and their innate barbarism make the teaching of some substantial work necessary, such as building, sowing, and other similar [activities], this must be done from sunrise to sunset, the time during which the religious missionary has to say Mass, instruct them, govern them, and go to hear confession. According to what is reported, not all of [the fathers] are able to support a domestic or servant, who is needed to fill the absence of the said religious and take care that the Indians perform their work and do it as well as possible. Consequently, it is not inappropriate that the soldier guarding the mission for the protection and safekeeping of the religious missionary should take care of these matters at the same time—not by doing the work himself, but by making sure it is done. It is important for the permanence of the mission and the missionary to build some house for his residence that suits the land and [to plant] fields from which he and the Indians may sustain themselves, as municipal law provides. Accordingly, this end must not only be called for, but the means leading to its realization should be provided.

The difficult question is whether the two presidios ought to be governed under one command or under separate ones, with one commander for each. On the one hand, there is the disadvantage of jealousy or chance opposition in the execution of orders. It could happen that the superior might give [some orders], and the subordinate might be unable to execute them because of another, more urgent expedition of which the former had no notice. The consolidation [of command] has another disadvantage, in that the subordinate lacks the freedom to take appropriate [actions] because of attending to the orders of his superior. Nevertheless, it seems less harmful to have one single command in the captain of the old presidio, with [the commander] of the new one subordinate to him in general matters; in matters [pertaining to the new presidio], his subalterns are subordinate to that [commander alone]. The possible occurrence of events that would prevent the subordinate from fulfilling the superior's orders because he is responding to a more urgent [situation], as is very proper and politic, would exempt him from the censure of disobedience. Although jealousy in human nature seems inevitable, it is quite possible to overcome if the proper choice is made.

This is the central point, which is made more difficult today by the well-manifested antagonism between the superior of those missions and the captain of the new presidio. The record swells with a multitude of papers and letters presented by both parties, as well as offensive and defensive reports with which each seeks to indemnify himself. The captain is assisted by the reports of the governor,

who chose and appointed him.<sup>7</sup> It is not outside the realm of possibility, however, that your excellency's order fosters a presumption favoring the religious missionaries, as the documents in your instructions, in which you endeavor to give complete satisfaction, include the presentation made in their name.

Nevertheless, the whole affair is not being examined today for the purpose of judging it. The [fiscal] is obliged to attend solely to making good use of your excellency's vigilance and prudence, as well as the expenditures that the royal treasury has made to reduce and pacify the new disturbance from those nations. The continuation of these prepares for no other goal than the conservation and growth of the Christian flock and settlements, as is explained in a Christian manner by your excellency in the copies of your letters, which are found in the aforementioned second packet. The fiscal did take care to read the two files and the volumes of letters, *autos*, and papers regarding the aforesaid quarrels and considers their individual accounts to be importunate. The explanation of the purpose to which these and other papers are directed is sufficient.

The captain complains that Padre Taraval, the father visitor, and other religious obstruct the fulfillment of his orders and treat him with little respect, providing a bad example to the soldiers and Indians. As proof of this outrage, he relates various incidents and inconsequential disputes. His evidence is partly supported and partly obfuscated by the religious, who for their part interpret the incidents and argue misrepresentations. Regardless of the truth, wherever it lies, your excellency needs to attend to matters of greater importance. The [problem] caused by the accusations and recriminations can easily be remedied by ordering that they be terminated. Moreover, such unproductive, judicial arguments will cease if the governor, captains, and commanders from each of the presidios know that they are subject in spiritual matters to the religious who, as their pastors, must be respected for their rank and ministry by these men—their parishioners and his majesty's vassals. The fathers have been ordered thus and instructed that they must attend to the military commanders as ministers of his majesty. Both parties must conduct themselves with mutual goodwill, without the religious meddling in political administration, unless they are so directed; neither should the captains and commanders [interfere] in spiritual matters or whatever may be done toward educating the Indians. Both parties should help each other to adjust the Indians to political life, service of God, and obedience to his majesty, with the captains punishing the excesses of the soldiers in an exemplary manner. No one should rely upon distance to allow him to neglect his duty, for any amount of delay renders correction impossible.

As illuminated by the aforesaid volumes, the causes for the captain's public excommunication come down to his failure to comply with the annual precept of our Holy Mother Church and his issuance of specific orders to the soldiers that if the religious missionary should come to see him, they should not permit [the priest] to enter. At the same time, he prohibited [the missionary's] communication. The

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7. The commander, referred to as either "captain" or "lieutenant" depending on the context, is Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo. The governor of Sinaloa in this document is Manuel Bernal de Huidobro.

religious considered this to be an affront to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction that he has as pastor, and [considered] excommunication to be an appropriate [punishment for the captain's] having ignored the precept. The captain confesses to both [offenses] and, defending his intention, attributes the cause of the conflict to his having removed from the religious a soldier, who [had] served him in various ways. He is already acquitted, for which reason the fiscal declines to preoccupy your excellency with the minute and pointless circumstances surrounding the case.

Proceeding to what was done by the governor of Sinaloa—which is treated at length in the massive fourth packet of these *autos*—consider the governor's tireless zeal and great labor, the calamities he experienced, his unerring judgments, his administration and good management of measures, and that all of this influenced and effectively served to achieve the end of reducing those nations. [However,] the incentives that successively motivated [the Indians] to respect the royal jurisdiction and his majesty's arms—more from prudence than harshness—were removed, and misfortunes befell some Indians that were not by [the governor's] command. Compelled by their barbarism, the Indians threw themselves into danger with the fierce and blind intention of killing the soldiers and auxiliaries, who naturally found it necessary to kill some of the invaders in self-defense (nor were some [of the soldiers and auxiliaries] spared from death). The governor has already individually related [this] to your excellency in his letters, along with his progresses in ordered succession and everything that occurred during his expedition until his return to his government. The fiscal finds it bothersome to be detained in his individual explanation, considering that the governor's orderly conduct, having already merited your excellency's approval, was investigated and decided through that alone.

Granted, it lies within your excellency's higher discretion to name the captain of the one presidio—and the other, in the event that it is considered appropriate to withdraw Captain Acevedo, in order to avoid more fireworks.<sup>8</sup> It is also up to your excellency to decide the manner in which they must govern, separately or with one subordinate to the other, whichever is better. A prior assessment of the said proposals having been established, the fiscal finally passes them on to your excellency, [even though] the *autos* lack the royal *cédulas*, as the missionary fathers point out in their statement. Citing the [cédula] issued on September 28, 1703, and directed to the most excellent Duque de Alburquerque, the fathers assert that, in addition to providing for the annual subsidies of other religious from the Society of Jesus, the [documents contain] specific orders for the captains and corporals [to maintain] a more courteous association with the prelate and the religious who serve in the missions. Regarding the *entradas* that the [officers] would make in the land, they are to inform those who minister there about them; in this manner, the [entradas] may be more efficiently carried out, with those souls assured, and the spiritual good that is wished for in the newly discovered regions may be achieved.

In the aforementioned first packet, the previous fiscal repeatedly requested that the royal orders and *cédulas* received regarding management of the island's

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8. There was some apprehension that Acevedo might be reappointed, but the resolution pronounced below precluded that eventuality.

missions be sought out and placed with these *autos*, but although your excellency ordered it so, they are not in them. The mentioned [cédula], at least, is very important, and your excellency might be gracious enough to order that it be searched for in the office and a deposition made with regard to it, in the same manner as is necessarily established in the books. In the event [the documents] do not turn up, or there are no *autos* previously drawn up pertaining to decisions about the missions, your excellency and the junta should bear in mind that this may serve as documentation for the resolution that must have been made.

Regarding the lieutenant of the new presidio—whom the governor of Sinaloa, as he states in his last letter, holds prisoner because he considers him guilty of the murder of an Indian (although in reality the Indian's death was caused by his resistance)—considering the report of Father Agustín Luyando alone, [which is given] in a sufficiently informed manner, the evil disposition of the lieutenant and of his children is evident. As it is possible to replace them with others who have better customs, it is not necessary that [the prisoner and his family] reside in the Californias, and your excellency might issue a directive [barring] the lieutenant and his children from entering the island, now or at any time. In places where Indians are recently converted, there are no trifling transgressions, nor is such a disposition to be permitted.

This is what the fiscal understands to be worthy of special pronouncement in the entire series of *autos*, as are the existence and operation of two vessels for the transport of supplies to both presidios. The [ships'] operation and dispatch are to be the responsibility of the captain of the old presidio or the reverend father visitor. It would be to the royal treasury's advantage to be freed from the risk and loss of the [ships'] operation, as Father Agustín Luyando seems to confirm, having furnished until now everything necessary to the soldiers from the ecclesiastic funds of the religious, notwithstanding the loss of one vessel. This proposal also falls within legal boundaries. However, it will be understood that although the voyage and transport of the payroll are not to be the [exclusive] responsibility and risk of the religious, for the reasons stated, there is to be no change made in the management of the ship[s]. When the commanders need to avail themselves of [the vessels] for some important matter they are to advise the superior of the said missions, or the missionary wherever the ships may be anchored. In turn, the [missionaries are to advise] the commanders when they need to go from one [place] to the other in their administration. In this way, anyone attending to the business of God and his majesty will not be hindered. The ships are not to be employed on any understanding other than this, [except for] the transport of the payroll.

With respect to the establishment of the chaplain in the new presidio, the guard is distant from the mission and missionaries, and for this fundamental reason the men on guard lack the consolation of hearing Mass on official holy days. The aforesaid chaplain seems to be necessary, and in this case his appointment is up to your excellency. In fulfillment of his duty, the fiscal advises that the support of the said chaplain, his salary or allowance, must not be the responsibility of the royal treasury, nor should this post be added to those already funded. Accordingly, when the appointment of such a chaplain is permitted, it is to be the aforesaid presidio's responsibility to pay the cost and maintain him. The chaplain must be cautioned that he is not to have any jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs. He should not be regarded as a pastor, but essentially and solely as a chaplain.



Second, the municipal laws specifically charge that the *doctrinas* administered by the religious are not to be entrusted to the secular clergy, but to the contrary, for which reason the fiscal found your excellency's judicious decision to appoint one of the fathers of that mission as chaplain to be a sound one. Because the location is so remote from this higher government, a solution is necessary that will avoid any possible dispute that might arise between the secular chaplain and the missionaries. Although each party performs the obligation[s] of his office independently, jealousy is likely to inadvertently cause some bone of contention. Moreover, in the event that your excellency approves the appointment of one of the missionaries as chaplain, the presidio's soldiers will not have [to pay] the allowance for his support, because the said missionary does not increase the burden of their garrison number. As chaplain, he can be supported in the same way that he was as missionary.

A [careful] consideration of how the exploration of that island is to be conducted can create an incentive for some Spaniards to go there to settle. Additionally, his majesty might obtain the royal fifth that pearl diving can produce for him, which it is not right to deprive him of or to hinder him [in getting]. May it please your excellency to order that the proclamation issued in those neighboring provinces is to emphasize the open license for pearl diving. [Individuals will be granted] access to that island and its shore for [that purpose], as vassals of his majesty. [Such license is to be] evidenced by your excellency's certification and registered by the royal officials of Guadalajara, before whom the royal fifths must be guaranteed.

Finally, because of the limitations of the fiscal's position, other matters may require some particular decree for the benefit of the royal treasury, either because of what the *autos* provide or due to extrajudicial notices. For the tranquillity of those missions, he defers to your excellency's zeal and better judgment on [decrees] that should be issued, as your sole intention and desire is that the service of God be accomplished in the winning of those natives and in the courage and perseverance of those exemplary religious who are already practiced in domesticating them. The captains should regard these [religious] with goodwill, respecting them as fathers and guides, inasmuch as his majesty vouchsafed to heed their direction and experiences—both for the advancement of his pious and Catholic empire, and so that those natives might live a civil life and be brought within the rule of justice.

Mexico, July 12, 1739  
Licenciado Vedoya

Reply of the auditor



our Excellency:  
In view of the *autos* submitted to this higher administration by the governor of Sinaloa concerning the recent events in the province and mission of the Californias and with regard to the reply of the fiscal of July 12 of the past year, I would say that there are various issues that can be extracted. The principal

one among them that ought to be dealt with is the business of maintaining and keeping peace and quiet in that province in order to avoid any lamentable deaths in the future. This should be accomplished through the new squadron made up of thirty soldiers (which is stationed at Cabo San Lucas). Its commander is subject and answerable to the captain of the old presidio of Loreto, as it should be. If it were not so arranged, there would be a body with two heads, which monstrosity would unquestionably result in serious consequences, even the loss of that province and its missions. In order to facilitate this arrangement, it is very important that the commander of this new squadron, whoever he may be, be skilled in military tactics and be of a good disposition toward the Indians as well as the missionaries. With this kind of influence their doctrine and examples will be fostered and approved by the commander and his squadron in order that the Indians can be maintained in orderly fashion, subject to reason and justice. This should ultimately bring about the extolling of the Holy Gospel and the dominion of his majesty. It would seem that this will come about if the superior judgment of your excellency is in accord with the following:

First, that the said squadron of thirty soldiers, stationed at Cabo San Lucas, be under the command of a lieutenant who is subordinate to and dependent on the captain of the old presidio of Loreto. Thus, all will operate under one command and governance, to which the major concern of the fiscal is directed in the aforementioned reply. By only increasing the size of the said squadron, without establishing a new presidio, the preservation of that Christianity will be accomplished together with the safety and protection of the evangelical workers whose donations and expenses, as Father Luyando said in his *memorial*, were responsible for building the old presidio without any cost to the royal treasury. Now the governor of Sinaloa is seeking pesos for the construction of a new presidio, which [according to him] could never cost much.

Second, the captain of the presidio of Loreto, which has functioned according to this same plan up to now, has shown good relations, as he ought, with the missionary fathers. So that the best service of both majesties might be accomplished, he should remain subject only to your excellency's higher administration as has been the case up to now—without any subordination to the governor of Sinaloa, because this has never been the case and not only is [the governor] at a great distance, there is an ocean in between [them].

Third, as the fiscal says, he judged the removal of the commander, Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, both necessary and fitting because he, as is well known, has been the cause of burnings and unrest in that province. Before his coming, the province had been maintained, from its conquest, satisfied and quiet. Over that long expanse of time, as I understand it, there had been no movement of the presidio soldiers against the missionary fathers. Furthermore, as was evident to the fiscal, it is not necessary to employ a captain since a lieutenant will suffice; your excellency could name someone who would be attentive to the missionaries. With this having been said, all problems and controversies will be avoided and will disappear.

In all the rest your excellency might order what has been recommended in [the fiscal's] learned and extensive reply. It includes all the principal points that are contained in this mountainous process. The fiscal has called these matters to

your excellency's superior attention, and as auditor I am not repeating them. As soon as possible, an official report should be sent to his majesty so that he can review everything in order to resolve them according to his royal pleasure.

Mexico, July 8, 1740

Don Pedro Malo de Villavizencio

Mexico, July 11, 1740, as the fiscal requests and the auditor general proposes, all the corresponding dispatches are herein released.

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, f. 179ff.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Copia simple del informe dado por el señor Vedoya, fiscal de su majestad, sobre las providencias que debían darse para la conservación de la California, con la respuesta que sobre el asunto extendió el auditor de guerra. Con 10 folios útiles. Año de 1740.



xcelentísimo señor:

El fiscal de su majestad ha visto las siete piezas de autos que se le remitieron como conducentes a las providencias dadas, y que deben darse para la conservación de la isla de Californias, sus misiones, población y educación de los naturales congregados en ellas, por redundar, lo uno y lo otro, en el servicio de ambas majestades, beneficio de los nacionales, alumbrándoles en la doctrina cristiana, sacándoles de su congenial barbaridad y dilatándose en los dominios de su majestad tan loable asunto, y supuesto que la pronta e incesante asistencia con los caudales de su real erario, será más tolerable si se logra el fin a que se dirige. Es cierto consiguiente, que en la recién turbación experimentada en dicha isla que ha producido fatales consecuencias, ya que parece intermitida o sosegada, se procure el más eficaz medio a la seguridad y permanencia de la reducción conseguida. De suerte que en lo de adelante queden sofocados aún los recelos más leves, de igual o menor, o mayor conspiración; y dependiendo esto de cerrar todos los caminos y veredas que puedan serlo a suscitarla, se hace indispensable explorar los que los autos ofrecen como causa y ocasión a las inquietudes lamentables padecidas.

De los autos consta, en la primera pieza de ellos, haber participado a la grandeza de vuestra excelencia por cartas del padre Jaime Bravo y Clemente Guillén, con fechas de 18 y 23 de octubre del año pasado de 34, el sacrilegio homicidio ejecutado en dos religiosos misioneros de la Sagrada Compañía, Joseph Carranco y Nicolás Tamaral, y ejecutado lo mismo en otros soldados y sirvientes, siendo los autores principales de la sublevación los Pericúes y otras naciones que tenían su asiento y congregación a la banda del sur. Consultando dichos padres a vuestra excelencia, como necesaria, la creación y aumento de 25 soldados para el seguro de aquellas misiones, por la distancia intermedia que embarazaba al puntual socorro, en cualquier utilidad, relacionando al propio tiempo las diversas providencias que habían dado para el reparo al alboroto, ocasión única por entonces, y disposiciones discurridas y practicadas, así para el refuerzo de las embarcaciones que trafican y conducen los bastimentos como para la restitución de lo robado en la invasión de los templos.

A que satisfizo la grandeza de vuestra excelencia, aprobando lo ejecutado, coadyuvando con la expedición de órdenes convenientes a la refacción de dichas embarcaciones, ocuro de presidiales a contener los sublevados, con la promesa de informar a su majestad para el aumento de dichas plazas, por no serle hasta entonces facultativo su efectiva creación y tenerlo así ordenado su majestad en las mismas cédulas en que dichos padres se fundaban para su anticipado establecimiento.

Pero como el fuego, entonces y por aquella parte encendido, penetraría a otras misiones, rancherías y naciones, como efecto del pernicioso ejemplar e incentivo que causa la insolencia, noticioso vuestra excelencia, por cartas de los mismos padres, de la sublevación de los Pericúes y otros, el a[me]nazado movimiento y trepidación aún en los indios reducidos [y] quietos para su oportuno reparo.

Habiendo consultado el señor auditor y pedídose por el señor fiscal, mi antecesor, es c[on fecha] de 17 y 18 de abril, lo que estimaron convenientes, se remitió [el] negocio a junta de hacienda, en la que salió resuelto por vuestra excelencia [y] demás señores ministros que concurrieron la anticipada [suma] de 18,000 y más pesos del situado de aquel presidio, para la sati[sfacción] de lo erogado por los padres en los gastos que por su dispo[sición] habían hecho, presentando la cuenta de su importe. Y que [en] cuanto a lo principal se encargase al gobernador de Sin[aloa], por la mayor intermediación y noticia, el destacamento de los soldados que estimase necesarios de los presidios de su comando y de [la] misma isla, con los que solicitase la reducción y pacifica[ción] de aquellas naciones, estando todos a su obediencia y discurriendo por su mano la paga de los sueldos, erogac[ión y] gastos, de que diese cuenta para su satisfacción.

Expedido los despachos, pasó de hecho dicho gobernador a ponerlos en ejecución, y aunque en carta de 17 de octubre de 1735 participó lo hasta entonces obrado, y el aumento que para lo expedido hizo de soldados reclutados y con sueldos, pidiendo que en esta real caja se satisfaciesen sus libramientos a su apoderado, relacionando al mismo tiempo los nuevos alborotos acaecidos en la isla, y estar pronto a ocurrir a repararlos, se advierte aprobado de consentimiento del señor fiscal que entonces era, así el interinario aumento de dichos soldados, sueldo, y municiones que se les consignaron, como prevenida la paga de lo hasta entonces gastado por dicho gobernador, y así se halla ejecutado.

La continuación de las inquietudes, por la veleidad de los indios y ser poco estables en la vida política si no se les riñe y estrecha, reuniéndoles a la vista, manejándolos con frecuencias. Bien lo acreditan las cartas de dicho gobernador reiteradas, y en que al propio tiempo que participa la quietud de unos, avisa la conmoción de otros, y aún la ninguna permanencia de los ya reducidos, habiendo sido lo sucedido de estos acaecimientos un[a] infructuosa pero indispensable erogación de gastos mientras no llegase a conseguir la pacificación universal de aquellas naciones, único blanco del recto celo de vuestra excelencia.

Impelido de éste, según manifiesta en la segunda pieza de dichos autos, la copia de esta carta escrita por vuestra excelencia a dicho gobernador de Sinaloa en 19 de febrero del año de 37, se ve aprobado por vuestra excelencia el dictamen de la guarnición de aquellas fronteras con 30 hombres más de los que se hallaban alistados en el presidio de Loreto, cuya providencia facilitaban ya los modernos órdenes con que en ella expresa, vuestra excelencia, hallarse de su majestad, dificultándose sólo por falta de instrucción del modo y forma, de paraje en que se había de arreglar y establecer esta nueva tropa, y si su erección había de ser por agregación

al único presidio de Loreto, o estableciéndose otro de nuevo que guarnezcan y habiten más presidiales, por lo que ordenó vuestra excelencia a dicho gobernador, y le informase de lugar a propósito, capitán, o caudillo que los gobernase.

Y aunque, en carta de 6 de marzo que se halla a folio 13 de dicho segundo cuaderno, sin haber recibido la citada, expuso vuestra excelencia que por lo respectivo a los 30 soldados que debían situar, y los 25 del presidio de Loreto, había resuelto distribuirlos en el número y [viajes] que eligió por propósito, para guarnecer todo el terreno que comprenden las misiones, habiéndose servido vuestra excelencia expedir el orden para dicho informe, satisfizo al dicho gobernador, con el que parece haber hecho a la grandeza de vuestra excelencia, en 30 de abril del año de 37, y a que se refiere en su carta de primero de julio de dicho año que da principio al quinto cuaderno de instrumentos, [lle]vados, y en que tiene por paraje a propósito para la formación del nuevo presidio y permanencia de la nueva tropa, el mismo en que estuvo fundada la misión de San Joseph, por lo cual, y porque en dicha carta comprende todo lo substancial de la duración de dicho presidio, con vendrá se tenga presente a la vista de este negocio.

Pues aunque en otra carta de la misma fecha, y en la última, escribió a vuestra excelencia desde el pueblo de Pótam, provincia de Ostimuri, en 28 de julio del próximo pasado de 38, en el segundo cuaderno, expresando [el] gobernador de Sinaloa no ser necesario para conservar en paz todas las naciones ya por entonces reducidas, el aumento de plazas ni creación de nuevo presidio que los padres [misioneros] reiteradamente piden, atribuyendo a temor pánico el [recelo] de estos de volver a ser insultados, teniendo por bastante seguro a cualquiera hostilidad el número de soldados [de] su dotación, como se observe el arreglamiento y disposic[ión] que tenía dada en cuanto a los parajes, número y [prevención] de los presidiales, con tal que estos únicamente cui[den] de atender a su ministerio, y no se divirtiesen en otros [en] que los padres los ocupan, afianzando que por medio de esta conducta y disposiciones hechas, aún unidas todas las fuerzas de los indios, no bastarían a contrastar una escuadra de 10 soldados bien amunicionados, [sin embargo] la grande distan[cia] de más de 300 leguas del uno al otro extremo de dicha isla, la general aspereza de su terreno, y lo flexible y variable de aquellos indios que el mismo gobernador tiene ponderado en la misma carta, y sobre todo, los lastimosos y frecuentes insultos sucesivos dan lugar a la desconfianza en la prometida seguridad.

Es verdad que sólo para la de las personas de los religiosos misioneros, y que con libertad siembren y propaguen la ley evangélica, paga su majestad los sueldos de aquellos presidiales. Y que así no deben estos entretenerse en otra cosa que no sea el desvelo y cuidado militar en ningún tiempo, ni el de los albazos, ni el del retiro y tranquilidad de los indios, porque ejercitado en el uno en ocupaciones extrañas, se inutilizan para el de la expedición, lo que de esto nace es, acreditarse justo que los padres misioneros, no se sirvan de los soldados para el corporal cuidado de sus sembrados, ni de otras inteligencias, aunque sean muy precisas de su manutención, pudiendo para ellas, como pueden, valerse de los mismos indios sus feligreses, con discreción, sagacidad, y prudencia, como debe creerse lo practiquen, sino únicamente de que supla su presencia para la custodia de los frutos y demás cosas, y que no las hurten.

Pero por otra parte considera ser lo mismo, y aún más gravoso a la real hacienda, gastar crecidas sumas con título y motivo de reparar las sublevaciones

para que cuando se logre el fin de su erogación se consiga únicamente dejar reducido el país al estado en que estaba, pero sin remedio los daños acaecidos, por no tenerlo en lo humano, lo pretérito. Y más a vista de que hallándose en el mismo acto de sujetarlos dicho gobernador, aunque cesaba una, se suscitaba otra conmoción, trayendo en continuo movimiento a éste y sus cabos, padeciendo los indios, aunque justamente por su rebeldía, el daño de perder las vidas en su demanda y ser castigados en sus personas por justicia, siendo el mejor remedio el cerrar la puerta al daño, que corregirlo parece, que no pudiendo negarse que aumentada la fuerza y aplicado el reparo en la parte descubierta, será más fácil en la erección del nuevo presidio la quietud de todo aquel país, que el dejarla [li]brada en la sola existencia del que hasta aquí ha habido. P[ero] aunque como dicho gobernador asevera, su número sea bastante [para] contener toda la numerosidad de indios que habitan aquellas misiones y rancherías, será más seguro no confiar[se] en lo suficiente, cuando, o por la estación del tiempo y m[al] estado de los caballos que traen de servir a las correrías, p[or] imposibilitarse, o a lo menos demorarse la quietud [de] cualquier movimiento.

Teniendo pues la grandeza de vuestra excelencia, como en su citada carta de 19 de febrero expresa, órdenes recientes de su majestad para poder disponer en este asunto lo que le pareciere conveniente, resulta haber facultad, cesado por consiguiente las prohibiciones de las leyes que en el año de 34 se hicieron presentes a su grandeza, y lo fueron en la junta, para no haberse resuelto entonces la erección de nuevo presidio, la que parece hoy conveniente y necesaria con la dotación continua de los treinta presidiales.

Porque aunque es constante, por las expresiones de dicho gobernador, comprob[ado] con los auténticos padrones que remitió, y de que se compone toda la tercera pieza o cuaderno de estos autos, hallarse enteramente ren[di]dos, sujetos y de paz, todos los indios de aquellas misiones, y da[do] las órdenes convenientes a extirpar la emulación de unas y otras naciones en su separación y unión con los que tienen amistad, no parece admite duda que dentro del nuevo presidio en la banda del sur [se] logran dos iguales e importantes provechos, el uno, la más pronta asistencia, en cualquier acaecimiento, al socorro de las misiones inmediatas y próximas por aquel rumbo; y la otra, el seguro en cualquier arribo del galeón de Filipinas, pronto so[corro] y provisión a sus pasajeros, sin el riesgo del estrago que en oc[asiones] han padecido, como lo manifiestan estos autos, en que fuer[on] justificados algunos homicidas que les indultaron, y se mantenían impunidos, motivos todos que impelen al fiscal a consentir en la erección del nuevo presidio y pedir su permanencia.

Y para que el gravamen que hoy en ella reporta la real hacienda con el tiempo se compense, o pudiendo, se minore, me parece necesario que al propio tiempo se dé, por el notorio celo de vuestra excelencia, para que a aquella isla se trasladen las familias que voluntariamente quisieren pasar a ella, poblarla, y extender su vecindario; pues el establecimiento de misiones para reducción de indios infieles no se opone a la población, antes sí, con la comunicación se domestica la barbaridad, se hacen más dóciles los genios, imprime con el ejemplo las virtudes políticas y morales, se extienden los comercios, y en la numerosidad de vecinos, la opulencia, y fortaleza de dominios, que no consista en la multitud de tierras incultas, yermas, y despobladas, y en la vecindad sirven de tutelas los unos y los otros. Y esto es lo que por repetidas leyes y cédulas, tiene su majestad en [incesantemente]

encargado, ordenando las poblaciones y lo que la buena política acredita importante y necesaria, y en distancia tan grande como la de 300 y más leguas, no pueden faltar terrenos fértiles, templados, y con la comodidad apetecible a nuevas fundaciones.

Pues aunque la real hacienda al presente, por los inmensos gravámenes que sobre sí tiene, porque iguala y aún excede a su ingreso la salida, según los destinos a que en beneficio de su propio imperio se hayan aplicados sus caudales, que a dicha isla quieren conducirse, sobradamente se les remunera con la asignación de tierras que se les señalan, y adjudiquen a proporción de su número, así para su habitación como para que cultivándolas puedan tener lo necesario a su sustento y al de su posteridad. Pues no han tenido otro principio ni origen las opulentas ciudades, provincias, y reinos que esta especie de disposición sin que la dificultad de los principios haya cerrado la puerta al aumento en lo futuro, siendo menos costoso a los inmediatos a dicha isla su transporte a ella, con tal que no tengan en su domicilio, lugar en su residencia, tierras propias. Porque en este caso, pro[hibe] la ley su translación por la justísima causa de que no se despueble lo ya poblado.

Y así, siendo verosímil que en los reales de Sinaloa, Sonora, y otros en sus confines, haya muchos vecinos sin propias facultades, cier[to] e indubitable, la numerosidad de los que en igual estado se mantienen y preocupan esta ciudad, y las intermedias hasta Guadalajara, totalmente exhaustos de medios con que poder mantenerse y alentarse, siendo muchos de ellos artífices y oficiales, pudiera no ser [?]tánea diligencia la de excitárseles [sic] a dicha población, publicándose por bando el general permiso de los españoles que quisieren ir a la dicha isla, prometiéndoles que en ellas se les señalarán tierras [en] que poder cultivar para su aprovechamiento, y habiendo ar[bitrado] o bien a vista de que aquellos religiosos misioneros, por renuncia[miento] que voluntariamente tienen hecha, no se les asiste con lo que su majestad tiene asignado, según se halla el fiscal informado, tuvo bien vuestra excelencia y la junta, que estos se convierta, en todo o en parte, en la conducción de dichas familias, podrá providenciarlo o discurrirse otro arbitrio con que paulatinamente puede efectuarse, por no ser conveniente el que esto se haga en familias [de] delincuentes, desterrados, persona de infame calidad y peores costumbres, por las fatales consecuencias que de lo [con]trario se han experimentado, y sin remedio lamenta la prud[encia] en medio de su necesario sufrimiento.

Supuesto pues tan necesaria erección del nuevo presidio, co[n] el número de plazas que dicho gobernador de Sinaloa informa, y e[l] aumento, que así mismo tiene por preciso en la dotación del antiguo, se ofrece el punto sobre a cuyo cargo deba ser [la] paga y distribución del situado, cuya materia, por [su] naturaleza, no era ni podía ser disputable; pues en todos los presidios de Sinaloa, Sonora, Nuevo México, y otros fronterizos, y en que hay misiones, está al cuidado de los gobernadores y capitanes, y aunque en otros tiempos ha habido laboriosos procesos de las quejas por razón de desórdenes, excesos y fraudes de los mismos jefes en daño y perjuicio de sus presidiales, ya hoy en el modo que ha sido posible, se ha puesto reparo en el nuevo general arreglamiento y arancel establecido en tiempo del excelentísimo señor marqués de Casafuerte, y mandado observar en todos los presidios.

Pero por lo respectivo al que ha habido en Californias, y el que nuevamente se erije en la misma isla, se hace punto digno de reflexión y examen, a vista de lo expuesto por el padre Agustín María Luyando, en la representación últimamente puesta en manos de vuestra excelencia y acumulada en los autos de lo insinuado

por el gobernador de Sinaloa, y de lo generalmente practicado en los demás presidios. Todo lo cual parece comprenderse si el superior acuerdo de vuestra excelencia y de la junta, calificare acertadas las siguientes proposiciones:

La primera, que todo lo que se librare y destinare al culto y adorno de las iglesias de las mismas misiones se entregue al religioso procurador, como se hace a los custodios y procuradores de las otras religiones, a cuyo cargo están las misiones de dentro del reino y ultramarina, y la otra parte del situado al apoderado que fuere de los presidiales, como se observa con los demás presidios. Lo cual sea, y se entienda, si dichos presidiales no eligieren la conducta hasta ahora observada de la mano del padre visitador de aquellas misiones. Porque siendo ellos los interesados, ha de estar a su arbitrio y voluntad el medio de ser satisfechos de sus sueldos. Puesto que su majestad, realmente y sin la menor demora, se los ministra.

La segunda, que la paga de estos sueldos que se hiciere en negocios y efectos, ha de ser en aquellos que el soldado pidiere y necesitare, y no habiéndolos en reales, pero dándosele en efectos, ha de ser en los precios arancelados con certificación del padre misionero que administra dicha misión, de haberse así cumplido y de estarlo en el número de presidiales de su dotación, a la manera que se presentan la de los curas ministros de otros presidios.

La tercera, que los presidiales, puesto que el tiempo de asentárseles la plaza y amunicionarlos, se les carga a su cuenta el valor de los caballos y municiones, cuando se les borren las plazas no se les pague en reales lo que hubieren devengado, sino que independientemente se les satisfaga en reales el importe de las municiones que entregaren, por ser notoria injusticia lo contrario.

La cuarta, que por cuanto la rudeza de los indios y su congenial barbaridad necesita de enseñanza para algunas obras materiales, como fábricas, siembras, y otras semejantes que es preciso hacerse de sol a sol, tiempo en que el religioso misionero tiene que decir misa, doctrinarles, administrarles, salir a confesiones, (y que según se representa) no todos pueden mantener un familiar o sirviente, siendo precisa persona que supla la ausencia de dicho religioso para cuidar de que los indios trabajen en dichas obras, y que las hagan con la perfección posible, no hay inconveniente en que el soldado que estuviere de es[col]ta en la misión para guarda y custodia del religioso misionero, al propio tiempo, vea y cuide de lo propuesto, sin h[acer]lo él por su mano, sino atender a que se haga. Pues siendo consiguiente a la permanencia del misionero y de la [mi]sión, y prevenido por ley municipal que se fabrique alguna casa en que viva, proporcionada al país, y semillas [de] que él y los indios se sustenten, no sólo debe solicitarse el fin, sino ponerse los medios que conduzcan a [su] consecución.

La dificultad que se ofrece es, si los dos presidios deban corr[er] debajo de un comando y gobierno, o de diversos, por ser cabos del uno y del otro, y aunque por una parte se ofrece el inconveniente de la emulación, o la accidental oposición en la ejecución de los órdenes, pues puede acaecer que el superior dé las que se le ofrezcan, y el subalterno, no pueda ejecutarlas por ocurrir otra expedición más urgente de que el primero no tuvo noticia. Y en la unión se ver[ía] también inconveniente por la falta de libertad en el subordinado para ejecutar lo conveniente por asistir a lo que el superior le ordena, en medio de esto, parece menos dañoso que el gobierno sea uno sólo teniéndose el capitán del presidio antiguo y estando a él subordinado, en lo general, del nuevo, y a éste en lo particular sus subalternos. La posible ocurrencia de causas que dificulta en el cumplimiento de las órdenes



del superior, por acudir a la más urgente, como máxima justa y política, eximió subordinado de la nota de inobediencia, y aunque parece en lo humano inevitable la emulación, es muy fácil de conseguirse si se acierta en la elección.

Este es el punto céntrico que hoy se hace más dificultoso por la oposición bien manifiesta entre el superior de aquellas misiones con el capitán del nuevo presidio, sobre cuyo asunto será abultado el proceso con multitud de papeles y cartas, por una y otra parte presentados, e informes ofensivos y defensivos con que el uno y el otro mutuamente pretenden indemnizarse, coadyuvando al capitán los informes del gobernador que le eligió y puso, y la presunción que a su favor induce la provisión de vuestra excelencia, y no quedando desnudo de probabilidad por los documentos que en su instrucción ministra la presentación hecha en nombre de aquellos religiosos misioneros y en que procura dar cumplida satisfacción.

Pero no hallándose hoy la causa y negocio en términos de sindicato, debiéndose única y principalmente atender a que se aproveche el desvelo y cuidado de vuestra excelencia, y los gastos que ha reportado la real hacienda en la reducción y pacificación de la nueva alteración de aquellas naciones, cuya continuación prepara no para otro fin que el de la conservación y aumento de aquella cristianidad, y poblaciones como cristianamente se ve explicado por vuestra excelencia en las copias de sus cartas, que en dicho segundo cuaderno se hallan, aunque el fiscal cuidó de leer los dos legajos y cuadernos de cartas, autos, y papeles, en razón o con motivo de dichos disgustos formados, tiene por impertinente su individual relación, y por bastante la explicación del fin a que [estos] y otros papeles encaminan.

Quéjase pues dicho capitán de que el padre Taraval, y el padre visitador y otros religiosos, impiden el cumplimiento de sus órdenes, le tratan con poco respeto, dando mal ejemplo a los soldados e indios, y en comprobación de este exceso relaciona varios acaecimientos y lances indiferentes, en parte instruidos y en parte [de] su misma prueba desvanecidos, por parte de los religiosos se interpretan los acaecimientos y se persuaden las intergiversaciones, pero dejando la verdad, aquel de cuya parte estuviese atento a necesitar la grandeza de vuestra excelencia del tiempo para negocios de mayor substancia, la que producen los cargos y reconvencciones, se remedia con facilidad, provi[den]ciándose el que se terminen y acaben tan infructuosas, y [por] judiciales disensiones, sabiendo el gobernador, capitanes y cabos, del uno y del otro presidio, estar sujeto en lo espiritual a dichos religiosos, como sus párrocos deber respetarlos en sus personas por su estado y ministerio, como sus feligreses y como vasallos de su majestad, que así se lo tiene encargado a dichos padres, advertidos de que deben atender a los cabos militares, como ministros de su majestad, portándose los unos y los otros con recíproca y buena correspondencia, sin mezclarse dichos religiosos en el gobierno político sino por vía de dirección, ni los capitanes y cabos en lo espiritual, ni en lo que conduzca a la educación de los indios, auxiliándose los unos a los otros [para] arreglarlos a la vida política, al servicio de Dios y obediencia a su majestad, castigando los capitanes con ejemplar castigo los desórdenes de sus soldados, como sin confiarse los unos ni los otros en la distancia, para faltar a su obligación, por no haber alguno que imposibilite con más o menos dilación el arreglarlo.

Las causas que dichos cuadernos alumbran para la pública demostración de haberse puesto por excomulgado a dicho capitán, se reducen a no haber éste

cumplido con el precepto anual de Nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia, y haber dado orden expresa a los soldados para que si fuese a verlo el religioso misionero, no le dejasen entrar, prohibiéndole al propio tiempo su comunicación, en lo cual consideró dicho religioso ofendida la jurisdicción eclesiástica que tiene como párroco, y propio de ella el poner por descomulgado a dicho capitán por haber faltado al precepto. Este confiesa lo uno, como el otro, [dis]culpando la intención y atribuyendo la concesión, como causa, a haber quitado a dichos religiosos un soldado que le servía en ministerio muy diversos, hallarse ya absuelto, por lo cual omite el fiscal ocupar la atención de vuestra excelencia en las menudas e impertinentes circunstancias para lo obrado.

Y descendiendo a lo ejecutado por el gobernador de Sinaloa, que dilatadamente consta en el abultado cuaderno 4 de estos autos, aunque considera el incansable celo, sumo trabajo de dicho gobernador, penalidades experimentadas, acierto en las providencias, dirección, y buena conducta en los medios, y que todo esto influyó y sirvió eficazmente para conseguir el fin de la reducción de aquellas naciones, quitar los incentivos que sucesivamente les movían hacer respetar la real jurisdicción y armas de su majestad, más con la prudencia que con el rigor, y no haber estado de su parte las desgracias acaecidas en algunos indios, que a impulso de su barbaridad se arrojaron al peligro con el ánimo feroz y ciego de matar los soldados y auxiliares, cuya natural defensa les obligó (sin libertarse de perecer a algunos) a que muriesen otros de los in[va]sores, teniendo ya dicho gobernador en sus cartas individualmente re[la]cionado a vuestra excelencia, con ordenada sucesión de sus progresos, y todo lo acaecido en el que duró su expedición hasta su restitución a su gobernación, tiene el fiscal por inoportuno detenerse en la individual explanación, por considerar que habiendo merecido [ya] la aprobación de vuestra excelencia, en sola ella quedó examinado, y de[ci]dido el arreglado proceder de dicho gobernador.

Lo cuál supuesto, y que al superior arbitrio de vuestra excelencia pertenece el nombramiento de los capitanes que hayan de ser, del uno y del otro presidio, en el caso de tenerse por conveniente, para evitar m[ás] incendio, el retiro del capitán Acevedo, forma en que han de correr, si por sí solos, o el uno al otro subordinado, que sería lo mejor, y asentada la previa calificación de las proposiciones dichas, pasa por último el fiscal a hacer presente a vuestra excelencia fa[l]tar en estos autos las reales cédulas, que por parte de dichos padres misioneros, se expresan en su representación citando ser expedidas en 28 de septiembre de 1703, dirigida al excelentísimo señor duque de Alburquerque, afirmando [que] en ellas, no sólo se previno las anuales asistencias de otros religiosos de la Sagrada Compañía, sino que en ell[as] específicamente se ordena a los capitanes y cabos la más ate[n]ta correspondencia con el prelado y religiosos que sirven en dichas misiones, y el que las entradas que se hubieren de hacer en la tierra, las comuniquen con los que asisten en ella, para que de esta suerte se ejecuten con mayor acierto y seguridad de aquellas almas, y se logre el bien espiritual que se desea en lo que se fuere descubriendo.

Pues aunque por el señor fiscal antecedente, en dicho primer cuaderno se ve repetidamente pedido y por vuestra excelencia mandado, se busquen y pongan en estos autos los reales órdenes y cédulas que se hubieren recibido, y conduzcan a las misiones de dicha isla, no se hallan en ellos y menos la expresada, siendo tan importante, para que la grandeza de vuestra excelencia se sirva de mandar, se

busque en el oficio y se ponga testimonio de ella, como que necesariamente asentado en los libros, ya que no parezcan o no se hallan autos formados en la antecedente sobre providencias de dichas misiones, para que teniéndose presente por vuestra excelencia, y en dicha junta, sirva de documento a la resolución que hubiere de tomarse.

En cuanto al teniente del nuevo presidio, a quien el gobernador de Sinaloa en su última carta denuncia tener preso por considerarlo culpado en el homicidio de un indio (aunque la muerte de éste en la realidad fue en resistencia), atento a que sólo informado por parte de dicho padre Agustín Luyando, y en forma bastante instruido, consta el mal natural de dicho teniente y de sus hijos, y no haber necesidad de que estos residan en Californias, pudiendo subrogarse otros de mejores costumbres en su lugar, se sirva vuestra excelencia que por vía de providencia, dicho teniente y sus hijos, ahora ni en tiempo alguno, entren en dicha isla, por no haber delito leve en lugares de indios recién convertidos, o que admita disposición.

Esto es lo que el fiscal comprende, digno de especial pronunciamiento en toda la serie de los autos, como también la existencia y corriente de dos embarcaciones para la conducción de bastimentos, al uno y al otro presidio. Y en cuanto a que su carga y remisión sea de cuenta del capitán del presidio antiguo o del reverendo padre visitador. Aunque a la real hacienda se sirva conveniencia de que se le liberte de riesgo y pérdida en su navegación, que es lo que parece afirma[r] dicho padre Agustín Luyando haber hasta ahora reportado, proveyendo de lo necesario a los soldados, aún habiéndose perdido la embarcación, como quiera, que siendo dichos religiosos eclesiásticos lo es su peculio, así resiste el derecho esta convención espontáneamente haga, será convenido que aunque no sea a cuenta y riesgo de dichos religiosos, por los motivos expresados, el viaje y conducción del situado. Pero que no [se] haga novedad en cuanto al manejo de dicho barco. De suerte que cuando necesiten de valerse de ellos lo cabos para alguna cosa precisa, lo avisen al superior de dichas misiones o misionero del paraje donde estuviese anclado, y estos a dichos cabos cuando necesitaren para ir del uno al otro en su administración, de suerte que no se impidan unos ni otros, aquello que conduzca al servicio de Dios y de su majestad, ni se ocupen los barcos en otras inteligencias que éste, y la conducción del situado.

Por lo que mira a la creación del capellán en el nuevo presidio, aunque por estar el cuerpo de guardia en distancia de la misión y misione[ro]s, y por esta causa, contingente, y aún necesari[a], los soldados que residen de pie en dicho cuerpo de guardia carezcan del consuelo de oír misa en los días de precepto. Parece necesario que haya dicho capellán, y que su nominación en este caso es propia de vuestra excelencia, hace presente el fiscal en cumplimiento de su obligación, que la manutención de dicho capellán, su sueldo o asistencia, no ha de ser de cuenta de la real hacienda, ni añadirse esta plaza a las ya dotadas, debajo de cuya calidad, cuando se permita la nominación de tal capellán, sea hallándose la parte de dicho presidio, a costearlo y mantenerlo, y pre[vi]niéndosele que no ha de tener jurisdicción alguna en lo eclesiástico, ni tenerse como párroco, sino precisa y únicamente como tal capellán. Y lo segundo, que las leyes municipales cuidadosamente encargan, que las doctrinas que administran religiosos no se encarguen a clérigos, ni por el contrario, por cuya razón hallaba el fiscal, salva la otra más arreglada, como acertada providencia de vuestra excelencia, que la nominación de capellán fuese en uno de los padres de aquella misión, pues como paraje tan remoto de éste

superior gobierno, se hace necesario remedio que precava cualquier tropiezo que pueda ocurrir de disensión entre el capellán secular y dichos misioneros. Pues aunque unos y otros se hallan independientes de su ejercicio en la obligación de su destino, suele la emulación causar, en lo no pensado, artificio para el tropiezo. Y en caso de que vuestra excelencia estime la nominación de capellán en uno de dichos misioneros, no tendrán la pensión los soldados de dicho presidio para su manutención, por no acrecentarse dicho misionero de más carga al número de su dotación, y con los mismos que como misionero se mantenía, se podrá mantener siendo capellán.

Y por cuanto de la exploración de aquella isla y su frecuencia, puede resultar incentivo a que algunas personas españolas quieran ir a vecindarse en ella, y su majestad pueda lograr los derechos de quintos que el buceo de perlas puede producirle, y de que no es justo se le prive o embarace, se servirá vuestra excelencia, siendo de su agrado, mandar que el bando que se publicare en aquellas provincias inmediatas se añada la libre facultad del buceo, y entrada para él a aquella isla y sus costas, como sea por vasallos de su majestad y con patente despacho de vuestra excelencia, y tomada razón de él por oficiales reales de Guadalajara, ante quienes han de afianzar dichos quintos.

Finalmente, en atención a que a la cortedad del fiscal pueden ser reservados otros puntos que, o por lo que ministran los autos, o por noticias extrajudiciales, necesiten de especial providencia en beneficio de la real hacienda, y para quietud de aquellas misiones, difiere en el celo y mejor arbitrio vuestra excelencia a las que deban darse, por ser su ánimo y deseo únicamente el que se consiga el servicio de Dios, el logro de aquellos naturales, el aliento y perseverancia de aquellos ejemplares religiosos ejercitados ya en domesticarlos, y el que con estos tengan los capitanes toda buena correspondencia, estimándolos como a padres y directores, puesto que su majestad se dignó atender a su dirección y experiencias para los progresos de su piadoso y católico imperio, y para que aquellos naturales vivan vida política y sean arreglados en justicia.

México y julio 12 de 1739.

Licenciado Vedoya.

#### Respuesta del auditor

**E**xcelentísimo señor:  
En vista de los autos remitidos a este superior gobierno por el gobernador de Sinaloa, sobre los nuevos acaecimientos de la provincia y misión de Californias, con la respuesta del señor fiscal de 12 de julio del año próximo pasado. Dice que son varios los puntos que se deducen de ellos, pero el principal, a que se debe dirigir este negocio es a la manutención, conservación, paz y quietud de aquella provincia para evitar en lo futuro las lastimosas fatalidades experimentadas, y que esto, está conseguida con la nueva escuadra formada de treinta soldados (que reside en el Cabo de San Lucas), estando, como deben estar, su cabo sujeto y arreglado a las órdenes del capitán del antiguo presidio de Loreto, pues no siendo así, fuera un cuerpo con dos cabezas, y por eso monstruoso, de que resultarían, sin duda, formidables consecuencias, y la pérdida de aquella provincia y misiones; y para que esto se facilite más, importa mucho, que el cabo que hubiere

de ser, de dicha nueva escuadra, sea sujeto práctico del ejercicio militar, benévolo, así a los indios, como a los padres misioneros, para que con el influjo, doctrina y ejemplo de estos, fomentada y autorizada por el cabo y su escuadra, se puedan mantener dichos indios, arreglados y sujetos a razón y justicia y se logre por último la exaltación del santo evangelio y dominios de su majestad; lo que parece tendrá efecto si el superior acuerdo de vuestra excelencia calificare por asentado lo siguiente:

Primero, que dicha escuadra de treinta soldados resida en el Cabo de San Lucas; se gobierne por un teniente y éste ser sujeto subordinado y dependiente del capitán del antiguo presidio de Loreto para que así corra todo debajo de un comando y gobierno que es lo mismo a que se reduce la mayor parte que pide el señor fiscal en su citada respuesta, pues sin nueva erección, y sólo con el aumento de dicha escuadra, se logrará la conservación de aquella cristiandad, y seguridad y resguardo de los obreros evangélicos de cuyas expensas y limosnas, según dice en su memorial el padre Luyando, se fabricó el presidio viejo, sin costo alguno del real erario del que ahora se pide porción de pesos por el gobernador de Sinaloa para la construcción del nuevo que nunca puede costar mucho.

Lo segundo, que el capitán del presidio de Loreto, corra en la misma conformidad que hasta aquí, en la buena correspondencia que debe tener con los padres misioneros, para que así se logre mejor el servicio de ambas majestades, sujeto y dependiente sólo del superior gobierno de vuestra excelencia como hasta ahora, y sin subordinación alguna al gobernador de Sinaloa, por no haberla tenido antes, pues, lo uno se halla distante, y lo otro hay mar de por medio.

Lo tercero, que como dice el señor fiscal, juzga muy necesario, y conveniente, el retiro del cabo don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, que ha sido, según se reconoce, causa del incendio e inquietudes de aquella provincia, que hasta su ingreso, se había mantenido, desde su conquista, sosegada y quieta, sin que en tan dilatado tiempo haya habido, según tiene entendido, oculto alguno de aquellos presidarios contra los padres misioneros, a que se agrega, no juzgar necesario, como tiene manifestado, el empleo que tiene de capitán, bien que providencial sino de un teniente, que siendo servido, podrá vuestra excelencia nombrar encargándole la más atenta correspondencia con los padres misioneros. Con lo referido, quedan todos los inconvenientes precavidos y desvanecidos, controvertidos; mandando vuestra excelencia en todo lo demás, se haga como en su docta y difusa respuesta, comprensiva de todos los puntos principales que se contienen en este cumulo proceso, pide el señor fiscal, por lo que omite el auditor, molestar la superior atención de vuestra excelencia y que con testimonio de todo en primera ocasión, se de cuenta a su majestad para que en su vista resuelva lo que sea de su real agrado.

México, 8 de julio de 1740 años  
don Pedro Malo de Villavizencio.

México 11 de Julio de 1740 años, como pide el señor fiscal, y propone el señor auditor general, en todo, y líbrense los despachos correspondientes.

## Royal Cédula of King Philip V on the California Missions, 1744

*Philip V, no longer distracted by the war with France but still antagonized by English attacks on ships from the Indies, turned his attention to the expansion of the Spanish Empire, which had lagged since the late 1720s because of the burden of conducting wars. The dispute between Governor Huidobro and the Jesuits, which effectively terminated in 1741, as seen in the preceding document, was resolved with the appointment of another governor—this time Don Agustín de Vildósola, a prominent settler from Vizcaya and commander of a reputable military force in Sonora. His role in Sonora and Sinaloa can be followed in the Sinaloa-Sonora section that treats of military affairs on the mainland.*

*Clearly, Philip V had been impressed with information about northwest New Spain. The president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Don Francisco Aysa, the Marqués del Castillo de Aysa, had filed detailed summaries of conditions on the coast of the South Sea (Pacific) and the Californias.<sup>1</sup> His concerns were very broad—from the fortification of Matanchel and Banderas Bay to the settlement of the Islas Marias and the California coast. The ideas contained in his expediente to the king are reflected in this cédula, just as the ideas herein are reexpressed by Father Provincial Cristóbal Escobar y Llamas in his informe of 1745.<sup>2</sup> This flurry of bureaucratic documents marks a major restructuring of Spanish imperial policy in northwestern New Spain.*

*Vildósola's influence can be seen clearly in the cédula presented here. The detailed plan—which calls for a sharing of manpower between the existing presidios and the determination to expand missions along the Colorado—contains ideas that had become current in the aftermath of the Yaqui Revolt of the 1740s. The time had come to reconsider and reintegrate military and missionary efforts.*

### Cédula of Philip V, 1744

**T**o the venerable and devout father provincial of the Society of Jesus in the province of Mexico:<sup>3</sup>  
We have received news in my Council of the Indies regarding events of 1735 in connection with the uprising of the Indians from the Pericúe and Guai-curo tribes in the California province. Incidents that occurred prior to the upris-

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1. See the *Testimonio* of the Marqués de Castillo de Aysa AGI, Guadalajara 306, where there are several reports on affairs in the South Sea.

2. See AGI, Guadalajara 135.

3. The Jesuit provincial was Cristóbal Escobar y Llamas, who held office from the beginning of 1743 until the beginning of 1747.

ing—resulting in the origin, the advancement, and the current state of the spiritual and temporal conquest of the said province—have also been considered and examined with the greatest precision and diligence. It has been recognized that, despite attempts made since 1523 by Don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle and first viceroy of these provinces, and later by some of his successors and certain other men at various times—with serious waste of royal funds—these men were never able to achieve their purpose, due to the unfortunate events that befell them and the insurmountable difficulties that they encountered. Nevertheless, the proposed conquest was encouraged by the fertility and abundance of that province, as well as the docility of the natives and their inclination to receive and embrace our Christian religion and our civil and political life. This was recognized by the Jesuit missionaries, among them Fathers Juan María de Salvatierra and Eusebio Francisco Kino in 1698, and with particular distinction by Father Francisco María Pícolo in 1716. During this time the missions and conversions were advanced greatly through the individuals of your order, who are the only ones that have dedicated themselves to these matters, and through the alms of the faithful. My royal treasury has also contributed to this great work since 1703, with an annual payment of 13,000 pesos intended specifically for the maintenance of a soldier escort for the missions, and for the crew of the ship that carries missionaries from the coast of Sinaloa to the province.

With this understanding, my council has addressed the manner in which that conquest might be accomplished. They had before them the accounting office report to Father Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, procurator general of the Company of Jesus, concerning his provinces in the Indies and in particular the missions of the Californias, as well as other reports from various members of your order who are knowledgeable and experienced with these conversions. They also had, above all, my fiscal's statement on the importance of applying the most effective and appropriate means of bringing the California province within the pale of the holy church and my royal domain, the fruitful undertaking of which has been frustrated so many times. Despite everything that my glorious predecessors and the viceroys of those provinces have promoted in their Catholic zeal, not a handful of stable ground has been secured in this rough territory.

It has been proposed to me that the most rapid and complete attainment of our purpose must have as its fundamental and solid base the conversion of those natives to our holy faith by the same Jesuit missionaries. Afterwards, a population of Spaniards with a presidio and a fortress can be established in the ample and secure ports as they are discovered in the peaceful, reduced land. Likewise, a pueblo of Spaniards can be established in the center of the province, where the land would be most suitable, as a check against the Indians and a refuge for missionaries should an uprising occur. In order to achieve the reduction of the Indians in the shortest time possible, it will be appropriate for Jesuit missionaries to enter that province from the side opposite that which has been used by the present missionaries, that is, the northern end where the province connects with and is bounded by the continent and tierra firme. This refers to our having discovered and ascertained that the province of the Californias is not an island, as was commonly believed, but is land bordering upon New Mexico along its upper regions, or to the north. In this way, the natives will be surrounded; isolated, they will not be able to leave or withdraw to the territories of other wild Indians.

Having all the missionaries travel from their settlements and respective routes toward the center of the province cannot help but hasten its total reduction. In order to realize that goal, however, it would of course be very important to double the missionaries in all of the reductions of the Indians. This is absolutely necessary to the continued progress of the frontier missions where the Indians still are not reduced. Apart from their general usefulness, what distinguishes these missions is that one of the missionaries can make entradas into the lands of the infidels in order to attract and win them over, while not leaving those already settled without the doctrine and discipline that they need, for it will be given to them by the other religious. Nor are the Indians left without someone to keep an eye on them, to prevent them from plotting some traitorous act or uprising—a great risk when they remain alone. In this manner, far greater advances will inevitably be achieved, with a lasting integrity.

It is also appropriate that an escort of soldiers be present in the same reductions, to guard the missionaries and make them respected by the Indians, and that they accompany those who make entradas, for the same reasons. The soldiers must always be obedient to the religious and should undertake no actions without their orders, so that some punishment or imprudent invasion does not frighten or drive off the Indians. In this way, it is believed, much ground will be gained throughout that region where the missions are established. It serves equally to further the reduction of the province through new missions that they descend to meet those ascending from the opposite side.

The above measures could be easily carried out in the missions of the same order as in the Pimas Altos or the province of Sonora by placing two missionaries in each frontier reduction of infidel Indians and giving them sufficient escort under the terms expressed above. Thus, the missions of the Pimas Altos can be advanced to reduce the nations of the Cocomicopas and the Yumas, until reaching the Río del Norte, also called the Colorado, close to where it enters the Gulf of the Californias. According to prior information, the Jesuit missionaries may anticipate a good reception from those missions, and by founding a pueblo of reduced Indians on the banks of the Río Colorado, they will have easy passage to the other shore, which is the land of the Californias. After achieving some progress there with the Hoabonamas tribe or with the Bagiopas,<sup>4</sup> who are docile and well behaved, they could establish another pueblo to secure the river crossing from both shores, and thus secure communication with the entire mainland.

With this foundation, it will be possible to descend into the land of the Californias in search of the earlier missionaries. The men who remained posted in Terrenate by order of the viceroy, Duque de la Conquista, could serve as the necessary escort for the missions of the Pimas Altos, since they are nearby.<sup>5</sup> Or the escort that the same duke posted in Pitiquí [Pitic] can be used, since it does not appear

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4. The Hoabonamas and the Bagiopas lived on the Colorado River to the north and south of its junction with the Gila. Spanish documents from the first half of the eighteenth century identify these tribes with two others in the Yuma region, the Cutganes and Quiquimas.

5. The presidio of Terrenate was established in 1741 as the Presidio de Felipe de Jesús de Guevavi, which reference led to years of confusion as to its location. In fact, it was situated about eight kilometers southeast of the mission of Santa María Soamca.



that both are necessary, according to the report of Don Agustín de Vildósola, governor of the Sinaloa province.<sup>6</sup> Alternatively, for greater security, the escort from Pitiquí could travel to Terrenate, and the soldiers of this place could go to the missions of the Pimas Altos. In this way, we would have the necessary escort without increasing the expenditures of my royal treasury on the new missions or on the older missions of the Californias. The same soldiers who are being maintained in that province at my expense will be posted to the frontier reductions.

The same council presented all of this information in a consultation of May 12 of this year. Considering that the proposed measures are so little burden and of such great utility, it would be appropriate to implement them all, as well as any others that might be deemed conducive or opportune by the Jesuit fathers most experienced with that province. I have petitions from them, by your hand, and they await instructions. Naturally, the necessary means for everything will be furnished quickly and up front from the royal coffers of that city, or from the coffers of its subordinate cities, should the viceroy and the missionaries think it appropriate to place the funds in those cities that are closer. The number of Jesuit fathers will be increased so that there are two at each of the frontier reductions of the Indians who are not reduced. It is to be thus in the reductions that exist in the Californias province presently, as well as those that are in the provinces of the Pimas Altos and Sonora, along the part where all lead toward the Río del Norte or Colorado and the Californias. The Jesuits, whose number will be increased for this reason (the number to be determined by you, based upon information from the missionaries of each area who face the rebellious Indians), are to be chosen and paid another stipend up front, such as that fixed for the other missionaries in the province. Also, the number of missions in Sonora should be increased, in addition to those of the Pimas Altos, so that the first missionaries to arrive at the entrance of the Río del Norte or Colorado might cross over and enter the Californias. Likewise, for both to arrive at the same time would make the undertaking that much more effective, as they would not be leaving behind them any tribe of Indians who are not yet reduced and subject to my royal dominion. To which end, the escort should be placed in all these frontier reductions in the manner expressed, with the caution that if there are too many [Indians], soldiers should be taken for this purpose from Terrenate or Pitiquí.<sup>7</sup>

Regarding where to station the soldiers who do not go with the missionaries, one must listen to Don Agustín de Vildósola, governor of Sinaloa and an individual very experienced with those places. Of no less importance is that the escorts, the soldiers as well as the leader of each one, be at the orders of the Jesuit missionary fathers. They must not advance on the Indians, insult or punish them, or do anything more than what the fathers order. Finally, in order to strengthen this control, the salaries of the escorts should be delivered to the missionaries so that

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6. See AGI, Guadalajara, 135.

7. The garrison at Pitic was a substantial distance from Terrenate and even farther from the Colorado. Not until the establishment of the presidio of Altar in 1752 was there a Spanish military unit that could operate as far west as the Colorado. Not only were the distances immense, the logistics of operations on the open desert were impossible for lack of water, forage, and remounts.

they may distribute it themselves, and if any one of the soldiers is a troublemaker, with bad habits, the missionaries could send him away and request another in his place. Without these and greater precautions that some of my zealous ministers in these provinces have proposed on various occasions, the escort could greatly jeopardize the reduction of the Indians. It is necessary to gain the Indians' fear and respect, so that they will not attempt treacheries, and to use flattery to overcome their distrust, providing them at the same time with an example of good habits.

Everything expressed should be attended to, keeping in mind that to apply every effort toward more efficiently furthering the conversion and reduction of those Indians in that vast province who may persist in their faithlessness is an undertaking very worthy of my royal will and my reputation as a Catholic. The achievement of this will doubtless result in the many other benefits of extending and increasing my dominions and the profits of my Real Hacienda, further ensuring freedom of commerce with the Philippine Islands. I have thus decided to approve everything that my council has proposed to me regarding these important goals, and consequently to order my viceroy of these provinces (by a dispatch executed this very day) to immediately dedicate his greatest efforts to the most expedient and complete fulfillment of these ends. You are hereby advised of everything, so that with that knowledge you may contribute your part (as I entreat and charge you) toward the implementation of whatever measures pertain to you, by this my royal resolution. You should also apply all other measures that may lead quickly to the accomplishment of an enterprise so clearly in the service of God and so important to the spiritual and temporal well-being of those heathens. Thus, I await and trust in your well-known zeal, principally because this is an undertaking so singularly fitting to your religious offices, which you have carried out with such success and efficiency throughout my kingdoms in the Indies.

Signed in El Buen Retiro, November 13, 1744.

I, the King.

By order of our lord, the king.

Fernando Triviño.

[Signed with three rubrics.]

To the father provincial of the Society of Jesus in the province of Mexico, including the order that was given to the viceroy of New Spain to implement the spiritual and temporal conquest of the Californias, and charging him with contributing his part to this goal in the manner expressed.

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 64, ff. 380–87.*

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Cédula de Felipe V, 1744



enerable y devoto padre provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de México:

Con motivo de las noticias recibidas en mi Consejo de las Indias de lo acaecido el año de mil setecientos y treinta y cinco en el levantamiento de los indios de las naciones llamadas de Pericu y de Guadicura, en la provincia de las Californias, se han visto y examinado con la mayor exactitud y diligencia los

antecedentes que pasan en él y ha causado el origen, progreso y estado actual de la conquista espiritual y temporal de la referida provincia, y se ha reconocido que, habiéndose intentado desde el año de mil quinientos y veinte y tres por don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle y primer virrey de esas provincias, y después por algunos de sus sucesores, y por otros sujetos particulares en varios tiempos, con grave dispendio del real erario, nunca pudo tener efecto por los desgraciados sucesos que sobrevinieron y por las insuperables dificultades que se encontraron, sin embargo de que estimulaba tanto a la meditada conquista la fertilidad y abundancia de aquella provincia, y la inclinación y docilidad que se reconocía en sus naturales para recibir y abrazar nuestra religión cristiana y la vida civil y política, como entre otros misioneros jesuitas lo reconocieron los padres Juan María de Salvatierra y Eusebio Francisco Kino, en el año de mil seiscientos noventa y ocho, y con mayor individualidad y distinción el padre Francisco María Pícolo en el de mil setecientos y diez y seis, en el cual se hallaban ya muy adelantadas aquellas misiones y conversiones por medio de los individuos de vuestra religión, que son los únicos que se han dedicado a ellas, y por el de las limosnas de los fieles, contribuyendo también mi Real Hacienda a esta grande obra con el situado efectivo de trece mil pesos al año, desde el de mil setecientos y tres, destinados especialmente a la manutención de la escolta de soldados de las misiones y de la tripulación del barco que desde la costa de Sinaloa conduce los misioneros a ella.

Con cuyo conocimiento, tratándose en el referido mi consejo del modo como se podría acabar de conseguir esa conquista, y teniendo presente lo que con este motivo informaron la contaduría de él al padre Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, procurador general de la Compañía de Jesús por sus provincias de las Indias, y especial de las misiones de las Californias, y otros sujetos de vuestra misma religión, inteligentes y prácticos en aquellas conversiones, y lo que sobre todo expuso mi fiscal considerando lo mucho que importa el que se apliquen desde luego los medios más eficaces y oportunos para acabar de reducir al gremio de la Santa Iglesia y a mi real dominio, la enunciada provincia de las Californias, cuya fructuosa empresa se ha malogrado tantas veces, no obstante lo mucho que la promovieron con su católico celo mis gloriosos predecesores y los virreyes de esas provincias, sin haberse podido asegurar hasta ahora un palmo de tierra estable en su basto territorio.

Se me ha propuesto que para su más pronto y cumplido logro debe ser la basa fundamental y sólida la conversión de aquellos naturales a nuestra santa fe por medio de los propios misioneros jesuitas y, consiguientemente, el que en los puertos capaces y seguros que en el terreno pacífico reducido se vayan descubriendo, se haga población de españoles con fortaleza y presidio y que, así mismo, en el centro de la provincia, en donde fuere el terreno más a propósito, se forme algún pueblo de españoles que pueda ser freno de los indios y refugio de los misioneros si sobreviniese algún levantamiento y que, para que se consiga con la mayor brevedad la reducción de los indios, será muy a propósito el que entren misioneros jesuitas en aquella provincia por el lado opuesto a aquel por donde entraron aquellos que hay al presente, esto es, por la parte septentrional, por donde se une y confina la misma provincia con el continente y la tierra firme, respecto de haberse descubierto y averiguado que la provincia de las Californias no es isla, como comunmente se tenía creído, sino tierra confinante con la del Nuevo México por la parte

superior o del norte, con cuya providencia quedarán rodeados sus naturales y, como aislados, sin tener por donde salir ni retirarse a territorios de otros indios bravos.

Y caminando los misioneros desde sus establecimientos y líneas respectivas, todo al centro de la provincia, no puede dejar de abreviarse mucho la total reducción de ella pero que para conseguirlo, en el supuesto de ser muy importante el que en todas las reducciones de indios se hallen los doctrineros duplicados, lo es mucho más, y aun absolutamente necesario para hacer progresos en las misiones fronterizas de los indios aún no reducidos; porque en estas, demás de las utilidades generales de todas, se sigue la especial de que pueda uno de los misioneros hacer entradas en las tierras de los infieles para irlos atrayendo y ganando, sin que queden los ya poblados sin doctrina y régimen que necesitan y les dará el otro religioso, y aún también para que no queden sin quien pueda vigilar, a fin de que no maquinen alguna traición o levantamiento, de que tanto riesgo quedándose ellos solos; de lo cual se sigue precisamente lograrse con brevedad progresos mucho mayores y con la solidez de que sean durables.

Conviniendo también el que en las propias reducciones asista escolta de soldados que guarde las personas de los misioneros y los haga respetados de los indios, y que acompañe a los que hicieren entradas, a los mismos fines, estando siempre a la obediencia de los religiosos, sin emprender acción que ellos no les manden para que algún castigo o invasión imprudente no atemorice o ahuyente a los indios, porque de esa forma se cree que irán adelantando mucho terreno por aquella parte en que están establecidas las misiones; y igualmente conviene que para adelantar la reducción de aquella provincia con nuevas misiones, vayan bajando por la parte opuesta a encontrar a estas que van subiendo.

Y que se pueden practicar con facilidad los medios arriba expresados en las misiones que tiene la misma religión en los pimas altos o en la provincia de Sonora, poniendo duplicados misioneros en cada reducción fronteriza de indios infieles, y dando a aquellos religiosos la suficiente escolta en los términos en que va expresado, con lo cual, adelantándose las misiones de los pimas altos a reducir las naciones de los cocomarcopas y de los yumas, que llegan hasta el Río del Norte, que también se llama Colorado, cerca de donde entra éste en el Golfo de las Californias, de las cuales misiones esperan los misioneros jesuitas (según antecedentes noticias) buena acogida y, fundando un pueblo de indios reducidos a la orilla del mismo Río Colorado, tendrán el paso fácil a la otra orilla, que es ya la tierra de las Californias, y logrando allí algún progreso con la nación de los hoabonamas, o con la de los Bagiopas, que es dócil y de buen trato, podrán fundar otro pueblo, para tener asegurado en una y otra orilla el paso del mismo río y la comunicación con toda la tierra firme.

Y con este cimientó irse bajando por la tierra de las Californias, a buscar los misioneros antiguos; y para la escolta que se necesita en las misiones de los pimas altos, podrá servir la que quedó puesta en Terrenate por orden del virrey, duque de la conquista, por hallarse muy cerca de aquellas misiones, o otra que puso el mismo duque en Pitiquí, pues no parece que son ambas necesarias, según informe de don Agustín de Vildósola, gobernador de la provincia de Sinaloa; o para mayor seguridad podrá pasar la escolta de Pitiquí a Terrenate, y la de este paraje a las misiones de los pimas altos, por cuyo medio se puede tener la escolta necesaria sin aumento de gasto a mi Real Hacienda en las nuevas misiones, ni en

las antiguas de las Californias, poniéndola en las reducciones fronterizas y de los mismos soldados que en aquella provincia se mantienen a mi costa.

Y habiéndome hecho presente el mismo consejo todo lo referido en consulta de doce de mayo de este año, y que respecto de que los medios propuestos son tan poco gravosos, y de tanta utilidad, convendría mucho se practiquen todos, y cualquiera otro que tuvieren por conducente y oportuno los padres jesuitas más prácticos de esa provincia, de quienes por vuestra mano tengo pedidos y se esperan los informes; y que desde luego se asista con los medios necesarios para todo ello pronta y efectivamente por las cajas reales de esa ciudad o por otras de sus subalternas, si al virrey y a ellos pareciere conveniente el situarlo en las más cercanas, disponiéndose el aumento de misioneros jesuitas para que haya dos en cada una de las reducciones fronterizas de los indios no reducidos; y que esto sea así en las que ahora existen en la provincia de las Californias, como en la de los pimas altos y también en la de Sonora, por la parte, que unas y otras se inclinan hacia el Río del Norte o Colorado y a las mismas Californias; y que a los religiosos jesuitas que se aumentaren por esta razón (cuyo número habéis de declarar vos, con informe de los misioneros de cada parte que están en fronterizos a los indios rebeldes) se les señale y pague efectivamente otro tanto estipendio, como el que a los otros misioneros les esta señalado en esas provincias; y que también se haga el aumento en las misiones de Sonora, además de las de los pimas altos, para que los primeros que puedan llegar a la entrada del Río del Norte o Colorado le pasen y entren en las Californias; y asimismo para que si los unos y los otros llegasen a un tiempo, sea la obra más sólida, no dejando a las espaldas nación alguna de indios que no estén reducidos y sujetos a mi real dominio, a cuyo fin en todas estas reducciones fronterizas se les haya de poner la escolta en la forma que va expresada, con advertencia de que si sobre, sí se ha de quitar para este intento la de Terrenate o la de Pitiquí.

Y sobre en donde ha de quedar situada la que de estas no fuere con los misioneros, se ha de oír a don Agustín de Vildósola, gobernador de Sinaloa, sujeto muy práctico de aquellos parajes; y de que es no menos preciso el que en las escoltas, así los soldados de ellas como el cabo que mande cada una, esten a las ordenes de los padres misioneros jesuitas, sin que puedan hacer entrada a los indios, insulto o castigo, ni otra cosa más de lo que los mismos padres les mandaren; y, finalmente, que para que esta subordinación sea más firme, se les entregue a los misioneros el sueldo de las escoltas, a fin de que ellos por su mano se la distribuyan, y que si alguno de los soldados fuere alborotador y de malas costumbres, le puedan los misioneros enviar y pedir otro por él, pues sin estas y mayores precauciones, que algunos celosos ministros míos han propuesto desde esas provincias en diferentes ocasiones, hicieran las escoltas mucho daño para la reducción de los indios, a quienes es necesario tener en temor y respeto para que no intenten alevosías, y tratar con halagos para desvanecer su desconfianza, y al mismo tiempo darles ejemplo de buenas costumbres.

Y atendiendo a todo lo expresado, con la reflexión de ser empeño muy propio de mi real ánimo y del renombre que tengo de católico el aplicar los últimos esfuerzos para promover con mayor eficacia que hasta aquí la conversión y reducción de los indios de aquella dilatada provincia que permanecen en su infidelidad, de cuyo logro resultarán sin duda otras muchas utilidades de la extensión y aumento de mis dominios y del beneficio de mi Real Hacienda, asegurándose más

por este medio la libertad del comercio de las Islas Filipinas, he venido en aprobar todo lo que me ha propuesto a estos importantes fines el propio mi consejo; y en su consecuencia ordenar a mi virrey de esas provincias (como lo ejecuto por despacho de este día) que desde luego se dedique con la mayor actividad a su más pronto y cabal cumplimiento.

Y advertiros de todo, para que en su inteligencia concurráis por vuestra parte (como os lo ruego y encargo) a la práctica de lo que por esta mi real determinación os pertenece, aplicando todas las demás diligencias que conduzcan a ver conseguido en breve el efecto [ilegible] de una empresa tan del servicio de Dios y tan importante para el bien espiritual y temporal de aquella gentilidad; que así lo espero y fío de vuestro acreditado celo, mayormente siendo ésta una obra tan peculiar y propia de vuestro religioso instituto, que con tanto acierto y eficacia habéis desempeñado, y desempeñáis en todos mis reinos de las indias. Fecha en El Buen Retiro, a trece de noviembre de mil setecientos y cuarenta y cuatro.

Yo el Rey.

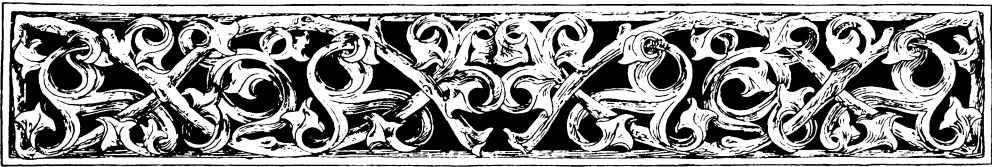
Por mandado del rey nuestro señor.

Fernando Triviño.

[Señalado con tres rúbricas]

Al padre provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de México; participándole la orden que se da al virrey de la Nueva España para que ponga en práctica la conquista espiritual y temporal de las Californias; y encargándole que por su parte concorra a este intento en la forma que se expresa.





## V

### Transfers and Transports

(1748-1762)

#### Transfer of the Squadron of the South, 1750

**T**he spectacular coastline at the tip of the peninsula of Baja California offers enticing shelter from the violent storms that blow off the Pacific Ocean. For more than two centuries the enclosed bay of Cabo San Lucas seemed an ideal port for the Manila galleons, but every effort to establish a base failed because of its extreme aridity and the constant need to import food, water, and supplies in order to maintain even a tiny contingent.

The jurisdictional flap over establishing a presidio in the south delayed efforts to build a fortification or port facilities. The reality of the situation was finally faced in 1750 when a formal request to move the garrison to Todos Santos was made by Captain Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea and the Jesuit superior at Loreto. The original and insupportable choice of Cabo San Lucas was driven by the needs of the galleon trade, but the continual need to protect the missions drew the garrison inland where it could survive and operate successfully. The choice of Todos Santos was a compromise because it appeared possible, although not ideal as a port for the galleons and relatively convenient as a base from which to react in timely fashion to Indian hostilities.

The following documents record the final thrusts to maintain a southern squadron that was less concerned with being a coastal guard than a military arm of mission security. After this time very little more is said about the southern garrison.

Copy of the permit of the most excellent lord viceroy to move the squadron of the south to the port of Todos Santos in the district of La Paz in the Californias. With four useful pages. Year 1750.



CALIFORNIAS, 1748–1750

**M**ost Excellent Lord:  
 As commander of this province, I am strictly obliged to inform your excellency about the situation of the royal squadron of the south. Located at the tip of the peninsula, it is 150 leagues away from this presidio, for which reason all supplies are delayed, uncertain, and at risk whether [transported] by land or by sea.<sup>1</sup> The coast is very rugged, and there are no ports. Therefore, I propose that your excellency order the squadron in question to be moved up the coast to the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar (which is the only port in that district) so that the royal service may be accomplished with precision and military services are available when needed.<sup>2</sup> In this way the natives of those lands will make accommodations to live according to religious discipline. Keeping in mind the necessity to accomplish what has been requested by your excellency for the welfare of this remote province, Reverend Fathers Barco [rector] and Armesto (procurator) are also signing this letter, because they understand the gravity of what I have said.<sup>3</sup> May the Divine Goodness protect the important life of your excellency for many happy years.

The Royal Presidio of the Californias, October 1, 1748.

Most excellent lord, your faithful servant kisses the hands and feet of your excellency.<sup>4</sup>

Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea

Witnesses: Miguel del Barco      Juan de Armesto

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1. The distance from the presidio of Loreto to Cabo San Lucas is approximately 560 kilometers.

2. Nuestra Señora del Pilar, founded in 1720, is actually the mission site at La Paz, which is on the eastern coast of the peninsula, whereas Todos Santos is on the west coast near Magdalena Bay.

3. Father Miguel del Barco served as rector of the California missions as well as visitor at various times in the 1750s and 1760s. He was resident at San Francisco Javier del Viggé. Barco was born at Casas de Millán in the province of Cáceres in 1706; he died in exile in Bologna, Italy, in 1790.

Juan de Armesto resided at this time at Loreto, where he completed the stone church. He was later appointed procurator of the California missions, at which time he moved to Mexico City. Armesto was born in the Villa de Monforte de Lemos in Galicia in 1713 and died in exile in 1795, also in Bologna.

4. Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea [Larrea] succeeded his father—Captain Rodríguez Lorenzo, who went blind in 1744—as captain of the presidio at Loreto. He was made captain of the southern presidio by Governor Huidobro in 1736 and then removed in favor of Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo.

OPINION OF THE AUDITOR

Mexico, Nov. 27, 1748

**T**o the auditor general of war (Signed by his excellency.)

Most excellent sir:

Your excellency will be best served, as proposed in this consultation, if you order this to be carried out by the commander of the armed forces of the peninsula of California. This letter is countersigned by the reverend fathers rector and procurator of the missions of the holy Company of Jesus. In conformity with this proposal, the squadron located in San Joseph del Cabo, which is at the farthest end of this peninsula, will be transferred to the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, which is the principal port and the first one discovered on that coast of the gulf or channel of the Californias. Located there, the squadron will be in the most suitable place to protect, assure, and strengthen the congregation of those Indians who have been reduced at the mission of San Joseph del Cabo and the rest who are designated as coming from the south. In order to cooperate and give aid promptly to the other squadron at Nuestra Señora de Loreto, both squadrons and the said commander and other officers will dedicate themselves with the help of the zealous missionary fathers to the reduction of the Indians at their respective missions. There they can reside and develop their homes in a way that is most conducive to Christian and civilized teachings, instead of wandering about like vagabonds scattered through the mountains and living off wild fruits. It is most fitting that they be thus separated and settled under the supervision of their respective missionary fathers and [that they] become domesticated and sociable. Otherwise, they may never achieve the desired spiritual goal set up for them or the stability and permanence which your excellency will deign to recommend and order in response to the letters received from the aforementioned commander and the reverend fathers rector and procurator of those missions, all of which is contained in this consultation—or another goal that your excellency in your superior judgment may deem still better.

December 23, 1748

The Marqués de Altamira

CONSULTATION

The need this peninsula of the Californias has due to the plague of locusts that has ravaged the whole country and the total lack of supplies that has occurred even in the province of Sinaloa, from where we are usually provisioned, obliges me to bother your excellency to order that I be paid the 2,924 pesos, 6 reales that I certified last year and certify now again as having been spent for the pacification of the Uchitíes Indians in the south.<sup>5</sup> These cruel expenditures have continued

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5. The Uchitíes were a distinct group among the Guaicuro; they lived in the southern reaches of the peninsula. They were brutally mistreated by Spanish forces who had come to put down the general rebellion in 1734. Children were separated from their parents, and eventually most of the tribal group died out to the point that Barco reports only one being alive at the time of the expulsion (1767). See Barco, *Historia Natural y Crónica*, p. 243.

into the present year of 1749, plus 1,900 pesos, which was the value of the cargo of textiles that was lost in his majesty's ship (may God keep him); the cargo was to be used to purchase supplies for the maintenance of this royal presidio.

Again, I earnestly beseech your excellency just as Don Bernardo Rodríguez, captain of the presidios, did, namely, that the presidio of the south be moved to the headquarters at La Paz. This headquarters is located in a suitable place called Todos Santos, where there is an abundance of water.<sup>6</sup> The reasons for this request are many and extremely serious; I shall point out only two of them. First, the present location of the presidio is twice as far from this presidio of Loreto as the other that is under consideration. In case supplies are lacking, as is the case now, it is impossible to provide help during the greater part of the year because the coasts are very rugged. From La Paz onward, there is no port anywhere. For this reason many canoes with their crews have perished at sea. The other presidial location under consideration is not only closer, but is more sheltered from the winds.

The other cause, or reason, is that at present the presidio is at the very end of the peninsula, leaving the ranches and missions on its flanks a great distance away. From this it follows that the military patrols cannot get there, nor can measures be taken with the promptitude that some situations require—[as can be done from] the site being considered in the center of the province.

I am not noting down other reasons for your excellency, from whom all this province is expecting the favor and patronage that we have always experienced; all of us missionary fathers in this province place ourselves at your disposal and offer ourselves humbly with all devotion. We beg the Lord sincerely that he might prosper and protect the life of your excellency for many years

Loreto, November 3, 1749

Your most humble servant and chaplain kisses the hand of your excellency,

JHS. Juan de Armesto

Most excellent lord viceroy

Don Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas

Mexico, January 5, 1750

To the auditor general of war with the letter that Father Juan de Armesto wrote on this subject and concerning which I have not as yet made a judgment.

Signed by his excellency [rubric]

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6. Although great concern for the Manila galleons caused the Spaniards to concentrate on Cabo San Lucas, where the ships turned eastward to the Mexican coast, the site was logistically untenable. Todos Santos, some hundred kilometers north, was supplied by the watershed from the western slopes of the sierra and was easily accessible from La Paz. It was also situated close to the Pacific Ocean, where small craft from the galleons could take on water and fruit.

## OPINION OF THE AUDITOR

**M**ost Excellent Lord:  
Concerning the payment mentioned as the first point in this consultation by the procurator of the missions of the holy Company of Jesus in the peninsula of the Californias, the auditor can say nothing because he has not received prior instructions that ordered it, nor any citations.

The second point was already petitioned by the captain commander and the fathers rector and procurator of the missions in a consultation of October 1, 1748. The auditor rendered his opinion in an order of December 23 of that same year, 1748. Nothing was done at the time, and the reverend father procurator is now bringing it up again.

In the province of the Californias about 250 leagues of land from the tip or beginning [of the peninsula]—which they call “the south”—have been pacified. Going north or northeast along these 250 leagues, there are about thirteen or fourteen missions of the fathers of the holy Company of Jesus, who, since the end of the last century, have converted many of those pagan tribes to our holy faith. But these tribes are so brutish and savage that all the religious fervor of these most zealous missionaries has not been able to bring them together in a pueblo or to uproot them from their ancient and continuous barbarism of living in the mountains and feeding on wild fruits, hunted animals, and fish caught in the marshes. Therefore, the reverend fathers cannot reap the spiritual fruit they could if the Indians were gathered in pueblos to make governing them easier and to teach them, which would make them more docile in the Christian faith and in civil life. Thus, they would learn and practice cultivating crops and raising cattle, and would have industry, commerce, and trade among themselves for their support and maintenance.

Little by little, skill and human industry could make the almost completely dry, sandy and, in some places, rocky and sterile land serviceable, since it has been rendered peaceful in that peninsula. Both Indian men and women generally go about naked. Still, they are easily reduced. Left in the mountains they are just as easily incited to uprisings and rebellions. After that, it is more expensive to pacify them again, as this consultation explains in regard to the Uchitíes nation. This situation was experienced much more acutely in 1735 and following years with the uprisings of other different tribes of that peninsula. Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, went with soldiers and militiamen to pacify them.<sup>7</sup>

It could be that there has been no spiritual or temporal fruit—or too little and too late—from the conversion of those Indian tribes because for so long they stayed in the mountains and deserts. They have not assembled in mission towns to live a sociable life where they can be taught religious and civic matters under

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7. The position herein expressed about civilizing the Indians and placing them in pueblos was precisely the position taken by Huidobro and that was repudiated by his removal in 1741. These notions continued to persist even to the time of Gálvez's ill-fated expedition in 1768.

the continual surveillance, communication, and care of the missionary fathers. As fervent care by the missionaries was not enough, they also had to be helped by the soldiers of those squadrons.

Therefore, it is very fitting that the squadron, consisting of an officer and thirty soldiers, which was created in 1736 in the place called San Joseph del Cabo at the tip of the peninsula, be moved and relocated to the headquarters district of Nuestra Señora de La Paz at the place called Todos Santos. The consultation states that water is abundant there, and from that place the squadron would be better able to maintain communications with [the presidio] of Loreto. At the same time it could look after the missions in the south as the auditor said in his opinion of 1748 and as the commanding captain and the fathers rector and procurator of those missions proposed in their consultation of October 1 the same year. The father procurator is now repeating this in his consultation of November 3 of last year. Your excellency has only to give orders that the testimony in the consultations and the opinions of the auditor be remitted, and to order both civil and ecclesiastical authorities by letter to comply exactly with everything, or with whatever your excellency may deem best.

Mexico, January 10, 1750  
The Marqués de Altamira<sup>8</sup>

DECREE

Mexico, January 13, 1750

**L**et everything be done in accord with the opinion of the auditor general of war.

Signed by his excellency [rubric]

In accordance with the original documents, contained with the appropriate *autos*, and the officer of government and war of this jurisdiction, which is my charge and to which I remit. And that it be clear where it is fitting, by virtue of the mandate of the most excellent viceroy of this jurisdiction, by the supreme antecedent decree, I give the present. Mexico, January 15, 1750.

Juan Martínez de Soria. *Vale*

**R**everend Father Procurator:

I am committing to your reverence's hands the attached testimony consisting of two letters from the presidio of Loreto. One, directed to your reverence and signed by Captain Don Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea, was written by the Reverend Father Miguel del Barco and dated October 1, 1748. The other, dated November 3, 1749, treats the same subject as the first, namely, it requests my permission to move the squadron of the south to the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, giving the reasons why it would be suitable, for the benefit of

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8. Rodríguez de Albuérne, the fourth Marqués de Altamira, was former oidor of the Audiencia of Guadalajara. In 1730, he married into a powerful cattle family of Nueva Galicia. His wife was Doña Luisa Pérez de Tagle y Sánchez de Tagle.

## Transfer of Squadron

the presidio of Loreto and the mission fathers, as well as for California itself. It also expresses disadvantages that would be experienced in keeping the mentioned squadron in the south.

The second letter, which deals with the same matter, also requests that your reverence be paid the 2,924 pesos, 6 reales that were spent in 1748 in the pacification of the Uchities Indians of the south, and also the 1,900 pesos that were lost in his majesty's ship in '49. The first payment was mentioned by your reverence in your letter of October 6, 1748. As the testimony says, what was expressed by the auditor general of war is contained in the first two letters, and with this judgment I concur. Therefore permission is granted for the move of the squadron. Your reverence may put this permission into practice for the purpose mentioned because the protection and garrisoning of this island have to be very satisfactory. The management of arms will be easier on the occasions when they are needed.

As to the expenses, it will be necessary for your reverence to report on them with all possible justifications. To call them absolutely essential, proof is needed, such as his majesty has provided for. When this report is ready your reverence may send it for review, and then the payment can be ordered. I remain disposed to give your reverence and all the missionary fathers all the consolations you merit for the fulfillment of your institute, with less difficulty than those deserts offer and better treatment than you receive from intractable heathens.

May God keep your reverence for many years.

Mexico, January 15, 1750

Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas<sup>9</sup>

Reverend Father Procurator Juan de Armesto

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 64*

### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Copia del permiso del excelentísimo señor virrey para mudar la Escuadra del Sur al puerto de Todos Santos, cabecera de la Paz en Californias. Con 4 fojas útiles. Año de 1750.

### CALIFORNIAS AÑO DE 1750 A.D.



Excelentísimo señor:

La precisa obligación que me incumbe de comandante de esta provincia, me fuerza a poner en la comprensión de vuestra excelencia la situación en que está la real Escuadra del Sur, pues hallándose al cabo de la península, hace que la distancia de este presidio sea de ciento y cincuenta leguas, causa que los socorros sean tardos, contingentes y riesgosos, así por tierra, como por mar,

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9. Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas was the first Conde de Revillagigedo and the forty-first viceroy of New Spain from July 1746 to November 1755.

porque la costa, a más de ser brava, es falta de puertos. Bajo de cuyo supuesto, paso a proponer a vuestra excelencia, se sirva de mandar que la situación de dicha Escuadra suba a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pilar (cuál es el único puerto de aquella jurisdicción), para que así se consiga con exacción el real servicio, siendo los militares socorridos en tiempos oportunos, de que se seguirá el que los naturales de aquellos países se arreglarán a vivir en religión. Y atendiendo a la necesidad, de que vuestra excelencia mande la ejecución de lo que se pide, para el bien de esta remota provincia, firman también ésta los reverendos padres: reverendo Barco, procurador Armesto, sujetos que conocen por ésta, lo que llevo dicho. La Divina Bondad guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia por felices años. Presidio real de Californias, y octubre primero de 1748. Excelentísimo señor. Beso la mano y los pies de vuestra excelencia. Su seguro servidor.

Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea.

Testigos: Jhs. Miguel del Barco. Juan de Armesto.

#### PARECER DEL SEÑOR AUDITOR

México, 27 de noviembre de 1748 años.



El señor auditor general de la guerra, rubricado de su excelencia.

Excelentísimo señor:

Siendo vuestra excelencia servido, mandará hacer, como se propone en esta consulta por el comandante de las armas de la península de Californias, y a que suscriben los reverendos padres rector, y procurador de aquellas misiones de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús. Y que en su conformidad la escuadra situada en San Joseph del Cabo, que es el extremo de dicha península, suba a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, que es principal y primer puerto descubierto en aquella costa del seno o canal de Californias. Situándose ahí dicha escuadra, en el paraje más cómodo y proporcionado, a proteger, asegurar, y fomentar la congregación de aquellos indios reducidos en la misión de San Joseph del Cabo, y demás que allí llaman del sur. Y a corresponderse y darse la mano prontamente con la otra escuadra de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, dedicándose, una y otra, y dicho comandante y oficiales, por medio de aquellos celosos reverendos padres misioneros, a la reducción de los indios a sus respectivas misiones. Y que en ellas vivan de asiento, y formen sus casas en el modo más conducente para que logren la cristiana y civil enseñanza, y no anden vagos y dispersos por las serranías y asperezas, manteniéndose de las frutas silvestres, de que tanto conviene apartarlos, y que se establezcan a la vista de sus respectivos reverendos padres misioneros, domesticados y sociables. Sin lo cual, tarde o nunca se conseguirá el deseado fin espiritual de aquellos indios, su estabilidad y permanencia. Que se servirá vuestra excelencia encargar y recomendar mucho respondiendo por cartas al expresado comandante, y reverendos padres rector y procurador de aquellas misiones contenidas en esta consulta, o lo que la superioridad de vuestra excelencia sobre todo mejor estimare.

México, diciembre 23 de 1748.

El Marqués de Altamira.

CONSULTA

Las necesidades en que se halla esta península de Californias, por la plaga de langostas, que tiene toda la tierra talada, y por la total falta de bastimento de que ha carecido también la provincia de Sinaloa, de donde se proveía ésta, me obligan a molestar a vuestra excelencia, y volver a suplicar se sirva vuestra excelencia, mandar, se me paguen los dos mil novecientos veinte y cuatro pesos, seis reales que el año pasado certifiqué, y de nuevo certifico, haberlos gastado en la pacificación de los indios uchitíes del sur, sin los crecidos gastos que se continuaron en este presente año de 1749, y mil novecientos pesos que se perdieron en el barco de su majestad (que Dios guarde), los cuales llevaba en géneros para comprar bastimento para la manutención de este real presidio.

También vuelvo a suplicar encarecidamente a vuestra excelencia lo que don Bernardo Rodríguez, capitán de los presidios tiene suplicado, y es: que el presidio del sur se mude a la cabecera de la Paz. La cual cabecera está en un sitio llamado Todos Santos, acomodado y con abundancia de agua. Las causas para esta súplica, son muchas y gravísimas, de las que apuntaré altamente dos. La primera es, que el paraje en donde está ahora el presidio, dista de este presidio de Loreto el doble de lo que dista el otro, que se pretende, y en caso de faltar bastimentos, como ahora han faltado, está imposibilitado de socorro en la mayor parte del año, a causa de las costas, que son muy bravas y no haber puerto alguno en todas ellas, pasado de la Paz para adelante, por lo que han perecido muchas canoas con su tripulación en aquellos mares. Y el que se pretende, a más de la cercanía, tiene puerto seguro de todos vientos.

La otra causa, o razón es: que ahora está el presidio en la punta y último de la península, dejando a las espaldas en (grande) larga distancia las ranherías y misiones; de lo cual se sigue, que no pueden acudir a tiempo los militares a sus correrías, ni se pueden tomar las providencias con la prontitud que piden algunos lances. Y el que se pretende está en el centro de aquella provincia.

No apunto más razones a vuestra excelencia de que toda esta provincia espera este favor, y el patrocinio que siempre hemos hallado en vuestra excelencia, a cuyas órdenes todos los padres misioneros de esta provincia nos ofrecemos rendidos con todo afecto, con el que pedimos encarecidamente al Señor, prospere y guarde la vida de vuestra excelencia por dilatados años. Loreto y noviembre 3 de 1749 años.

Beso la mano de vuestra excelencia, su más rendido servidor y capellán.

JHS. Juan de Armesto.

Excelentísimo señor virrey: don Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas.

México 5 de enero de 1750.

Al señor auditor general de la guerra, con la carta que sobre la propia materia escribió el padre Juan de Armesto, en que hasta ahora no he tomado resolución.

Rubricado de su excelencia.



## PARECER DEL SEÑOR AUDITOR

**E**xcelentísimo señor:  
Sobre el pago, primer punto de esta consulta del reverendo padre procurador de las misiones de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús en la península de Californias, nada puede decir el auditor, por no haberse traído los antecedentes que lo instruyen y se citan.

El otro punto fue ya solicitado por el capitán comandante y padres rector y procurador de dichas misiones, en consulta de primero de octubre de 1748, y definió a ello el auditor, en dictamen de 23 de diciembre del mismo año de 1748, cuya determinación no se tomó por entonces y ahora insta sobre ella el dicho reverendo padre procurador.

En dicha provincia de Californias hay pacificadas como doscientas y cincuenta leguas de terreno, desde su punta o principio, que llaman del sur; internándose para el norte o noroeste, en cuyas doscientas y cincuenta leguas, hay como trece o catorce misiones de dichos reverendos padres de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, que desde fines del próximo pasado siglo hasta la presente, han convertido a nuestra santa fe muchas de aquellas naciones de indios gentiles; pero son estos tan brutos, y salvajes, que todo el religioso fervor de aquellos celosísimos misioneros, no ha podido congregarlos en pueblo, ni desarraigarlos de su antigua continuada barbarie de vivir en los montes y mantenerse en ellos de las frutas silvestres, caza y pesca de las marismas. Por lo que no pueden lograr dichos reverendos padres misioneros el fruto espiritual que lograrían de aquellos indios si se congregasen en pueblos, para su más fácil administración y enseñanza, con que se docilitarían más en lo cristiano y político, instruyéndose, y aplicándose al cultivo, crías de ganado e industrias, comercios y tráficos entre sí, para su sustento y manutención.

Así poco a poco, el arte e industria podría ir haciendo servible el casi enteramente seco, arenoso, y en partes muy peñascoso estéril terreno pacificado de aquella península, cuyos indios, hombres y mujeres, generalmente andan desnudos, y aunque fáciles a su reducción, quedándose en sus montes, son igualmente fáciles a sus alzamientos y sublevaciones, siendo después más costoso volverlos a pacificar, como expresa esta consulta, por lo tocante a la nación Uchitíes. Y se experimentó mucho más en los años de 1735 y siguientes, con el alzamiento de otras diferentes naciones de aquella península, a cuya pacificación pasó con presidiales y milicianos el gobernador de Sinaloa don Manuel Bernal Huidobro.

Puede ser ninguno, o muy poco, y tarde el fruto espiritual y temporal de todas aquellas naciones de indios, mientras se mantuvieren aún después de reducidos, en los montes y despoblados, y no se congregaren en sus misiones a vida sociable para ser educados cristiana y políticamente a la vista, continúa comunicación, y trato de sus reverendos padres misioneros. Y no bastando para ello la fervorosa solicitud de estos, necesitan ser coadyuvados de los soldados de aquellas escuadras.

A este fin, es muy conveniente que la de un oficial y treinta soldados, creada en el año de 1736, en el paraje nombrado San Joseph del Cabo, principio de dicha península, suba y se sitúe en la cabecera de la misión de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, y paraje de Todos Santos, que la consulta expresa ser abundante de aguas, y desde donde se corresponderá mejor dicha escuadra, con la de Loreto. Y al mismo tiempo atenderá las misiones del sur como el auditor expresó en su citado dicta-

men de 1748, y propusieron en su consulta del primero de octubre del mismo año, el capitán comandante y reverendos padres rector y procurador de aquellas misiones, y ahora lo repite dicho reverendo padre procurador, en esta consulta de 3 de noviembre del año próximo pasado. Sirviéndose vuestra excelencia mandar se les remita testimonio de sus consultas, dictámenes del auditor, y de lo que a ello proveyere vuestra excelencia; encargándoles cristianamente por cartas, el más exacto cumplimiento de todo, o lo que vuestra excelencia mejor estimare.

México y enero 10 de 1750.

El Marqués de Altamira.

DECRETO

México 13 de enero de 1750.

**H**agan en todo como parece al señor auditor general de la guerra. Rubricado de su excelencia.

Concuerta con sus originales, que quedan en los autos de la materia, y oficio de gobierno y guerra de este reino de mi cargo, a que me remito. Y para que conste donde convenga, en virtud de lo mandado por el excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino, en superior decreto que antecede, doy el presente. México 15 de enero de 1750.

Juan Martínez de Soria. Vale.

**R**everendo Padre Procurador:  
Paso a manos de vuestra excelencia el adjunto testimonio, que es de dos cartas escritas desde ese presidio de Loreto; una a primero de octubre del año pasado de 1748, firmada por el capitán don Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea, por el padre reverendo Miguel del Barco, y por vuestra reverencia. Y la otra con fecha de 3 de noviembre de 1749. Diré, y es el asunto de la primera, a solicitar mi permiso, para mudar la Escuadra del Sur a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, expresándose las razones de conveniencia que de ello resultarán, tanto al presidio de Loreto, padres misioneros, como a la California, y los inconvenientes experimentados en mantener la citada Escuadra en el sur.

La segunda, contiene el mismo asunto, como también a que mande pagar a vuestra reverencia dos mil novecientos veinte y cuatro pesos y seis reales que el año de 1748 se gastaron en la pacificación de los indios uchitíes del sur, como también que se paguen mil y novecientos pesos que se perdieron en el barco de su majestad el año citado de 1749. De una primera paga, trató vuestra reverencia en carta de 6 de octubre de 1748.

Y porque en el citado testimonio se contiene lo expuesto por el señor auditor general de guerra, en las dos primeras cartas, con sus dictámenes me conformé. Y doy permiso para transmutación de la Escuadra. Puede vuestra reverencia disponer se ponga en práctica la licencia que doy al fin referido, pues la custodia y guarnición de esa Isla, ha de estar a la mayor satisfacción de los padres misioneros, y manejo más fácil de las armas en las ocasiones que lo pide la necesidad.

En cuanto a los gastos, es necesario que vuestra excelencia mande disponer relación de ellos con la posible justificación, porque para calificarlos por inexcusable, se requiere esta circuns[tancia] como lo tiene prevenido su majestad. Cuya relación comprobada podrá remitir vuestra reverencia para su examen, de donde resultará que se mande pagar. Yo quedo propenso a conferir a vuestra reverencia, y a todos los padres misioneros los consuelos que acreditan, para desempeño de su instituto, con menos afán del que ofrecen esos desiertos y trato con gente tan indócil.

Dios guarde a vuestra reverencia muchos años como deseo.

México 15 de enero de 1750.

Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas

Reverendo padre procurador, Juan de Armesto.

## Muster Roll of the Presidio of Loreto and the Southern Squadron, 1751

*The muster roll for 1751 shows the distribution of forces that permitted the southern squadron to be removed to Todos Santos, as mandated in the preceding documents. It is interesting to note the changes of personnel that occurred after the appointment of Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada due to the untimely death of Captain Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea. The muster roll and the various certifications are presented here to illustrate the level of detail and authority shared by the military commanders and the missionaries responsible for the distribution of the armed forces. Despite the efforts of Governor Huidobro to wrest control of the presidial forces from the missionaries, it is clear from these administrative documents that the Jesuits remained in close supervision of the soldiers and sailors, a relationship that was acceptable to Captain Rivera y Moncada but that would eventually create difficulties with the military reforms championed by José de Gálvez in the 1760s.*

Report of the soldiers in the royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, the royal southern squadron, and the naval officers and crew.

With two useful folios. 1751.

CALIFORNIAS, 1751

### *Royal Presidio of Loreto*

Captain Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada	Matías Morraz
Sergeant Don Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Góngora	Joseph Gerardo
Squad Corporal Andrés de Cota	Francisco Javier de Armenta
Don Joseph de Robles	Ignacio de Vega
Don Santiago Valeria	Ignacio de Lugo
Don Esteban Robles	Don Nicolás de Peraza
Don Joseph de Villalobos	Don Pantaleón Robles
Juan de Leyva	Don Joseph Joaquín Rivas
Juan María Peña	Salvador López
Hilario Carrillo	Raymundo Carrillo
Miguel Carbajal	Luis de Uribe
Francisco Javier Zebreros	Joseph Marcelino de Estrada
Juan Ignacio Rojas	Juan María Ruiz
Felipe Romero	Guillermo Carrillo
	Cayetano Hernández
	Francisco Javier de Ochoa

Transfers and Transports

*Royal Squadron of the South*

Lieutenant Don Pedro de la Riva	Juan Joseph Seseña
Sergeant Don Manuel de Villavicencio	Don Francisco Robles
Squad Corporal Fernando de la Peña	Juan Joseph Cabrales
Miguel Cordero	Diego Joseph Hernández
Francisco de Castro Mechas	Francisco de Soto
Juan Rodríguez	Juan Nicolás de Estrada
Juan Quintero	Joseph Moreno
Francisco de Castro Gueto	Agustín Félix de Acevedo
Ignacio López	Joseph López de Almeйда
Juan de Dios Morales	Juan Francisco Solís
Juan María López	Gregorio Maldonado
Don Pedro Gil	Francisco María Castro
Jerónimo González	Vicente Miramontes
Ramón Cordero	Joaquín Verdugo
Nicolás Peña	Miguel de Alvarado

*Crew of His Majesty's Ship*

Rear Admiral Juan Sánchez	Joaquín Robles
Boatswain Gregorio Salcedo	Francisco Javier Santa Cruz
Miguel Navarro	Domingo Nicolás
Juan Antonio Medina	Manuel Regalado
Manuel de los Reyes	Agustín Valenzuela
Norberto de Aguilar	Vicente Otreta
Pedro Adriano	Juan Martín
Juan Pérez	Mateo de Ahome

*Cooks*

Juan Ignacio	Cristóbal Huirivis
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*Caulker*

Salvador Márquez

*Carpenter*

Manuel Morillo

*Ironsmith*

Cristóbal Asencio

I have paid the annual salaries designated by his majesty to all of these men and to the crew of another ship for the transport of supplies. To this I certify and swear, for the satisfaction of the most excellent viceroy and the officials of the Real Hacienda. Loreto, October 13, 1751.

JHS. Juan de Armesto

I, the undersigned captain and commander of these California presidios, certify that since 1741 (the year in which the royal southern squadron was incorporated into this captaincy), the thirty posts assigned at the establishment of this

presidio have been and are being paid. Likewise [the fathers] continue to pay and give aid to the individuals and crew of the Loreto presidio who make up the preceding list. In affirmation of this truth, I signed this document in the royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto on October 13, 1751.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

I, Miguel de Barco, father visitor of these California missions, also certify that since 1741, when the southern presidio was established as a dependent of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, the thirty soldiers which comprise that squadron have been and continue to be paid, as well as the thirty posts in the Loreto presidio and the crew of his majesty's ship enumerated in the preceding lists. I sign this in the mission of San Francisco Javier in the Californias on October 14, 1751.

JHS. Miguel del Barco

#### CALIFORNIAS 1751

Authorization granted to Padre Joseph Echeverría by the Loreto soldiers and the crew of that port so that he could collect the respective wages in their names. With two useful folios. 1751.

**I**n the pueblo and royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto of Californias, April 5, 1751.

In the absence of Lieutenant General Don Pedro de la Riva Sergeant Don Cristóbal de Góngora, captain lieutenant appeared before me and acted as *juez receptor* for lack of a royal or public court clerk in the vicinity. Also appearing were Squadron Corporal Andrés de Cota, Don Fernando Rivera, Juan María Peña, Ignacio de Vega, Juan de Leyva, Hilario Carrillo, Miguel Carbajal, Don Joseph de Robles, Don Joaquín de la Riva, Francisco Javier Zebreros, Juan Ignacio Rojas, Felipe Romero, Don Esteban Robles, Raymundo Carrillo, Matías Morraz, Joseph Gerardo, Francisco Javier de Armenta, Ignacio de Lugo, Don Santiago Valeria, Don Nicolás Peraza, Don Pantaleón Robles, Salvador López, Don Joseph de Villalobos, Luis de Uribe, Joseph Marcelino de Estrada, Juan María Ruiz, Guillermo Carrillo, Miguel Alvarado, and Cayetano Hernández.

Also in attendance was Rear Admiral Juan Agustín Sánchez, Guardian Juan Bautista Luna, Pedro Regalado, Salvador Joseph, Juan Báez, Manuel Carlón, Antonio Velasco, Miguel Argüelles, Joaquín Robles, Agustín Valenzuela, Miguel Navarro, Miguel Mestizo, Mateo Sánchez, Bernardo Adriano, Lucas Valenzuela, Vicente Otreta, Juan Joseph de Ahome, Martín Yaqui, ship's cook Cristóbal de Yaqui, and Juan Ventura, also a cook. Furthermore, the list includes the carpenter Manuel Morillo, the caulker Salvador Márquez and the ironsmith Cristóbal.

[Erased] It was decided that in the same way as the Reverend Father Juan Francisco Tompes of the Society of Jesus was granted the authority necessary to distribute his majesty's salaries (and has done so satisfactorily up until this moment without losses), so should this power be accorded the Reverend Father Joseph de Echeverría of the Society or whoever is procurator of the Californias. These men would then appear before the most excellent viceroy of Nueva España or the person charged with governing, and request from the officials of the Real Hacienda

and treasury of Mexico City the salaries that the aforementioned soldiers have earned from January 1 of this year until the end of December of the same. Until such time as this power may be revoked the arrangement will continue, with the understanding that all the necessary judicial and extrajudicial formalities are to be executed as if the men and I were present. In these and all related matters we give the father this power without limitation or obligation and empower him to administrate as he sees fit, to choose and swear in substitutes, and to name replacements. This is affirmed and signed by myself, the aforementioned sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and witnesses in attendance, acting as juez receptor on this ordinary paper in the absence of an official seal.

Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Góngora  
Luis Ignacio de Valenzuela  
Manuel de Arroyo  
Andrés de Cota  
Joseph de Robles  
Juan María de la Peña  
Francisco Javier Zebreros  
Joseph de Villalobos  
Hilario Carrillo  
Esteban de Robles  
Pantaleón de Robles  
Juan de Leyva  
Matías Morraz  
Guillermo Carrillo  
Santiago Valeria  
Juan Ignacio de Rojas  
Joseph Gerardo  
Ignacio de Vega  
Fernando de Rivera y Moncada  
Raymundo Carrillo

CALIFORNIAS, 1751

Testimony given by Captain Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada of the Loreto presidio regarding Father Juan Armesto's request for the materials necessary to build a guardhouse. With one useful folio. 1751.

**T**he royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias and Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, capitán de mar y guerra and of the aforementioned presidio.

This is to certify that the presidio is currently without a guardhouse, the former one having been destroyed in a storm. The Reverend Father Procurator Juan de Armesto, speaking for the presidio he administers, explained the necessity of building another guardhouse that could resist the violent tempests that assail this coast. The presidio is the port for the present conquest and its existence is considered very necessary. In light of the testimony referred to, the father procurator ordered that a guardhouse be built with hardened walls strong enough to

withstand the storms. The guardhouse was completed in April of this year, and its cost, according to the detailed accounts drawn up by the father procurator, was 1,433 pesos and 4 reales. This sum is considered by knowledgeable men to be very reasonable in view of the work performed. I, the captain commander, attest to the truth of this report with my signature and those of the men present in the presidio on September 17, 1751.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada  
Juan María de la Peña  
Cristóbal Gaez  
Joseph de Robles  
[Cristóbal Gutiérrez] de Góngora  
Joseph de Robles  
Esteban de Robles

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, no. 442.*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Pie de lista de los presidiarios del Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, Real Escuadra del Sur, tripulación y oficiales de marina.

Con 2 fojas útiles. Año de 1751.

CALIFORNIAS, 1751

*Presidio real de Loreto*

Capitán comandante don	Francisco Javier de Ochoa
Fernando de Rivera y Moncada	Felipe Romero
Sargento don Cristóbal	Matías Morraz
Gutiérrez de Góngora	Joseph Gerardo
Cabo escuadra Andrés de Cota	Francisco Javier de Armenta
don Joseph de Robles	Francisco Javier de Armenta
don Santiago Valeria	Ignacio de Lugo
don Esteban Robles	don Nicolás de Peraza
don Joseph de Villalobos	don Pantaleón Robles
Juan de Leyva	don Joseph Joaquín Rivas
Juan María Peña	Salvador López
Hilario Carrillo	Raymundo Carrillo
Miguel Carbajal	Luis de Uribe
Francisco Javier Zebreros	Joseph Marcelino de Estrada
Juan Ignacio Rojas	Juan María Ruiz
Cayetano Hernández	Guillermo Carrillo

*Real escuadra del sur*

Teniente don Pedro de la Riva	Juan Joseph Seseña
Sargento don Manuel de Villavicencio	don Francisco Robles



Transfers and Transports

Cabo Escuadra Fernando de la Peña  
Miguel Cordero  
Francisco de Castro Mechas  
Juan Rodríguez  
Juan Quintero  
Francisco de Castro Gueto  
Ignacio López  
Juan de Dios Morales  
Juan María López  
don Pedro Gil  
Jerónimo González  
Ramón Cordero  
Nicolás Peña

Juan Joseph Cabrales  
Diego Joseph Hernández  
Francisco de Soto  
Juan Nicolás de Estrada  
Joseph Moreno  
Agustín Félix de Acevedo  
Joseph López de Almeyda  
Juan Francisco Solís  
Gregorio Maldonado  
Francisco María Castro  
Vicente Miramontes  
Joaquín Verdugo  
Miguel de Alvarado

*Tripulación del barco de su majestad*

Contraalmirante Juan Sánchez  
Guardián Gregorio Salcedo  
Miguel Navarro  
Juan Antonio Medina  
Manuel de los Reyes  
Norberto de Aguilar  
Pedro Adriano  
Juan Pérez

Joaquín Robles  
Francisco Javier Santa Cruz  
Domingo Nicolás  
Manuel Regalado  
Agustín Valenzuela  
Vicente Otreta  
Juan Martín  
Mateo de Ahome

*Cocineros*

Juan Ignacio

Cristóbal Huirivis

*Calafate*

Salvador Márquez

*Carpintero*

Manuel Morillo

*Herrero*

Cristóbal Asencio

A todos los cuales he pagado los sueldos anuales que su majestad les tiene señalado y además de esto he pagado la tripulación de otro barco para la conducción de víveres, así lo certifico y juro en la mejor forma que convenga, para que así conste al excelentísimo señor virrey y a los señores oficiales de la real hacienda. Loreto y octubre 13 de 1751.

IHS Juan de Armesto

Certifico yo, el infra escrito capitán comandante de estos presidios de Californias, que desde el año de mil setecientos y cuarenta y uno (en el cual año fue incorporada la Real Escuadra del Sur en esta capitanía) se han pagado y actualmente

se pagan las treinta plazas de soldados con que fue establecido aquel presidio. Asimismo se ha pagado y al presente se paga y asiste a los individuos y tripulación de este Presidio de Loreto, según consta de la antecedente lista. Y por ser verdad lo firmé en este Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto a trece de octubre de mil setecientos y cincuenta y uno.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Asimismo yo, Miguel del Barco, visitador de estas misiones de Californias, certifico que desde el año de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno se estableció presidio, el Presidio del Sur, como escuadra y ramo dependiente del de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, y que las treinta plazas que componen dicha escuadra se han pagado y pagan del mismo modo que se han pagado hasta aquí, y actualmente se pagan, las treinta plazas de que se compone el Presidio de Loreto; como también la tripulación de la embarcación de su majestad, según en las antecedentes listas se expresa. Y para que conste lo firmo en esta Misión de San Francisco Javier de Californias, a catorce de octubre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno años.

IHS Miguel del Barco.

#### CALIFORNIAS, 1751

Poder que otorgaron los soldados del Presidio de Loreto, tripulación del barco de aquel puerto, a favor del padre Joseph Echeverría para que en su nombre pudiese cobrar sus respectivos sueldos. Con 2 fojas útiles. Año de 1751.



En el Pueblo y Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, a cinco días del mes de abril de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno años.

Ante mí y por mí, el sargento don Cristóbal de Góngora, teniente de capitán por ausencia del teniente general don Pedro de la Riva, actuando como juez receptor a falta de escribano público ni real, que no le hay en él ni en muchas leguas en contorno, parecieron el cabo de escuadra Andrés de Cota, don Fernando Rivera, Juan María Peña, Ignacio de Vega, Juan de Leyva, Hilario Carrillo, Miguel Carbajal, don Joseph de Robles, don Joaquín de la Riva, Francisco Javier Zebreros, Juan Ignacio Rojas, Felipe Romero, don Esteban Robles, Raymundo Carrillo, Matías Morrás, Joseph Gerardo, Francisco Javier de Armenta, Ignacio de Lugo, don Santiago Valeria, don Nicolás Peraza, don Pantaleón Robles, Salvador López, don Joseph de Villalobos, Luis de Uribe, Joseph Marcelino de Estrada, Juan María Ruiz, Guillermo Carrillo, Miguel Alvarado, Cayetano Hernández.

Y también el contraalmirante Juan Agustín Sánchez, el guardián Juan Bautista Luna, Pedro Regalado, Salvador Joseph, Juan Báez, Manuel Carlón, Antonio Velasco, Miguel Argüelles, Joaquín Robles, Agustín Valenzuela, Miguel Navarro, Miguel Mestizo, Mateo Sánchez, Bernardo Adriano, Lucas Valenzuela, Vicente Otrera, Juan Joseph de Ahome, Martín Yaqui, Cristóbal de Yaqui cocinero del barco, Juan Ventura asimismo cocinero. Y también el carpintero Manuel Morillo, el calafate Salvador Márquez, y el herrero Cristóbal.

[tachado] a quienes doy fe conozco, y dijeron que en la forma [ilegible] misma que tenían otorgado su poder al reverendo padre Juan Francisco Tompes de la

Compañía de Jesús para que cobrase el sueldo que su majestad, que Dios guarde, les tiene consignado (el cual sueldo han recibido enteramente a satisfacción sin menoscabo hasta hoy día de la fecha) otorgaban y otorgaron todo su poder cumplido bastante el que de derecho se requiere y sea necesario más pueda y deba valer al muy reverendo padre Joseph de Echeverría de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, o al que fuere procurador de Californias, para que en sus nombres y representando sus personas, derechos y acciones pueda parecer y parezca ante el excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España, o de la persona a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno, a pedir y cobrar de los señores oficiales reales de la real hacienda y caja de la Ciudad de México, los sueldos que los susodichos han devengado en sus respectivas plazas desde primero de enero del presente año de la fecha hasta fin de diciembre de él, y en lo adelante, mientras este poder no rebocaren, en cuya consecuencia y hasta la efectiva paga practique y ejecute todas las diligencias conducentes y que convengan judicial y extrajudicialmente en la misma forma y manera que los otorgantes y yo lo hiciéramos si presentes nos hallásemos, que para todo ello, su anexo, incidente y dependiente le damos y otorgamos este dicho poder sin limitación, relevación, obligación y general administración en forma y con facultad de enjuiciar, jurar y sustituir en uno, dos o más sustitutos, y nombrar otros de nuevo. Así lo otorgaron y firmaron conmigo dicho sargento teniente capitán y los testigos de mi asistencia, con quienes actuó como juez receptor en la forma dicha, y en este papel común por no haberlo de ningún sello.

Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Góngora

Luis Ignacio de Valenzuela

Manuel de Arroyo

Andrés de Cota

Joseph de Robles

Juan María de la Peña

Francisco Javier Zebreros

Joseph de Villalobos

Hilario Carrillo

Esteban de Robles

Pantaleón de Robles

Juan de Leyva

Matías Morraz

Guillermo Carrillo

Santiago Valeria

Juan Ignacio de Rojas

Joseph Gerardo

Ignacio de Vega

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Raymundo Carrillo

#### CALIFORNIAS AÑO DE 1751

Testificación dada por el capitán don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada del Presidio de Loreto de haberse exigido por el padre Juan Armesto las piezas correspondientes para cuerpo de guardia. Con 1 foja util. Año de 1751.

**E**l Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, y en su nombre don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, capitán de mar y guerra y de dicho presidio por su majestad.

Certifica que, hallándose este presidio sin cuerpo de guardia por haberse arruinado con un temporal el que tenía, se representó de parte del presidio el reverendo padre procurador Juan de Armesto, administrador del real situado, la necesidad de exigir otro de nuevo, y de que se levantase de firme, para que pudiese resistir a los vehementes temporales de que es combatida esta costa, pues siendo este presidio la puerta de esta conquista, se juzga por muy necesaria su subsistencia y, en vista de la referida representación, el mencionado padre procurador mandó fabricar un cuerpo de guardia, exigiendo de cal y canto los lienzos que puedan ser combatidos de temporales, el que [se?] entregó a este presidio por abril de este presente año, cuyo costo, según pormenor consta de cuenta formada por dicho padre procurador, fue de mil cuatrocientos treinta y tres pesos cuatro reales, el cual costo, atendidos los pareceres de hombres inteligentes [ilegible], es muy moderado respecto de la enunciada obra [ilegible]; que por ser verdad así lo firmé yo, el sobre dicho capitán comandante, con los demás que actualmente [ilegible] se hallan en dicho presidio y surgieron [ilegible] por mar, en diez y siete de septiembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada  
Juan María de la Peña  
Cristóbal Gaez  
Joseph de Robles  
[Cristóbal Gutiérrez] de Góngora  
Joseph de Robles  
Esteban de Robles

## Provisioning a Ship for the California Frigate, 1757

*Keeping California supplied from the mainland remained a critical issue for the missions and the military throughout the history of the peninsula. Previous documents have spoken of the need for two or more frigates to maintain contact with the mainland and to render some degree of security against foreign marauders. The successes of the English privateer George Anson in the South Sea continued to haunt Spain's settlements, which were no longer safe on just another "Spanish Lake."*

*The first document gives a detailed look at the supplies typically carried to the peninsula and their costs at mid-century. In the same volume of scattered papers on maritime expenses for the Californias, brief references are made to the history of expenditures for the California ships. One of the summaries is presented here to give the reader a sense of the continual appeals for financial support directed at the Crown since the decision of 1717 to assist the Californias at the king's expense. The whole history of peninsular development hinged on the reliability of manpower and supplies from the mainland. This document was chosen in order to emphasize the importance of maritime communication and to illustrate both the costs of continually providing seaworthy craft and of maintaining individual crews.*

California, 1740 and 1757

### REPORT OF EXPENSES

**I,** Captain Don Francisco Montestrucque, capitán de mar y guerra, give this detailed report of expenses incurred in this port of Sonz[te] by order of the governor. These expenses were incurred in providing a crew for the frigate *San Francisco*, which is under my command. There were also lesser expenses in preparing the ship to set out for Acapulco to be turned over to his excellency the viceroy of Mexico for his use. These expenses were as follows:

Pilot Don Manuel Adán earns 60 pesos a month and has received	120 p.
Rear admiral Tiburcio Zarria earns 45 pesos a month and has received	90 p.
Guardian Juan Joseph Villegas earns 25 pesos a month and has received	50 p.
Alejo Tobar earns 18 pesos a month and has received	36 p.
Joseph Manuel Arias earns 18 pesos and has received	36 p.
Fernando Coleta earns 18 pesos and has received	36 p.

## Provisioning a Ship

Santiago Baleria earns the same [wage] and has received	36 p.
Miguel Blanco, the same, has received	36 p.
Marcelo Francisco de la Cruz, the same, has received	36 p.
Manuel de los Reyes, the same, has received	36 p.
Domingo Martínez, the same, has received	36 p.
Mathías Rodríguez, the same, has received	36 p.
Juan Gil earns the same and has received	36 p.
Tomás Bini, the same, has received	36 p.
Pascual Cueto, the same, has received	36 p.
Joseph Florentín, the same, has received	36 p.
Matheo Corleto earns 10 pesos a month and has received	20 p.
Feliciano Bino earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.
Benito Morales earns 9 pesos a month and has received	18 p.
Tomás de Aquino earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.
Lorenzo Duarte earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.
Joseph de Paz earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.
	838 p.
For 8 boxes of biscuits from Guatemala to the port at 3 pesos each	24 p.
For the purchase and freight of 12 earthen jugs for water from Guatemala to the port	13 p.
For 22 jugs for the same purpose purchased from Don Francisco de Izaguirre as the ship had none	22 p.
For one load of onions, garlic, and red chile peppers	2 p.
For its transport from Guatemala to the port	8 p.
For a bronze mortar for grinding	2 p.
For a syringe [oil can?]	2 p.
For 2 pounds of thread for sewing sails at 6 reales	3 p.
For 109 pounds of canvas in one piece at 2 reales	52 p.
For a steel-tipped hatchet	2 p.
For 2 steel-edged machetes	3 p.
For a bronze lamp	2 p.
For 11 arrobas of tar at 8 reales per arroba, delivered in port	11 p.
For 6 kitchen jars at 2 reales delivered in port	1 p.
For 600 wax candles at 1 real per 6	12 p.
For a box for these candles	0 p.
For 1,000 small nails at 3 reales per 100	3 p.
For 500 round-headed nails at 10 reales per 100	6 p.
For an adze	3 p.
For 6 needles for sewing sails	0 p.
For making 200 sloped nails for door and window frames	12 p.
For 26 pounds of iron for this work at 1 ½ reales	9 p.
For 12 quintals of meat at 2 pesos a quintal	28 p.
For their transport to the port	3 p.
For 18 arrobas of rice and their transport to the port	9 p.
For 2 bushels of salt	3 p.
For 2 cattle, killed on land for the sailors	12 p.

## Transfers and Transports

For 2 wooden supports for pumps	2 p.
For 6 bushels of corn for the sailors and Indians who supplied wood and water for the voyage	6 p.
For a jug of honey	2 p.
For a jug of lard	6 p.
	1,153 p.
For 3 fanegas of beans and their transport to port	9 p.
For 13 days payment to Indians who provided water and wood to the frigate	23 p.
For 28 chickens for the sick	3 p.
For 10 [pesos] that were spent in port for various things pertaining to the ship	10 p.
	1,198 p.

As this account and report illustrates, these expenses concerned the outfitting of the frigate named *San Francisco*. These two payments, made in advance to the people at sea and on land, relate to the other small expenses essential to the voyage commanded by the boatswain. As previously stated, [this amounts to] 1,198 pesos. This sum was given to me by Pedro de Palacios, the treasurer of the royal treasury. I affirm the truth and credibility of this account and report. I sign from Soz.te, May 18, 1740.

Francisco Montestruque

I, Juan Antonio de Torres, Notary Public of Sonz.te, formally certify that the papers herein and the sums in them are part of the account given by Don Francisco Montestruque, capitán de mar y guerra; the account corresponds with the maritime crew's books. The crew were compensated for the voyage on the frigate *San Francisco* from this port to Acapulco by your command. The other minor accounts in the account and report illustrate the importance of the requirements for the dispatching and outfitting of the voyage. So that the present be acknowledged in Sonz.te, on May 18, 1740. I MAKE MY SIGN = [sign] = IN TESTIMONY [illegible]

Juan Antonio de Torres  
Notary Public

### SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES

Expenditures for the careening and outfitting of the ships have been as follows:

**O**n November 22, 1719, 4,000 pesos were authorized and on the November 24 were paid to Don Jorge Rodríguez for a sloop purchased for the Californias by order of his excellency Viceroy Marqués de Valero, which order was given on September 30, 1717. The payment was sent in a letter of November, 1719, countersigned by Don Antonio Avilés.

On October 5, 1720, the money was set aside, and on October 21, the sum of 4,699 pesos and 7 reales was paid to Captain Don Felipe de Sandoya for the price of the ship named *San José y las Animas*, which he turned over to the California missions, including the expenses for careening the vessel and for its crew by

order of his excellency Don Marqués de Valero and countersigned by Don Antonio Avilés on September 26 of the same year. This was done in conformity with the decision of the junta de hacienda of September 17.

On January 27, 1741, money was set aside and on February 14, 15,758 pesos were paid to the agent of Field Marshal Don Pedro de Rivera (deceased), formerly president of Guatemala. This was for the purchase of the frigate *San Francisco* for commerce and communication with the province of the Californias. The estimated value of the ship was 14,000 pesos. The remaining 1,758 pesos were for its transportation to the port of Acapulco. This was ordered in a dispatch of his excellency the Viceroy Duque de la Conquista and countersigned by Don José de Gorráez, dated February 26, as recorded by the royal officials and the reply of the fiscal.

On February 12, 1737, money was set aside to repair the ship and for incidental expenses. On the thirteenth of that month 13,170 pesos and 2 tomines were paid; of that, 2,375 pesos 2 tomines were paid for the costs and materials used in the repair of his majesty's ship destined for the transport of California supplies. This payment was ordered by his excellency the viceroy-archbishop on February 8 and was countersigned by Don José de Gorráez as based on official reports and agreed upon in a junta de hacienda on April 30, 1735.

Thus on November 14, 1737, a payment was set aside, and on the fifteenth of the same month, 2,705 pesos, 7 tomines and 6 granos were paid out for the repair of his majesty's ship of the Californias from the total of 14,630 pesos 7 tomines and 6 granos. This was by decree of his excellency the viceroy-archbishop on November 11 and was based on reports of the royal officials.

On July 14, 1740, an amount was determined and on the eighteenth of the same month, according to a sworn statement by the governor of Sinaloa, 4,400 pesos were paid for the assistance of the new presidio established on the southern frontier of the Californias as well as for the expense of the boats that brought supplies and their crews. This was by decree of his excellency the viceroy-archbishop on the ninth of that month based on the report of the royal officials.

Likewise, a sum was set aside on December 15, 1742, and on the twenty-second of that month the sum of 4,000 pesos was paid for the repair of the king's frigate *San Francisco y San Miguel* to serve the presidio and missions of the Californias. The amount of 8,947 pesos was set aside for the ship's preparation, wages, and other expenses in its repair. This payment was made by decree of his excellency Viceroy Conde de Fuenclara on the fourteenth of the above month and year based on the report of the accountant of the Armada of Barlovento.

Concerning the *autos* that prompted these payments, they are to be found in the charge of Don José Gorráez and were made in the years specified in the decisions. There also are the royal orders that were made for this purpose in the court of accounts and at the general meetings. This was taken from the payments made to the royal presidio of California in the year 1717 and other records dealing with payments made in previous years to the royal presidio. There are also royal documents and orders accompanying the amount decided upon on April 13, 1722. This amount, 18,265 pesos and 4 tomines, was paid for the post of that presidio on April 15, 1722. In the same tribunal your excellency ordered that (if it were deemed necessary) with the agreement of the royal officials of Acapulco, the cost of the purchase of the *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, the replacement for the ship



lost in the port of Santa María de Ahome, could be used as an example for replacement for providing supplies to the presidios and missions. This was done so that, in view of the documents provided and the decrees involved, your excellency might deign to decide what action would be for the good of the Real Hacienda.

Mexico, May 31, 1749  
Miranda Villegas

There was a meeting of the royal treasury on this date attended by the following:

His excellency Don Agustín de Tomasa Villalón Mendoza y Fernández, Marqués de las Amarillas, Commander of the Queen in the Order of Santiago, Gentleman of the Court of His Majesty, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Spanish Guards, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain and President of its Real Audiencia; Don Francisco Antonio de Echavarri and Don Domingo Valcarcel y Formenta, the first *decano* and second *subdecano*, both of the Order of Santiago and also of the Council of His Majesty and his judges in this Real Audiencia.

Also present were Don Luis de Mosqueira, Marqués de Aranda, of the same council and its attorney; Don Juan Crisóstomo de Barrueta, regent of the tribunal of the Real Audiencia of accounts of this New Spain; Don Joaquín Antonio de Cortillas and Don Ildefonso de Mella y Ulloa, both chief accountants; and Don Pedro María de Somoza y Torres and Don Pedro Toral Valdés, royal officials of the Real Hacienda and treasury of this court. Licenciado Don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, attorney of this Real Audiencia and general accountant of the royal taxes of this kingdom; and Don Juan Antonio de Arce y Arroyo, auditor general of the royal duties paid in the kingdom.

A report was made of the results at the request of the reverend father procurator general of the Californias regarding the repair of a boat to carry the missionary fathers and needed supplies for the royal presidio and the missions. This boat would replace the one being used for this purpose which has become disabled.

What is certain is that the Reverend Father Juan Javier Vilchof of the Company of Jesus when he was procurator of the Californias became aware that the boat then in the port of Acapulco had not been examined for its fitness even though his excellency the viceroy of this realm had ordered it to be repaired in order to travel to the aforementioned islands. The father consequently ordered that men experienced in the structure and construction of ships should examine the ship and report to him on its condition. The examination was done and the ship's hull was found to be unserviceable. He ordered Don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada, captain of the Californias, to have these men appear before him and make a certified statement as to this matter so that when his excellency the viceroy of this kingdom had been informed, he might deign to take the most prompt means for the ship's repair. The captain required Manuel de los Reyes, the ship's foreman, to appear before him to give testimony with Manuel Morillo, chief carpenter, and Pedro de Navarrete and Joaquín Robles, both carpenters. They asserted that the keelson of the ship was worn away at the main mast, the stem of the prow was rotted, and the same was true of the main mast. The timbers of the wheelhouse, because they were made of poplar, were eaten away by termites. The rudder hinges had been displaced due to the lack of wood. The star-

board poop was completely torn up along with its strengthening ring bolts. Finally, a forehook on the prow, which extended from port to starboard, was completely rotted and could be lost at the slightest movement.

With this testimony, the Reverend Father Juan de Armesto, priest of the Company of Jesus and procurator of the California missions, presented himself to his excellency the viceroy and reported that the ship was totally incapable of service on account of its age and the decay of the keel and keelson. As a result there was danger of leaving the missions, the royal presidio, and the missionaries abandoned for lack of a ship capable of transporting the needed supplies, which are so scarce in that land. The reverend father requested that a suitable boat be purchased with a keel of approximately 17 varas and a hold of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  varas from the keelson to the deck timbers. Everything else should correspond to these proportions because the ship must be able to anchor in various ports and in shallow coves. In view of all this, the viceroy was asked to order that an account to be made of the number of ships that the royal treasury had bought for this purpose, and in which years, in order to decide what might now be made available.

A report was also made of action taken on May 28, 1757, showing that in similar cases the needed boats had been purchased. Other similar expenses were incurred for the repair of ships needed for taking wages and provisions to California. This was all at the expense of the royal treasury and agrees with the amounts provided for this purpose from 1719 to 1754, totaling 40,618 pesos, 4 tomines, and 1 grano.

There is also a record of the letter of his majesty's fiscal, dated June 6 of this year. In it, he requests that various documents be given him to guide his petition. In another letter, dated September 26, he referred to the claim of the reverend father procurator and requested that in conformity with the law they might call a meeting of the hacienda to present the various requests that had been made together with the *autos* of his excellency the viceroy-archbishop who was then governing New Spain and who ordered a payment of 1,375 pesos and 2 tomines be made to Padre Juan Francisco [Tompes]. Also involved in the discussion were the events of 1749 when it was shown that by the decision of the junta of the royal treasury, on July 3 of that year, his excellency the Conde de Revillagigedo ordered the sum of 6,000 pesos be paid to the reverend father procurator. Orders were also given by that same most excellent gentleman to call a meeting of that same group to discuss this matter with the attention and care it demanded. In this meeting it was decided by common agreement that the ship which was formerly used to carry the missionaries of California and their wages and supplies was now incapable of doing so due to its age and its worn-out keel and keelson. It would risk being shipwrecked if it continued to sail, thus leaving the Christian mission in a state of total helplessness. Thus it was agreed that another boat should be purchased by the royal treasury to serve the royal presidio on the California island and that his excellency the viceroy of this realm should charge the president of the royal treasury of Guatemala to buy a frigate from among the ships that might be in the military zone at the time or in any other port under its jurisdiction. The ship should have a keel of about 17 varas and a hold of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  varas from the keelson to the deck beams with all the necessary masts, spars, rigging, and equipment. Before the purchase is made, the ship should be completely examined

by experts and royal officials of the treasury. If the boat is found to be in proper condition, it should be sent to the port of Acapulco and a payment authorized to be drawn from the royal treasury.

At the same time the president should be informed that the amount such a ship would cost could be used to construct another. He could then take all necessary means to build it quickly so that it could be sent on to the service of the Californias without buying another. This decision was ordered and signed.

Mexico, October 6, 1757. Testified to on November 8

[Signatures]

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 68, 3.*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

California 1740 y 1757

MEMORIAL DE GASTOS

**C**uenta y relación por menor que yo, el capitán de mar y guerra don Francisco Montestruque, doy de los gastos que se han causado en este Puerto de Sonz[te] de orden del superior gobierno de este reino, así en la dotación de la gente de mar de la fragata nombrada *San Francisco*, a mi comando, como las demás menudencias de su rancho y apresto para su salida a navegar y entrega en Acapulco a disposición del excelentísimo señor virrey de México, a saber:

El piloto don Manuel Adán gana cada mes 60 pesos y tiene recibidos	120p.
El contraalmirante Tiburcio Zarria gana cada mes 45 pesos y tiene recibidos	90p.
El guardián Juan Joseph Villegas gana cada mes 25 pesos y tiene recibidos	50p.
Alejo Tobar gana cada mes 18 pesos y tiene recibidos	36p.
Joseph Manuel Arias gana 18 pesos y tiene recibidos	36p.
Fernando Coleta gana 18 pesos y tiene recibidos	36p.
Santiago Baleria gana lo mismo y tiene recibidos	36p.
Miguel Blanco ídem y tiene recibidos	36p.
Marcelo Francisco de la Cruz lo mismo y tiene recibido	36p.
Manuel de los Reyes lo mismo y tiene recibido	36p.
Domingo Martínez ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Mathías Rodríguez ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Juan Gil gana lo mismo y tiene recibido	36p.
Tomás Bini ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Pascual Cueto ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Joseph Florentín ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Mateo Corleto gana 10 pesos cada mes y tiene recibidos	20p.
Feliciano Bino gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.

Provisioning a Ship

Benito Morales gana 9 pesos al mes y tiene recibidos	18p.
Tomás de Aquino gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.
Lorenzo Duarte gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.
Joseph de Paz gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.
	<u>838p.</u>
Por el flete de 8 petacas de bizcocho, desde Guatemala al puerto, a tres pesos cada una	24p.
Por la compra y flete de 12 botijas para la aguada, desde Guatemala a el puerto	13p.
Por 22 botijas para lo mismo que se le compraron a don Francisco de Izaguirre, por no tener ninguna el navío	22p.
Por una carga de cebollas, ajos y ajíes	2p.
Por su flete desde Guatemala a el puerto	[6]p.
Por un almirez	2p.
Por una jeringa	2p.
Por 2 libras de hilo para coser velas, a 6 reales	3p.
Por 109 libras de lona en una pieza, a 2 reales	52p.
Por una hacha calzada de acero	2p.
Por 2 machetes calzados de acero	3p.
Por un candelero de bronce	2p.
Por 11 arrobas de alquitrán, a 8 reales arroba, puesto en el puerto	11p.
Por 6 ollas para la cocina, puestas en el puerto a 2 reales	1p.
Por 600 candelas de cebo, a seis al real	12p.
Por un cajón para dichas candelas	0p.
Por mil tachuelas, a 3 reales el ciento	3p.
Por 500 estoperoles, a 10 reales el ciento	6p.
Por una azuela	3p.
Por 6 agujas de coser velas	0p.
Por la hechura de 200 clavos de alfagia de media escora y de barrete	12p.
Por 26 libras de fierro que se gastaron para dichas obras, a real y medio	9p.
Por 12 quintales de carne, a 2 pesos quintal	28p.
Por su flete a el puerto	3p.
Por 18 arrobas de arroz y su flete al puerto	9p.
Por 2 fanegas de sal	3p.
Por 2 reses en pie que se mataron para la gente de mar en tierra	12p.
Por 2 suelas para bombas	2p.
Por 6 fanegas de maíz para la gente de mar e indios que han asistido a la aguada y hacer la leña para el viaje	6p.
Por una botija de miel	2p.
Por una botija de manteca	6p.
	<u>1,153p.</u>
Por la de enfrente	1,153 pesos
Por 3 fanegas de frijoles y su flete a el puerto	9 p.

Por 13 días a los Indios que hicieron la aguada y leña para la fragata	23p.
Por 28 gallinas para los enfermos	3p.
Por 10 [pesos] que se gastaron en remitir a el puerto varias cosas perteniente a el navio	<u>10p.</u>
	1,198p.

Por manera que según parece de esta Cuenta y Relación, importa lo gastado para la habilitación de la fragata nombrada *San Francisco* aun estas dos pagas que se les ha hecho adelantadas a la gente de mar como la del rancho que necesitaba y otras menudencias precisas [ilegible] para el viaje que pidió el contramaestro como ya expresado mil ciento noventa y ocho pesos. Los cuales me entregó el Señor Tesorero de estas reales cajas don Pedro de Palacios y por ser así cierta y verdadera esta Cuenta y Relación. Lo firmo Sonz[te] en diez y ocho de Mayo de mil setecientos cuarenta.

Francisco Montestruque

Juan Antonio de Torres, Escribano Público de esta Provincia de Sonz.te certifico en debida forma a los papeles que la presente vienen que las partidas de que se compone esta Cuenta y Relación dada por el Capitán de Mar y Guerra, Don Francisco Monestruque son las mismas que constan por el libro de la dotación de gente de mar habérseles satisfecho a cada uno de por si para hacer el presente viaje desde este puerto a el de Acapulco en la fragata nombrada *San Francisco* de su comando y las demás partidas que en dicha cuenta expresan por menor constan así mismo [se] que se han necesitado haber los su despacho y habilitación para salir a navegar. Y para que conste la presente en Sonz.te en diez y ocho días de mes de mayo de mil setecientos y cuarenta años. HAGO MI SIGNO =[signo]= EN TESTIMONIO [ilegible]

Juan Antonio de Torres  
Escribano Público

#### SUMARIO DE LOS GASTOS

Gastos erogados en sus carenas y habilitaciones son en la manera siguiente:

**E**n veinte y dos de noviembre de mil setecientos y diez y nueve se libraron y pagaron en veinte y cuatro del, cuatro mil pesos a la parte [ilegible] de don Jorge Rodríguez, por el valor de una balandra que se compró para Californias en virtud de carta orden de el excelentísimo señor virrey Marqués de Valero el treinta de septiembre de setecientos diecisiete, habiéndose hecho el pago por un despacho de veinte del referido noviembre, y año de diez y nueve, refrendado de don Antonio Avilés.

En cinco de octubre de mil setecientos y veinte se libraron, y en veinte y uno del mismo se pagaron, cuatro mil seiscientos noventa y nueve pesos y siete reales al capitán don Felipe de Sandoya, por el valor del barco nombrado *San José y las Animas* que entregó para las Misiones de Californias, incluso los gastos que ejecutó en su carena y tripulación por el mandamiento que precedió del excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, refrendado de don Antonio Avilés, su fecha, veinte y seis de septiembre de aquel año, en conformidad de lo determinado en junta de hacienda celebrada en diez y siete del citado septiembre.

En veinte y siete de enero de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno se libraron y pagaron en catorce de febrero de él, quince mil setecientos cincuenta y ocho pesos al apoderado del señor mariscal de campo don Pedro de Rivera (difunto), presidente que fue de Guatemala, por la compra de la fragata nombrada San Francisco, para el tráfico y correspondencia con la Provincia de Californias; los catorce mil pesos por el valor que se consideró de dicha embarcación, y los mil setecientos cincuenta y ocho restantes por su transporte al Puerto de Acapulco, lo que se practicó por despacho del excelentísimo señor virrey Duque de la Conquista, refrendado de don José de Gorráez. Su fecha, veinte y seis del propio mes de febrero, sobre informe de oficiales reales y respuesta fiscal.

Consta por lo que mira a carenas y otros gastos precisos a la habilitación y conservación de dichas embarcaciones, que en doce de febrero de mil setecientos treinta y siete se libraron, y en trece de dicho mes, en partida de trece mil ciento setenta [ilegible] y un pesos y dos tomines, se pagaron, dos mil trescientos setenta y cinco pesos y dos tomines, por el valor de los costos y géneros de la carena del barco de su majestad destinado para el situado y demás de Californias, cuya satisfacción se fincó por mandamiento del excelentísimo señor arzobispo virrey de ocho de aquel mes, refrendado de don José de Gorráez, en consecuencia de informe de oficiales reales, respuesta fiscal, y de lo determinado en el primer punto en junta de hacienda de treinta de abril de mil setecientos treinta y cinco años.

Y así mismo, en catorce de noviembre de mil setecientos treinta y siete se libraron, y en quince del mismo mes, en partida de catorce mil seiscientos treinta pesos, siete tomines y seis granos, se pagaron, dos mil setecientos cinco pesos siete tomines y seis granos por la carena del barco de su majestad de Californias, por decreto de el excelentísimo señor arzobispo virrey de once de el referido mes, sobre informe de oficiales reales.

Y en catorce de julio de mil setecientos y cuarenta se libraron, y en diez y ocho del mismo mes se pagaron, cuatro mil y cuatrocientos pesos, que por relación jurada del gobernador de Sinaloa se convirtieron en el socorro del nuevo presidio establecido en la frontera del sur de Californias, y en costo de la lancha y canoa que condujo los bastimentos y gente de mar, cuya satisfacción fue en virtud de decreto de el excelentísimo señor virrey arzobispo de nueve del citado mes, sobre informe de oficiales reales.

Y también, que en quince de diciembre de mil setecientos cuarenta y dos se libraron, y en veinte y dos de él se pagaron, cuatro mil pesos para reparo de la fragata del rey San Francisco y San Miguel, destinada para la asistencia del Presidio y Misiones de Californias, en cuenta de ocho mil novecientos cuarenta y siete pesos, en que se reguló el costo de su apresto, jornales y demás gastos de su habilitación; cuya satisfacción se hizo por decreto del excelentísimo señor virrey Conde de Fuenclara en fecha catorce del expresado mes y año, y con informe del contador de la Armada de Barlovento.

Y por lo que mira a los autos y diligencias que motivaron estas pagas, se hallan en el oficio del cargo de don José Gorráez, hechos en los años que los ejemplares especifican, y allí también constarán los reales órdenes que para el efecto se hubieren expedido, como en el Real Tribunal de Cuentas, la real cédula y juntas generales [ilegible], para la satisfacción de la resulta sacada por él de lo pagado a el Presidio de Californias el año de mil setecientos diecisiete por razón del aumento con que se concurrió, además de el que en los antecedentes años se hacía a

dicho presidio, y cuyo real rescripto y demás instrumentos acompañaron el libramiento de trece de abril de mil setecientos y veinte y dos, de cantidad de dieciocho mil doscientos sesenta y cinco pesos y cuatro tomines, que se pagaron por el situado del consabido presidio en quince del referido abril, y año de mil setecientos veinte y dos; y en el mismo tribunal se servirá vuestra excelencia de mandar (si como [ilegible] lo antecedente lo juzgare por necesario) que con reconocimiento de las que [ilegible] oficiales reales de Acapulco pongan el ejemplar del costo que tuvo la compra de la embarcación nombrada Nuestra Señora del Carmen, perdida en el Puerto de Santa María de Ahome, cuyo remplazo se pretende para la habilitación y conducción de bastimentos a aquellos presidios y misiones para que, con vista de los expresados ejemplares y autos nominados que les precedieron, se sirva vuestra excelencia de determinar lo que hallare por más seguro a la Real Hacienda.

México y mayo 31 de 1749

Miranda Villegas. marzo.

En la junta de hacienda a que hoy día de la fecha mandó convocar y tuvo el excelentísimo señor don Agustín de Tomasa Villalón Mendoza y Fernández, Marqués de las Amarillas, comendador de reina en el Orden de Santiago, gentilhombré de la cámara de su majestad con entrada, teniente general de los reales ejércitos, teniente coronel de las reales guardias españolas, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la Real Audiencia de ella; con asistencia de los señores don Francisco Antonio de Echavarri, y don Domingo Valcarcel y Formenta, el primero decano y el segundo subdecano, ambos del Orden de Santiago, del consejo de su majestad, sus oidores en esta Real Audiencia; de la de el señor don Luis de Mosqueira, Marqués de Aranda de el mismo consejo, y [ilegible] fiscal en ella; con la de los señores don Juan Crisóstomo de Barrueta, regente del tribunal de la Real Audiencia de Cuentas de esta Nueva España, don Joaquín Antonio de Cortillas, y don Ildefonso de Mella, y Ulloa, contadores mayores de él, y de la de don Pedro María de Somoza y Torres, y don Pedro Toral Valdés, oficiales reales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de esta corte; de la de el licenciado don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, abogado de esta Real Hacienda y contador general de reales tributos de este reino; y de la de don Juan Antonio de Arce y Arroyo, contador general de reales alcabalas de él; se hizo relación de los autos hechos a pedimento del reverendo padre procurador general de las Islas Californias sobre que se habilite una embarcación proporcionada que conduzca a los padres misioneros, y demás aprestos necesarios de aquel real presidio y misiones, en lugar del barco que está sirviendo en este destino, por hallarse inhábil de continuar su carrera, y lo que de ellos consta es que, hallándose el reverendo padre Juan Javier Vilchof de la Compañía de Jesús y procurador en dichas islas, noticioso de no haberse registrado lo interior del barco en el Puerto de Acapulco cuando por orden del excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino se mandó carenar, para que hiciese viaje a ellas encargó lo ejecutasen hombres inteligentes en la fábrica y construcción de barcos, para que le dijese el estado en que se hallaba, y habiendo estos hecho el reconocimiento necesario, y asegurándole que los principales constitutivos de su casco estaban en estado de imposibilidad, y de no poder servir en adelante, requirió a don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada, capitán comandante de aquellas islas, para que hiciese comparecer ante sí a los sujetos,

que por encargo suyo le reconocieron y registraron hasta el fondo, le tomase sus declaraciones e hiciese diesen certificación circunstanciada de el hecho para que, informado de él el excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino, se sirviese de dar las más prontas y eficaces providencias, para su habilitación. Y habiendo con este motivo dicho capitán hecho comparecer ante sí a Manuel de los Reyes, contra-maestre de dicho barco, a Manuel Morillo maestro de carpintero, a Pedro Navarrete y Joaquín Robles, de oficio carpinteros; contestemente depusieron que la sobrequilla de dicho barco estaba rendida en la carlinga de el palo mayor, el pie de roda podrido, los planes, especialmente de las maestras, de la misma calidad, la toldilla y sus latas, por ser de álamo, llenas de comején, que las llaves se habían salido de su lugar a causa de no tener fuerza, que se hallaba des poblado de todos los maderos necesarios, su corazón comido, la llave de popa del lado de estribor reventada junto a el mismo perno, de donde nace la fuerza, y por último que una buzarda de proa que abraza de babor a estribor estaba podrida de medio a medio, y en estado de no poder servir sin conocido riesgo de perderse con cualquier leve motivo; y habiendo con testimonio de lo referido presentándose ante el dicho señor excelentísimo el reverendo padre Juan de Armesto, presbítero de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, y procurador de las Misiones de Californias, haciéndole relación de lo referido, y la incapacidad con que la real embarcación se hallaba de poder servir en su destino por vieja, vencida su quilla y sobrequilla, y el riesgo que amenazaba de quedarse aquella cristiandad, real presidio y padres misioneros en un total desamparo por no tener embarcación suficiente en que poder transportar el situado y bastimentos, de que tanto escasea aquella tierra, y pedídole se sirviese de socorrer esta necesidad mandando comprar embarcación suficiente para que los conduzca, de diez y siete varas de quilla, muy poco más o menos, y de dos varas y cuarta de puntal desde la sobrequilla a las latas de la cubierta, con lo demás correspondiente, según arte a estos tamaños; para que, teniendo el buque suficiente, no excediese en su tamaño con mayores costos y menos proporción, para surgir como es preciso en varios puertos y caletas de poco fondo, se sirvió en su vista dicho señor excelentísimo mandar que oficiales reales de estas cajas informasen el número de barcos que de cuenta de la Real Hacienda se habían comprado a este fin, en qué años, y cuanto hallasen por conveniente a este asunto. Se hizo asimismo relación, del que ejecutaron a los veinte y ocho de mayo de este año, y de su tenor consta que en casos semejantes se han comprado las embarcaciones necesarias, y se han hecho otros gastos conducentes a ellas, para que se habiliten a el propuesto fin de conducir el situado y los víveres necesarios a la California de cuenta de la Real Hacienda, comprobándolo con las determinadas cantidades erogadas a este fin desde el año de mil setecientos diecinueve hasta el pasado de mil setecientos cincuenta y cuatro, en que se percibe haberse ministrado de cuenta de Real Hacienda la cantidad de cuarenta mil seiscientos diez y ocho pesos, cuatro tomines y un grano; se hizo asimismo relación de la respuesta del señor fiscal de su majestad, su fecha, seis de junio de este año, en que vino pidiendo se le pasasen varios documentos para arreglar su pedimento, y de lo que en vista de ellos produjo a los veinte y seis del pasado septiembre en que, defirien lo a la pretención de dicho reverendo padre procurador, concluyó pidiendo el que, en conformidad de la ley, para tomar resolución sobre este asunto se procediese a celebrar junta de hacienda, y que en ella se tuviesen presentes los autos formados gobernando esta Nueva España el excelentísimo señor reverendo padre



Juan Francisco [ilegible], [ilegible] mil trescientos setenta y cinco pesos y dos tomines, y los hechos por el año pasado de setecientos cuarenta y nueve, en que consta que por determinación de junta de Real Hacienda celebrada en tres de julio del referido año, mandó el excelentísimo señor Conde de Revillagigedo pagar seis mil pesos a dicho reverendo padre procurador; se hizo asimismo relación de ambos antecedentes, y del superior decreto de dicho señor excelentísimo, en que mandó se convocase a la presente junta y tratara y conferenciara en ella esta materia con la atención y cuidado que pide su naturaleza. Se resolvió de común acuerdo que: respecto a que el barco que sirve para la conducción de misioneros de las Islas Californias, su situado, y bastimento de aquel real presidio, se halla incapáz de poder continuar en su destino por viejo, vencida su quilla y sobrequilla, tanto que, continuando en su carrera, se expone al riesgo de perderse, y a el de quedarse con este motivo aquella cristiandad en un total desamparo; el que de cuenta de Real Hacienda se compre otro proporcionado que haga el servicio del Real Presidio e Islas Californias, y que esta diligencia la encargue el excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino al señor presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, previniéndole que, de las embarcaciones que pueda haber en el Realejo u otro de los puertos de su gobernación, compre una fragatilla de diez y siete varas de quilla, muy poco más o menos, y de dos varas y cuarta de puntal desde la sobrequilla a las latas de la cubierta, o un barco proporcionado que equivalga, con toda sus arboladuras, tarcias y demás aprestos necesarios, haciendo se reconozca y avalúe antes por peritos, con intervención de oficiales reales de aquellas cajas y que, hallándolo de toda condición, lo remita a el Puerto de Acapulco, librando su importancia para que se le satisfaga en estas reales cajas, y que al mismo tiempo se le prevenga a dicho señor presidente que hallando el que con la cantidad que haya de costar dicha embarcación se puede construir otro de nuevo, pase a hacer se ponga en ejecución, y a dar todas las providencias necesarias a fin de que su apresto y habilitación se consiga con la mayor brevedad, para que pase a hacer el servicio de dichas islas, omitiendo la compra del antecedente; y así lo proveyeron y rubricaron.

México, seis de octubre de mil setecientos cincuenta y siete =  
tenido [8] y noviembre.

[firmas]

## Shipwrecks and Shipbuilding, 1759

*Even the ordinary risks of ocean travel were subject to continual bureaucratic monitoring. This account reveals the minute accounting required as well as the relative values of scarce parts and materials. Not all of the autos included in the document have been translated because of the duplication of information. This is the account of the loss of the San José on its maiden voyage across the gulf, after having been newly constructed in Nicaragua for service in the California missions and presidios. Contemporary interest in Spanish shipwrecks often entertains the notion that ships mysteriously vanished in remote regions. This account clearly demonstrates how closely monitored wrecks and salvage operations were, even in as remote a place as Cabo Pulmo on the great barrier reef dividing the Pacific Ocean from the Sea of Cortés.*

### SHIPWRECK, 1759

**M**ost excellent sir:  
In October of 1759, here in this camp, I received the news that his majesty's frigate, which came for the service of this conquest, was lost 130 leagues away. I immediately set out for the site and found that the hull was broken in pieces. I arranged for the wood, iron, and the sails to be salvaged as much as possible, at the expense of the reverend father procurator. Through the great efforts of the same father, he accomplished all that could be done, and I duly reported his diligence, along with the little that could be saved, to the most excellent Marqués de las Amarillas.

On March 9 of the present year, 1761, I received a letter from that Real Audiencia (then governing), dated February 23, 1760, in which it was suggested to me that I make a new inspection of what is serviceable, and that I report on whether it will have some market in this region. I must state to your excellency that, in addition to [the hull] being broken in pieces, the listed items were useless, and the nails were removed. Having been unfit for transport for so many months, its greatest destruction was done by the activities of others. Only the launch, or row-boat, remained unscathed; however, in this land, it is a useless bauble because [its hull] is not made in one piece, as is required here. The rigging is in fragments, with only one six-inch laid rope remaining, which is in average condition. Of the sails, the sprit sail and mizzen topsail are serviceable and are being used on his majesty's ship. Of the rest, there are only some bits and pieces for which, in these regions, there is no use beyond their employment in the repair of his majesty's ship. What does have value is the iron that will be reduced by half when made into [bars] in order to be useful. Their weight was 68 arrobas and 70½ libras, and they will be 34 arrobas [illegible]. There was a grapnel, as well as one anchor, the search for which took some effort. The other could not be found, nor could other various items that were lost with the force of the wind and water, such as the

keelson, which up to now has not been found. All this is being transported at costs beyond comprehension, due to the 260 leagues distance coming and going and the necessary payments to those who have been working. Regarding its sale, as I was instructed in the aforesaid letter—there is no individual on this peninsula who would buy it, not even at a lower price. They would not be able to move it, nor would it be of use to them.

I do not believe an account can be provided that is more reliable than the one I have given, for as much was done as could be, with no time lost.

I wish your excellency perfect health and, awaiting your orders, I pray that God protects your excellency for many years. Loreto of the Californias, April 16, 1761.

Your excellency's very humble servant,  
Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

The most excellent Don Joaquín de Montserrat, Marqués de Cruillas<sup>1</sup>

I, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of this province of the Californias, [state the following]:

Inasmuch as I do not have an inventory of the items and equipment that were removed from the ship, which I believe necessary, I hereby order the sergeant Don Joseph Francisco de Ortega to go to the mission of Santiago.<sup>2</sup> There he is to find out from Reverend Father Francisco López<sup>3</sup> whether the carpenter, Manuel Morrillo, supplied him with a memorandum of everything he received that was salvaged from the ship at Puromo.<sup>4</sup> In the event nothing has been recorded in writing, he is to go to Puromo and to the port of Santiago, where he will draw up a formal inventory of the aforesaid. This he will forward, signed, to the said reverend father for the corresponding bills.

Dated December 17, 1759, in Santa Genoveva, to which I hereby attest.<sup>5</sup>

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Santiago, December 14, 1759

In compliance with the captain's order, I immediately went to learn from the Reverend Father Francisco López whether he had a formal memorandum of all that pertained to receiving [the remains] of his majesty's lost ship. Although it is

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1. The Marqués de Cruillas was the forty-fourth viceroy of New Spain and held office from October 1760 to August 1766.

2. Santiago de los Coras was established in 1721 by Father Ignacio María Napoli. Approximately 135 kilometers south of La Paz, it was the site of the outbreak of the Pericúe rebellion in 1734. The mission itself was about 25 kilometers from the site of the wreck.

3. Francisco López was not a priest but a Jesuit brother, an aide to Father Lucas Ventura, the procurator.

4. *Puromo* in the text is *Purum* in the writings of Miguel del Barco. Apparently it is the modern Cabo Pulmo because this is where the mountains reach the sea, the meaning of *purum* according to Barco, *Historia Natural y Crónica*, p. 332.

5. Santa Genoveva was the name given to one of the prominent peaks in the Victoria Mountains that lie between Santiago and Todos Santos. It may also have been a ranchería in close proximity to mission Santiago.

recorded in writing, the reverend father thought it best that we—his reverence, the captain who came on the ship, and I, the sergeant—go to the beach of Puromo, to make an inspection of the wood and the rest that was there. On the return from Puromo, we went to the port of Santiago,<sup>6</sup> where we have just attested to the nails and the rest, in consideration of which I make the following inventory:

First the hull, broken in pieces, with some parts still intact such as some entire planks forming, for example, the boat's shape.

37½ arrobas of nails, whole and broken  
 11 arrobas, 22 libras of spikes  
 12 pillory rings with their spikes  
 25 *cadena*s of shrouds [ropes for the masts]  
 1 mainmast cinch  
 1 jib boom cinch  
 2 topsail rods  
 8 deadeyes with their iron cinches  
 1 mainsail, in two pieces  
 1 main-top-gallant sail, without the triangular sails  
 the entire sprit sail  
 1 entire mizzen topsail  
 1 jib  
 1 quarterdeck awning, without a sailcloth  
 1 6-inch laid rope, in average condition  
 1 small, old hawser  
 various pieces of rigging cordage

Carrying forward, I state on the facing [page]:

1 gudgeon of the rudder  
 1 pump handle, iron, in two pieces  
 1 sledgehammer  
 1 saw  
 2 axes  
 1 large anchor and one kedge anchor  
 1 iron pot  
 1 mariner's compass  
 1 brass mortar with its pestle  
 the entire ship's rudder, with its rudder pintles  
 3 topmasts  
 2 small topmasts for top-gallant sails  
 the main yard and foresail  
 the mizzen-topsail yard and fore topsail  
 the sprit-sail yard  
 the bowsprit with its jib boom  
 the wood from the mizzenmast  
 the rigging and tackle in pieces

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6. The port of Santiago may have been either at the Bahía de los Frailes or at La Ribera; its location is uncertain from the text.

1 entire pump  
the foremast—that is, the cut log  
the main mast, broken in pieces  
To the truth of this, I hereby sign.  
Joseph Francisco de Ortega  
JHS. Francisco López  
Joseph Echegoyen

Following is a list of everything salvaged from the ship lost at Puromo that was brought to this camp of Loreto, 130 leagues distant from the aforesaid Puromo, and utilized in his majesty's new ship.<sup>7</sup> Here, almost all the iron was re-worked, and the wood that could be used was mended for the new ship:

The spikes, nails, and other pieces of iron that were reworked (the weight of the chains of the shrouds, pillory rings, deadeyes, and two topsail rods being regulated) and put in order that they could be used on the new ship—all total, they weigh 36 arrobas, 8 libras, which was entered on the expenses without charging anything, as is recorded on the preceding form:

3 capuchinos [a particular type of knee brace]  
18 small knee braces  
6 large knee braces  
10 beams from the cabin  
23 swabs  
3 boards  
1 boat or rowboat  
1 capstan  
2 masts adapted to serve as the mainmast  
1 topmast for the topsail  
3 yards  
the bowsprit  
the rudder, without gudgeons or rudder pintles  
4 sets of rigging and tackle  
2 bowsprit bees  
1 bit  
1 bonnet  
3 ladders  
1 six-inch laid rope, in average condition  
1 large anchor  
1 kedge anchor  
1 saw  
1 iron jar  
1 sledgehammer

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7. The new ship was ordered built by Lucas Ventura, who hired Gaspar Molina, a Filipino shipwright of unproven skill, to build the replacement vessel at Loreto from hardwoods cut near Matanchel on the mainland and mesquite from San Juan Londó on the peninsula. The ship was launched August 1761 and christened the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*.

## Shipwrecks and Shipbuilding

1 mariner's compass  
 1 brass mortar  
 2 axes  
 and various pulleys  
     Fernando de Rivera y Moncada  
     Francisco de Aguián [illegible]  
     Ramón Nicolás Cordero [illegible]

[Following is a list of] expenses pertaining to the ship of his majesty (may God keep him), which was built in this royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias over a period of more than one year (the said ship has an untarnished keel of 17½ varas, is 20 varas from the stem to the helmport, 6 varas in breadth, and 2¾ varas in depth):

First, for 2 pieces of cottonwood for the keel, and 1 of sapodilla for the keelson	50 p.
1 stern post and 1 keel forepart of mesquite	15 p.
170 pieces of cedar lumber, in various standard sizes, averaging 3 pesos each	510 p.
65 cedar logs for the planking, at 4 pesos	260 p.
To saw the said logs	775 p. 3 r.
For the mesquites, entered in 36 double frames	178 p.
164 arrobas, 3 libras of worked iron, at 11 pesos per arroba	1,805 p. 2 r.
Itemization entered: 36 arrobas, 8 libras of iron from the lost ship, which is what could be utilized with refurbishment, as will be seen on the following:	0 p.
To the engineer contracted to oversee the construction of the ship, also giving him approval	1,608 p.
1 master carpenter, 1 ironsmith, and 1 caulker, paid annually by our lord the king	0 p.
2 principal journeyman carpenters, earning 18 pesos per month, approved for a period of one year	497 p.
2 helpers at 15 pesos per month, approved for the aforesaid period	425 p.
6 woodcutters at 12 pesos per month, approved for the aforesaid period	1,059 p.
2 cooks and 2 to carry firewood and water at 8 pesos, approved for the aforesaid period	514 p.
3 caulker's helpers at 14 pesos per month, approved for the aforesaid period	601 p. 4 r.
To arrange everything necessary to launch the ship and for the people who helped in its launching	125 p.
2 logs for the foremast	15 p.

Transfers and Transports

1 anchor, weighing 14 arrobas, 5 libras, at 4 reales per libra	77 p. 4 r.
1 grappling iron for the boat or rowboat, weighing 2 arrobas, 6 libras, at 4 reales	28 p.
42 arrobas, 19 libras of agave thread for the rigging and cordage, at 10 pesos, 7 reales per arroba	465 p.
64 arrobas, 8 libras of <i>istle</i> for the same, at 6 pesos, 6 reales	434 p. 2 r.
68 1/4 varas of canvas, at 4 reales	340 p. 5 r.
41 varas of rough linen for the jib, at 4 reales	20 p. 4 r.
2 arrobas, 7 libras of spooled thread, at 21 pesos, 4 reales	49 p.
25 arrobas, 13 libras of unspun muslin, at 2 pesos per arroba	51 pesos, 1/4
Page subtotal	<u>9,404 pesos, 1/4</u>
Subtotal carried forward	9,404 pesos, 1/4
41 arrobas, 14 libras of unspun hemp, at 3 pesos, 1 real	129 p.
17 chunks of pitch, weighing 68 arrobas, at 2 pesos, 7 reales	195 p.
21 chunks of coal tar, weighing 84 arrobas, at 2 pesos, 7 reales	241 p.
20 arrobas of molten tallow, at 3 pesos	60 p.
18 arrobas, 6 1/2 libras of solid tallow, at 2 pesos	36 p.
50 tinajas of fresh water, at 12 reales	75 p.
1 arroba, 7 libras of scupper-nails	17 p.
1 jar, 2 dippers, 2 metates, 2 spits, 1 frying pan, 1 bell, 4 axes, 6 drills, 2 adzes, 2 hammers, 1 crowbar, and other caulker's tools, totaling	64 p.
Corrected total	<u>10,223 p.</u>

I certify that the above amount has been spent in building and fitting out the aforesaid ship, called the *Concepción*, in which was also used those salvaged items from the ship lost at Puromo, as is seen in the facing plan, which is rubricated. So that it might be clear to his excellency the viceroy and the officers of the Real Hacienda, I beg and request Don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of the Californias, to please confirm what I hereby sign in Loreto of the Californias on October 26, 1761.

JHS. Lucas Ventura

I, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of this province of the Californias, certify and attest to the extent I am able as to how, because of the loss of his majesty's ship that came to this land, one has been built at this presidio with the measurements and sizes expressed above. The ship-

wrights and laborers that worked on it have been paid, and the total of expenses referred to above by the very reverend father, Lucas Ventura of the Society of Jesus, procurator and administrator of the royal funds, is correct and firm. It is owing to his great attentiveness and determination that the construction has been brought to its completion, and I suppose that one who is experienced with the barrenness of the Californias, upon seeing this ship and its strength and hearing that it was built there, would have some difficulty believing it and would comprehend all the toil that went into accomplishing such a thing. Likewise, I certify as correct the list on the page that follows, where it is noted that those items from the lost ship were employed. So that it might be recorded appropriately, I hereby sign with witnesses in attendance, with whom I am acting as delegate judge, for want of a royal notary. Dated October 27, 1761 in this presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada  
 Francisco de Aguán [illegible]  
 Ramón Nicolás Cordero [illegible]

DEPOSITIONS REGARDING THE SHIPWRECK

**I**, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of land and sea in the Californias, hereby certify and attest as to how, while I was at the presidio of Señora de Loreto on October 20 of the present year, Gabriel Ojeda, a soldier, arrived, having been sent with the message that his majesty's ship was stranded. Well informed of the ship's destruction, I set out for that part of the south, after speaking with Reverend Father Procurator Lucas Ventura about taking steps to repair the said ship, in the event that [enough of the ship] might have remained for this action. Leaving Loreto on October 21, I arrived at this mission on the twenty-ninth day of the said month, having suffered no delay, I left in the afternoon of the same day for Puromo, which is the place where the ship ran aground. Accompanying me were the captain who navigated the ship, Don Joseph [de] Echegoyen, and the boatswain, Mauricio de Santa María, a native of Realejo.<sup>8</sup>

We arrived there the following day in the afternoon. I saw some pieces of the ship along the beach, along with some of the wood that it was bringing to Loreto from Matanchel. I went to where most of the ship's remains were and found it turned on its side, in complete ruin. Part of the prow was detached in such a manner that it was behind the stern. I have heard that the keel is split or broken, but I did not see this, for the pounding of the water had caused it to become somewhat buried. I withdrew and arrived at this mission on the thirty-first of the said month, having discovered no other recourse than to gather together the wood and

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8. Realejo was the port in Nicaragua where the frigate *San José* had been built for the Californias. With a new crew it was taken to Acapulco and then Matanchel to take on cargo for the missions and presidio. It was on its maiden voyage across the gulf when violent winds drove it ashore at Puromo.



retrieve the iron, along with whatever wood could be salvaged. I find the repair of the ship to be unfeasible, the only remedy is to build a new one.

For his excellency's satisfaction, and so that he may have individual accounts of everything, I was obliged to order that the necessary sworn statements be written down, in order to carry conviction, and with testimony be reported to his excellency. The first is that of the said Don Joseph de Echegoyen; those of the others are to follow.

Thus, I provided, ordered and signed, acting as delegate judge with witnesses, for lack of a public notary, and on this common paper, none of which is stamped. Dated November 2, 1759, at mission Santiago.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Mariano Báez

Mariano Carrillo

Declaration: In the aforesaid mission, I, the captain in chief, by virtue of what I have ordered, immediately received the oath of Don Joseph de Echegoyen, made with due solemnity, under which he promised to answer truthfully whatever might be asked.

In response to my query as to the ship's destination, he said that it was bound for Loreto. Asked how it was that a ship traveling to Loreto ran aground in Puromo, he replied that the main reason was not finding anyone in Matanchel who would provision it. Second, the long voyage from Matanchel to this Santiago shore—on which the ship experienced winds that alternately blew strong and were calm—took twenty-four days. As he was unable to procure more provisions from Matanchel than four head of cattle, twelve loads of bananas, and one load of corn, the ship, carrying twenty-four men with the witness and pilot and with orders given by his excellency in Matanchel, arrived at the aforesaid coast of the mission of Santiago with no more provisions than some beans and a few fish caught at sea.

He cast anchor at the aforesaid shore on October 7, between eight and nine o'clock at night, using the best anchor and cable that the ship carried. The launch was put into the water immediately, and around midnight, he dispatched a cabin boy with a letter to the reverend father of the mission of Santiago, requesting provisions to continue the voyage to the presidio of Loreto. The reverend father promptly sent the necessary supply, which arrived at the shore on October 8, a little before prayers. However, the weather did not permit sending the launch to land for the provisions.

When I asked him why, having anchored at the coast or port of Santiago, they departed from there, he stated that a violent wind came in from the northwest. He had cast anchor in fifteen fathoms of water, playing out the entire cable to its end. This proceeded to give way, with the body of the ship dragging the anchor until it was in seven fathoms of water, where it held out against the said wind for twenty-four hours. After twenty-four hours, seeing that the weather was becoming stronger all the time, and having made every effort to raise or hoist the anchor—which was not possible, due to the surf and the wind—he was obliged to lengthen the end of the cable by hand, and went running with the foresail as far as the inlet of Puromo, which is twelve leagues leeward of the said Santiago

coast. There he found shelter from the northwest wind and from the north wind as well.<sup>9</sup> He cast anchor in the said inlet with an anchor and cable that remained. This was on October 9, at one o'clock in the afternoon. The wind blew from the north and the northwest for two days, but on the third, which was October 11, the wind finally shifted, blowing from the east. It shifted so violently that, with no more cable than what he had in the water and without a safe passage anywhere through which to steer clear, and seeing that the wind was reviving more, he wanted to try to throw the topmasts down. While he was passing the top rope to the main topmast, the cable gave way; not having any cable other than the one that broke and being unable to repair the cable, [he could not prevent the ship being] driven toward the shore. It was not even an hour before the ship's bottom was breaking up, and the witness states that when he disembarked, there were already boards from the ship's bottom on land. He escaped to land in a life buoy, and that same night the ship split in half.

When I asked the witness about the condition of the ship and whether, in his opinion, it could be salvaged, his response was no, that only some wood, boards, nails, and bolts could be used.

[The witness stated] that this is the truth, under obligation of the dated oath. Having read this, he confirmed it as his account and stated his age to be thirty-one years, more or less. He will sign this with me and those in attendance, with whom I acted as stated, and hereby attest.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada  
Joseph de Echegoyen  
Mariano Báez  
Mariano Carrillo

Declaration: Mission Santiago, November 3, 1759. By virtue of what I, the captain in chief, have ordered, I summoned and had appear before me the boatswain of his majesty's ship, Mauricio de Santa María. I received from him an oath made to God with the sign of the cross, under which he promised to speak truthfully about what he knew and might be asked.

When I asked about the ship's destination, he responded that it was bound for Loreto. Asked how a ship that was traveling to Loreto ran aground in Puromo, he replied that it was because they steered upward toward the port of Santiago in search of provisions. They entered the aforesaid port on October 7. On October 8, the wind came from the northwest, then shifted to the north, obliging them to let go of the anchor by hand and leave in search of Puromo, to seek shelter there. They remained there on the tenth day of the said month, and on the eleventh, the wind came in from the east-northeast. The cable was cut because the said shelter seemed to have many snags where they might have hit shore with the hull of the ship, unable to free the ship's hull or to throw the masts down to lighten its weight.

Asked from where they came, he responded [that they came] from the port of Matanchel. Asked whether they provisioned themselves in Matanchel, he replied

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9. This description is consistent with the Bahía de los Frailes, which provides some protection from winds coming from these directions.

that eleven or twelve loads of bananas were brought on board, which lasted some ten or eleven days, and that a measure of corn and four head of cattle—two dead, and two living—were loaded. Asked if he knew whether there would have been someone in Matanchel to provision the ship, or if it appeared to him (or if he knew) that the aforesaid loaded supply was sufficient to make the voyage to Loreto, he replied that it did not appear to be sufficient, that he did not protest because it did not fall upon him to do so, and that from the mouth of his captain he knew that Don Juan Lozano was supplying whatever provisions might have been wanted. Asked if he knew why more provisions were not taken on board, he replied that he did not know, but that there was still meat from [the supply] they obtained in Acapulco, which, although bad, could be served.

Asked if he knew whether there might have been a failing on the part of the pilot, he answered no, only that he had guided them to the shelter where they went, which was not a good anchoring place. The witness was asked to state whether the ship came well provided with moorings and, if not, what the moorings lacked, whether anchor or cable. He responded that the cable and its two good moorings were sufficient. Asked whether it was perhaps customary among sailors to observe some of the pilot's practices, and if so, whether this had been done with the pilot who came, he answered and said that it was customary to hand the ship over to him so that he, as the pilot who had authority and who was knowledgeable, would proceed as he had learned. Asked whether this was done on the ship, he answered yes, but that it was too late.

Asked about the rigging and the sails, he replied that the two topsails and the foresail were lost, and that the rigging cordage was still hanging from the ship. Asked whether he thought the ship could be mended, he answered no, but the nails, bolts, and chains could be freed from most of it. He also said that of the two anchors, one was bent. He made that determination in Acapulco, and it was not repaired—although it was not the anchor that was lacking but the cable.

[The witness stated] under obligation of the dated oath that this is the truth of what he knows and what has been asked of him. Having read this, he affirmed and ratified it as his account and stated his age to be thirty-one years. Because he did not know how to sign his name, the witness said that the boatswain's mate who came on the ship should sign for him. Thus, I signed the statement with the said boatswain's mate and those in attendance, with whom I acted as stated, to which I hereby attest.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Signing for the boatswain, Mauricio de Santa María, in accordance with the aforesaid

Nicolás Ferramola

Mariano Carrillo

Antonio Baldado

[Several depositions from other members of the crew were omitted for reasons of repetitiveness.]

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL  
NAUFRAGIO, 1759

**E**xcelentísimo señor:  
Por octubre de 59 recibí la noticia en este real de haberse perdido 130 leguas de aquí la fragata que de cuenta de su majestad (que Dios guarde) venía para el útil de esta conquista. Luego inmediatamente me puse en camino para dicho paraje, y encontré que el casco estaba hecho pedazos; procuré a costa del reverendo padre procurador que se sacase la madera, fierro y velamen cuanto mejor se pudiese. Con grandes costos del mismo padre se hizo cuanto se pudo, cuyas diligencias, y lo poco que se pudo salvar, remití jurídico al excelentísimo señor Marqués de las Amarillas.

Y en el día 9 de marzo de este presente año de 1761, recibí una carta de esa Real Audiencia (entonces gobernadora), su fecha, 23 de febrero del año pasado de 1760, en la que se me intima haga un nuevo reconocimiento de lo servible, y que informe si en este país tendrá alguna venta; a lo que debo decir a vuestra excelencia que a más de haberse hecho pedazos, estos mismos quedaron inservibles, sacada la clavazón, y con haber estado tantos meses sin poderla acarrear, por diligencias que se hicieron, fue mayor su ruina; solamente la barquita o bote quedó ileso, pero para esta tierra es alhaja inútil, por no ser de una pieza como aquí se requiere. La jarcia hecha pedazos, y sólo quedó un calabrote de seis pulgadas, que llaman de media vida. Del velamen queda servible, y aún sirviendo en el barco de su majestad, la cebadera y sobremesana; de lo demás sólo algunos pedazos, y todo esto no tiene más destino, ni se puede dar en estos países, que el de ocuparlo en reparos del barco de su majestad. Lo que puede tener estimación es el fierro, que hecho varetones para que pueda servir, mermará la mitad; su peso fue de 68 arrobas 70½ libras, y quedará en 34 arrobas [ilegible]. Quedó un anclotito y una ancla, que costó buscarla; la otra no se pudo encontrar, como ni otras varias cosas que con la fuerza del viento y agua perecieron, como la sobrequilla, que hasta ahora no ha parecido. Todo esto se ha estado acarreando con los costos que se deja entender en la distancia de 260 leguas en ida y vuelta, y precisos pagamentos a los que han estado trabajando. En cuanto a venta, según se me ordena en dicha carta, no hay sujeto en esta península que lo compre ni aun por menos precio, así por no poderlo conducir, como por no servirle.

Razón más formal que la que tengo dada, no hallo ni se puede dar, pues se hizo cuanto se pudo sin pérdida de tiempo.

Deseo sea perfecta la salud de vuestra excelencia y, quedando pronto a sus ordenes, ruego a Dios guarde por muchos años la vida de vuestra excelencia. Loreto de Californias y abril 16 de 1761.

Muy a las plantas de vuestra excelencia, su menor súbdito y servidor.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Excelentísimo señor don Joaquín de Montserrat, Marqués de Cruillas.

Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada capitán comandante en esta Provincia de Californias por su majestad, que Dios guarde:

Por cuanto no tengo hecho inventario de las cosas y pertrechos que libron del barco, el que tengo por necesario, por lo que ordeno al sargento don Joseph

Francisco de Ortega pase a la Misión de Santiago, y que allí se informe del reverendo padre Francisco López si le entregó el carpintero Manuel Morrillo el apunte de lo que se salvó y recibió del barco en el Puromo y, en caso de no constar por apunte, que pase al dicho Puromo y al Surgidero de Santiago, en donde formará de lo dicho inventario formal, el que entregará firmado a dicho reverendo padre para los efectos que convengan.

Fecho en Santa Genoveva en diecisiete de diciembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve años, de que doy fe.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Santiago y diciembre catorce de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve años.

En obediencia de lo mandado por el señor capitán, luego incontinenti pasé a informarme del reverendo padre Francisco López si tenía su reverencia apunte formal de todo lo perteneciente a la recepción del barco perdido de su majestad, que Dios guarde, y, aunque consta de apunte, tuvo dicho reverendo padre a bien pasásemos su reverencia, yo el sargento, y el capitán que venía en el barco, a la Playa del Puromo a hacer como hicimos inspección de maderos y demás que allí había; a la vuelta del Puromo fuimos a el surgidero de Santiago, en donde acabamos de dar fe de la clavazón y demás, por cuya atención hago inventario siguiente:

Primeramente, el casco hecho pedazos, con algunas piezas de cuenta enteras, como tablas, algunas de ellas enteras verbi gracia, la barca,

37½ arrobas de clavazón entera y quebrada,  
11 arrobas 22 libras de pernos,  
12 argollas con sus pernos,  
25 cadenas de los obenques,  
1 cincho de palo mayor,  
1 cincho del botalón,  
2 varillas de las gavias,  
8 vigotas con sus cinchos de fierro,  
1 vela mayor en dos pedazos,  
1 juanete mayor sin las cuchillas,  
la cebadera entera,  
1 sobremesana entera,  
1 foque,  
1 toldo del alcázar sin un paño,  
1 calabrote de 6 pulgadas de media vida,  
1 guindalecita vieja,  
varios pedazos de cabos de labor,  
a la vuelta digo a enfrente  
1 hembra del timón,  
1 sacanabo de las bombas, en dos pedazos, de fierro,  
1 mandarria,  
1 sierra,  
2 hachas,  
1 ancla grande y un anclotillo,  
1 calderito de fierro,  
la aguja de marear,

1 almiraz con su mano,  
el timón del barco entero con sus machos,  
3 masteleros,  
2 masteleritos de juanete,  
verga mayor y trinquete,  
la verga de sobremesana y velacho,  
la verga de cebadera,  
el bauprés con su botolón,  
el palo de la mesana,  
la jarcia hecha pedazos,  
1 bomba entera,  
el trinquete, esto es, el palo picado,  
el palo mayor hecho pedazos,  
Y por ser así verdad, lo firmo.

Joseph Francisco de Ortega.  
JHS. Francisco López.  
Joseph de Echegoyen.

Razón de lo que se ha aprovechado en el barco nuevo de su majestad, que Dios guarde, de lo recogido del que se perdió en el Puromo y se condujo a este Real de Loreto, que dista 130 leguas de dicho Puromo; y aquí se labró de nuevo casi todo el fierro, y lo que se pudo aprovechar de la madera se compuso para el nuevo barco, y es lo que se sigue:

Por pernos, clavos y otros pedazos de fierro, que se labró de nuevo y, regulado lo que pesaron las cadenas de los obenques, argollas, vigotas y dos varillas de las gavias, que se compusieron para que pudieran servir al barco nuevo, hacen por todo las 36 arrobas 8 libras que se entraron en los costos, sin cargar nada, como consta de la forma antecedente,

3 capuchinos,  
18 curvitas,  
6 dichas grandes  
10 latas de la cámara  
23 lampazos  
3 tablas  
1 barca o bote  
1 cabrestante,  
2 palos que sirven ajustados para palo mayor  
1 mastelero de la gavia  
3 vergas  
el bauprés  
el timón sin hembras ni machos  
las 4 guarniciones de jarcia  
2 gavietas  
1 bita  
1 bonua [boneta]  
3 escaleras  
1 calabrote de ½ vida de 6 pulgadas

1 ancla grande  
 1 anclotillo  
 1 sierra  
 1 olla de fierro  
 1 mandarria  
 la aguja de marear  
 1 almirez  
 2 hachas  
 y varios motones.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.  
 Francisco de Aguián [ilegible].  
 Ramón Nicolás Cordero [ilegible].

Costos que ha tenido el barco de su majestad, que Dios guarde, fabricado en este Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, en más de un año (tiene dicho barco 17½ varas de quilla limpia, 20 varas de la roda a la limera, 6 varas de manga, y 2¾ varas de puntal):

Primeramente, por dos piezas de guérigo para quilla, y una de palo María para sobrequilla en	50 p.
Por 1 codaste y 1 pie de roda de mezquite	15 p.
Por 170 piezas de madera de cedro de varios tamaños derechos, y de vuelta a 3 pesos una con otra	510 p.
Por 65 trozas de cedro para tablazón, a 4 pesos	260 p.
Por aserrar las dichas trozas	775 pesos 3
Por los mezuques, que entraron en 36 cuadernas dobles	178 p.
Por 164 arrobas 3 libras de fierro labrado a 11 pesos arroba	1,805 pesos 2
Item. entraron 36 arrobas 8 libras de fierro del barco perdido, que es lo que se ha podido aprovechar después de renovado, que es lo que se verá en la foja siguiente	0 p.
Al maestro que corrió con la fábrica del barco por ajuste, y dándole también la razón	1,608 p.
Por 1 maestro carpintero, 1 herrero y 1 calafate pagados anualmente por el rey nuestro señor	0 p.
Por 2 oficiales de carpintero principales, ganando 18 pesos al mes y razón por el tiempo de un año	497 p.
Por 2 ayudantes a 15 pesos al mes, y razón por dicho tiempo	425 p.
Por 6 hacheros a 12 pesos al mes y razón en dicho tiempo	1,059 p.
Por 2 coz [cocineros] y 2 que acarreaban leña y agua a 8 pesos y razón en dicho tiempo	514 p.

Shipwrecks and Shipbuilding

Por 3 ayudantes de calafate a 14 pesos al mes y razón en dicho tiempo	601 pesos 4
Por componer lo necesario para la bota del barco y la gente que ayudó a su bota	125 p.
Por 2 palos para el trinquete	15 p.
Por 1 ancla con 14 arrobas 5 libras, a 4 reales libra	77 pesos 4
Por 1 rezón para la barca o bote, con 2 arrobas 6 libras, a 4 reales	28 p.
Por 42 arrobas 19 libras de pita para jarcia a 10 pesos 7 reales arroba	465 p.
Por 64 arrobas 8 libras de ixtle para lo mismo a 6 pesos 6 reales	434 pesos 2
Por 68 1/4 varas de lona a 4 reales	340 pesos 5
Por 41 varas de cotense para el foque a 4 reales	20 pesos 4
Por 2 arrobas 7 libras de hilo a carrete a 21 pesos 4 reales	49 p.
Por 25 arrobas 13 libras de estopa de coco, a 2 pesos arroba	51 pesos 1/4
Pasa a la vuelta	9,404 pesos 1/4
Suma de la vuelta	9,404 pesos 1/4
Por 41 arrobas 14 libras de estopa de cáñamo a 3 pesos 1 real	129 p.
Por 17 trozos de brea con 68 arrobas a 2 pesos 7 reales	195 p.
Por 21 dichos de alquitrán con 84 arrobas a 2 pesos 7 reales	241 p.
Por 20 arrobas de sebo frito a 3 pesos	60 p.
Por 18 arrobas 6 1/2 libras de sebo sin freír a 2 pesos	36 p.
Por 50 tinajas de aguada a 12 reales	75 pesos
Por 1 arroba 7 libras de estoperoles	17 p.
Por 1 olla, 2 cazos, 2 metates, 2 asadores, 1 sartén, 1 campana, 4 hachas, 6 barrenas, 2 azuelas, 2 martillos, 1 pie de cabra, y demás hierros de calafate, todo en Suma salvo yerro	64 p. 10,223 p.

Cuya cantidad certifico haberse gastado en construir y habilitar dicho barco que se llama la Concepción, en el que sirven también las cosas que se han podido aprovechar del que se perdió en el Puromo, como se ve en la plana de enfrente, que [ilegible] rubricada. Y para que conste al excelentísimo señor virrey y señores oficiales de la Real Hacienda, pido y suplico a don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada capitán comandante por su majestad, que Dios guarde, de Californias, se sirva autorizarla, que firmo en Loreto de Californias a 26 de octubre de 1761.

JHS. Lucas Ventura.



Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada capitán comandante en esta Provincia de Californias por su majestad (Dios le guarde) certifico y doy fe en cuanto puedo y debo, como por haberse perdido el barco de su majestad que venía para esta tierra, que se ha fabricado uno en este presidio con las medidas y tamaños que arriba se expresan, y quedan pagados maestros y operarios que en él trabajaron, y que es cierta y segura la suma de los gastos que asimismo arriba se refieren por el muy reverendo padre Lucas Ventura de la Compañía de Jesús, procurador y administrador del real situado, debiéndosele a su gran cuidado y empeño el haber llevado hasta el fin la fábrica; y supongo que el que sea práctico de la esterilidad de Californias y que vea este barco y su fortaleza, oyendo decir que acá se fabricó, se le ofrecerá dificultad al creerlo y concebirá lo que se [ilegible] afanaría para conseguirlo. Asimismo certifico cierta la lista de la plana siguiente, en que se da nota de las cosas que se aprovecharon del barco perdido para que conste donde convenga, lo firmo con testigos de asistencia, con quienes actúo como juez receptor, a falta de escribano real. Fecho en este Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto en veinte y siete de octubre de mil setecientos sesenta y uno.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Francisco de Aguí [ilegible].

Ramón Nicolás Cor.

#### DEPOSICIONES SOBRE EL NAUFRAGIO

**D**on Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, capitán comandante de mar y tierra en Californias por su majestad, que Dios guarde, certifico y doy fe cómo, hallándome en el dicho Presidio de mi Señora de Loreto el día veinte del mes de octubre del presente año, llegó Gabriel Ojeda, soldado, por haber sido enviado con el aviso de que dió a el través el barco de su majestad, por lo que, bien entendido de la ruina de dicho barco, me puse en camino para esta parte del sur, después de haber hablado con el reverendo padre procurador Lucas Ventura con diligencia de que se compusiese dicho barco, caso de que hubiese quedado para eso; y habiendo salido de Loreto el día veinte y uno de dicho mes, llegué a esta misión el día veinte y nueve, y sin admitir demora, en el mismo día por la tarde pasé para el Puromo, que es lugar donde varó el barco. Acompañáronme a él el capitán que conducía el barco, don Joseph Echegoyen, y el contramaestre Mauricio de Santa María, natural del Realejo.

Y llegamos allí el día siguiente por la tarde. Ví por la playa algunas piezas del barco, y otras de la madera que traía de Matanchel para Loreto; pasé para donde se hallaba lo mayor que quedaba del barco, y el costado sobre que está ladeado está enteramente arruinado; la parte de la proa separada, de manera que estaba detrás de la popa, de la quilla he oído que se rajó o quebró, no la vi a causa de que batía el agua y por consiguiente algo había de estar enterrada; me retiré y llegué a esta misión en treinta y uno de dicho mes, sin hallar más composición que es que junten la madera y se saque el fierro, y de madera lo que se pueda. Por lo impracticable que hallo composición del referido barco, el que sólo se remediará con fabricar otro de nuevo.

Y para satisfacción del señor excelentísimo y que de todo tenga su excelencia individual noticia, debía mandar y mando se tomen las declaraciones necesarias

juramentadas para que hagan fe, y con testimonio dar cuenta al señor excelentísimo, y sea la primera la de dicho don Joseph de Echegoyen, y después que sigan las de otros.

Así lo proveí, mandé y firmé, actuando por receptoría con los de asistencia, por falta de escrivano público, en este papel común, por no haberlo sellado. Fecho en la Misión de Santiago, en dos del mes de noviembre, año de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Mariano Baez.

Mariano Carrillo.

En dicha misión incontinenti yo el capitán comandante en virtud de lo por mi mandado recibí juramento a don Joseph de Echegoyen, que hizo con la debida solemnidad, bajo del cual prometió decir verdad en lo que le fuere preguntado.

Y siéndole por mí preguntado para dónde conducía el barco, respondió y dijo que para Loreto. Y preguntado que fue cómo, si conducía el barco para Loreto, cómo varó el barco en el Puromo, respondió y dijo que el primer motivo fue no haber hallado en Matanchel quién lo abastimentara; por lo segundo, viaje largo, experimentando vientos contrarios corrientes y calmas, que tardó de allí de Matanchel veinte y cuatro días a esta playa de Santiago, no habiendo sacado de Matanchel más bastimento que cuatro reses y doce cargas de plátanos y una carga de maíz, trayendo el barco veinte y cuatro plazas con el declarante y el práctico, que por su excelencia le dieron en Matanchel, que llegó a esta dicha playa de la Misión de Santiago sin más bastimento que un poco de frijol y pescado que se cogía en la mar.

Que dió fondo en la dicha playa el día siete de octubre de las ocho a las nueve de la noche, con la mejor ancla y amarra que traía el barco, que echó la lancha incontinenti al agua, y despachó con una carta a un mozo, como a media noche, al reverendo padre de la Misión de Santiago, pidiendo bastimento para proseguir el viaje para el Presidio de Loreto, y que le despachó prontamente el reverendo padre el bastimento necesario que el día ocho del dicho mes de octubre del dicho mes allegaría a la playa poco antes de la oración, que no le dió lugar el tiempo para enviar la lancha en tierra por los bastimentos.

Y siendo por mí preguntado por qué causa, habiendo dado fondo en la playa o surgidero de Santiago, se salieron de allí, respondió y dijo que les entró un viento deshecho por el noroeste, que de quince brazas de agua en que dió fondo, habiendo arriado a chicote, a chicote todo el cable, que vino a dar con el cuerpo del navío agarrando el ancla hasta en siete brazas de agua, donde aguantó con el dicho viento hasta veinte y cuatro horas, y que, visto que a las veinte y cuatro horas que el tiempo iba cada vez refrescando más, habiendo hecho diligencia para poder levantar o alzar la ancla, que no fue posible por el mar y viento que había, que le obligó alargar chicote por la mano, y que fue corriendo con el trinquete hasta la ensenada del Puromo, que está doce leguas a sotavento de esta dicha playa de Santiago, donde halló abrigo para el dicho viento noroeste, y del norte también, que dió fondo en la dicha ensenada con una amarra que le había quedado, que fue el día nueve de octubre a la una de la tarde, y que le estuvo soplando dos días el viento norte y noroeste, que a los tres, que fue el once de octubre, que le saltó de repente viento por el leste, tan recio, sin más amarra que la que tenía en el agua,

y sin tener rebasadero por ninguna parte para echarse para afuera, y que, visto que el viento iba refrescando más, quizá hacer diligencia de echar los masteleros abajo, que en el tiempo que estaba pasando el virador al mastelero mayor le faltó la amarra, y sin tener más amarra que la que le faltó, que se fue a la playa sin poder remediar, y que no tardó una hora sin que largara los fondos; y dice el que declara que, cuando saltó en tierra, que ya había tablas del fondo en tierra, que salió en una guindola a tierra, y que aquella misma noche se partió por en medio el navío.

Y preguntado por mí el declarante que cuál es el estado del barco y que, según su inteligencia, si tiene composición, respondió y dijo que no, que sólo se podía aprovechar alguna madera, tablas, clavazón y pernería.

Y que esta es la verdad, so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene, y leída que le fue esta su declaración, en ella se ratificó y dijo ser de edad de treinta y un años poco más o menos, y la firmará conmigo y los de asistencia, con quienes actúo como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Joseph de Echeгойen.

Mariano Baez.

Mariano Carrillo.

Declaración. Misión de Santiago y noviembre tres de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve. En virtud de lo mandado por mí, el capitán comandante, hice comparecer y compareció ante mí el contra maestre del barco de su majestad Mauricio de Santa María, a quien le recibí juramento, que hizo a Dios y la Señal de la Cruz, bajo del cual prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado.

Y por mí que le fue preguntado para dónde navegaba el barco, respondió que para Loreto; y preguntado que fue cómo, si navegaba para Loreto, varó el barco en el Puromo, respondió que porque botaron arriba en demanda del Puerto de Santiago por bastimento, y que entraron a dicho puerto el día siete de octubre, y que el día ocho les entró el tiempo por el noroeste, y se cambió a el norte, adonde los obligó a dejar la ancla por la mano; y salieron en demanda del Puromo a buscar abrigo allí, y que se mantuvieron allí el día diez de dicho mes, y el día once les entró el tiempo por el nordeste, y que se les cortó la amarra porque dicho abrigo parece ser tener muchas ratoneras, por donde hubieron de dar en la playa con el casco del barco, sin poder haber librado el casco del barco, ni por haber botádole los palos abajo por aliviarlo de peso.

Y siendo preguntado que de dónde venían, respondió que del Puerto de Matanchel. Preguntado que fue si no se aviaron en Matanchel de bastimentos para llegar a Loreto, respondió que se embarcaron once o doce cargas de plátanos, que duraron como diez u once días, y que embarcaron una carga de maíz y cuatro reses, dos muertas y dos vivas. Y preguntado que fue si no supo que en Matanchel hubiera habido quien abastimentara el barco, o que si le pareció o supo que el bastimento dicho embarcado fuese suficiente para haber hecho el viaje a Loreto, respondió y dijo que no le pareció que era suficiente, que no repugnó porque no le tocaba al que declara repugnarlo, y que por boca de su capitán supo que don Juan Lozano le ofertaba cuanto bastimento hubiera querido. Y preguntado que fue si no supo el porqué no se embarcó más bastimento, respondió, que no supo, que carne todavía había, que aunque mala podía suplir, y era de la que sacaron de Acapulco.

Y preguntado si supo que no hubiese habido defecto de parte del práctico, respondió que no, sólo que lo hubiese llevado al abrigo donde fueron, no habiendo buen surgidero. Y preguntado que fue el que declara si venía bien aviado el barco de amarras, y que qué fue lo que faltó de la amarra, si la ancla o el cable, respondió que el cable, y que suficientes sus dos amarras buenas [ilegible]. Y preguntado que fue si en la marinería acaso se usa observar alguna circunstancia con el práctico, que, si se usa, si se había observado con el práctico que venía, respondió y dijo que sí se usa entregarle el barco para que él, como práctico que tenía mando y sabido esto, hubiera andado como había aprendido; y preguntado si se observó esto en el barco, respondió que sí, pero ya tarde. Y preguntado por la jarcia y velas, respondió que las dos gavias y el trinquete se perdieron, que por lo que toca a la jarcia de encapilladura está pendiendo del barco todavía; y preguntado que fue si según su inteligencia es componible el barco, respondió que no, que lo que es clavazón, pernería y cadenaje se puede escapar la más parte de ello; dijo también que, de las dos anclas, la una estaba vencida, que en Acapulco lo propuso, y no se remedió, aunque no faltó por ella sino por la amarra.

Y que es la verdad de lo que se sabe y se le ha preguntado, so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene; y leída que le fue esta su declaración, en ella se afirmó y ratificó, y dijo ser de treinta y ocho años, y por no saber firmar dijo que firmara por el declarante el guardián que venía en el barco, y lo firmé con el dicho guardián, y los de asistencia, con quienes actúo como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

En la conformidad antedicha por el contra maestre Mauricio de Santa María firma:

Nicolás Ferramola.

Mariano Carrillo.

Antonio Baldado.

## Father Lucas Ventura on the Military Situation in the Peninsula, 1762

*This brief letter from Lucas Ventura summarizes the military situation in the southern peninsula and, indeed, in all of California only five years before the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain. No permanent settlement or fortification had yet been placed on the Pacific side of the peninsula – the combined result of finding neither a suitable anchorage nor a place with sufficient water, wood, and forage to sustain a garrison year-round. As Ventura relates, the priority for expansion had shifted to the northern part of the peninsula, and the goal of establishing a southern fortification lapsed. Explorations by Fathers Fernando Consag and Wenceslaus Linck had opened new routes to the north that would later be followed by the Alta California expeditionary forces (in 1769).<sup>1</sup>*



our Excellency:  
Upon the return of his majesty's ship from Acapulco, I received news of your excellency's orders. Had I known of them earlier, I would not have left here until such time as your excellency indicated. I am ready to obey them promptly as in all else that your excellency may ask of me. At the same time, the news arrived of the outbreak of war between our Catholic monarch and England.<sup>2</sup> Here, your excellency, there is neither a fort nor a castle; Loreto is an open beach. There are seventy military men, including a captain, lieutenant, and sergeant, and because the land is so vast, they are divided into several escorts. Their weapons are the musket, the sword, and the leather shield, while the uniform is a leather doublet with several layers of chamois—everything suitable for withstanding the Indians. There are sufficient horses, and also mules, for the ruggedness of the land, and the rough hills that are abundant here provide protection for the soldiers as soon as they withdraw.

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1. Fernando Consag was born in Croatia in 1703 and arrived in Mexico in 1730 after his early training in the Society of Jesus. He worked as a missionary in California from 1732 until his death in 1759.

Wenceslaus Linck was born in Bohemia in 1736 and arrived in California in 1762. He died in exile in Oelmütz in 1790.

2. Great Britain had declared war on December 15, 1761. By June 1762 Admiral Sir George Pocock had sailed for the Caribbean to seize Havana. Brigadier General Sir William Draper took Manila in the Philippines, so it would appear that California was caught in a pincer of British naval forces.

Many heathens have come to the new mission, named San Francisco de Borja.<sup>3</sup> It is located at the north of this peninsula, at 30 degrees latitude, between the Bay of Los Angeles and the opposite coast, or the South Sea. At the mission, there is a missionary with a permanent escort.<sup>4</sup> He has already baptized 190 Indians since August, and more than 200 are receiving instruction in the divine mysteries so that they may be baptized later. There are also many people in these territories who are expected to be reduced to Christianity within a short while.

May our Lord God protect your excellency's important life and health for many years. Loreto of California.

Lucas Ventura JHS

*From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 66, 3.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL



xcelentísimo señor:

Al regreso del barco de su majestad, que Dios guarde, de Acapulco, tuve noticia de los órdenes de vuestra excelencia que, a saberlo antes, no hubiera salido de aquí hasta el tiempo que vuestra excelencia señala; y quedo pronto a obedecerlos, como todos los que vuestra excelencia fuere servido intimarme. Al mismo tiempo llegó la noticia del rompimiento de guerra de nuestro católico monarca con la Inglaterra. Aquí, excelentísimo señor, no hay fortaleza ni castillo alguno, esto de Loreto es una playa rasa; los militares son sesenta, incluso capitán, teniente y sargento, y como la tierra es tan dilatada, están repartidos en varias escoltas; sus armas son escopeta, espada y adarga, el uniforme una cuera de varios haces de gamuza, propio todo para resistir a indios; asaz de caballos y también de mulas, por la aspereza de la tierra, y por eso mismo, a poco se retiren tienen defensa en lo fragoso de los cerros, que son aquí en abundancia.

Han acudido muchos gentiles a la nueva misión llamada San Francisco de Borja, que está al norte de esta península, a los treinta grados de latitud, entre la Bahía de los Angeles, y la contracosta o Mar del Sur; está en ella con escolta de asiento un misionero, que ha bautizado ya ciento y noventa desde agosto, y quedaban en la instrucción de los divinos misterios para bautizarse después más de doscientos; hay también en aquellos territorios mucha gente que se espera esté reducida y cristiana dentro de poco tiempo.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde por muchos años la importante vida y salud de vuestra excelencia, Loreto de California.

Lucas Ventura JHS

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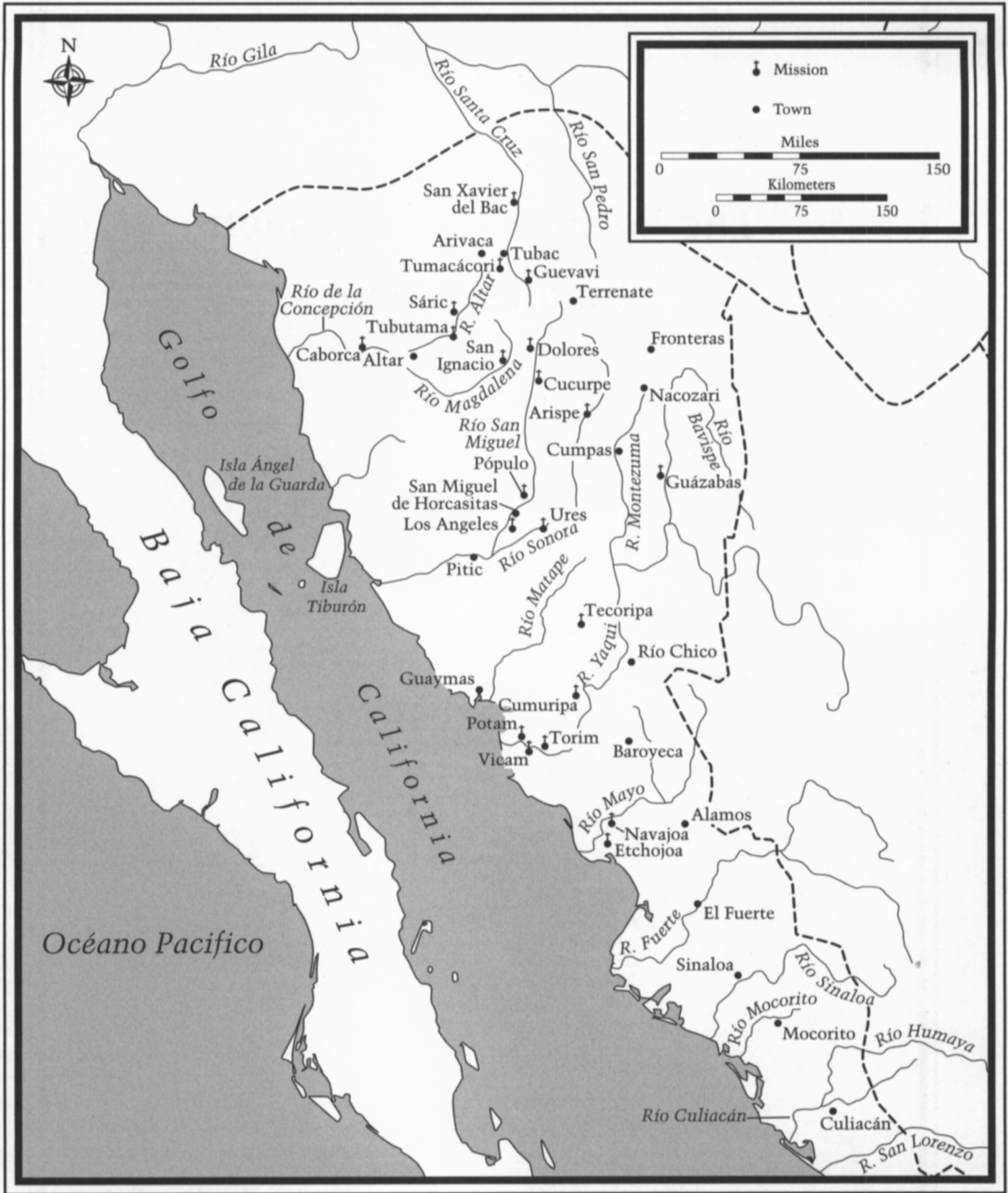
3. San Francisco de Borja was founded in 1762 by Wenceslaus Linck at the site of the spring of Adac, previously explored by Father George Retz.

4. The missionary was the recently arrived Linck.



*The Pacific Slope Corridor:  
Sinaloa-Sonora*





*The Province of Sinaloa and Sonora*



## Introduction

**T**he Spanish conquest of northern New Spain followed four great routes or corridors. The first, established in the early 1530s, led from the kingdom of Nueva Galicia up the west coast of Mexico. The second, which originated in the 1540s, leapfrogged from silver strike to silver strike up the Mesa Central. The third pushed northeast along the Sierra Madre Oriental from Nuevo León into Texas and Nuevo Santander (Tamaulipas). The fourth and final corridor into the Californias was primarily maritime; after the Quechan (Yuma) Indians destroyed the two small Spanish communities along the lower Colorado River in 1781, the land route between Sonora and Alta California was severed a mere six years after Juan Bautista de Anza had pioneered it in 1774. The second route, which developed into the *camino real*, became the most important of the three remaining land routes. It linked Mexico City with Zacatecas, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Durango, Saltillo, Parral, Chihuahua, El Paso, and Santa Fe, funneling much of northern New Spain's mineral wealth south from those mining and administrative centers.<sup>1</sup>

The colonial history of Sinaloa-Sonora is a history of false starts and fragile advances punctuated by long periods of stalemate between the Spaniards and their Native American foes. The rapacious adelantado Nuño de Guzmán devastated southern Sinaloa in the early 1530s, founding the villa of San Miguel de Culiacán in 1531. For the next fifty years, however, the Spanish advance up the Pacific coast stalled. Attempts by both Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1540–42) and Francisco de Ibarra (1564) to establish settlements north of Culiacán met with disaster. It was not until 1585 that San Felipe y Santiago took root along the Río Sinaloa. Even then, another decade passed before the successful conquest of northern Sinaloa and southern Sonora got underway.

When it did, two key institutions played major roles. One was the Jesuit mission system, which began with the arrival of two missionaries, Gonzalo de Tapia

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1. Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier*; Peter J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico, Zacatecas, 1546–1700*.

and Martín Pérez, in 1591.<sup>2</sup> The other was the founding of the presidio of Sinaloa in 1595. Jesuit missions proliferated, but the Sinaloa presidio remained the only body of professional soldiers on the northwestern frontier until the establishment of Fronteras in 1689. It alone was charged with protecting Spanish settlers from Sinaloa to the Pimería Alta. More than any other military garrison, its changing fortunes and changing locations capture the vicissitudes of Spanish colonization along the northwestern frontier.

As the introduction to the first volume in this collection points out, presidios were never synonymous with *castillos* or *fortalezas*.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, the term, when used correctly, referred to units of officers and soldiers commissioned by the Spanish Crown rather than to fortifications located in a particular spot. The personnel who occupied the positions, or *plazas*, of a particular presidio changed through time. The places where the soldiers were stationed also shifted in response to changing patterns of settlement and outbreaks of Indian unrest. What did not change, however, was the original royal charter or commission of the presidio itself. In a legalistic bureaucracy obsessed with finances, those charters governed the number of soldiers the Spanish government supported, regardless of where those soldiers lived or fought.

Nothing makes this distinction clearer than the convoluted odyssey of the Sinaloa presidio. The garrison was originally headquartered in San Felipe y Santiago. Yet less than twenty years after its founding, a permanent detachment occupied the *fuerte*, or fort, of Montesclaros on the Río Fuerte to the north. An attempt to formally transfer the garrison to Cedros in the jurisdiction of Ostimuri failed in the early 1700s, but the soldiers of the presidio kept getting pulled north as the Sonoran frontier advanced. Following the Yaqui Revolt of 1740, for example, Sinaloa presidiales were stationed for a time at both Buenavista and Baroyeca on the outskirts of Yaqui country. That led authorities as highly placed as Juez Pesquisidor y Visitador General José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo to refer to the presidio of San Bernardo de Buenavista in his *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora* of 1750.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the Buenavista garrison was not a new creation but simply another metamorphosis of the original Sinaloa company; the presidio of San Rafael de Buenavista was not founded until 1765, when the Spanish government was mounting a major campaign against the Seris. By then, the Sinaloa presidio had migrated as far north as Altar, where it remained for the rest of the colonial period. But even though its name changed and the number of its plazas increased to fifty, Altar was nothing more than the ultimate transformation of the ancient Sinaloa garrison commissioned more than a century and a half earlier.

The peregrinations of the Sinaloa presidio reveal another critical fact about the northwestern frontier as well: the sheer scarcity of professional soldiers throughout most of the colonial period. As noted previously, Sinaloa was the only perma-

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2. John Francis Bannon, S.J., *The Mission Frontier in Sonora, 1620–1687*.

3. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., (eds.), *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1570–1700*.

4. Germán Viveros, (ed.), *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora, 1750*.

ment military company in Sinaloa-Sonora until the end of the seventeenth century. Fronteras was created in 1689, but it was not until the 1740s that the military buildup in the northwest began to gather steam. For much of the colonial period, then, fewer than one hundred professional soldiers defended a region that stretched from the Sierra Madre Occidental to the Gulf of California.

Presidios alone could not protect that enormous area. As several of the following documents demonstrate, presidios were at best a professional nucleus around which rallied other fighting forces. Civilian militias constituted one such force. Agustín de Vildósola's Sonoran militia, not the Sinaloa presidio, defeated the Yaqui rebels in 1740, while militia under Bernardo de Urrea played a major role in the suppression of the Upper Pima rebellion in 1751–52. Indian auxiliaries were another vital component of northwestern New Spain's military strategy. The few successes of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla's invasion of Tiburón Island in 1750 were achieved by Upper Pimas commanded by Luis Oacpicagigua, who led his own revolt a year later. Without armed citizens and friendly Indians, presidial troops could never have held such a dangerous realm.

The military function of the presidios was consequently a limited one—a function constrained by vast distances, rugged terrain, evasive Native American enemies, and a chronic shortage of manpower, munitions, and funds. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this limited military presence worked reasonably well in a society where different domains of power and responsibility existed. In contrast to Nueva Vizcaya, for example, missionaries moved into much of Sonora well in advance of Spanish miners or ranchers. The Mayo and Yaqui River valleys, the Pimería Alta, parts of the Opatería—those regions were dominated to varying degrees by the Jesuit mission system before Spanish settlers secured a foothold. And while missionaries exploited Indian labor to produce surpluses to support the communities in their charge and to open new mission fields, they also fought to protect the corporate land base of Indian communities and to shield the natives from enslavement or flagrant abuses of the *repartimiento* labor draft system. The missions, therefore, served as imperfect buffers between the Native Americans and the Spanish frontiersmen who wanted their labor and their land.

At the same time, the Native Americans themselves were able to manipulate both civil and religious authorities to pursue some of their own goals. Those strategies occasionally backfired, as the Yaqui leaders Muni and Bernabé discovered in 1740 and Luis Oacpicagigua realized in 1752. Nevertheless, the deep divisions and pronounced philosophical differences between the Jesuits and many Spaniards helped create a more pluralistic society in Sinaloa-Sonora than in other regions of northern New Spain, at least for a time. It was a fragile and volatile pluralism—one based on the cultural and political subjugation of the Native Americans—but a pluralism nonetheless. And it rested upon the recognition that the power of the state had limitations in a society composed also of strong religious institutions and semiautonomous Indian communities.

By the mid-eighteenth century, that pluralism was eroding under the impact of increased Seri and Apache raiding, the growing rigidity of the mission system, the encroachment of Spanish miners and ranchers upon native communities, and the ideological absolutism of the Bourbon reforms. Apache depredations began in the late 1600s and grew progressively more intense as the spread of horses and fire-

arms revolutionized native North America in the following century.<sup>5</sup> In Sinaloa-Sonora, that external threat was aggravated by a series of internal ones—the growing restlessness of the Seris and Lower Pimas, the unexpected Yaqui Revolt of 1740, which spread to the Mayo and Fuerte River valleys,<sup>6</sup> and the Upper Pima rebellion of 1751.<sup>7</sup> This chain of resistance and reaction came to an early and ugly head with the inspection of Visitor General Rodríguez Gallardo, who proposed a series of “final solutions” to Sonora’s Indian problems in the late 1740s. Rather than solving those problems, however, Rodríguez Gallardo’s innovations resulted in the destruction of the brittle Seri mission program and the outbreak of bloody guerrilla warfare in central Sonora. The efforts of this early Bourbon reformer brought chaos, not order, to the northwestern frontier.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, the Spaniards came to rely less on missionization and more on militarization as a response to Indian resistance. Two new presidios—Pitic (fifty plazas) and Terrenate (fifty plazas)—were created in the aftermath of the Yaqui Revolt. Tubac (fifty plazas) joined the ranks in 1752, while the Sinaloa garrison, transferred to Altar by 1755, swelled from thirty to fifty positions. Within the space of a decade, then, the number of full-time soldiers in Sinaloa-Sonora more than tripled, from 80 to 250 presidiales. In the years to come, that trend would only accelerate with the expulsion of the Jesuits (1767), Domingo Elizondo’s campaign against the Seris (1767–1771),<sup>9</sup> the reform of the presidial system mandated by the Reglamento of 1772, and finally, the political reorganization of the entire northern frontier itself, beginning with the commandancy generalship of Teodoro de Croix in 1776.<sup>10</sup> The effective transformation of the presidial system into a coordinated fighting force did not really commence until the 1770s, after this study ends. The expansion of that system in Sinaloa-Sonora, however, occurred a generation earlier at a time when the old order, dominated by the Jesuit missions, was decaying in the northwest.

But to view presidios as military garrisons alone would be to overlook many of the other functions—intended or unintended—that they performed on a contested and sparsely populated frontier. First of all, presidios almost always served as the center around which a Spanish community of farmers and ranchers developed. Whether it was El Fuerte in northern Sinaloa or Tubac in southern Arizona, the creation or transfer of a presidial company drew settlers to a region by providing them with a local market for their products and a body of soldiers to de-

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5. Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men’s Worlds*.

6. Luis Navarro García, *La sublevación yaqui de 1740*; John D. Meredith, “The Yaqui Rebellion of 1740.”

7. Russell C. Ewing, “The Pima Uprising, 1751–1752.”

8. Thomas E. Sheridan, “Cross or Arrow?”

9. Donald W. Rowland, “The Elizondo Expedition against the Indian Rebels of Sonora 1765–1771.”

10. Max L. Moorhead, *The Presidio*, pp.75–94; David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, pp. 204–35.

fend them against hostile Indians. Two of the largest modern urban centers in the region—Hermosillo in Sonora and Tucson in Arizona—originated in just such a fashion.

Conversely, the ascendancy of Spanish presidial communities usually meant the decline of Native American communities living nearby. Most presidios were established near Indian settlements because permanent communities could be located only where there was an adequate supply of arable land near available irrigation water. Such locations in the semiarid Sonoran Desert were relatively rare—restricted to the floodplains of the few rivers or intermittent streams flowing through the region. What usually happened after the installation of a presidio, then, was the alienation of Indian land, the diversion of Indian water, the exploitation of Indian labor, and the eventual depopulation or assimilation of the Indians themselves. A brutal case in point was San Miguel de Horcasitas, which was situated between the two Seri missions of Pópulo and Los Angeles in 1749. Within a year of its founding, most Seris had either been deported to Central America or had fled to their refuges in the desert or on Tiburón Island because of Spanish abuses. Even when the process was not quite so ruthless or so rapid, similar patterns prevailed. In the Pimería Alta, for example, Altar, Tubac, and later Tucson nurtured small but vigorous Spanish settlements where Pimas had once flourished.<sup>11</sup> Upper Pimas became staunch allies of the Spaniards in their mutual war with the western Apaches, but whenever the two groups lived close together, the consequences were devastating for the O'odham.

Another major if unintentional function of many presidios was the control of labor. Because of Seri and Apache hostilities, Sonora was chronically short of people, especially ones who were willing to work on someone else's hacienda or mine. Consequently, labor, not land, became the critical factor of production in the region's rudimentary mining and agrarian economy. As the documents reveal, presidial commanders frequently forced not only Indians but their own soldiers to toil as miners, cowboys, or field-workers.<sup>12</sup> Captain Mateo Ramírez de Castro of Sinaloa employed his troops to extort corn from Indian communities and to sell it to neighboring mining camps during the 1670s. Agustín de Vildósola utilized Indian prisoners at Pitic to cultivate his orchard and fields and to make mescal during the 1740s. But the biggest scoundrel of them all was Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, who served as captain of the presidio of Fronteras from 1703 to 1726. Over his long career, Tuñón y Quirós discovered just about every conceivable way to exploit and corrupt the power of his office. He collected the salaries of vacant positions. He failed to provide his soldiers with necessary supplies. He dominated the *tapisques*, or Indian laborers, assigned under the repartimiento system. Above all, he coerced his own troops into herding his cattle, making charcoal, and laboring in his many mines.<sup>13</sup>

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11. Henry F. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*.

12. Susan M. Deeds, "Rural Work in Nueva Vizcaya."

13. Fay J. Smith, *Captain of the Phantom Presidio*.

The presidio, then, should never be understood simply in institutional terms. Its legal form did not always determine its actual functions. Its military mission was often subordinated to the private greed of individual commanders. Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera attempted to reduce corruption and standardize the operations of presidios across the northern frontier in the 1720s, but his reforms, encoded in the Reglamento of 1729, were not particularly effective.<sup>14</sup> As a result, presidios often operated in relative isolation from one another and from other sources of royal authority during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. It was a dangerous time, a time of transition, a time suspended between the northward expansion of the frontier during the 1600s and the final consolidation of the northwest during the last three decades of the 1700s. Patterns that crystallized later began to emerge in this unsettled period. Older patterns crumbled. Meanwhile, strong-willed and unscrupulous men like Tuñón y Quirós and Vildósola were able to carve out little fiefdoms for themselves, using their control over presidial soldiers and presidial finances as a source of political and economic as well as military power on a precarious frontier.

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14. Naylor and Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain, 1724–1729*.



## VI

### The Presidio of Sinaloa (1671-1704)

#### Abuses at the Presidio of Sinaloa, 1671

**L**ike most of the presidial companies of northern New Spain, the presidio of Sinaloa was created in response to Indian unrest in an area that had already been settled by Spanish frontiersmen. In the case of Sinaloa, the area was the Río Sinaloa country, where Spaniards from Culiacán had established the beleaguered little villa of San Felipe y Santiago in 1585. Nearly abandoned soon after its founding, San Felipe received an infusion of new blood when two Jesuit missionaries—Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez—arrived to work among the Indians living along the Río Sinaloa in 1591. On July 10, 1594, Tapia was murdered by a small group of disgruntled Indians who then fled north to the Río Zuaque. Following Tapia's death, rebellion spread throughout northern Sinaloa.

Fearing that they would be destroyed just as the settlements of San Juan Bautista de Carapoa (1564) and San Felipe y Santiago de Carapoa (1583) had been annihilated earlier, the Spaniards of San Felipe requested that a new presidio be established in their midst. Viceroy Luis de Velasco granted their petition and ordered the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Diego Fernández de Velasco, to provide the manpower to staff the new company. In January 1595, Captain Alonso Díaz and twenty-four soldiers arrived in San Felipe, after crossing the Sierra Madre Occidental from Durango. By 1598, the new company apparently numbered thirty-two plazas. That number had grown to forty-three by 1671.

From the very beginning, Sinaloa was one of the most isolated presidios on the northern frontier. Until the presidio of Fronteras was established in 1689, Sinaloa was the northwesternmost professional military company in New Spain—the only one charged with protecting the northwestern corridor into Sonora, California, and the Pimería Alta. Under their greatest captain—Diego Martínez de Hurdaiide—the Sinaloa soldiers pacified the largely Cáhita-speaking Indians of the Zuaque, Mayo, and Yaqui River valleys in the early 1600s. Then they were entrusted with maintaining peace and order in the missions and mining settlements of Ostimuri, Sonora, and later, the Pimería Alta itself. Finally, they were



supposed to guard the northern coasts of the Gulf of California. All in all, their task was formidable even by the impossible standards of the time.

The vastness of the territory they defended was responsible for the peregrinations of the soldiers themselves. During much of the seventeenth century, there was little need for a full garrison in San Felipe, so troops were constantly being stationed in other locations or sent on campaigns. The fortification of Montesclaros on the Río Zuaque — renamed the Río Fuerte because of the fort — quickly eclipsed San Felipe in importance as the Spaniards expanded into northern Sinaloa and southern Sonora. Even as late as 1671, twelve soldiers were supposed to be garrisoned there to watch over Sinaloa while the others attended to military matters throughout the rest of the region. That same year — the year the following document was written — the cabo of the Sinaloa presidio, Andrés de Buelna, and fifteen soldiers were far to the north mounting an expedition against the Seri Indians, small groups of hunter-gatherers who occupied the arid coasts of central Sonora. From very early in its existence, then, the presidio of Sinaloa was scattered throughout northwestern New Spain rather than remaining concentrated in the villa of San Felipe itself.

The presidio's isolation also accounted for another development: the political independence of its captain. The following document notes that Mateo Ramírez de Castro was both captain of the Sinaloa presidio and *alcalde mayor* — chief executive officer — of the province of Sinaloa. At least two of Ramírez de Castro's predecessors and one of his successors — Diego Martínez de Hurdaide (1600–1626), Pedro de Perea (1626–1630), and Isidro de Atondo y Antillón (1680–1686) — occupied both posts, which gave them civil and military authority over Sinaloa and often translated into authority over Sonora as well. Such power occasionally brought them into conflict with other elements of Spanish society on the northwestern frontier, especially the Jesuits, who viewed themselves as protectors of the Indians living in the missions of northern Sinaloa and Sonora. Conflict over Indian land and labor between the missionaries and secular Spaniards is one of the overarching themes in the colonial history of the northern frontier, a theme the document plays upon. Jesuits expressed similar concerns at much greater length on other occasions, arguing that the basic function of the presidio of Sinaloa was to protect the missionaries as they preached among the Indians. According to the Jesuits, the presidio was designed to assist — and be subordinate to — the missionization program. Hurdaide accepted this limitation upon his authority. Many of his successors, including Ramírez de Castro, clearly did not.

Finally, Sinaloa's isolation made it easy for a captain to abuse the power of his position. The Jesuits writing this document enumerated a number of ways in which Ramírez de Castro perverted the original functions of the presidio, utilizing presidial soldiers to further his own personal ends. Such examples of presidial corruption included (1) the employment of soldiers to collect corn from the Indians and sell it to the mines; (2) the brutal exploitation of Indian labor under the *encomienda* system, which caused many to flee their settlements; (3) the monopolization of trade in foodstuffs; and (4) the cheating of the presidial soldiers themselves.

This litany of misdeeds is a familiar one, repeated time and again throughout the history of the presidial system. Later in this section, we will encounter similar charges leveled against Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, captain of the pre-

*sidio of Fronteras. Abuses of power were endemic along the northern frontier, especially in areas where labor was scarce and distance from higher authorities great. The union between presidio and mission—the two most important colonial institutions in the northwest—was a union as fragile as the personalities involved. In some cases, presidial captains such as Hurdaide and Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder endeavored to support the missionaries. In other cases, the fundamental structural opposition between presidial captains and missionaries weakened or destroyed the union, turning mission and presidio against each other in the ongoing struggle to control Indian land and labor along the northwestern frontier.*

*The following document, which presents the Jesuits' point of view, is part of a much lengthier struggle over Indian labor in Sinaloa. Also in 1671, Padre Jacinto Cortés, missionary at Tehueco and one of the co-signers of the following letter, pressured the Protector of the Indians Francisco de Luque to prevent the captain of the presidio and his soldiers from removing Indians from their pueblo and forcing them to work without pay. A year later, in November 1672, Luque journeyed to Guadalajara with three Indians from Mocorito to file a lengthy protest against abuses of Indian labor before the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Interestingly enough, Luque accused the missionaries as well as the captain and the settlers of Sinaloa of treating the Indians as slaves and forcing them to work in mission fields without pay.*

*The audiencia responded by commissioning a residencia (official review) of Ramírez de Castro. On December 24, 1672, the fiscal real Fernando de Haro y Monterroso also prepared a royal proviso ordering everyone, including the missionaries, to pay 2½ reales daily to any Indian who worked for them. This economic threat to the economy of both the missions and the Sinaloa settlers triggered a bitter polemic that dragged on for years and involved the Jesuits, civil officials, and settlers of Sonora as well.*

Report of our missionaries to the viceroy concerning the abuses of the Indians at the hands of the captain of the presidio of Sinaloa.



our Excellency,

We have found it necessary to bring to your attention the many disorders in the presidio of Sinaloa and the repeated abuses that these miserable Indians suffer at the hands of the captain who governs them. We therefore appeal to your excellency to remedy these disorders and to protect the Indians. So defenseless to begin with, they are even more so now because the captain who should protect them in the name of his majesty is the one who bothers and oppresses them most. The only refuge left to these wretched Indians is to go to their ministers with their grievances and troubles. But since their ministers cannot ease their suffering or curb the injustices committed against them, these same ministers appeal to your excellency. They do so seeking only the will of our Lord God and the utility of his majesty, the conversion of the gentiles, and the preservation of this Christian flock that is under their care.

His majesty spends many thousands of pesos each year on the presidio of Sinaloa so that its captain and his soldiers will inspect the province and its divi-

sions. During the time of Captain Don Mateo Ramírez de Castro,<sup>1</sup> however, the presidio has been reduced to an *alcaldía mayor*. He has solicited this office in Guadiana<sup>2</sup> only in order to attend to his own business and seek his own profits with greater power and jurisdiction. These days, he has nearly the entire presidio occupied in collecting corn and delivering it to the mines. His *cabo* passes through the *pueblos* gathering corn without caring whether the Indians have enough to live peacefully in their towns and or to support their churches. Because of the forced scarcity of food in town, the Indians must search for it in the wilderness, forsaking their Christian doctrine and failing to attend church.

At the present time, the *cabo* is out with a squad of soldiers. This leaves the presidio of Montesclaros<sup>3</sup> with only one soldier, even though twelve men are supposed to be stationed there to watch over the province. The soldier is alone because the rest of the men are with the *cabo* searching for corn among Christians and gentiles, abandoning the presidio to which they are appointed.

The *cabo* serves as collector of corn and overseer of the captain's mule herd. The soldiers serve as muleteers, gathering up the corn and transporting it to sell in the mines. Other soldiers are occupied on other private errands such as looking for and confiscating hens for the captain. Thus, his majesty at royal expense is paying for the captain's servants.

The captain cares so little about the presidio that through playing cards (the captain's usual occupation) he has won horses, mules, and other military supplies from the soldiers. And making sure that the soldiers have what is necessary for such occasions, he never misses a chance to win their salaries as well. Hence the captain is not attending to his majesty's service or to the welfare of the presidio. Last year, the captain won 500 pesos from a soldier holding the office of *caudillo* at the fort of Montesclaros;<sup>4</sup> recently he won ten mules from the same man along with the leather armor with which he should serve the king. Neglect of military equipment is so great that today there is hardly a soldier able to go out on campaign. Moreover, muster roll is never called, as if the main drill of a presidio is not to see whether the soldiers are taking care of their weapons.

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1. Mateo de Castro was captain of the presidio of Sinaloa from 1671 to 1680.

2. Guadiana was the colonial name for the modern city of Durango.

3. In 1604, Captain Diego Martínez de Hurdaide traveled to Mexico City to secure permission to establish a fortification on the Río Zuaque. Viceroy Juan de Mendoza, the Marqués de Montesclaros, approved Hurdaide's request and also provided funds for the fort. Because of Indian rebellions, construction was suspended until March 1610, and not completed until August 1616. Nevertheless, Montesclaros became an important military outpost—so important, in fact, that the Río Zuaque came to be known as the Río Fuerte. Montesclaros was never a separate and independent presidio, however. On the contrary, the soldiers stationed there always belonged to the presidio of Sinaloa. The term "presidio de Montesclaros" indicates that the Spaniards themselves occasionally confused a presidio—in essence, a company of professional soldiers—with a *fuerte*—an actual fortification located in a particular place.

4. Here Montesclaros is described as a *fuerte*. Montesclaros's subordinate status to the presidio of Sinaloa is further indicated by the designation of its commander as a *caudillo*. The term *caudillo*, which means military or political leader, never referred to a specific rank in the Spanish military.

If your excellency sent an inspector to the presidio, he would confirm the truth of our reports. Misdeeds concerning salaries as well as the appointment of soldiers would be clearly seen: who fills the vacancies while they are still in the name of someone else who has died or left; whether the captain pockets the entire salary of a soldier while the position is held under the name of an Indian who serves him; how many presidial positions the captain uses for his own benefit.

The most offensive thing about all this is that the soldiers are continually going and coming in the service of the captain. Yet if the missionaries of Sonora ask the presidial troops to make an inspection there in order to keep the Christian and gentile Indians from killing one another (as their father visitor personally requested last year) the captain responds that he will do so only if the priests provide room and board for his troops. Even after the missionaries promised to assist in all possible ways, however, the presidial force has not left the villa [of Sinaloa]. Hence the captain and the soldiers live in continual idleness throughout the year.

Now because of the captain, their *alcalde mayor*, the ill-treatment of these poor Indians has increased. The captain sent the *cabo* as his *teniente de alcalde* to travel through the towns and order every Indian to pay an almud of corn each visit.<sup>5</sup> If an Indian does not have the corn himself, he is told to purchase it in order to give it to the *cabo*.

The captain also has appointed himself *encomendero* of the towns of Macori and Sivirijoa, located at a distance of five leagues from the fort.<sup>6</sup> This year he removed the Indians from their towns by force and sent them to sow his cornfield fifteen leagues away. The captain not only did not pay them for this, he did not feed them either. A soldier who accompanied the Indians declares that one of them fainted from hunger while working, work which lasted for five months. Drudgery is continuous for the two Indian communities, who are sent to the fort to work for weeks without being paid for their labor. Witnessing and experiencing so many abuses, these and other Indians therefore abandon their towns and go to live among the gentiles. And the gentiles, hearing the reasons for their flight, do not want to become Christians so they can avoid being subjected to the Spaniards, who cause so much harm to the baptized Indians.

Finally, the greed of the captain is so great that, seeing the value of corn these past years, he has ordered the towns not to sell corn to anyone but him. For that reason, he has gathered up the corn because he wants it for the soldiers who are serving his majesty. If a soldier asks for corn, the captain answers that a fanega

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5. The almud, a dry measure frequently used in relation to agricultural produce such as corn or beans, is a notoriously difficult measure to define. The measure usually is equivalent to five liters, but varies not only from state to state in Mexico, but from municipio to municipio as well.

6. In general, the *encomienda*—a system whereby a certain group or community of Indians was obliged to provide tribute or labor to an *encomendero*—was not as important an institution in northern New Spain as it was in central Mexico. Nonetheless, there were a number of regions where *encomiendas* were locally widespread, including seventeenth-century New Mexico and Sinaloa, especially in the vicinity of Culiacán. Macori, located two leagues south of Montesclaros, and Sivirijoa, located five leagues south, were pueblos of Cáhita-speaking Tehueco Indians along the Río Fuerte.

costs 12 pesos if deducted from the soldier's salary but only one marco (8½ pesos) if paid for in silver. And since they don't have silver, the soldiers go with the captain's permission to the mining towns to look for it. Consequently they abandon the presidio to search for silver for the captain.

Such is the presidio's present state of affairs. Such are the occupations of the captain, cabo, and soldiers. Such are the hardships, abuses, and oppression suffered by these poor natives. Such is the sorrow of their ministers who witness their afflictions yet cannot find a remedy to so much injury there. Confident that they will find such help in your excellency, however, they turn to you to correct these disorders and to relieve these poor Indians of so much oppression. The prudence and justice of your excellency will remedy everything, and we will be forever grateful to you. Sinaloa, January 25, 1671.

Most excellent lord,  
the humble servants and chaplains of your excellency kiss your hand.

Pedro de Maya,<sup>7</sup> vice-rector of the colegio de Sinaloa

Jacinto Cortés,<sup>8</sup> commissioner of the Holy Office

Alvaro Flores de Sierra,<sup>9</sup> Gonzalo Navarro<sup>10</sup>

Tomás Hidalgo,<sup>11</sup> Juan Bautista de Ancieta<sup>12</sup>

Domingo de Treto,<sup>13</sup> Antonio de Urquiza<sup>14</sup>

*From the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda 972, no. 1.*

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7. Pedro de Maya, S.J. (1632–1677) was born in Parras, Coahuila. Educated at the Jesuit *colegio* of San Ildefonso in Mexico City, he was assigned to the Sinaloa missions in the early 1660s. As vice-rector of the Jesuit colegio in San Felipe during the early 1670s, he was one of the leaders in the struggle between the missionaries and the civil-military authorities over the use and control of Indian labor in Sinaloa. During the course of this struggle, both sides accused the other of exploiting the Indians and treating them as virtual slaves.

8. Jacinto Cortés, S.J. (1598–1675?) was born in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz), Spain. He arrived in New Spain in 1622 and was assigned to the Sinaloa missions in 1629, accompanying Captain Luis Castán de Cañas to Baja California in 1642. He was visitor of the Jesuit missions in Sinaloa in 1650.

9. Alvaro Flores de Sierra, S.J. (1620–1673) was born in Pachuca in what is now the state of Hidalgo, Mexico. By the early 1660s, he was working in the Sinaloa missions, where he served as visitor from 1671 until his death in 1673.

10. Gonzalo Navarro, S.J. (1622–1695) was born in Zacatecas. By the early 1660s, he was working in the Sinaloa missions, serving as rector of the colegio of Sinaloa from 1667 to 1671. He was visitor of the Sinaloa and Sonora missions from 1674 until 1677, dying at the mission of Baca in Sinaloa nearly two decades later.

11. Tomás Hidalgo, S.J. (1624–1678) was born in Colima, Mexico. In 1654 he was assigned to the missions of the Sierra, passing from there to Sinaloa the following year. During the 1660s and early 1670s, he worked among the Yaqui Indians at Potam and Rahum. He was visitor of the Sinaloa and Sonora missions from 1677 until his death the following year.

12. Less is known about Juan Bautista Ancieta, S.J., than many of the other Jesuit missionaries in Sinaloa. He was working in the Sinaloa missions during the 1670s, and was visitor

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**xcelentísimo señor,  
 Son tantos los desórdenes que se ven en el presidio de Sinaloa y tan repetidas las vejaciones que estos miserables indios reciben del capitán que lo gobierna, que hemos juzgado conveniente recurrir a vuestra excelencia, así para el remedio de los desórdenes del presidio, como para el amparo de los indios, que siendo tan indefensos lo están hoy más, pues el que los había de amparar en nombre de su majestad es el que más los molesta y con mayores vejaciones los aflige. No les queda a los miserables otro refugio que el de sus ministros, a quienes acuden con sus quejas y a quienes cuentan sus desconsuelos, y como éstos no puedan poner el remedio que pide el desahogo con que se obra, ni refrenar las injusticias con que se procede, acuden a vuestra excelencia, mirando en esto sólo el agrado de Dios Nuestro Señor y el servicio de su majestad, conversión de los gentiles y conservación de esta cristiandad que está a su cuidado.

El presidio de Sinaloa donde gasta su majestad muchos millares de pesos cada año para que el capitán y sus soldados visite la provincia y divisiones; y en tiempo del capitán don Mateo Ramírez de Castro se ha reducido a alcaldía mayor, oficio que pretendió en Guadiana sólo por atender con mayor potestad a sus conveniencias y solicitar sus granjerías. Tiene hoy ocupado casi todo el presidio en rescates de maíces y envíos a las minas. El cabo anda por los pueblos rescatando el maíz sin atender que los indios lo tengan para que vivan con sosiego en sus pueblos y acudan a sus iglesias, que forzosamente faltándoles el sustento en el pueblo, lo han de buscar en los montes que desamparar la doctrina y faltar a la iglesia.

Al presente anda el cabo con una escuadra de soldados, dejando el presidio de Montesclaros su fuerza con sólo un soldado, donde está mandado que asistan doce en orden a mirar por la provincia. Ahora sólo asiste uno, porque los demás andan con el cabo buscando maíces entre cristianos y gentiles, desamparando el presidio para donde están destinados.

El cabo sirve de rescatador y mayordomo de la recua del capitán, los soldados sirven de arrieros para sacar los maíces y llevarlos a vender a las minas, otros soldados se ocupan en rescatar y buscar gallinas para el capitán y en otros mandados particulares suyos, con que su majestad a su real costa le tiene pagados criados que le sirvan.

Y es tan poco el cuidado que se tiene con el presidio, que con los naipes (ocupación ordinaria del capitán) ha ganado a los soldados, caballos, mulas y otras alhajas pertenecientes a la milicia, y habiendo de poner cuidado en que no falte a los soldados lo necesario para las ocasiones, ninguna pierde en que pueda ganarles

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from 1681 to 1684. In many of the documents his name is spelled Anchieta, even though he did not spell it that way.

13. Domingo de Treto, S.J. (1638–1680) was born in Zacatecas. By 1669, he was working among the Yaquis, and from 1671 to 1675, he was missionary at Topia.

14. Antonio de Urquiza, S.J. (1638–1724) was born in Bilbao, Spain, and was sent to the Sinaloa missions soon after he was ordained. He spent the rest of his life there, dying in Ocoroni at the age of eighty-six.

sus sueldos, sin atender al servicio de su majestad y bien del presidio. A un soldado que hace oficio de caudillo en el fuerte de Montesclaros le ganó el año pasado quinientos pesos y ahora diez mulas y la cuera con que había de servir al rey. Hoy apenas hay soldado que pueda salir a campaña, tal es el descuido que hay en que tengan todos los pertrechos necesarios. Jamás se hacen muestras, como si no fuera el principal ejercicio de un presidio para saber si los soldados cuidan de sus armas.

Y si vuestra excelencia enviase un visitador que visitara el presidio, se enteraría de todo y de la verdad con que le informamos. Se vieran con claridad las faltas así en las pagas como en el nombramiento de los soldados y quién se lleva las vacantes mientras se señala quién entre en la plaza del que murió o salió, si el capitán se lleva todo el sueldo de un soldado plaza, que tiene suprimida, que está en nombre de un indio que le sirve y cuantas plazas tiene ocupadas en su servicio.

Y lo que más lástima es que teniendo soldados para que estén continuamente sirviendo al capitán yendo y viniendo, si los padres de Sonora piden (como lo han pedido, que el padre visitador personalmente el año pasado) que pase el presidio a Sonora para hacer una visita y remediar muchos desórdenes, así de los cristianos, que se pasan a los gentiles, como de éstos en matar a los ya convertidos, responde el capitán que como los padres lo sustenten y den a los soldados lo necesario, saldrá. Y siendo así que se le prometió que ayudarían los misioneros en lo que pudiesen, no ha salido de la villa. Y así se están capitán y soldados todo el año en un perpetuo descuido y viven en una continua ociosidad.

Hoy con su alcalde mayor se le han aumentado a estos pobres indios las vejaciones. Envió al cabo por su teniente de alcalde para que visite los pueblos, y manda que cada indio le pague de visita un almud de maíz, que el que no lo hubiere, que lo compre para darlo.

Hace constituido encomendero de los pueblos de Macori y Sivirijoa que están cinco leguas del fuerte. Sacólos con violencia este año, 15 leguas de sus pueblos, para que le sembrasen una sementera de maíz que esto no sólo sin pagarles, sino ni aún darles qué comer, y certifica un soldado que asistía a los indios, que hubo alguno que de hambre se cayó desmayado, trabajo que se continuó por cinco meses. Tarea tienen continuo estos dos pueblos de los indios, que se envían al fuerte a servir por semanas sin pagarles su trabajo. Y viendo y experimentando éstos y otros indios de los otros pueblos tantas vejaciones, desamparan sus pueblos y se van a vivir entre los gentiles. Estos, oyendo las causas de la fuga, no quieren ser cristianos por no estar sujetos a los españoles que tanto mal hacen a los bautizados.

Finalmente, es tal la codicia del capitán que viendo que estos años ha tenido valor el maíz, ha mandado en los pueblos que no se venda a otro que a él el maíz porque lo quiere para los soldados que están sirviendo a su majestad y con esta cepa se ha cogido los maíces. Que si algún soldado llega a pedir maíz responde que si ha de ser por el sueldo ha de ser la fanega por doce pesos, pero que con plata efectiva será a marco. Y no teniéndola los soldados se van con licencia del capitán a buscarle la plata a los reales de minas, faltando del presidio para buscar plata para su capitán.

Este es el estado que hoy tiene el presidio, ésta la ocupación del capitán, cabo y soldados, éstas las molestias, vejaciones y agravios que reciben estos pobres naturales, ésta la pena con que viven sus ministros por ver sus aflicciones y no hallar acá remedio para tanto daño. Y así confiados que hallarán en vuestra excelencia el remedio, acuden a vuestra excelencia para que se corrijan estos desórdenes, para

que estos pobres salgan de tanta opresión, con que todo quedará con la mucha prudencia y justicia de vuestra excelencia remediado y nosotros eternamente agradecidos. Sinaloa 25 de enero de 1671.

Excelentísimo señor  
menores servidores y capellanes de vuestra excelencia quienes  
su mano besan.

Pedro de Maya, vice-rector del colegio de Sinaloa  
Jacinto Cortés, comisario del santo oficio  
Alvaro Flores de Sierra, Gonzalo Navarro  
Tomás Hidalgo, Juan Bautista Ancieta  
Domingo de Treto, Antonio de Urquiza



## The Soldiers of the Presidio of Sinaloa Request an Increase in Salary, 1704

*One of the most common threads in the history of northern New Spain was the inadequacy of presidial salaries. In 1582, a little more than a decade before the founding of the Sinaloa presidio, the annual salary of a presidial captain was raised to 600 pesos while a maximum of 350 pesos was established for common soldiers. Even then, however, experienced frontiersmen believed that 1,000 pesos a year barely covered expenses, especially since soldiers had to provide their own mounts and weapons. Presidial soldiers were often poorly equipped and unable to fulfill their military responsibilities because their salaries were so low.*

*Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the salary given the soldiers of the other presidios mentioned in the documents—450 pesos a year—is higher than the figures given by Brigadier Pedro de Rivera in his famous inspection two decades later. According to Rivera, soldiers from the presidios of Pasaje, El Gallo, Cerrogordo, and Conchos were making 350 pesos a year in the mid-1720s. Rivera recommended that their salaries be increased to 365 pesos. At the same time, he recommended that the soldiers of El Paso and Janos (formerly Casas Grandes) be paid 400 pesos a year, presumably because they were stationed farther north along the dangerous borders of the Apachería. Either the authors were exaggerating the salaries of the other garrisons in order to strengthen their own case, or presidial salaries were cut at some point between 1705 and Rivera's visit.*

*The other major theme that emerges is the bureaucratic and hierarchical nature of Spanish decision making, especially in regard to royal finances. The soldiers petitioned for a salary increase on April 24, 1702. The viceroy requested the fiscal of the Audiencia of Mexico to investigate the matter, and the fiscal, with uncharacteristic alacrity, recommended the increase be granted on June 21 of the same year. Several weeks later, on July 3, the junta de hacienda provisionally approved the increase, ordering the royal officials of Guadalajara to issue an advance of 450 pesos to each soldier. The matter then had to be referred to Madrid, however, for a final decision by the king—a decision the king did not make until March 4, 1705. In other words, even though the highest officials of New Spain approved the request of the Sinaloa soldiers within three months of the original petition, royal confirmation did not take place until nearly two more years had elapsed. Meanwhile, the soldiers had to pledge to return their provisional increase in case the king did not approve the actions of his ministers in Mexico City.*

**S**

ir,  
The soldiers of the presidio of Sinaloa in Nueva Vizcaya, composed of forty-three men at arms, inform your majesty that they have told the viceroy they cannot support themselves on the low salary they receive—315 pesos a year.

The root of their problem stems from the fact that this presidio—400 leagues from the capital—is the most distant from Mexico City.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the soldiers are responsible for providing their own uniforms, ammunition, and arms, all of which must be transported from Mexico City. They also have to maintain ten, twelve, or fourteen horses.

The presidio of Sinaloa is considered the oldest and most important because of its proximity to the many Indian nations that continually invade these provinces throughout the year. As a result of these repeated rebellions, the soldiers campaign year-round with their weapons in hand, experiencing neither rest nor relief. In contrast, many other presidios defending the kingdom of Parral—El Paso del Río del Norte, Cerrogordo, Cuéncame, El Gallo, Casas Grandes, and Conchos—are closer to Mexico City, affording greater comfort and convenience.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, each soldier enjoys a salary of 450 pesos a year. The petitioners from Sinaloa therefore requested that their salaries be adjusted to match those received by the soldiers of the presidios mentioned above. If this is not done, the soldiers will not be able to serve in Sinaloa. Instead, they will transfer to other presidios, as they have in the past.

After reviewing their petition, the viceroy sent it on to the fiscal of the Audiencia of Mexico.<sup>3</sup> The fiscal examined the arguments presented by the petitioners and decided that it was necessary to grant their requests in order to continue their services to your majesty. He also called a meeting of the junta de hacienda attended by the viceroy, *oidores*, *fiscal*, *alcaldes de corte*, *contadores mayores*,

1. This statement is clearly an exaggeration, since the presidios of Janos (formerly Casas Grandes), El Paso, Fronteras, and Santa Fe were farther from Mexico than the presidio of Sinaloa, at least when it was stationed in the villa of San Felipe y Santiago. Travel up the western corridor of New Spain could be considerably more difficult and time consuming, because both the Sierra Madre Occidental and the rivers of the narrow coastal plain had to be crossed. Nonetheless, by the early 1700s, Sinaloa no longer was the most isolated presidio in northern New Spain.

2. The “kingdom of Parral” was the *reino* of Nueva Vizcaya, the mining and commercial center of Parral being its administrative headquarters. With the exception of Cerrogordo, which was founded in 1645 in response to the widespread depredations of the Toboso Indians, the other presidios mentioned here—Río del Norte (1683), Cuéncame (really the presidio of Pasaje, 1685), El Gallo (1685), Conchos (1685), and Casas Grandes (1686, moved to Janos the same year)—were all founded to protect the northern frontier of New Spain from a series of Indian rebellions that began with the famous Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico in 1680. A certain standardization among these presidios therefore existed because they came into being at approximately the same time. The dates above are the years when the king authorized the creation of those garrisons. In most cases, their actual establishment occurred several months later (Naylor and Polzer *PRESIDIO 1*).

3. The viceroy in question, later referred to as the “archbishop viceroy,” was Juan de Ortega y Montañés (1627–1708), a Spaniard who arrived in New Spain in 1670. He was elevated to the *mitre* in 1676, serving as archbishop of Mexico City from 1700 to 1708. He also served as viceroy on two different occasions: February 27, 1696–February 2, 1697, and November 4, 1701–December 28, 1702. As viceroy, he was head of the Viceregal Audiencia of Mexico. The fiscal—of which there were two, one civil and one criminal, assigned to the audiencia—issued legal opinions on affairs brought before the viceroy and the audiencia. He also audited fiscal matters in New Spain.

and other royal officials.<sup>4</sup> By common consent, all those in attendance voted to grant the petitioners' request subject to your majesty's approval.

The junta therefore asks that your majesty<sup>5</sup> approve the increase in salary so that the petitioners can continue in your royal service. They await the mercy of your kindness and support.

Don Ventura de Pinedo

**T**he fiscal reviewed the memo and its enclosed testimony presented on behalf of the soldiers of the presidio of Sinaloa in the district and province of Nueva Vizcaya. He then confirmed that on April 24, 1702, the soldiers of this presidio stated to the viceroy that a salary of 315 pesos was very low. When the presidio was first founded, the amount sufficed because food was not as scarce. Moreover, it did not cost as much to provide clothing, arms, and ammunition for themselves, and to maintain the ten, twelve, or fourteen horses necessary for constant campaigning and the transport of supplies. At present, however, it is impossible for the soldiers to avail themselves of such necessities because their incomes are not sufficient.

In the other presidios of the province such as El Paso del Río del Norte, Cerrigordo, Cuécame, Conchos, Casas Grandes, and El Gallo, each soldier receives a salary of 450 pesos per year. The presidio of Sinaloa lies farther from Mexico City and is exposed to as many risks as those faced by the more recently founded presidios mentioned. The soldiers of Sinaloa therefore request that they receive the same salary. If this does not happen, these soldiers will not be able to fulfill their duties in the royal service and will transfer to the newer presidios.

The archbishop viceroy ordered this petition to be examined by the fiscal of the audiencia. Despite the penury of the royal treasury, and in light of the circumstances mentioned above, the fiscal argued that the salaries of the soldiers at Sinaloa should match those of the other presidios in his reply of June 21, 1702. In particular, he cited the frequent hostilities of the rebel Indians there. A meeting of the junta de hacienda was then called. It was attended by the archbishop viceroy, some of the oidores, the alcaldes de corte, contadores de cuenta, and other royal officials.

On July 3, 1702, by common consent, the royal officials in Guadalajara were ordered to issue an advance payment of 450 pesos per year to each soldier of the presidio.<sup>6</sup> The increase will provide the soldiers with the same salary as their counterparts in the other presidios and will allow them to meet their expenses

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4. The junta superior de la real hacienda, composed of the viceroy, members of the audiencia, and treasury officials, was the highest advisory council regarding fiscal affairs in New Spain. It supervised the final auditing of treasury income and expenditures as well.

5. Felipe V (1700–1724; 1724–1746).

6. The "royal officials in Guadalajara" in this case refers to officials of the royal treasury located in Guadalajara, not to members of the Audiencia of Guadalajara itself.

for horses, arms, and ammunition. The soldiers will be required to give a pledge of good faith that in case they die, the appropriate portion of their advance will be returned. The resolution will be in effect for a period of only three years. During this time, the soldiers of the presidio must appeal to his majesty to approve and confirm the resolution or to determine whether it would not be in his best interest to continue this grant. The soldiers must also pledge to return the funds in case his majesty does not approve the increase.

The soldiers of the presidio request that the decision of the junta de hacienda be approved, because this improvement will enable them to go on with their duties. Furthermore, they defend at even greater length their previous claims and arguments. The fiscal should note that all the ministers of Mexico City approved this resolution. It should also be noted that the security of New Spain depends upon this presidio and the others of Nueva Vizcaya for protection against the rebel Indians who with great frequency plan and carry out atrocities.

In order for this counsel to be of service, all these arguments should be brought to the attention of his majesty in order that he confirm the recommendations of the archbishop viceroy and his ministers. This is especially true in regard to the salary advances that will supply the soldiers of these presidios with arms and ammunition. For sustenance as well as for war, they run into debt. Without money in hand, it is not easy to prepare what is needed for a campaign. In order to ensure the best protection, this resolution should be extended. Royal officials should also be advised that each year all the people of the presidio must agree to return unexpended salaries so that a proper allowance can be made the following year. Madrid, July 21, 1704.

*Archivo General de Indias, México 970. Reproduced from a copy in the Colección Pastells, Vol. 22, Razón y Fe Library, Madrid, on microfilm at the American Division, Jesuit Historical Institute, University of Arizona.*

#### THE KING

**D**uke of Albuquerque, president and lord of the chamber, my viceroy, etc. On behalf of the soldiers of the presidio of Sinaloa, in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, it has been reported to me that the number of men at arms in the presidio is forty-three. Being unable to maintain themselves with the given salary of 315 pesos, the soldiers have approached the interim archbishop viceroy of those provinces with a request for an increase of salary. The soldiers presented all their arguments, including the fact that the soldiers from the presidios of El Paso del Río del Norte, Cerro gordo, Cuéncame, El Gallo, Casas Grandes, Conchos, and many others enjoy a salary of 450 pesos each. Those garrisons are located at a much shorter distance from Mexico City, which makes it easier to procure equipment and ammunition. Various officials examined this petition in the junta de hacienda and agreed to grant the request.

As a result, the archbishop viceroy ordered the royal treasury of Guadalajara to pay each one of the soldiers in the presidio of Sinaloa 450 pesos a year. This will enable each soldier to provide himself with arms, ammunition, and horses,

as do the soldiers of the other presidios. In case I do not approve this decision, the soldiers must pledge to return the increase above their original salary. A three-year term was approved for the determination of this petition.

The soldiers have approved and confirmed the decision of the junta de hacienda and the order given by the archbishop viceroy. They ask that salary disbursements be continued in the same amount and in accordance with the resolution agreed to by the junta and the viceroy.

With my endorsement the resolution was examined by the junta de guerra<sup>7</sup> in the presence of my fiscal. Having been consulted on the matter, I confirm and approve the resolution taken by the interim archbishop viceroy of those provinces. Each of the soldiers of the presidio of Sinaloa will be paid 450 pesos a year—the same amount given to the soldiers of the other presidios mentioned above. I therefore order that the necessary measures be taken to put the resolution into effect and that the joint pledge of restitution given while the request was being considered be canceled. Because this salary will always be paid one year in advance, however, the soldiers must promise each year to return any money that does not rightfully accrue to them. Such is my determination. My accountants at the Council of the Indies and royal officials of Mexico City and Guadalajara should therefore take note. Done in Madrid, March 4, 1705.

*Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 75.  
Reproduced from a copy in the Colección Pastells, Vol. 23.*

#### DOCUMENTOS ORIGINALES

**S**eñor,  
Los soldados del presidio de Sinaloa en la Nueva Vizcaya, cuya dotación se compone de 43 plazas, dicen a vuestra majestad que habiendo representado al virrey la moral imposibilidad en que se hallaban de mantenerse con el sueldo tan corto de 315 pesos que tenían al año, a causa de ser este presidio el más distante de México, por haber 400 leguas, y ser de la obligación de los soldados vestirse, amunicionarse, y armarse y mantener 10, 12 y 14 caballos cada uno, habiendo de conducirse los vestuarios y municiones desde México.

Y concurriendo en este presidio el ser más antiguo e importante por la continuación de invasiones que tiene todo el año, respecto de ser confinante de muchas naciones de indios, como lo acredita la repetición de sublevaciones que ha habido, de forma que todo el año están en campaña, con las armas en la mano sin que experimenten alivio ni descanso alguno. Y habiendo otros muchos presidios, como son El Paso del Río del Norte, el Cerrogordo, Cuéncame, El Gallo, Casas Grandes y Conchos, antemurales del reino del Parral, y otros muchos, todos en

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7. The junta de guerra de Indias was a committee of the Council of the Indies—the royal organization charged with overseeing all the affairs of the Americas. It was composed of the president and three councilors of the council itself, as well as four members of the *consejo de guerra* of Castile. The junta de guerra supervised all aspects of military and naval affairs regarding the Americas, including military finances.

menos distancia de México, y con más conveniencias, y que goza cada soldado 450 pesos al año, pidieron los suplicantes se les igualase con ellos. Pues de otra manera no habría quién sirviese en Sinaloa, y se irían a los presidios expresados como lo tenía acreditado la experiencia.

En vista de cuya representación mandó el virrey dar traslado al fiscal de la audiencia de México, quien reconociendo las razones que asistían a los suplicantes, fue de sentir era preciso concederles lo que pedían, pues redundaba en servicio de vuestra majestad. Con cuyo dictamen mandó formar junta de hacienda en que concurrió el virrey, oidores, fiscal, alcaldes de corte, contadores mayores, oficiales reales. Y todos de conformidad votaron debía concederse a los suplicantes lo que pedían, con calidad de llevar aprobación de vuestra majestad, como más por menor consta del testimonio que presentan en cuya atención.

Suplican a vuestra majestad se sirva mandar aprobar la resolución en el acrecentamiento y paga del salario, según y cómo en ella se contiene para que los suplicantes puedan continuar el real servicio de vuestra majestad de cuya benignidad y justificación esperan recibir merced.

Don Ventura de Pinedo

**E**l fiscal, con vista de este memorial presentado por parte de los soldados del presidio de Sinaloa del distrito de la provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya, y testimonio que le acompaña. Dice que en 24 de abril de 1702 se representó, por la gente de este presidio al arzobispo virrey de México, ser muy moderado el sueldo de 315 pesos de cada una de las plazas de soldado. Y que aunque en los principios de la fundación del presidio alcanzaba esta cantidad, presentemente era imposible por faltar las conveniencias de que entonces se aprovecharan. Y no ser tanta la carestía de frutos y de vestuario, armarse, y municionarse y mantener 10, 12 y 14 caballos cada uno de los soldados para asistir en el campo a las continuas funciones que en él se ofrecían y para el transporte de sus bagajes.

Y que en otros presidios de aquella provincia, como eran los de El Paso del Río del Norte, el Cerrogordo, Cuéncame y Conchos, Casas Grandes y el Gallo, percibía cada uno de los soldados 450 pesos al año. Y que hallándose Sinaloa en mayor distancia de México, y expuesta la gente del presidio a no menores riesgos que en cada uno de los ya referidos, los cuales eran de fundaciones modernas, se les debía asistir con el mismo sueldo, pues de otra forma no podían cumplir enteramente con lo que era de su obligación en el real servicio: y se pasaría la gente a los presidios modernos.

Mandó el arzobispo virrey se diese vista de esta pretensión al fiscal de la audiencia. Y en su respuesta del 21 de junio de 1702 propuso que, atento a ser constantes las razones mencionadas, se debía igualar el sueldo con él de los demás presidios, sin embargo de la estrechez de real hacienda. Y que era muy notorio la frecuente hostilidad que cada día hacían los indios rebeldes en él y en junta de hacienda, en que concurrió el arzobispo virrey, y algunos oidores, y alcaldes de corte, y contadores de cuentas y los oficiales reales.

Se resolvió de común acuerdo, en el día 3 de julio de 1702, se librase despacho para que oficiales reales de Guadalajara pagasen cada año a cada uno de los soldados del presidio, a razón de 450 pesos adelantados, para que se pudiesen

mantenerse y tener la prevención necesaria de caballos, armas y municiones que en los demás presidios, dándose fianza de mancomunidad de restituir lo que no se devengase de pagas adelantadas, en caso que falleciese algún soldado. Y que esta resolución de la asistencia de sueldo en esta cantidad sólo sirviese por el tiempo de tres años, dentro de los cuales los soldados del presidio hubiesen de ocurrir a su majestad para que apruebe y confirme o determine lo que fuese de su mayor agrado y servicio, sobre si se había de continuar o no esta asignación y crecimiento, dándose también fianza de restituirle en caso que no se aprobase por su majestad.

Suplican los soldados de este presidio se apruebe todo lo determinado en junta de hacienda, para que con este alivio puedan continuar su mérito, y deducen con mayor extensión todas las razones y motivos ya expresados. Y debe representar el fiscal, que siendo como es esta resolución tan de común acuerdo de todos los ministros de México, y siendo también constante al consejo el que de este presidio y de los demás de la Nueva Vizcaya pende la seguridad de la Nueva España de los indios rebeldes, que con gran frecuencia intentan y ejecutan atrocidades.

Parece que si el consejo fuere servido, se deberán poner en la noticia de su majestad todas estas razones, para que se confirme lo obrado por el arzobispo virrey y más ministros. Y en lo tocante a los sueldos adelantados que se satisfacen a los soldados de estos presidios como las armas y municiones, así de boca como de guerra, corren de su cuenta y sin dinero a la mano, no puede haber cómoda forma de preparar lo que se necesita para el campo. Parece que, atendiéndose a la mejor defensa, se debe continuar esta resolución, previniéndose a oficiales reales que la fianza de mancomunidad de restituir sueldos que no se devengaren, se ha de otorgar anualmente, por toda la gente del presidio, para que en virtud de ella, en el año siguiente, se haga el descuento en lo que se debiere hacer. Madrid y julio 21 de 1704.

#### EL REY

**D**uque de Alburquerque, presidente, gentil hombre de mi cámara, mi virrey etc. Por parte de los soldados del presidio de Sinaloa, en la provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya, se ha representado que su número se compone de 43 plazas, y que no pudiendo mantenerse con el sueldo de 315 pesos que les está asignado, ocurrieron al arzobispo virrey en ínterin de esas provincias. Y dedujeron todas sus razones cerca de este punto y la de gozar los soldados de los presidios de El Paso del Río del Norte, Cerrogordo, Cuéncame, El Gallo, Casas Grandes, Conchos, y otros muchos, a 450 pesos de sueldo cada uno, siendo así que se hallaban a menos distancia de México, y por esto con más conveniencia en la conducción de vestuarios y municiones. Que habiéndose visto esta instancia en junta de hacienda en que concurrieron varios ministros, fueron todos de dictamen; se les debía conceder lo que pedían.

Y que en esta consecuencia dio orden el arzobispo virrey para que de las cajas de Guadalajara pagasen a cada uno de los soldados del presidio de Sinaloa a razón de 450 pesos al año, adelantados para poderse mantener, armar y amunicionar y proveerse de caballos, como se ejecutaba con los soldados de los otros presidios.

Dándose fianza de mancomunidad, por los del referido de Sinaloa, de restituir lo que no devengasen, así del sueldo primitivo como del acrecentamiento, en caso que por mí no se confirmase esta providencia, para cuya solicitud se les concedió tres años de término.

Y han implicado se ha servido de aprobar y confirmar la resolución tomada por la junta de hacienda, y la orden que dio en su consecuencia el arzobispo virrey, para que se les continúe la paga del sueldo en la misma cantidad y forma que se acordó por la referida junta y virrey.

Visto en mi junta de guerra con mi testimonio de autos que se presentó y oído a mi fiscal y consultádoseme sobre la materia, he resuelto confirmar y aprobar la resolución tomada por el arzobispo virrey en ínterin de esas provincias, de que se asista a los soldados del presidio de Sinaloa con 450 pesos al año a cada uno, en la forma que se ejecuta con los soldados de los demás presidios que quedan expresados. Y así os mando dar las órdenes convenientes a este fin; y al de que se cancele la fianza de mancomunidad que hicieron, en el ínterin que recurrieran a solicitar esta aprobación; haciendo que se repita anualmente lo que otorgaron de restituir lo que no devengaren, por razón de habérseles de pagar este sueldo siempre un año adelantado. Que así es mi voluntad y que tomen la razón mis contadores de cuentas que residen en mi consejo de las Indias y los oficiales reales de México y Guadalajara. Fecha en Madrid 4 de marzo de 1705.







## VII

### Complaints against Captain Tuñón y Quirós

(1718-1722)

**G**regorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós was the prototype of the corrupt presidial captain. He avoided his responsibilities and abused his powers, and he symbolized all that was wrong with the presidial system across the northern frontier. As a result, he managed to alienate not only the Jesuits of the Pimería Alta, who depended upon him to protect their missions, but many prominent Sonoran merchants, miners, and ranchers as well.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, he retained his position for twenty-four years. As captain of Fronteras presidio, Tuñón y Quirós wielded immense power. In 1690, Viceroy Conde de Galve founded the “Presidio de las Fronteras de la Provincia de Sonora.” Originally, it was intended to be a flying company with no fixed location, but by the end of the 1690s, the presidio was established in the valley of Cabullona at a place called Santa Rosa de Corodéguaqui. Until the creation of the presidio of Tubac in 1752 and the transfer of the Sinaloa presidio to Altar about the same time, Fronteras was the only professional military company on the Sonoran frontier. It alone faced the Western Apaches, and it alone kept peace among the Upper Pimas. Its military responsibilities were therefore enormous. When they were not fulfilled, the Pimería Alta and all of northern Sonora suffered.

Tuñón y Quirós saw the garrison not as a military unit, however, but as his own private labor force. During much of the colonial period, labor, not land, was the critical factor of production in northwestern New Spain.<sup>2</sup> There was a chronic shortage of miners, cowboys, and farmworkers due to low population densities and Apache raids. Anyone able to mobilize a permanent body of fifty men — especially men whose salaries were paid by the royal treasury — enjoyed a tremendous advantage in such an isolated and undeveloped economy.

That advantage — coupled with the resentment at being left undefended against Apache attack — explains why prominent Spaniards such as Juan Mateo

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1. Fay J. Smith, *Captain of the Phantom Presidio*; John A. Donohue, S.J., *After Kino*, pp. 24–31.

2. Deeds, “Rural Work,” p. 69.

*Manje, Agustín Pérez Granillo, and Francisco Pacheco Cevallos complained so bitterly about Tuñón y Quirós. They saw the captain not only as a shirker of responsibilities but as an unfair competitor as well. In 1718, they therefore called upon Antonio Becerra Nieto, captain of Janos presidio and juez visitador general of Sonora, to conduct a thorough investigation of the captain's administration.*

*Becerra Nieto responded by ordering Tuñón y Quirós to campaign more vigorously against the Apaches — orders similar to the ones he had given after an earlier inspection in 1706. He said nothing about the captain's abuse of tapisques — Indians assigned to labor in the mines and fields of the Spaniards under the repartimiento system. As a result, Tuñón y Quirós continued to exploit both the Indians and the presidial soldiers in his own enterprises.*

*Between 1718, when the citizens of Nacozari drafted their petition, and 1722, when Padre Luis Velarde took up his pen, the wily captain's machinations grew ever more flagrant and Byzantine. He attempted to handpick his own successor as alcalde mayor of Sonora. When that failed, he co-opted Rafael Pacheco Cevallos — the man appointed to the post by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya — and then he attacked the Jesuit mission system itself. The Jesuits mounted a counterattack against his accusations that included Velarde's letter.*

*Their grievances were addressed in 1726, when Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera Villalón visited Fronteras while conducting his famous inspection of the presidios of northern New Spain.<sup>3</sup> Calling the garrison "a total disgrace," Rivera suspended Tuñón y Quirós from office and formally accused him of embezzling royal funds and neglecting his duty. He was immediately convicted on two counts and ordered to Mexico City to stand trial for the remaining thirteen. Never reinstated to his command, Tuñón y Quirós was replaced by Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder, who served with distinction for more than a decade. The long arm of royal authority may have been tortuously slow, but once it had Tuñón y Quirós within its grasp, it did not let go.*

*Ethnic conflict may have played a role in Tuñón y Quirós's demise as well. Both Anza and José Goicoechea — two leaders in the fight to oust Tuñón y Quirós — were Basque. Moreover, the next three captains of Fronteras presidio were Basque — Anza, Francisco Bustamante, and Gabriel Vildósola. In "Basque Names, Nobility, and Ethnicity on the Spanish Frontier," historian Donald Garate has presented fascinating new evidence on the ties that linked prominent Basques on the northern frontier of New Spain with Basque patrons and Basque organizations in Mexico City and Spain.*

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3. Naylor and Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera*, pp. 80–81; 341–43.

## Petition by the Settlers of Nacozari, 1718

Petition by the settlers of Nacozari asking the juez general to investigate Captain Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós because of his great accumulation of mines, his unfair distribution of Indian labor, and his neglect of his military responsibilities.

**W**e the undersigned are miners; farmers; and cattle, mule, and horse breeders from the mining communities of Nacozari, Montegrande, Bacanuchi, Fronteras, and other places of defense against the common enemies who invade this province of Sonora.<sup>1</sup> We appear before your grace in the most appropriate manner and form applicable under the royal law and service. For our own benefit and that of everyone else, we appeal to your grace because you have come as juez general<sup>2</sup> to help restore this province. We presume that you have the same authority over military affairs that you have in political matters.

Such being the case, we inform your grace that since the year 1708, when General Don Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós<sup>3</sup> became captain of the *compañía volante* of this province, there has always been a shortage of soldiers. The shortage may be due to the scarcity of provisions, the lack of settlers, or the state of poverty and desolation at which this miserable province has arrived. Nonetheless, the captain has eliminated the positions of some veteran soldiers, despite the fact that he

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1. Nacozari was a colonial mining *real* along the upper Río Moctezuma several kilometers south of the modern community of Nacozari de García. Today it is known as Nacozari Viejo. Montegrande was located east of Nacozari and west of Arizpe. Bacanuchi was northwest of Arizpe along one of the northern tributaries of the Río Sonora. It was founded in the mid-seventeenth century by José Romo de Vivar. Fronteras, where the flying company of Sonora established itself at the end of the seventeenth century, was formerly known as Santa Rosa de Corodéguaqui. It is located on the Río Fronteras, a tributary of the Río Batepito, which in turn is a tributary of the Río Bavispe. Earlier that century, Jesuits established a *visita* near there, but that community was driven off by attacks by Janos, Jome, Suma, and Apache Indians in the late 1680s.

2. Antonio Becerra Nieto's official title was juez visitador general. He began his long and distinguished military career on the northern frontier as a soldier in the newly formed presidio of Janos in 1686. He took part in the reconquest of New Mexico as well as in numerous campaigns against the Apaches. In 1700, he became captain of Janos presidio and was twice sent by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to investigate charges of misconduct against Tuñón y Quirós. Becerra Nieto's first official *visita* occurred as early as 1706, when he commanded the soldiers of the presidio of Fronteras to attend to their military duties rather than to the personal business affairs of Tuñón y Quirós. Becerra Nieto's second tour as visitor took place in 1718, when he also led an expedition into Seri and Lower Pima territory in west-central Sonora. He died at Janos in 1734.

3. Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós (1683–1729) was born in Valladolid, Spain. He arrived in Sonora at the age of nineteen, where he became the protege of his uncle, Jacinto Fuen-saldaña, captain of the recently created presidio of Fronteras. Tuñón y Quirós became interim captain of the same presidio in 1703 and officially succeeded his uncle in the post five years later. He also became alcalde mayor of Sonora in 1712.

has had four, six, ten, or eleven positions vacant. Some of those soldiers have never been replaced, and the positions have remained vacant. Others have been replaced by youths with no military experience. And at times, extreme necessity has compelled some soldiers who are still there to sell their horses in order to obtain food, clothing, and both offensive and defensive weapons. Still others have had to use the linings of their leather jerkins to make stockings, trousers, jackets, and sleeves in order to cover their naked flesh. Others have no harquebuses, swords, or other weapons, and are of no use to the royal service. Some are even barefoot.

Beginning in the year 1712, the captain abandoned his home at the royal presidio and went to live in the new *real* of Nacozari in order to concentrate on mining ventures. He assigned soldiers to work as pick-and-hammer men and to guard the mines. He also kept soldiers with him to care for his livestock, while dispatching others as messengers to Parral to obtain iron tools and other market goods, or to carry out other mine-related commissions. Meanwhile, he has blatantly neglected to conduct military campaigns or to search for the enemy [the Apaches] in order to put an end to the murders and thefts of livestock they commit against the desperate settlers of this region. He should be organizing two or three campaigns a year, including forays during the months or moons when such actions are needed, as was done when the presidio was first established.

Although he knows how poor we are, the captain ignored our protests and took our livestock for his mining operations. And instead of facing up to his obligations and returning to the presidio, he settled even farther away in the real of Basochuca,<sup>4</sup> where he bought and filed claim on various mines. There he established a smelter and refinery in order to work his ore. Meanwhile, the enemy was stealing livestock from the settlers of the same *real*. But he was not satisfied even with such extensive endeavors, so in 1716, he bought the mines and grinding stones of Captain Joseph de Aguirre,<sup>5</sup> along with his few remaining laborers. All of these actions have inflicted damage, losses, and setbacks upon the other miners, the common good, and the public welfare. Nonetheless, the captain, who served as judge for a period of time, boasted of the fairness and justice of his dealings.

At the insistence of the settlers, however, who paid for the correspondence and other costs, the most excellent Duke of Linares—at that time viceroy of New Spain—issued a commendable and well-adapted order to allocate tapisques to the mines and fields among the entire community.<sup>6</sup> After failing to comply with the

4. Basochuca was probably located northwest of Nacozari along the Arroyo Basochuca, which drains into the upper Río Sonora northeast of Arizpe. It may even have been located at the juncture of the Basochuca and the Río Sonora itself.

5. Joseph de Aguirre (1689–1728) was born in Arañaz, Spain. From 1715 to 1717, he was alcalde mayor of Sonora and led an expedition against Seri Indians in the vicinity of the Seri mission of Pópulo. In 1717, Aguirre left Sonora and moved to the villa of Chihuahua, where he became a prominent miner.

6. Tapisque was another Nahuatl term incorporated into the Spanish vocabulary of New Spain. From the Nahuatl *tlā*, meaning “thing,” and *pīxca*, meaning “to harvest,” tapisque referred to Indians participating in the forced labor drafts organized under the repartimiento system. The term probably evolved out of the agricultural labor drafts that cultivated and harvested tribute lands in pre-Columbian Mexico and then were adapted to the demand for forced labor in Spanish fields and mines. A related term was *tlapias*, or its Spanish adul-

order, the captain promised everyone that he would make up for the lack of labor by grinding their ore in his mill. Previously, Indians from the pueblos of Oputo, Huásabas, Huachinera, Santa María, San Miguel, Chinapa, and Arizpe<sup>7</sup> had been apportioned among the community. These latter Indians have been assigned since age-old times to the mines and fields of Bacanuchi, which is nine leagues away. Now, however, the captain removes the Indians from their settlement and takes them to work in his own mill, which is eighteen leagues away through perilous terrain. He thereby violates three royal provisions of your highness and the royal treasury in Guadalajara, which prohibit the assignment of Indians to work in mills. Hence, an entire community is allowed to perish so that one individual may prosper. The captain is so solicitous of his own gain that he was not satisfied with everything he did last year. So this year he purchased another mine in the *real* of Motepori<sup>8</sup> as well as three others in the newly discovered regions of Las Lajas and Cerrogordo,<sup>9</sup> which are forty-seven leagues away from the royal presidio and the frontiers under his charge. The captain has accumulated so many mines that he is continually wandering from one place to another to oversee them. How, then, can he fulfill his obligations to the royal presidio under his command and to the defense and guardianship of this province?

Because some of the soldiers accompany the captain on his business errands while others look after the mule droves on his haciendas, the lieutenant of the presidio, Captain Juan Bautista de Escalante,<sup>10</sup> cannot be expected to carry out military campaigns or restrain the thefts and attacks of enemy Indians with only forty-seven soldiers currently enlisted in that company. Eight of those soldiers, in

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teration *tapias*. Although a number of earlier scholars have argued that the repartimiento system did not function in northern New Spain, there is considerable evidence that repartimiento was indeed important along the frontier (Deeds, "Rural Work"; Cynthia Radding, "Ethnicity and the Emerging Peasant Class"; Evelyn Hu-DeHart *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians*).

7. Oputo, Huásabas, Huachinera, and Santa María (Baseraca) were Ópata Indian pueblos along the Río Bavispe in northeastern Sonora. Arizpe, San Miguel de Bacoachi, and Chinapa were Ópata pueblos along the Río Sonora in the north-central part of the province. All these communities were missionized by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, and all survive as farming and ranching communities today.

8. The mining *real* of Motepori was founded by Juan Mateo Manje while he served as alcalde mayor of Sonora from 1701 to 1703. It was located southwest of Arizpe.

9. The mining districts of Las Lajas and Cerrogordo were probably located southwest of the pueblo of Oposura (modern Moctezuma) in the mountains about twenty to twenty-five kilometers west of the Río Moctezuma. The modern rancho of Las Lajas is located there today just north of the Ures-Moctezuma highway. An Arroyo Las Lajas winds its way south nearby.

10. Juan Bautista de Escalante was teniente alcalde mayor in the mining community of Motepori in 1689. The following year, he was named sergeant of the newly formed flying company of Sonora, beginning a military career that spanned three decades. In 1700, for example, Escalante, alférez of the company by then, led a major expedition into Seri Indian territory along the Sonoran coast. He retired in 1722, returning to Motepori, where he served once again as teniente alcalde mayor.

fact, were only enlisted in January of this year after your grace had already arrived in this province to carry out your general inspection. And that took place only after the bill for the money advanced for the soldiers' clothing had arrived. If your grace had been able to inspect the presidio before the arrival of the bill, you would not only have found eleven vacant positions but the soldiers naked and unarmed as well. Furthermore, with soldiers away from the garrison accompanying the captain on his business errands and activities, how can Lieutenant Escalante protect the garrison and horse herd and still spare enough men to recover the livestock that has been stolen from our mining operations? Such thefts redound to the detriment of the royal property and our own. As Catholic Christians and faithful and loyal vassals of his majesty, we fear the assaults, murders, and robberies of the enemy and hope that in the future they forsake this province and its Christians, and no longer come to burn and profane its churches, chalices, and sacred images, as they have done in the past. We also hope that these domains will not be lost, thereby costing his majesty millions to recover them. Such was the case in the loss and restoration of New Mexico, where so much was spent for no other reason than an ardent royal zeal to save souls.

This province has also incurred many expenses while engaging in such a pious cause. At one time, the benefits matched the royal costs. Now, however, there is such great neglect and so little development of the tapisque Indian labor force, that the few remaining settlers find it absolutely necessary to abandon the province. Thirty years ago, there were two thousand inhabitants here, but between those who have died and those who have left for distant regions, at present there are hardly three hundred inhabitants abiding in a province of more than approximately four hundred leagues.<sup>11</sup> Because they are widely scattered and defenseless, they cannot help themselves, nor can they assist others in the case of a sudden uprising, which can break out even among Indian servants. Before such a disaster occurs, we humbly and respectfully request, beg, and supplicate your grace to provide the necessary remedy. You may find it necessary to question the settlers, merchants, and other inhabitants of the ranches and frontiers of this jurisdiction. You may even find it necessary to interrogate the soldiers in order to determine the truth of our statements or to extend the questioning into areas we may have omitted. Said witnesses will be acquainted with the situation and will testify in accordance with what has been put forth, so that it will always be known that we issued this denunciation as vehement defenders of the royal service and of our own rights.

For all the reasons stated above, we therefore request and beg your grace to decree and order such proceedings in light of our petition. Our poverty forces us to abandon our mines, and we uniformly protest the damages, setbacks, and losses that we have suffered. The royal interest, the common good, and the public welfare should be defended at the expense of the guilty ones. In due form, we swear

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11. A total non-Indian population of 300 persons for the entire province of Sonora is clearly a gross underestimate. In 1730, eight years after this document was written, there were perhaps 3,000 non-Indian and 18,000 Indian inhabitants in Sonora alone, not to mention the populations of Ostimuri and Sinaloa, which, along with Sonora, became a part of the independent province of Sinaloa-Sonora in 1732.

that this petition results not from malice but rather from our desire to achieve equity and justice. We implore the help and rectitude of your grace in all that is required. Farewell.

Juan de Arvizu, Juan Mateo Manje,<sup>12</sup> Agustín Pérez Granillo, Nicolás Granillo,<sup>13</sup> Francisco Javier Barcelón,<sup>14</sup> Francisco Pacheco,<sup>15</sup> Cristóbal de León, Juan de León, Cristóbal de Ochoa, Felipe del Valle.

AGN, *Archivo Histórico de Hacienda*, 278, no. 11.

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Pedimento de parte de los vecinos de Nacozari para que el juez general investigue al Capitán Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós por su gran cúmulo de minas, su injusta distribución de los indios, y el abandono de sus obligaciones militares.

**L**os vecinos mineros, labradores y criadores de ganados, muladas y caballadas de las reales de minas de Nacozari, Montegrande, y Bacanuchi, y Fronteras y antemurales a los enemigos comunes que invaden esta provincia de Sonora, que abajo iremos firmados, parecemos ante vuestra merced en la mejor vía y forma que haya lugar en servicio y derecho real, y al nuestro y bien

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12. Juan Mateo Manje was born in Aragón, Spain, in 1670. Like Tuñón y Quirós, he was the nephew of an important figure in the history of northwestern New Spain—General Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, who brought him to Sonora in 1693. During the 1690s and early 1700s, he accompanied Kino on nine expeditions to the Pimería Alta. Manje also served as *alcalde mayor* of Sonora from 1701–1703. Although he occasionally had his own problems with the Jesuits, he consistently supported them in their complaints against Tuñón y Quirós. In 1721, he wrote his famous description of the Pimería Alta entitled *Luz de tierra incógnita de la America septentrional*. The exact date of his death has not been established, but it was sometime after 1735.

13. Agustín Pérez Granillo and Nicolás Granillo were descendants of Francisco Pérez Granillo, a member of Pedro de Perea's expedition to Sonora in the late 1630s who succeeded Perea as *alcalde mayor* of Nueva Andalucía (Sonora) after Perea died in 1644. In 1708, Manje was married to the first cousin of one Pedro Pérez Granillo, who must have been related to the two men in question.

14. Francisco Javier Barcelón was probably the Javier de Barcelona who appeared in the muster of the flying company of Sonora in 1695, and later served as corporal of the same company and accompanied Kino and Manje on their fourth expedition into the Pimería Alta.

15. Like Pérez Granillo, Francisco Pacheco Cevallos was a member of a prominent Sonoran pioneer family. His father, also named Francisco, was born in Toranzo, Spain, settling first in Parral and then in the Sonoran mining *reales* of San Juan Bautista and Bacanuchi. Serving as *teniente alcalde mayor* in 1686, he fought against the Suma, Janos, and Jocomé Indians. His son—the man signing this document—was *alcalde mayor* of Sonora in 1714–15. In 1720, he became *teniente alcalde mayor* after his brother, Rafael, was named *alcalde mayor* during the controversy over the appointment of José Joaquín Rivera to the same office. Rivera, not surprisingly, was supported by Tuñón y Quirós.



común convenga, representamos a vuestra merced en atención de haber venido por juez general para el remedio de esta provincia. Suponiendo traerá la superintendencia en lo militar, como la ejerce en lo político.

Y siendo esto así, representamos a vuestra merced en cómo desde el año de 1708, en que entró por capitán de la compañía volante de esta provincia el general don Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, siempre le ha faltado plazas de soldados. Ora sea por faltarle avíos, o por la inopia, despueble y falta de vecindad a que ha llegado esta miserable provincia. Y no obstante, en discurso de este tiempo hasta el presente que ha tenido ya cuatro, ya seis, diez y once plazas menos, ha borrado plaza a algunos soldados veteranos, y de éstos sin suplir con otros han quedado vacantes; y de otros, poniendo en su lugar muchachos sin experiencia militar. Y en ocasiones, algunos de los existentes, por necesidad extrema a que llegaron de armas ofensivas y defensivas, vestuario y sustento, les compelió a unos vender sus caballos, a otros deshacer los haces de las cueras para hacer de ellos medias, calzones, armador[es] y mangas para tapar, por falta de camisas, sus desnudas carnes. Y algunos sin arcabuces, espadas ni otras armas, e ineptos para el real servicio y aún descalzos.

Y desde el año de 1712 en que el dicho capitán despobló su casa del real presidio, retirándose a vivir al real nuevo de Nacozari con la ocasión y aplicarse al tráfico de minas. Divertía algunos soldados en barreteros, maseros, guardamina, y otros a su lado para cuidarle así sus bestias, como despacharlos de correos al Parral por yerros [hierros] y azogues, y a otras agencias concernientes al dicho empleo remetálico, con descuido notable de hacer campañas, e ir en busca de los enemigos, y obviar los daños de muertes y robos de bestias que hacen a la afligida vecindad. Por lo que debía hacer en cada un año dos o tres campañas, y correrías [correrías] los meses o lunas según urgiere la necesidad como en lo primitivo de la erección se hacía.

Y aunque dicho capitán oía los clamores de llevarnos nuestras bestias y pobreza que teníamos, para el tráfico de la minería, y podía condolerle la obligación que le incumbe y restituirse al presidio, antes si se ausentó a residir al real de Basochuca, distancia más retirada, en donde compró y denunció varias minas y en él fabricó una hacienda de fundición y afinación para el beneficio de sus metales, llevando a los vecinos de aquel real sus bestias los enemigos. Y no contento con tanto afanar, el año de 1716, compró al capitán don Joseph de Aguirre sus minas y mortero de dos cabezas, con parte de la gente de servicio la cual por ser tan poca y aún con daño, extorsión y atrasos de los demás mineros, causa pública y a bien común de autoridad, y siendo una temporada actual juez, preciándonos de la distribución de la razón y justicia.

No obstante, por súplica de la vecindad, pagando correos y costos, expidió el excelentísimo señor duque de Linares, virrey en la ocasión de la Nueva España, un tan plausible cuanto ajustado despacho para el repartimiento de tapisques para minas y labores a todo el común. A que sobre no haberse dado cumplimiento, se los afió todos para suplir la falta de gente y moler los metales en su mortero, que previamente se repartía al común de los que salen de los pueblos de Oputo, Huásabas, Huachinera, Santa María, San Miguel, Chinapa y Arizpe. Que éstos últimos siendo asignados desde los tiempos antiguos para minas y labores de Bacanuchi, distante nueve leguas, los quita a su vecindad y saca para este mortero que hay diez y ocho de tierra de riesgo, contraviniendo a tres reales provisiones de su al-

teza, la real hacienda de Guadalajara, que prohíben al repartimiento de ellos a morteros, dejando pereciendo a un común, porque un individuo viva, cuyo capitán, es tanto su afanar, que no contento con lo expresado el año pasado y el presente, compró otra mina en el real de Motepori y otras tres del nuevo descubrimiento de las Lajas y Cerrogordo, distante éstas 47 leguas del real presidio y fronteras de su cargo. Y finalmente está tan divertido en tanto cúmulo de minería que tiene a qué atender, que continuamente anda vagando a unas y otras partes, en que se deja entender. ¿Cómo podrá atender a la precisa obligación del presidio de su cargo y a la guarda y custodia de esta provincia?

Mayormente acompañándole a su persona en estas agencias algunos soldados, y otros cuidándole las muladas de sus haciendas, ni cómo poder su teniente del presidio, el capitán Juan Bautista de Escalante, atender a campañas, ni a reprimir los robos e insultos de los enemigos, con sólo[s] *[sic]* 47 soldados que al presente están alistados en la dicha compañía. Los ocho de ellos haberlas asentado desde el mes de enero de este presente año, así después que vuestra merced entró en esta provincia hacer la visita general en que actualmente está entendiendo, como de haberle venido la memoria de ropa para su avío, en que si antes de su arribo hubiera podido vuestra merced empezar dicha visita por el presidio, hubiera hallado así la disminución de las once plazas, como la desnudez y desarmamento. ¿Y los soldados que están fuera de la plaza de armas, acompañándole en sus agencias y ministerios, cómo podrá dicho teniente con mencionado presidio, dejar guarnecida la plaza, caballada, y sobrarle gente para salir a facción alguna, de seguir las bestias que nos llevan del tráfico de la minería? En que redunda en daño del real haber y nuestro. Y considerando y temiendo, como católicos cristianos y fieles y leales vasallos de su majestad, los insultos, muertes y robos, y que abandonen, en lo de adelante, esta provincia y cristiandad y que no lleguen a quemar y profanar los templos, vasos e imágenes sagradas, como en los tiempos pasados ha sucedido en esta provincia. Y se pierdan estos dominios y le cueste a su majestad, para su recuperación, millones como en la pérdida y restauración del Nuevo México, que ha tenido tan excesivos gastos sin más útil que su ardiente y real celo de la salvación de las almas.

Y en esta provincia en mencionado que tiene tantos gastos en tan pía causa, cuadraban los provechos y reales cuentas para su manutención. En que por tan gran descuido y poco fomento que tienen de indios tapisques, la poca vecindad que ha quedado les urja la extrema necesidad al despueble, pues desde ahora años, que habrá dos mil vecinos entre muertos y los que han despoblado, retirándose a provincias distantes, al presente apenas habrán quedado como trescientos moradores en provincia de más de cuatrocientos leguas de vox [vos]. Y ésto en varias partes divididos e indefensos sin poderse ayudar ni dar la mano en un frangente repentino que aun en los domésticos puede acaecer. Y antes que esto suceda pedimos, rogamos y suplicamos a vuestra majestad, con la sumisión y acato debido, que para poner el remedio conveniente, se ha de servir examinar así a vecinos, mercaderes, como a otros de los ranchos y fronterizos de esta jurisdicción, y aún a los soldados, si es verdad lo que llevamos representado, extendiéndose las preguntas a lo que omitimos. Y sabrán y declararán dichos testigos e ínterin de estas diligencias, darnos testimonio con lo a él proveído, para que en todo tiempo conste haber denunciado con tiempo, y en tiempo, como anhelantes del real servicio y para en guarda de nuestro derecho.

Por todo lo cual, a vuestra merced pedimos y suplicamos provea y mande al tenor del pedimento. Protestando como protestamos con uniformidad los daños, atrasos y menoscabos de abandonar con nuestras pobreza y minas por defender el útil real, bien común y causa pública, en que sea a costa de culpados. Y juramos en debida forma este pedimento no ser de malicia sino deseosos de alcanzar la razón y justicia. Y en lo necesario, imploramos su auxilio y rectitud de vuestra merced. Vale.

Juan de Arvizu, Juan Mateo Manje, Agustín Pérez Granillo,  
Nicolás Granillo, Francisco Javier Barcelón, Francisco Pacheco,  
Cristóbal de León, Juan de León, Cristóbal de Ochoa, Felipe  
del Valle.

## Velarde to Genovese, 1722

**M**y Father General Joseph María Genovese,<sup>1</sup> In your letter of February [illegible], your reverence orders me to inform you of what I know about the activities of Captain Gregorio Alvarez regarding his performance of the duties of his office. You do so in order to show that this province of Sonora is in immediate danger of being lost, thus complying with the obligations of your own office which the Company of Jesus assigned to your reverence as a zealous minister of God and a loyal vassal of his majesty. Because these two duties belong to any member of the Company of Jesus, I am persuaded that I am even more strictly obligated, because I am a minister and superior of the new conversions in the Pimería Alta, a region for whose greater advancement your reverence has toiled so hard.<sup>2</sup> Many examples of your zeal have been achieved there, such as the two renovated missions of Tubutama<sup>3</sup> and Caborica [Caborca],<sup>4</sup> which find themselves content with their new ministers. Other missions in the north are anxiously awaiting the same results as well, with well-founded hopes of soon seeing all this Pimería under the sweet yoke of faith. If the above-mentioned captain had helped us as he should have, we would not have yearned for such desired ends for so long.

Eight years ago, holy obedience assigned me to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores,<sup>5</sup> the first plant in this new vineyard that Father Eusebio Francisco

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1. Joseph María Genovese, S.J. (1681–1757) was born in Palermo, Sicily. He arrived in New Spain in 1712, and was sent to Sonora the following year, where he was missionary at Dolores, Bacerac, and Fronteras. From 1718 to 1722, he served as visitor of the northern missions. In 1722, he was appointed rector and master of novices in Tepozotlán. He later became rector of the *colegio máximo* in Mexico City, where he died.

2. The first Jesuit missions among the Tohono O'odham (Papago) and Akimel O'odham (Upper Pima Indians) of northern Sonora and southern Arizona were not established until the late 1680s and 1690s. When this document was written, then, the Upper Pimería had been missionized for less than four decades. Genovese himself had served at Dolores, the first such mission founded among the Upper Pimas.

3. The mission of San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, located on a mesa above the Altar River in northwestern Sonora, was founded by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino in 1687. Previously it had been a ranchería of the Upper Pimas, who raised crops of corn, beans, and squash along its floodplain.

4. The reference to "Caborica" introduces some confusion because this name often refers to San Ignacio near Magdalena. Velarde may also be referring to La Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora de Caborca, occasionally called Caborica, which was established by Kino in 1693. Located on the Río Concepción below the juncture of the Altar and Magdalena Rivers, it was the westernmost mission among the Upper Pimas

5. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Cosari on the Río Dolores, a tributary of the San Miguel River, was founded by Kino in 1687. It became the mother mission of the Pimería

Kino<sup>6</sup> planted with arduous labors and watered with his continuous sweat and fatigue. His zeal extended to all this Pimería, over which he traveled more than forty times during the twenty-four years he lived here. With little effort on the part of the workers who followed him, his efforts not only brought the Pimas and other neighboring tribes to the knowledge of God and his holy faith, but also to the obedience of the king our lord.

It is true that the promised fruits of these well-founded hopes have been spoiled by the disturbances of some malevolent people in the west, who were molested more than such tender beginnings permit by the imprudence of a teniente alcalde mayor.<sup>7</sup> Because the largest and most important portion of the Pimería did not take part in these outrages, however, the region soon returned to its earlier tranquillity with little effort and with the help of his majesty's arms. The blood of Father Francisco Javier Saeta,<sup>8</sup> who died in Caborica [Caborca] at the hands of the sacrilegious Indians, was the water that irrigated and prepared the more abundant harvest reaped when new laborers arrived. The summit of perfec-

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Alta, serving as Kino's headquarters and jumping-off place as he pushed north and west during the 1690s and early 1700s. Its importance was recognized when it became rectorate of the Upper Pimería missions with Kino as its first superior. Following Kino's death in 1711, however, Dolores declined as a mission center. Apache raids and epidemics of infectious diseases such as smallpox forced its abandonment by the mid-eighteenth century.

6. Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. (1645–1711) was born in Segno in the Italian Tyrol not far from the city of Trent. Originally assigned to Baja California, he became the first great missionary among the Upper Pimas after the Baja colonization project failed. From 1687 until his death, he crisscrossed northern Sonora and southern Arizona, establishing twenty-odd mission *cabeceras* and visitas and introducing Old World livestock, such as cattle and horses, and Old World crops, such as wheat. In the process, he helped transform the Upper Pimas into a military buffer between the Spanish communities of Sonora and the marauding Western Apaches.

7. The teniente alcalde mayor in question was Antonio de Solís, who served as an officer in the El Paso presidio during the early 1690s and then became alférez and teniente of the flying company of Sonora, which later became the presidio of Fronteras. On June 9, 1695, Solís was in charge of a contingent of soldiers, militia, and Tepoca (Seri) Indians who met with a group of Upper Pimas at a marshy spot called Tupo northwest of Magdalena. The Pimas wanted to make peace with the Spaniards in the aftermath of a rebellion that broke out at Tubutama and Caborca. During the meeting, eighteen of sixty Pimas were identified as rebels. When one of the alleged leaders was dragged forward, Solís slashed off his head, causing the rest of the Pimas to panic. In the ensuing massacre, forty-nine Pimas were killed, transforming a local rebellion into a regional revolt. Because of his role in precipitating the 1695 Pima Revolt, Solís was later dismissed from the military. In his "Description of the Pimería Alta," Velarde wrote of Solís, "After unjustly killing his wife, he found himself poor and destitute in Mexico, where he was killed by a shot from a blunderbuss." No date is given for his death.

8. Father Francisco Javier Saeta, S.J. (1664–1695) was born in Piazza Armerina, Sicily. He entered the Jesuit novitiate in Palermo in 1679 and arrived in Mexico in 1692, where he was ordained. In 1694, he was assigned to the Sonoran missions, Kino installing him at Caborca in October of that year. Four months later, on March 29, 1695, a handful of Pimas at the mission of Tubutama killed an Opatá Indian overseer who was beating one of their brethren. This incident triggered a brief outburst of revolt as the Pimas sacked and burned the Tubutama church and then headed south and west, their thin ranks swelling with re-

tion would have been reached if not for the accidents that occurred through no fault of the superiors and individuals of the Company, a point I shall always express whenever necessary. And when one seriously reflects upon these events, they can be attributed only to the hidden designs of divine providence, which knows how and when to prepare the means most conducive to the attainment of the highest goals of God's sovereign will. Such superior goals cannot be fathomed by the limited capacity of our own frail reasoning and imperfect understanding.

Nevertheless, it is legitimate to inquire into what is hidden in the incomprehensible abysses of the divine will. I believe it will not be rash to state that much if not most of the backwardness and poor understanding of the faith among these poor, helpless Indians have been caused by the negligence of Captain Don Gregorio. He was supposed to make frequent inspections to encourage the evangelical ministers in their spiritual conquests and apostolic enterprises, but his negligence is such that he has not paid any attention to this primary duty of his position. It is true that in the early years of his captaincy, he responded to the remonstrances of Father Eusebio Kino, who was still alive, as well as to those of Father Agustín de Campos,<sup>9</sup> who has been living in this Pimería for thirty years. Without making any rash judgment, however, I shall also say that the captain acted only for his own convenience and advancement. The opposition to his taking office and the losses he suffered in supporting the presidial company at his own expense—he had used up their salaries in his disputes in Mexico City—forced him of necessity to do what he has not done after he saw himself secure in his position and to some extent in his assets and property. There is no one in this region unaware of his fortune, but this is not the place to describe it.

I have been assigned to this Pimería for eight years, and I can assure you as an experienced witness that in all this time the captain has never made a single inspection of this region. And even though on two occasions some soldiers did arrive, they did so for other reasons. The first to come was Lieutenant Juan Bautista Escalante, who showed up at the same time I entered this mission. He did so to investigate charges spread around by enemies of the Pimas that they were responsible for the death of a Spaniard killed by hostile Apaches on the road that

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cruits from Oquitoa and Pitiquín [Pitiquito]. Four days later, on April 2, which happened to be Holy Saturday, the rebels arrived in Caborca, where they murdered Saeta and his Oyata assistants. Saeta's death inflamed the Spanish military, leading to the massacre at Tupo and the spread of the whole rebellion. Before the rebellion ended, the churches of Caborca, San Ignacio, Magdalena, and Imuris had also been destroyed.

9. Father Agustín de Campos, S.J. (1669–1737) was born in Sijena, Spain. He entered the Jesuit novitiate in the province of Aragón in 1684 and was sent to Mexico in 1692. By the following year, he was already accompanying Kino on expeditions across the Pimería Alta. In 1695, he became missionary at San Ignacio, where he remained until he was removed from his post in 1736. Not as well known as Kino, Campos nevertheless was an indefatigable explorer and one of the staunchest defenders of the Upper Pimas among the missionaries. Fluent in Pima, he resisted a series of attempts by Governor Manuel Bernal de Huidobro to utilize the Pimas as laborers and military auxiliaries in the late 1720s and early 1730s. By 1735, however, the blunt, sarcastic old man was quarreling bitterly with fellow Jesuits, who finally sent his friend Captain Juan Bautista de Anza to induce him to retire in April 1736. He died in Chihuahua the following year.

goes from here [Dolores] to San Ignacio.<sup>10</sup> Escalante discovered no evidence against the Pimas, but instead convinced himself that the Apaches were indeed the murderers. Without venturing beyond the mission of our father San Ignacio, Escalante returned at once to his presidio.

The other occasion was in May of last year, 1721, when at your reverence's request five soldiers and a cabo arrived so that the fathers assigned to Tubutama and Caborca would be accompanied with some propriety. The soldiers were so poorly equipped, however, that from the pueblo of Santiago de Cocóspera<sup>11</sup> on, they began to bother the Indians to lend them horses, which the Indians did. On arriving at San Ignacio, the soldiers so annoyed the governor<sup>12</sup> with their accustomed rudeness that the governor felt obliged to supply them with horses from the mission. He did so without the knowledge of the priest there, whom the soldiers did not deign to ask and who was away at Tupo<sup>13</sup> at the time. If the governor had not furnished the horses, the soldiers would not have been able to move on to here. And if I had not supplied them, they would not have been able to accompany the missionaries [assigned to Tubutama and Caborca].

Even though I later asked them to visit some rancherías and to perform some other tasks, offering to provide them with mounts and provisions, the cabo made up excuses and said how strict his orders were to go on a campaign. Yet up to the present the soldiers have not done so. Because of their great haste or whatever other excuses they gave me, I lost the chance to achieve some good ends in the

10. San Ignacio de Caborca was a large ranchería of Upper Pimas along the Río Magdalena when Kino established a visita there in 1687. It became a cabecera in 1693 when Campos arrived to become its missionary for the next forty-three years. Campos's first church at San Ignacio was burned during the 1695 Pima Revolt, but Campos soon rebuilt it, transforming his mission into a language school and training ground for other missionaries assigned to the Pimería Alta. After Kino's death, San Ignacio replaced Dolores as the headquarters of the Pimería Alta missions.

11. The mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago de Cocóspera, located on a bluff overlooking the Río Cocóspera, a tributary of the Río Magdalena, was established in 1691 among the Upper Pimas. Occupying a particularly exposed position on the northern frontier, its church was repeatedly sacked and burned by Jocome, Suma, and Apache Indians. Nevertheless, it was rebuilt by Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries because of Cocóspera's fertile valley and strategic location. In 1748, Father Ignatz Keller brought the few survivors of mission Dolores to live there after Dolores had been devastated by disease and Apache attacks.

12. Velarde is referring to the Indian governor of San Ignacio. As part of their colonization program, the Spaniards attempted to impose a modified system of Spanish government among the Indians. Part of that process was the appointment of Indian officials for each community, the highest of which was the *gobernador*. These individuals were selected either by Spanish military officers accompanying the missionaries or by the missionaries themselves, who often gave the Indians canes of office symbolizing their authority and legitimacy. At times the governors occupied positions of authority within the indigenous politico-religious systems as well. Other times they did not, however, and so the creation of new authority figures engendered conflict among Indians living at the missions.

13. San Miguel del Tupo was a visita of the mission of San Ignacio located to the northwest. Famous chiefly as the site of the 1695 massacre of Upper Pimas, Tupo was also referred to as the Ciénega de Tupo because of a nearby marsh. During the colonial period, Tupo was a farm and ranch where horses and mules were raised.

service of God. And since the soldiers brought no interpreter along, they were unable to give the Indians the customary salutary advice and *tlatoles*<sup>14</sup> which are their duty to give on such occasions. Instead the soldiers served no other purpose than to put in a good appearance before returning to their presidio. Escalante wrote that the soldiers were to be at our disposal. In virtue of this letter, we thought it would be a good idea for two of the soldiers to remain with the new priests at least for one month, not because the Pimas need the soldiers, but to provide some comfort and companionship to the priests living in such great solitude. But one of the soldiers deceived us on some pretext or other with the approval of his cabo, Cristóbal de Espinosa, who also secretly summoned the other soldier. At the same time the cabo sent a note to Father Gallardi<sup>15</sup> saying that I had ordered the soldiers to return to their presidio. Without further inquiry, the priest, a truly obedient individual, sent the soldier back very well outfitted and treated. May your reverence reflect upon such insincere conduct while I go on to other matters.

Some of the reasons that persuade and convince one of the need for inspections of the Pimería are expressed in the faithful copy of the report I sent to Captain Don Antonio Becerra, who came to this province of Sonora as visitor. As a result of his investigation and the reports he made, he succeeded in having a dispatch sent to me from Don Manuel San Juan y Santa Cruz,<sup>16</sup> who was governor of Nueva Vizcaya at the time. This dispatch ordered two inspections every year. It had so little effect and met with so little compliance, however, that I could not bring myself to point this out to Don Gregorio, because I recognized how easily he could evade the order with any frivolous excuse, of which there are many in his official reports. Your reverence is my witness that under your authority I wrote the present governor, Don Martín de Alday,<sup>17</sup> and informed him of aspects

14. *Tlatole*, from the Nahuatl word *tlatolli* meaning "word," "speech," or "talk," was frequently used by missionaries and Spanish officials alike, often in reference to Indian convocations designed to stir up rebellion. It is one example of the widespread incorporation of Nahuatl terms into the vocabulary of Mexican Spanish.

15. Father Luis María Gallardi (1690–1736) was born in Polisi, Sicily. He arrived in Mexico in 1719 and was at the mission of Caborca in the Pimería Alta by 1721. Three years later, he was at Tubutama, becoming rector of the Pimería Alta by 1729. He apparently ended his missionary career at Dolores, where he was stationed in 1732.

16. Born in the Valle de Sopuerta, Vizcaya, Spain, Manuel San Juan y Santa Cruz was governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1714 to 1720. He was a staunch patron of the Jesuits and helped them finish construction of their colegio in the villa of Chihuahua. After his term as governor was over, he settled in Chihuahua and dedicated himself to mining and stockraising. In 1738, he was appointed *teniente general* of Nueva Vizcaya. He died in Chihuahua in 1749.

17. Martín de Alday (1657–1725) was born in the region of Guipúzcoa, Spain. He arrived in Nueva Vizcaya by 1688, where he was *teniente* of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos. After participating in the reconquest of New Mexico, he settled in the mining *real* of Cusihuiachi in Tarahumara country, where he became *alcalde mayor*. From 1694 to 1698, he campaigned frequently against the Tarahumaras. In 1703, he was appointed *capitán vitalicio* of the presidio of Pasaje and *alcalde mayor* of Cuéncame. He served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1720 to 1723, leading several campaigns against the Apaches and the Cocoyomes. He died in Parral in 1725.



of the situation of which he was not aware. I also asked him to authorize and order the inspections to be carried out with greater effort. Yet two years or a little less have passed since I took this measure, and I have received neither confirmation nor an answer to my letter. I do not understand why the governor has not responded, although it would not be hard to find out from Padre Luis Mancuso,<sup>18</sup> who sent us another dispatch from Governor Don Manuel de San Juan. I would discuss this matter further if it were our concern, but I omit it in order to pass on to the present affair, that is, the failure to carry out military inspections.

The absence of inspections results in very grave problems now, and we have even more rational grounds to fear other problems to come. We find ourselves forced to overlook many evils that could easily be remedied, but only with the assistance of the royal arms. Every day there are killings among the Pimas, some because of their disputes, others because of their practice of witchcraft,<sup>19</sup> their ancient antagonisms, or for other reasons so flimsy that they can only be attributed to the ignorance and unfitness of these wretched people. We cannot prevent these killings merely by sending our governors or magistrates among them. When the Pimas see how little support these officials have, not only the pagans but even some malevolent Christians living in isolated places have little respect for them. And if punishment or correction is left in the hands of the Pimas themselves, other disturbances will probably follow. Factions will be convoked that are presently kept calm and peaceful by the efforts, gifts, and speeches of Padre Agustín, who is so skilled in their language and who understands them so well. There are many wizards who continually perform evil deeds. And other vices are frequently encountered, even among some baptized Indians, who retire deeper into the desert in order to live more freely. We are forced to tolerate and overlook these vices because we are so neglected by the captain, who attends only to his mines, haciendas, and profits.

Furthermore, the Pimas are the ones who without a doubt in our opinion offer resistance to the hostile Apaches in this region. There are many Apache depredations at present, but there would be many more if it were not for the counterbalance of the Pimas. The Pimas pursue the Apaches with great audacity, even though they see themselves neglected by the king's arms, which should be helping them subdue the common enemy. Instead, the Pimas alone generally bear the

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18. Father Luis Mancuso (1662–1728) was born in Palermo, Sicily. By 1689, he was stationed at the mission of San Borja in Tarahumara country. In 1714, he was visitor of the Sonoran and Tarahumara missions, a responsibility he carried out among the Tepehuan missions three years later. By 1722, he was rector of the colegio of San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico, but four years later, he returned to the northern missions, where he died.

19. Piman shamanism, which the Spaniards considered witchcraft, is a complex body of beliefs and practices that undoubtedly varied from group to group (see Donald M. Bahr, et al, *Pima Shamanism and Staying Sickness*; Bahr, "Pima and Papago Medicine and Philosophy"). In general, shamans, or medicine men, known as *mámakai*, dominated Piman philosophy, exercising power over many of the most important cultural domains, including disease, warfare, and weather. Certain shamans possessed the power to diagnose and cure various afflictions. Not surprisingly, many Pimas believed these powerful individuals were able to inflict disease as well. As late as the 1860s, *mámakai* were often killed by their fellow Pimas during epidemics.

weight of the war. Who might not with great reason fear that the Pimas and Apaches could again unite in friendship as they did thirty-eight years ago, to the common harm of the province, the presidio, the old missions, mining, commerce, and the settlers?<sup>20</sup>

Your reverence should also note that when the Pimas see that the soldiers do not carry out any campaigns, pursue the Apaches when they steal so many horse herds, or put an end to the frequent murders along the trails, the Pimas do not fear the soldiers as much as they used to or hold their valor in much esteem. This is especially true since the Pimas know that on some occasions the Apaches have put the soldiers to flight. The Pimas, on the other hand, campaign against the Apaches, kill them, and even recover some of the stolen horses. I can swear on my priestly word that during the eight years I have lived in this Pimería, the Pimas have killed or captured more than 130 Apaches.<sup>21</sup> And even though it has cost them the lives of more than thirty or thirty-five men and women, who have been sacrificed for the common good to the weapons of the Apaches on various occasions during this time, the Pimas are satisfied. In fact, they even boast that they do more than the soldiers. If I say that during these same eight years, the soldiers have captured and killed fifteen of the foe, I believe I would be exaggerating.

But what difficulties and evil consequences are to be feared from such a state of affairs? Even the old Pimas with some degree of sound judgment cry out that the reason the young people are unruly and do not obey their magistrate is that the soldiers do not visit them as they used to do. Every day some well-intentioned people urge me to send for Escalante, because they do not know what to do about the situation. Nevertheless, Escalante still has not deigned to reply to a number of letters I have written him about the matter.

In my poor judgment, the great negligence of the captain is the reason these inspections are not carried out. It is also the reason why no remedy is found for the serious ills that afflict the whole province now and may become even more serious in the future. So great is his neglect that the captain attends only to his business affairs—mining and other enterprises—without taking care of his presidio. For many years this presidio has been stripped of men, of equipment, of

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20. It is possible that in 1684, Upper Pimas and Apaches may have temporarily united. In the aftermath of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, rebellion and unrest swept across northern New Spain. By the late 1600s, however, Upper Pimas and Apaches were bitter enemies—an enmity triggered by the introduction of Old World livestock (cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and goats) among the O'odham. Apaches would run off O'odham livestock and O'odham would give pursuit. Both Apaches and O'odham also sought vengeance for the murders of their kin (see Sheridan, "Kino's Unforeseen Legacy").

21. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Upper Pima society became progressively more militarized as Apache raiding increased and the Pimas became a buffer between them and northwestern New Spain. Scattered rancherías were amalgamated into larger settlements that could defend themselves more successfully against Apache attacks. Sentinels and standing armies became a fact of life among Pimas living along the Santa Cruz and Gila Rivers (see Ezell, "Hispanic Acculturation"). And the Pimas took offensive action against the Apaches as well, mounting revenge raids deep into Apacheia. Their alliance with Spaniards and Mexicans in Arizona and Sonora, in fact, did not end until the Apaches were confined to reservations in the 1870s and 1880s (see Sheridan, *Arizona*).

horses, and of other supplies it needs to achieve the goals for which it was established by his majesty at such great expense. Without straying from the truth, I shall briefly touch upon this matter, conveying what I know personally and what is generally known, without resorting to rumor.

When I entered this province of Sonora nine years ago, Don Gregorio was not living in the presidio but in the *real* of Nacozari, where he was processing ore. Although he said that he was there only to amuse himself, or because he was sick, experience has shown that his profession is mining and he has abandoned the duties of presidial captain. He has never returned to the presidio except occasionally for a few days. Thus, in Basochuca as well as in Jamaica<sup>22</sup> he has attended only to the improvement of his mines, silver mills, and other business interests, as everyone in this region knows. All this time he has had four or five soldiers in his service, taking care of his mule teams, making charcoal, gathering wood, and performing other tasks suited to their expertise but alien to the military profession. I have been a witness to this on several occasions.

Besides this, the captain has always had a number of vacancies in this presidio. I know this for certain because I have heard him as well as officers in his presidio say so. Furthermore, other completely truthful individuals have assured me that as many as fifteen positions have been vacant at times. Nevertheless, the captain fills out the annual requisitions for salaries in some form or another, or with the names of persons who are not and who never have been soldiers. Knowledgeable people say that this could be proved—in spite of any excuses or misrepresentations of the captain—by sending some God-fearing and zealous person in the service of his majesty to investigate these requisitions. In such a way, the evidence for such charges could be examined and the truth of the matter clearly seen.

On various occasions the captain has used other soldiers to carry the mail, to serve as agents for his business affairs, or to engage in other activities aimed only at advancing his own interests. Meanwhile the presidio has been so destitute that there have been hardly enough soldiers to guard the horse herd or to defend the presidio itself. And these few individuals are so poorly supplied, so lacking in weapons, leather jerkins, and ammunition, that it was commonly feared last year that the Apaches might carry off the horse herd and the soldiers along with them. Fifteen months ago, a soldier named Juan Lorenzo García told me that only twenty-five men were able to work in the presidio. Besides the soldiers whom the captain employed in his house, and nine positions that were vacant at the time, other soldiers were unfit for service because they had sold their leather armor, weapons, and horses to halfway clothe their naked wives and to support their children. Still others find themselves obliged to cultivate the captain's fields or to search for ore in his mines. And not a few of the soldiers have been forced to run away because of their poverty or the verbal abuse they receive from the captain whenever they appeal to him. Yet the captain owes these soldiers many pesos because he has used the clothing sent for them to clothe his own servants or peddled

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22. Jamaica is a small agricultural settlement along the Río Moctezuma south of Cumpas and north of Jécori. It is not far east of San Juan Bautista, the most important center of mining activity in seventeenth-century Sonora. West of the river is a Cerro Jamaica, which may have been the location of Tuñón y Quirós's mines. South of Jamaica itself along the river, there is a *platería*. Tuñón y Quirós possibly processed his silver ore there.

it in the mining settlements. If anyone protests such actions with any resolution, the captain immediately dismisses him, replacing him with poor little men and boys who don't know how to talk or work when needed. The captain does this in order to rid himself of those he regards as critical of his actions. Why do I bother with all this when it is commonly known around here that the king, our lord, is spending pesos from his royal coffers for fifty servants who serve Don Gregorio alone and not his majesty?

Such abuses lead to the very serious irregularities in military discipline about which we are always hearing in the sad complaints and loud cries of the poor and even of the rich—complaints both from Spaniards and from Indians, who suffer indignities at the hands of the soldiers that probably not even their enemies would inflict on them. But Don Gregorio does nothing to rectify this situation. He does not help the people in their poverty and need, and cares little about their complaints as long as he can carry on his business. It is a pity that nothing was remedied when the sergeant major, Don Domingo Picado, made his inspection.<sup>23</sup> We all know, of course, that with some leather jerkins and harquebuses and many horses that were borrowed and distributed among the soldiers, the captain passed Picado's review. But as everyone says, such brilliance shone from the lamps of others, which were extinguished as soon as the visitor turned his back. Besides, Picado was looking for a wealthy marriage for which the captain could serve as godfather.

There is no shortage of people who say, perhaps untruthfully, that there was a good piece of change (*muy buenos tepusques*)<sup>24</sup> to be made in helping the captain obtain his honorable citation. In sight of that same visitor, the captain ordered some soldiers to go to his ranch to brand some cattle and horses. When one of the soldiers told him that that was not his duty, the captain spoke to the soldier very harshly and threatened to strike him with his sword without paying any attention to the visitor. Likewise with the knowledge of the sergeant major, to whom he had given six soldiers to serve as muleteers, as horse breakers, and as an escort, the captain sent a detachment of eighteen commanded by his father-in-law Ortiz to the Sierra de Guaynopa<sup>25</sup> among the watersheds of Tarahumara country. The soldiers were sent to search for I don't know what mine of virgin silver his father-in-law had noticed. The captain sent such a detachment because the re-

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23. Domingo Picado Pacheco made his inspection of the presidio of Fronteras in 1721. By then, he was no stranger to civil-religious conflict in Sonora. In 1713, when he was alcalde mayor of Sonora, Picado Pacheco became involved in a dispute between Father Daniel Januske, missionary at Oposura, and rancher José de Subiate over livestock damage to mission fields. So enraged was he by Jesuit actions during this controversy that he became an advocate for the secularization of Sonoran missions. At the time this document was written, Picado Pacheco was sargento mayor de las armas in Nueva Vizcaya. By 1727, he was captain of the presidio of Mapimí.

24. The phrase "muy buenos tepusques" is another example of how Nahuatl terms became incorporated into colloquial Spanish along the northern frontier. Tepusque, from the Nahuatl word *tepuzqui* meaning "copper," referred to copper coins minted during the early colonial period, often without royal permission.

25. The Sierra de Guaynopa is located northwest of modern Madera and south of Chihuahua in western Chihuahua not far from the Sonoran border. It is drained by the Río Guaynopa, a tributary of the Río Aros.

gion was full of enemies who were committing a thousand hostilities. Perhaps the captain wanted to furnish his father-in-law with a position, just as I know he once did for a brother-in-law and another *compadre* of his.

Your reverence will know much more of the situation, so I omit further details to keep this letter from getting too lengthy. I believe that I have already said enough for you to understand the situation, even though I may have left out a thousand other things that might be interpreted as exaggerations or ill will towards the captain. In order to free myself of such suspicion, however, it should be enough for others to know that the captain is my countryman and that we were raised together.<sup>26</sup> I conclude this report by saying to your reverence that I was obliged to lend the captain a hand for the same reasons that I wrote this account and became the captain's *compadre*. Seeing the improper actions of the captain, more than once I tried to bring him back to the right path. But since he did not take such counsel, I have been forced to say what I have said sincerely and with religious simplicity free of passion. I ratify all this and believe it to be the truth. May God our Lord hear and desire all that resounds to his greater glory—the welfare of the captain's soul, the assistance of the poor, and the tranquillity of the province, with great advancements in the faith and belief in our Lord Jesus Christ. May God grant your reverence the many years of life that I wish for you and ask for in the holy sacrifice of the Mass offered in this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. March 2, 1722.<sup>27</sup>

The least of your reverence's subjects and servants,  
JHS Luis Javier Velarde<sup>28</sup>

*Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, 278, no. 38.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**M**i padre visitador, Joseph María Genovese, Mándame vuestra reverencia por la suya [ilegible] de febrero, le informe lo que supiere acerca de las operaciones del capitán don Gregorio Alvarez en el cumplimiento de las obligaciones de su oficio para hacer representación del

26. Both Tuñón y Quirós and Velarde were born in Valladolid, Spain. Velarde was only five years older than the captain, so it is possible that they grew up together. Regardless of how close they were as children or young men, Velarde's emphasis on his being a *paisano* of Tuñón y Quirós's reveals just how strongly Spaniards identified with their region or community of origin.

27. The paleography of this document is extremely difficult because of Velarde's cramped and elliptical handwriting. A particular problem is the date the document was written. In *After Kino*, Donohue cites the date as March 2, 1722, and we concur. Kessell in "The Puzzling Presidio," on the other hand, gives the date as March 8, while the DRSW Master Bibliography (60–222) lists it as May 9. Such variation points out how hard it is at times to determine basic information from the primary documents themselves.

28. Luis Javier Velarde, S.J. (1677–1737) was born in Valladolid, Spain. By 1709, he was in New Spain, at Puebla, and by 1715, he was working in the Sonoran missions, serving at Opodepe, Caborca, and Dolores, where he died. He was rector of the missions of the Pimería Alta in 1718.

próximo peligro en que está de perderse esta provincia de Sonora, cumpliendo en esto con el cargo que la compañía ha encomendado a vuestra reverencia como a tan celoso ministro de Dios y leal vasallo de su majestad. Y siendo estas dos incumbencias tan propias de cualquiera individuo de la Compañía de Jesús, estoy persuadido me obligan con más estrechez por hallarme ministro y superior de las nuevas conversiones de esta Pimería Alta, por cuyo mayor adelantamiento tanto ha sudado vuestra reverencia y se va logrando a repetidas instancias de su celo, así en las dos renovadas misiones de Tubutama y Caborica que se miran gustosas y con sus nuevos ministros, como en las que esperan ansiosas estas otras del norte, con muy fundadas esperanzas de ver en breve toda esta Pimería debajo del yugo suavísimo de la fe, que de haber ayudado, como debía, el mencionado capitán, no hubiéramos suspirado estos tan continuados deseos.

Ocho años ha que me señaló la santa obediencia para esta misión de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, primera planta de esta nueva viña que plantó el reverendo padre Eusebio Francisco Kino con excesivos trabajos y regó con continuados sudores y fatigas, extendiéndose su celo a toda esta Pimería, que corrió con más de cuarenta entradas en el espacio de 24 años que vivió en ella, atrayendo a todos estos pimas y algunas naciones confinantes no sólo a la noticia de Dios y de su santa fe, y preparando sus corazones para recibirla con poco trabajo de los operarios que le siguiesen, sino también a la obediencia del rey nuestro señor.

Es verdad que los frutos que prometían estas tan bien fundadas esperanzas se helaron en gran parte con el alboroto de algunos malévolos del poniente, hostigados más que permitía lo tierno de sus principios, por la imprudencia de un teniente de alcalde mayor, pero como la mayor y más principal porción de la Pimería no tuvo intervención en estos atentados, con poco trabajo y ayuda de las armas de su majestad, en breve volvió a su primer sosiego. Siendo la sangre del reverendo padre Francisco Javier Saeta, que murió en Caborica a manos de los sacrílegos, riego que preparó más colmados frutos, que se experimentaron con la venida de nuevos operarios, y hubiera llegado al colmo de la perfección, sino fuere por los accidentes que sobrevinieron, en nada culpables a los superiores y demás sujetos de la compañía, como expresaré siempre y cuando fuere necesario, y que considerados con reflexión atenta, sólo pueden atribuirse a ocultas permisiones de la divina providencia que sabe, el cómo y el cuándo ha de preparar los medios más conducentes al logro de los altísimos fines de sus disposiciones soberanas, superiores e insondables a la limitada capacidad de nuestros flacos discursos y cortos entendimientos.

Pero si es lícito rastrear algo de lo que se oculta en los abismos incomprensibles de la divina voluntad, creo, no será temeridad el afirmar que mucha o la mayor causa de los atrasos o cortos adelantamientos de la fe entre estos pobres desvalidos ha estado de parte del descuido del dicho capitán don Gregorio, pues debiendo con continuas visitas fomentar a los ministros evangélicos en sus espirituales conquistas y empleos apostólicos, ha vivido tan descuidado que no ha hecho caso de esta tan primera obligación de su empleo. Es verdad que en los primeros años de su capitania acudió a las representaciones de los padres Eusebio Kino, que aún vivía y Agustín de Campos, que ha treinta años vive en esta Pimería, pero también diré, y sin juicio temerario, que en eso sólo atendió a sus conveniencias y adelantamiento, pues las oposiciones que tuvo para entrar en el oficio, y los atrasos que experimentaba para la manutención de la compañía de su cargo, cuyos

situados había consumido con sus pleitos en México, le obligaron a hacer de necesidad lo que no ha ejecutado después que se vio asegurado en el empleo, y en alguna forma en los créditos y en la hacienda, con cuáles medios no hay quien lo ignore en la tierra, ni éste es lugar de expresarlos.

Diré que había ocho años que fui señalado a esta Pimería, y lo diré para asegurar como testigo de experiencia, que en todo este tiempo no se ha hecho una visita en ella, porque aunque han venido en dos ocasiones algunos soldados, ha sido para otros efectos. La primera vino el teniente Juan Bautista Escalante, al mismo tiempo que yo entré en esta misión y eso fue para averiguar el fundamento que tenían las voces esparcidas por algunos desafectos a los pimas, de ser estos autores de la muerte que dieron los enemigos apaches a un español en el camino que va de aquí, a San Ignacio. Nada averiguó contra los pimas, antes sí, certificado ser los apaches los ejecutores, sin pasar de la misión de nuestro padre San Ignacio, se volvió luego a su presidio.

La otra fue por mayo pasado de 1721, que a puras instancias de vuestra reverencia, vinieron cinco soldados con un cabo para que los padres que había de poner y puse en Tubutama y Caborica, fuesen con alguna decencia acompañados. Mas vinieron los dichos tan desaviados, que desde el pueblo de Santiago de Cocóspera empezaron a molestar a los indios para que les prestasen bestias, como lo hicieron; y llegados a San Ignacio apuraron tanto al gobernador con sus acostumbradas insolencias, que se vio obligado (por estar el padre en el Tupó) a aviarlos con caballos de la misión, sin noticia del padre, a quien no se dignaron de pedirlos, para pasar a aquí. Y si yo no los hubiera aviado, no hubieran podido pasar a acompañar a los padres.

Y aunque después les pedí pasasen a visitar algunas rancherías, y ejecutar otras diligencias, ofreciéndoles avío de bestias y bastimentos, me fingió tales pretextos el cabo, y lo ceñido que traía el orden, por haber de ir a una campaña, que hasta ahora no se ha hecho, que perdí lograr algunos buenos efectos en servicio de Dios, por su mucha prisa, o no se qué me diga con. Y sin haber servido de otra cosa que de bien parecer, pues como no trajeron intérprete, no pudieron dar a los indios aquellos saludables consejos y tlatoles que se estilan y son de su obligación, en semejantes ocasiones, se volvieron a su presidio. Escalante escribió venían los dichos soldados a nuestra disposición, y en virtud de esta carta, nos pareció conveniente quedasen dos compañeros con los padres (no porque lo necesiten los pimas) para algún alivio o compañía en tanta soledad, a lo menos por un mes. Pero el uno nos engañó con no se qué pretexto, que aprobó su cabo Cristóbal de Espinosa, y al otro le envió a llamar ocultamente el mismo cabo, y juntamente envió un recado al padre Gallardi, diciendo mandaba yo se viniese, con que el padre sin más averiguar, como verdadero obediente, le despachó muy bien aviado y agasajado. Haga vuestra reverencia concepto de este modo tan poco sincero de proceder, mientras yo paso a otras cosas.

Algunas de las causas que persuaden y convencen la necesidad de las visitas en esta Pimería, expreso en ese fiel traslado de la carta consulta, que hice al capitán don Antonio Becerra, cuando vino por visitador de esta provincia de Sonora, en virtud de la cual, y de las representaciones que hizo como tan experimentado, consiguió despacho, que vino a mí dirigido, del señor don Manuel San Juan y Santa Cruz, gobernador entonces de la Vizcaya, para que se ejecutasen las dos visitas todos los años; pero vino tan poco eficaz, o tan de cumplimiento, que

no tuve ánimo para intimárselo a don Gregorio, porque reconocí la facilidad con que le eludiría, con cualquiera frívola excusa, de que tiene abundancia en los censos de su autoridad. Es testigo vuestra reverencia, que por su mano le remití, al presente gobernador don Martín de Alday, escribiendo a su señoría, y apuntando las causas de no haberle intimado, le supliqué le autorizase y mandase ejecutar con algún mayor apremio; pero habiendo dos años o poco menos que ejecuté esta diligencia, hasta ahora aún no ha llegado la confirmación del despacho, ni respuesta de la carta. Los motivos o fines no alcanzo, aunque no me sería difícil indagarlos, guiado de lo que nos sucedió con otro despacho, que nos vino antes del mismo señor don Manuel de San Juan, por interposición del padre Luis Mancuso, lo cual expresaré si fuese necesario, y lo omito para pasar al caso del presente asunto.

Este es, que las visitas no se ejecutan con gravísimos inconvenientes de presente, y otros que con muy racionales fundamentos pueden temerse, pues nos vemos precisados a disimular muchos excesos, que con facilidad se remediarán sólo con la sombra del real auxilio en sus armas. Cada día suceden muertes entre los pimas, ya por sus controversias, ya con los pretextos de hechicerías, ya por sus oposiciones antiguas, ya por otros motivos tan fútiles, cuales se pueden presumir, de la cortedad e incapacidad de estos miserables. Y no las podemos estorbar enviando solos a nuestros gobernadores o justicias. Porque como los ven desabriganos, les tienen poco respeto no sólo los gentiles, sino algunos cristianos malévolos que viven en lo más retirado; y de procurar el castigo o remedio, por mano de los pimas solos, quizá se siguieran algunos alborotos, convocándose las parcialidades, que a fuerza de industria, dádivas y tlatoles del padre Agustín, tan diestro en su lengua y tan práctico en conocerlos, se mantienen en alguna quietud y sosiego. Los hechiceros son muchos, las maldades que ejecutan continuas, y los otros vicios frecuentes aún en algunos bautizados; que para vivir con más anchura, se retiran por allá dentro, y todo es fuerza tolerarlo y disimularlo por vernos tan desamparados del capitán, atento sólo a las minas, haciendas y granjerías.

Fuera de que siendo los pimas los que, sin disputa a nuestro juicio, hacen oposición a los enemigos apaches por estas partes, cuyos insultos, aunque tantos al presente, fueran mucho mayores a no tener el contrapeso de los pimas, que con tanto desnudo los persiguen. Viéndose estos desamparados de las armas del rey, que debían ayudarlos a supeditar el común enemigo, y que ellos solos por lo general llevan el peso de la guerra. ¿Quién no temerá con mucho fundamento vuelvan a unirse y amistarse entre sí, como lo estaban ahora 38 años, en daño común de la provincia, del presidio, de las misiones antiguas, de la minería, comercio y vecindad?

Añada vuestra reverencia, que como ven que los soldados no ejecutan una campaña, no salen en seguimiento de las muchas caballadas que sacan hurtadas los apaches, ni ponen remedio en las frecuentes muertes que suceden en los caminos; y por otra parte ellos matan apaches, hacen sus campañas, y quitan algunas caballadas. No les tienen aquel miedo que solían, ni hacen tanto aprecio de su valor, y más cuando no ignoran, que en algunas ocasiones han hecho huir los apaches a los soldados. Puedo jurar "*in verbo sacerdotis*," que en los ocho años que vivo en esta pimería, han muerto y apresado los pimas, con sus diligencias, más de 130 apaches; y aunque a ellos les ha costado más de 30 o 35 vidas de hombres y mujeres, que han sacrificado al bien común, y a las armas de los apaches,



en varias ocasiones en este mismo tiempo; están contentos y aún se glorían que hacen más que los soldados, los cuales, si digo que en estos mismos ocho años han muerto y apresado 15 enemigos, creo me alargo demasiado.

Pues, ¿qué inconvenientes y malas consecuencias se pueden temer de todas estas cosas? Hasta los pimas viejos y de algún juicio, claman que la causa de ser los mocetones retobados, y no obedecer a sus justicias, es que los soldados no los visitan como de antes, y cada día me instan algunos bien intencionados, envíe a llamar a Escalante, sin saber qué ejecutan sobre el caso, pues ni aún se ha dignado responderme a varias cartas que le he escrito sobre ello.

Una misma, a mi pobre juicio, es la causa de no ejecutarse estas visitas, ni poner remedio a los graves daños que se tocan en toda la provincia, y mayores que se temen. Esta es: el descuido sumo del capitán, atento sólo a adelantar su caudal en el comercio, minería y demás inteligencias que ninguno ignora, sin cuidar de su presidio, que se halla y hallado tantos años ha, desaviado de gente, de armas, de caballos y demás cosas necesarias para su manutención, y cumplimiento del fin; y a que su majestad le instituye con tan crecidos gastos. Tocarelo brevemente sin salir de la verdad en lo que sé, así de ciencia propia, como por noticias no vulgares.

Cuando entré en esta provincia de Sonora, hace nueve años, ya no vivía en el presidio don Gregorio, sino en el real de Nacozari, beneficiando metales; él decía que por entretenimiento, por estar enfermo; mas la experiencia ha mostrado que tuvo por profesión la minería, abandonando las obligaciones del empleo de capitán, pues no ha vuelto al presidio, sino alguna vez por pocos días, y así en Basochuca como en Jamaica. Sólo ha atendido a los adelantamientos, minas y haciendas de sacar plata, con otras inteligencias que nadie ignora en la tierra. Todo este tiempo ha tenido cuatro o cinco soldados en su servicio, y en el ejercicio de cuidar sus muladas de carboneros, leñadores y otros ministerios propios de sus inteligencias, y ajenos de la profesión militar, de que soy testigo en algunas ocasiones.

Fuera de esto, siempre ha tenido no pocas plazas vacas, de lo cual tengo noticia cierta, así por habérselo oído al mismo, como a los oficiales de su presidio, y a otras personas de toda verdad, que me han asegurado ha habido ocasiones en que han faltado 15 plazas, llenando los poderes anuales que remite a México para la cobranza del situado en muchas formas supuestas, o de personas que ni son ni han sido soldados. Lo cual dicen las personas inteligentes se pudiere averiguar sin excusa o tergiversación del capitán, remitiendo a persona timorata y celosa del servicio de su majestad, los poderes dichos para que los cotejasen, en que manifestamente se viera la evidencia, y se aclarara ciertamente la verdad.

Otros soldados tiene en varias ocasiones empleados en correos y agentes de sus negocios, otros en diferentes ejercicios dirigidos sólo a sus adelantamientos. Y (tiene) el presidio tan destituido que apenas ha habido la escolta suficiente para la caballada, siendo tan poca, y para el cuerpo de guardia; y éstos tan desaviados, tan faltos de armas, cueras y pertrechos, que era voz común el año pasado que temían que los apaches se llevaban [llevara] la caballada y a los soldados con ella. Habrá 15 meses que me dijo un soldado llamado Juan Lorenzo García, que sólo 25 hombres podían trabajar en el presidio, pues fuera de los que tenía en su casa el capitán y nueve plazas que había entonces vacas, otros estaban imposibilitados, por haber vendido sus cueras, armas y caballos, para medio cubrir a sus desnudas mujeres y sustentar a sus hijitos. Otros se ven obligados a sembrar sus miipitas, otros salen a buscar en las minas, y no pocos se han huído obligados de la necesi-

dad, y del maltrato de palabras que oyen cuando la representan al capitán, y esto debiéndoles muchos pesos, por gastar la ropa que venía para ellos, en los sirvientes y tráfago de la minería. Y si alguno le ha hablado con alguna resolución, luego le borra plaza, metiendo pobres hombres y muchachos, que no sepan hablar, ni obrar en las ocasiones, para librarse de los quienes ha mirado como fiscales de sus acciones. ¿Qué me canso? Cuando es voz común en la tierra, que el rey nuestro señor tiene pagados de sus reales cajas y en pesos efectivos, 50 criados, que sólo sirvan a don Gregorio y no a su majestad.

De adonde se siguen los gravísimos desórdenes en la disciplina militar, de que continuamente estamos oyendo sentidas quejas y vivos clamores de los pobres, y aún de los ricos, de los españoles y de los indios, que experimentan de mano de los soldados lo que quizá no ejecutarán ni enemigos. Mas don Gregorio no lo remedia, porque como no ocurre a su pobreza y necesidad, poco se le da se quejen los pobres, cuando él hace su negocio. La lástima es, que nada se ha remediado con la visita que hizo el sargento mayor don Domingo Picado, pues sabemos todos que con algunas cueras y arcabuces, y muchísimos caballos prestados y recogidos entre varios soldados, pasó una muestra, según dicen, muy lúcida, pero con ajenas luces que se apagaron luego que el visitador volvió las espaldas; además que le buscó casamiento no poco rico, en que le apadrinó el capitán.

Y no falta quien diga (quizá no será así) que hubo muy buenos tepusques para ser medianeros de la honrosa certificación que le dieron. A vista del mismo visitador señaló unos cuantos soldados, que le fuesen a herrar el ganado, y caballada a la estancia, y porque uno le dijo que no era esa su obligación, sin valerle el respeto del sargento mayor, le trató, muy, muy mal de palabra, y quiso cintarearle. También con noticia del dicho visitador (a quien tiene dados seis soldados, que le están sirviendo de muleros, amansar potros y andar con él) despachó una escuadra de 18, comandada de su suegro Ortiz (quizá tirara alguna plaza, como me consta la tiraba antes un cuñado del capitán, y otro compadre suyo) a la sierra de Guaynopa en las vertientes de la Tarahumara, a buscar no sé qué mina de plata virgen de que le había noticiado su dicho suegro, y esto en ocasión de estar la tierra llena de enemigos, y haciendo mil hostilidades.

Mucho más sabrá vuestra reverencia, y omito yo, por no alargarme demasiado, y porque lo apuntado basta a mi parecer, para hacer el concepto debido de la materia, y quizá dejo mil cosas porque no las atribuyen a exageraciones, o malevolencia hacia el capitán, pero a bien, que los que saben que es mi paisano, y que nos criamos juntos, me libraré de esta sospecha. Concluyendo con decir a vuestra reverencia que los mismos motivos, que, habiendo esta relación, y la de ser mi compadre, me obligaron a darle de mano. Viendo sus poco ajustadas operaciones, nada flexibles a los consejos con que más de una vez pretendí reducirle a buen camino, me estimulan a decir sinceramente y con ingenuidad religiosa, ajena de pasión, todo lo que llevo proferido, en lo cual me ratifico, y tengo por verdadero. Oiga y quiera Dios Nuestro Señor que todo ceda a mayor gloria suya, bien del alma del dicho capitán, remedio de los pobres y sosiego de la provincia, con muchos adelantamientos en la fe, y creencia de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo. Que más dé a vuestra reverencia los muchos años que deseo y en cuyos santos sacrificios [ilegible] de esta misión de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, y marzo 2 de 1722 años.

Menor siervo, y súbdito de vuestra reverencia

JHS Luis Javier Velarde





## VIII

### Juan Bautista de Anza Discusses Apache and Seri Depredations and the Need for a Presidio at Terrenate (1729-1735)

**C**aptain Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder was one of the best Indian fighters of his generation. As commander of Fronteras presidio, his primary responsibilities were to protect the missions of the Pimería Alta and to defend Sonora against the Western Apaches. But he campaigned against the Seris as well, invading Tiburón Island in 1729. Those campaigns gave him a detailed knowledge of Apache and Seri raiding and warfare. As a result, he was able to offer a sober and realistic assessment of Spanish military needs along the Sonoran frontier when asked to do so by Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, the first governor of Sinaloa-Sonora.

He also provided scholars with invaluable ethnographic information about the two groups. Anza noted that most Apache raids were carried out by small groups who disappeared into the mountains when pursued. Their object was to elude, not engage, their enemies. On other occasions, however, large numbers of warriors gathered together to attack Spanish settlements or military patrols.

Two hundred years later, elderly Western Apaches drew the same distinction for anthropologist Grenville Goodwin.<sup>1</sup> According to them, the purpose of raiding—literally translated, “to search out enemy property”—was to run off livestock. Raiding parties usually consisted of five to fifteen men from the same local group. By contrast, warfare—“to take death from an enemy”—often united a hundred or more warriors from different bands. The primary purpose of war parties was to avenge the death of kinsmen by killing as many of the enemy as possible. It is a testimony to Anza’s experience and insight that in 1735 he recognized the difference between Apache raiding and warfare.

Anza also realized how difficult it was to pacify the Seri Indians. He described the vastness and aridity of their territory, and pointed out how they took refuge not only in the estuaries and mountains of the Sonoran mainland but on Tiburón Island as well. Thirty years later, the Spanish government mounted the largest military expedition in Sonoran colonial history to subjugate the Seris and their

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1. Keith H. Basso (ed.), *Western Apache Raiding and Warfare*.

*Pima allies. That expedition encountered the same problems that Anza mentioned in this document.*

*Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Anza's testimony, however, is his revelation that Spanish military commanders were providing rations to Apaches who settled near their presidios at least fifty years before Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez issued his famous instructions in 1786. Gálvez told his commanders to give the Apaches "defective firearms, strong liquor, and such other commodities as would render them militarily and economically dependent upon the Spaniards." This cynical but effective policy of bribery led to the creation of the establecimientos de paz, or Apache peace camps, along the frontier.<sup>2</sup> It was a policy men like Anza experimented with years earlier—a policy, in fact, that first evolved during the Chichimec wars of the sixteenth century in north-central New Spain.<sup>3</sup>*

*Anza's solution to Apache and Seri hostilities was to establish a new presidio on the Río Terrenate, or San Pedro River, just south of the modern international border. Actually, the proposal was first advanced by Juan Mateo Manje. Anza merely commented upon it at the request of Huidobro, who asked two other military men—Agustín de Vildósola and Gabriel Prudhom Heyder Butrón y Mújica—to do the same. A major Indian revolt in Baja California in 1736 prevented Huidobro from acting upon their recommendations. In the aftermath of the Yaqui Revolt, however, the Spanish government approved two new presidios—one at Pitic (modern Hermosillo), and another at Terrenate—in 1741.*

**D**on Juan Bautista de Anza, *capitán vitalicio* and commander of the company and royal presidio of Santa Rosa de Corodéguaichi in this province of Sonora, appointed by the king, our lord, may God protect him.<sup>4</sup> Because I have seen and had dealings with the Apache nation, I will begin here to set forth

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2. David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, pp. 233–34; William B. Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace*.

3. Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver*.

4. Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder (1694–1740) was born in Spain, of Basque descent, but emigrated to northern New Spain as a young man. *Anza* means "rolling grassland spotted with dwarf elder trees" in Basque (see Garate, "Basque Names"). He served as teniente alcalde mayor of Sonora under Rafael Pacheco Cevallos in 1720, and then moved to the villa of Chihuahua. In 1725, after suspending Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, Pedro de Rivera recommended that Anza be named captain of Fronteras presidio at Corodéguaichi. As captain, Anza distinguished himself as one of the most able and tenacious military commanders in Sonora, campaigning against Upper and Lower Pima rebels and against the Seri and Apache Indians. In 1736, after large silver nuggets were found at the *real* of Arizonac southwest of modern Nogales, Anza took charge of the situation and petitioned the viceroy to declare the silver buried treasure rather than natural deposits, thereby reserving the discovery for the royal treasury. Anza hoped to use the silver to finance the expansion of the Pimería Alta missions and to establish a land route between them and California. His dream ended when he was ambushed and killed by Apaches on May 9, 1740, after leaving the mission of Santa María de Suamca, but his more famous son of the same name did link Sonora to California in 1776.

my report, putting aside other matters, in order to fulfill my obligation to tell of current affairs. I do so in obedience to the decree sent out on July 8 of this year by Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, first governor and capitán general vitalicio of the province of Sinaloa, of this province [of Sonora], and of their annexations, presidios, borderlands, and sea coasts to the south.<sup>5</sup> Don Manuel was appointed by his majesty, may God protect him. He issued his decree in light of the request presented to him by the *apoderado general* of this province, Captain Juan Mateo Manje.<sup>6</sup> In it he orders me to give my individual report.

As I have heard from Captain Manje and other longtime residents of the area, several cattle and horse ranches have been abandoned because of attacks by the Apaches and their allies. The ruins of these ranches are still visible. The Apaches have stolen and slaughtered great numbers of cattle and horses. They have murdered Spaniards and friendly Indians, and have besieged villages. From the time I came to this province in 1715, I have seen the killing and the looting the Apaches have committed.

I went on to serve your majesty at the presidio at Janos, where I was promoted to commander in 1726. Later, due to your majesty's kindness, I attained the position of capitán vitalicio of the aforementioned presidio and its company. During that time, while on campaign or in pursuit of stolen horses, I have punished our enemies in various ways for the murders they have committed. I did this in order to curb their attacks. A good number of the enemy have therefore come and offered peace to Captain Don Antonio Becerra, who was captain of the presidio of Janos in 1732. (They did the same on other occasions as well.) Captain Becerra sought to attract them to a more civilized way of life by granting them sufficient supplies of food and other gifts. At the same time, however, they and other bands of their nation continued to enter the province to commit their usual attacks. In October 1733, they offered to make peace with me. I accepted their offer and released the women and children who had been captured a few days earlier. Two days later, they attacked again, just as we expected.

In compliance with the repeated mandates of our lord and king (may God protect him), the instructions of Viceroy Marqués de Casafuerte, and the requirements of Christian charity, I have sought to gain the Apaches' goodwill. I have done so by employing the methods that usually achieve that end—sending them horses, loads of food, coarse cloth, blankets, and knives. A few families began to arrive. Lately as many as eighty men and women have camped within four gunshots of the presidio under my command. Other families are nearby. We have been bribing them with food, clothing, and whatever else they covet (as is public knowledge) and have planted a field of corn so they can enjoy the harvest. Yet in spite of all this, they departed under the pretext of going hunting, running off a

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5. Huidobro was the first governor of Sinaloa-Sonora, which was separated from Nueva Vizcaya in 1732.

6. A leading elder statesmen of Sonora in the 1730s, Manje must have been serving as the authorized representative—*apoderado general*—of Sonora, the northernmost of the provinces within the larger *gobernación* of Sinaloa-Sonora. Prior to the creation of that political unit, Sonora was governed by an *alcalde mayor*.

few horse herds along the way. About the same time, the Apaches at the presidio of Janos did the same. They offered peace in order to massacre its inhabitants. I suspect that the Apaches intended to do the same thing at the presidio under my command.<sup>7</sup>

And even though they later sent two or three old men and women under the false pretense of continuing our friendship, I did not cease to provide for them, giving them whatever they desired. Nevertheless, it was evident that peace was just a ploy for them to rob at liberty, as they had been doing. Their wickedness exceeded itself when they took the life of an Indian from the pueblo of Cumpas.<sup>8</sup> Others who escaped from them terrified the province with news of these attacks. For that reason, I decided to oust them from their camps in a mountain range known as Las Espuelas, about twenty leagues from this presidio.<sup>9</sup> I guessed they were there because tracks from their raids led that way. The first time I was not able to find them. The second time I set out, however, I encountered some of them at the summit of a mountain, along with their women and children. Five of the men were punished because they did not want to surrender. Others escaped, stealing a dozen horses from the *real* of Nacozari, twenty leagues from the presidio under my command.

They live in small, dispersed rancherías, both in their own lands and when they seek the protection of the impregnable mountain ranges along the frontier. Hence, if they are found, only a small number are seized. Only those who have attempted it know how difficult it is to apprehend them. Our troops usually march in search of them at night so they cannot discover us by the dust of our horses. Despite these precautions, however, they often discover us by scouring the countryside on fast horses or on foot, whereby they cover the ground almost as quickly as on horseback. This discovery habitually occurs the day after the troops depart because they know the troops do not take to the trails for any other purpose. Within two hours, Apaches great distances away are aware of our presence because the first to find our tracks raises the alarm and others take up the cry wherever tracks are found. And even though they always inhabit regions of great strategic advantage, they at-

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7. Providing hostile Indians with food, clothing, and other goods in return for peace became a major policy in northern New Spain during the Chichimec wars of the 1580s. By the following decade, presidios in north-central Mexico were functioning as peace agencies that dispensed rations to Indians who settled nearby (see Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver*). In Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya, that policy was refined and extended during the late eighteenth century by Spanish officials such as Teodoro de Croix, Bernardo de Gálvez, and Pedro de Nava (see Weber, *Spanish Frontier*). One result was the establishment of permanent Apache communities near the presidios of Tucson and Janos, and at Bacoachi southwest of the presidio of Fronteras (see Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*; Griffen, *Apaches at War*). Those communities survived for the rest of the colonial period and did not begin to disintegrate until funds for the ration program dried up after Mexican independence (see Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith*).

8. Cumpas is located along the Río Moctezuma, a tributary of the Río Yaqui. It was founded as a Jesuit mission among the Opata Indians in 1644.

9. The Sierra Espuelas are a southeastern outlier of the Sierra San Luis along the continental divide. The mountains are east and slightly north of Fronteras.

tain even greater advantage by taking positions where they cannot be attacked, in a land as vast as an ocean, with their backs secure.

When they come to plunder it is in small groups. Those groups penetrate deep into our province by following different routes along the more than one hundred leagues that border upon it. We have tried to pursue them, but we have not succeeded because they take refuge in the uninterrupted mountain ranges that surround this province. The country is so rugged that not even a track can be immediately recognized. From these mountains they spy out horses, mules, and cattle roaming the countryside and at night they round them up and drive them away. And if they see any persons traveling through a narrow pass, they come out to kill them.

Sometimes, however, they gather in large numbers to mount a major attack against travelers, soldiers, or settlements. This happens especially when they come together with others of the same tribe from farther north. I have done my duty in opposing these raids, but with the forces under my command it is not possible to put an end to the damages they cause and can cause in so vast a province. With good reason, the inhabitants of the province are fearful of seeing themselves destroyed by such a cruel and pernicious enemy. Yet since it is difficult to know where the Apaches are going to vent their fury next, it is difficult to guard against them.

Add to this the fact that frequently the border remains unguarded because our troops are far away fighting the Seris, who are even more cruel than the Apaches. It is well known that the Seris have burned homes and hunted down boats, killing young and old alike. If every effort had not been made to repel them, they undoubtedly would have wiped out a large part of the province. Because of their familiarity with the region, the Seris knew and continue to know how dispersed the inhabitants are, and how easily their homes can be set ablaze. For that purpose, the zeal of your excellency furnished me with the majority of the soldiers in this small company. And while they are stationed along the frontier, the troops under my command have also been employed in that same expedition [against the Seris]—sometimes half of them, sometimes more, sometimes less.

Great assistance has also been rendered in that regard by the sergeant major of the militia, Agustín de Vildósola, by the *capitán de caballos* and teniente mayor, Gabriel Prudhom Butrón y Mújica, who was formerly of this province, and by the reverend missionary fathers of the Society of Jesus.<sup>10</sup> With their help, we were able to punish and terrify the enemy. This was particularly fortunate because the Seris have so many refuges on Tiburón Island as well as in the estuaries, mountains, and thickets [of the mainland]. As is well known, there is a total lack of water and pasture in those places. Soldiers and horses therefore cannot remain on campaign as long as is necessary. Because of such difficulties, the Indians have dared to mount

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10. Agustín de Vildósola served as *sargento mayor* of the Sonoran militia from 1728–1741. Gabriel de Prudhom Butrón y Mújica, Baron de Heijder, was *alcalde mayor* of Sonora from 1727–1733. He founded the mining *real* of Arizonac in 1730.



their uprisings. As for their untrustworthiness, we have learned from experience always to be suspicious of all except those few individuals who have proved their loyalty. Last month, for example, in the Bay of Tepocas, [some Indians] attacked a launch and killed some of those on board.<sup>11</sup> As the judicial proceedings in the possession of your excellency indicate, it was not clear until now who committed this assault. We now know, however, that more than seven Seri Tepocas were the aggressors.<sup>12</sup> Two of them have been captured by other members of their tribe led by their captain, Don Miguel Basus. Basus killed another who resisted and has also taken on the task of bringing in the remaining four. They, it is said, have gone over to the island [of Tiburón].

The border embracing Seri territory is more than seventy leagues long. It includes the coastlands and the aforementioned Tiburón Island, where eighty Seris have taken refuge, as your excellency knows. The Pimería Baja begins adjacent to this territory to the south. The inhabitants of that land have caused us no small amount of trouble. In 1725, when part of that group rose in rebellion, you yourself took part in their pacification. The natives of the Pimería Alta, who live north of Seri territory, also have not ceased their unrest. I therefore have had to attend to them as well. Because these disturbances break out in so many different places, all at the same time, our forces are stretched extremely thin. They live in a continuous state of shock from experiencing so many misfortunes.

In view of all this, I declare that it would be very advantageous to found a new presidio along the Río Terrenate in the Pimería Alta, on the border of the Apaches.<sup>13</sup> The redeployment of the troops of the company of Sinaloa, which was reorganized in 1726, will also be most useful.<sup>14</sup> As the *podatario general* of this province has expressed in his proposal, taking these measures will preserve and spread the Holy Gospel, and secure his majesty's lands. In their accompanying statements, the sergeant major of the militia, Agustín de Vildósola, and the capitán de caballos Gabriel Prudhom Butrón y Mújica express the same opinion. Expenses to the royal exchequer may increase. Because all of this region is rich in minerals, however, we hope that the new mines that will be discovered will defray the costs and even increase the revenues of the royal treasury.

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11. The Bay of Tepocas was probably the bay formed by Punta Sargento on the mainland across from the northeast coast of Tiburón Island. Spaniards had been searching for pearls in the area since the late 1720s. Their launches were occasionally attacked by Seris living in the region.

12. The Spaniards recognized a number of geographic or political subdivisions among the Seris, including the Tepocas, who occupied the northern stretches of Seri territory.

13. During the 1730s, Terrenate was an *estancia* in the upper San Pedro Valley east of the mission of Santa María Soamca. To the north (downstream) the Sobaipuri Pimas clung tenaciously to the banks of the San Pedro in the face of tremendous pressure from the Western and Chiricahua Apaches.

14. The ancient presidio of Sinaloa was constantly being redeployed throughout Sonora. The reorganization Anza refers to is the one carried out by Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera (see Naylor and Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera*). In 1741, after the Yaqui Revolt, it was temporarily transferred to Buenavista on the eastern margins of Yaqui country.

I conclude by emphasizing the urgency and necessity of bringing in new troops with all due speed. At the very least, the positions of the aforementioned company of Sinaloa should be redeployed in order to have a competent squad of soldiers on the border of the Seris and Lower Pimas. If this is not done, we can expect the decline of this province. Because of their general poverty, the inhabitants of the province will not be able to take action against the revolts except to engage in a few border skirmishes. There is no doubt that they come to the scene when trouble occurs. But after consuming the supplies provided by zealous persons with the means to do so, they must return to their homes and reduce the stores of their own families. Even with this assistance, supplies are rapidly depleted. The war with the Indians is very protracted because the Indians manage to conceal themselves. Concealment is their greatest defense. It is therefore necessary to give the regular soldiers hope that help is forthcoming. This is all I need to report to your excellency in this opinion.

The pueblo of the glorious San Miguel Arcángel de los Ures,<sup>15</sup> August 13, 1735.  
Juan Bautista de Anza

*From AGI, Guadalajara 135, ff. 148-53.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**D**on Juan Bautista de Anza, capitán vitalicio y comandante por el rey, nuestro señor (que Dios guarde), de la compañía y presidio real de Santa Rosa de Corodéguchi de esta provincia de Sonora. En obediencia del decreto expedido por el señor don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro primer gobernador y capitán general vitalicio de la provincia de Sinaloa, ésta, sus anexas, presidio y fronteras, y costas del mar del sur (por su majestad que Dios guarde), a los 8 de julio próximo pasado del corriente año, y proveído en virtud del escrito presentado a su señoría por el capitán don Juan Mateo Manje, apoderado general de esta dicha provincia, los que me ordena informe individualmente, sobre su asunto, y hallándome, en cumplimiento de mi obligación para practicar de lo que ocurre, he visto, y experimentado con la nación apache, principiaré por aquí y descenderé a otros particulares y a exponer mi dictamen.

Supuesto haber oído al expresado capitán Manje y a otros antiguos vecinos que por las invasiones de los referidos apaches y otras naciones, sus aliadas, se despoblaron en esta provincia algunas estancias de ganados y caballadas, y cuyas ruinas aún se ven, y robado y matado gruesa cantidad de esta especie, practicado varias muertes, en españoles e indios amigos, y asediados pueblos. Desde el año pasado de 1715 que entré en esta citada provincia, observé las hostilidades de muertes y robos, que en ella cometían los referidos apaches.

Pasé después a servir a su majestad al presidio de Janos, de donde fui promovido por comandante, el año 1726. Y después, por la benignidad de su majes-

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15. Ures lies along the Río Sonora. The Jesuits established a mission there among the Lower Pimas in 1636.

tad, de capitán vitalicio de dicho presidio, y su compañía; en cuyo tiempo, así en las campañas que he hecho, como en seguimiento de algunas caballadas que los expresados enemigos se llevaban, (y por las muertes que practicaban) han experimentado varios castigos para deber contenerse. Y si bien, un buen ramo de ellos pasaron a dar la paz al capitán don Antonio Becerra, que lo era del citado presidio de Janos el año de 1732, (y en otras ocasiones practicaron lo mismo), y procuró con franquearles suficientes bastimentos y otras dádivas atraerlos a la vida social. Al mismo tiempo, fuesen de ellos y de otras cuadrillas de su nación, entraban a esta provincia a cometer sus acostumbrados insultos. Los cuales también, el mes de octubre del año pasado de 1733, me enviaron a ofrecerla; y admitida, les restituí las mujeres y muchachos que pocos días antes se les apresó, que se conjeturó que dos días después que enviaron la embajada (que se ignoraba) fue el acaecimiento, como después se les dio a entender.

Y atendiendo a los repetidos mandatos de nuestro rey y señor, que Dios guarde, y al arreglamiento que formó el señor virrey marqués de Casafuerte, y lo que demanda la caridad cristiana, procuré, con toda eficacia, conciliarles las voluntades, poniendo los medios con que suele surtir efecto, principiando con enviarles, caballos, cargas de comida, sayal, frazadas y cuchillos. Y empezaron a venir varias familias, y últimamente se ranchearon hasta ochenta, entre hombres, y mujeres, como cuatro tiros de escopeta del presidio de mi cargo, y otras familias, a su intermediación. Y sin embargo de estarlos sobornando con comida, ropa y cuanto su codicia intentaba (como es público), habiéndoles sembrado una milpa de maíz, para que gozasen de su fruto, se desalojaron con el pretexto de ir a cazar, llevándose de encuentro algunos caballos. Y casi al mismo tiempo practicaron lo mismo los que en el presidio de Janos dieron la paz, habiendo intentado debajo de ella cometer algunos destrozos en sus habitadores, que se puede recelar quisiesen ejecutar lo mismo en el de mi cargo.

Y aunque después enviaban dos o tres viejos y viejas con recaudos falsos de que querían proseguir en nuestra amistad, no me cansé en beneficiarlos, remitiéndoles lo que apetecían, mas se reconoció, que con esta cautela querían a su salvo robar como lo estaban practicando. Y pasó su maldad a quitarle la vida a un indio del pueblo de Cumpas, y otros se les escaparon. Horrorizando con estas hostilidades a la provincia, por cuya razón, conjeturando se hallaban rancheados en la distancia de veinte leguas de este presidio en la sierra que llaman de Las Espuelas, por haberse reconocido iban a ella las huellas, con lo que robaban, determiné ir a desalojarlos; y en segunda salida, por no haber podido descubrirlos en la primera, me encontré con algunos de ellos, sus mujeres e hijos, en lo alto de una sierra, y por no querer rendirse fueron castigados los varones que fueron cinco, y otros escaparon; llevaban hurtados doce caballos del real de Nacozari, veinte leguas del presidio de mi cargo.

Su modo de vivir, sea en sus tierras o cuando se arriman a las inexpugnables sierras de las fronteras, es en rancherías cortas y muy dispersas, porque si son espiaados, no sean cogidos en crecido número, y son tantas las dificultades que se ofrecen para su consecución, que sólo los que lo pulsan pueden dar razón. Las marchas de nuestros campos, regularmente cuando van en su solicitud, son de noche, para que no reconozcan por el polvo que hace la caballada, y sin embargo de esta providencia muchas veces lo consiguen, por tener el cuidado de batir el campo en caballos ligeros, o a pie, que poco menos corren, y esto suele acaecer otro día que sale

el campo, por constarles que por los rumbos no se va a otra diligencia. Y en diferencia de dos horas son noticiosos en distancias bien largas, porque el primero que encuentra con la huella da vinazo[ilegible], y van correspondiendo en cuantas partes se hallan, y si siempre habitan en países de sumas ventajas, se mejoran sin que puedan ser ofendidos, por ser como un mar océano, y con las espaldas seguras.

Cuando entran a robar es en cuadrillas, y por diferentes rumbos, en el espacio de más de cien leguas que por frente tiene esta provincia, por donde internan, y aunque se ha hecho la diligencia de seguirlos, no ha surtido efecto favorable, respecto a ampararse de las sierras continuadas, con que está circunvalada, por cuyo mal país ni aún la huella se puede reconocer seguidamente. Y de dichas sierras espían los caballos, mulas y reses que andan en los campos, y de noche recogen y los llevan, y si ven pasar algunas personas por algunos puertos estrechos, salen a matarlos.

En algunas ocasiones suelen convocarse en número crecido a ver si pueden lograr, sea en viandantes, o soldados, o poblaciones, algún destrozo considerable, especialmente cuando concurren con ellos, los que habitan, (de la misma nación) más internados al norte; en cuya oposición he practicado cuanto ha estado de mi parte, mas como no es posible reparar con las fuerzas de mi cargo a los daños que hacen y pueden hacer en tan vasta provincia, recelan con muchos fundamentos los moradores de ella verse destruidos de tan cruel y molesto enemigo, pues es muy difícil saber dónde pueden ir a descargar su furia para prevenirlos.

Añádese a esto el quedar muchas veces desguarnecida la frontera, por acudir a la oposición de los indios seris en distancia muy lata, siendo aún más crueles estos que los apaches, pues es notorio, las quemas de casas que han practicado, y de embarcaciones que venían a buscar, matando a cuantos chicos y grandes que en ellas encontraron, y si no se hubiera puesto todo esfuerzo en rebatirlos, sin duda hubieran extinguido mucha parte de la provincia (pues como prácticos del país sabían y saben la dispersidad de la vecindad y la facilidad de quemar sus casas). Para cuyo efecto me suministró el celo de vuestra señoría la mayor parte de los soldados de su corta compañía, que aún se mantienen por sus respetos en estas fronteras, ocupándose en esta misma expedición de la de mi cargo, a veces la mitad, y otras veces más, y menos.

Coadyuvando al mismo efecto, el sargento mayor de milicias don Agustín de Vildósola, el capitán de caballos don Gabriel Prudhom Butrón y Mújica, teniente mayor, que fue de esta provincia, y los reverendos padres misioneros de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, con socorros de mucha consideración, por cuyos medios se pudo conseguir el logro de algunos castigos para consternarlos, que no fue poca fortuna, respecto a los receptáculos que tienen, así en la isla del Tiburón, como en las marismas, sierras y montes espesos, en cuyos parajes, como es notorio, hay total escasez de pasto y agua, motivo de no poder mantenerse los soldados y caballos, el tiempo que se requiere. Por cuyos inconvenientes, se han osado estos indios a los levantamientos, y de su inconstancia, cada día se puede recelar (excepto de algunos de ellos que han acreditado su fidelidad) como la experiencia enseña; pues el mes pasado, en la bahía de Tepocas, asaltaron a una canoa y mataron a algunos; bien que hasta el presente no consta, por las diligencias en que vuestra señoría está entendiendo, ser más de siete seris tepocas los agresores, de los cuales se hallan dos presos, habiendo sido aprisionados de los mismos de su nación, acaudillándolos su capitán, don Miguel Basus, quien mató a otro, por habersele resis-

tido; y ha pasado a la diligencia, de traer a los cuatro que restan, los cuales se dice pasaron a la isla.

La frontera que abraza esta nación pasa de setenta leguas, y de ella a las marismas e isla citada del Tiburón, donde se refugian, ochenta, como consta a vuestra señoría. De esta expresada frontera empieza la Pimería Baja, al sur, cuyos naturales no han causado poco cuidado, pues el año pasado de 1725, por haberse levantado parte de la nación, ocurrió vuestro señor a la pacificación; ni en los naturales de la Pimería Alta, que caen al norte, han faltado sus inquietudes, a donde me ha sido preciso atender. Y por tan varias partes, y a un mismo tiempo, ya se deja ver con muy tenues fuerzas, viviendo en un continuo sobresalto de experimentar muchas desgracias.

Supuesto todo lo expresado, digo ser muy conveniente la erección del nuevo presidio en río de Terrenate, cuya situación es en la Pimería Alta, frontera de los apaches, como también el reemplazamiento de las plazas de la compañía de Sinaloa, que se reformaron el año pasado de 1726, con cuya providencia, como expresa el podatario general de esta provincia, en su representación, y los citados sargento mayor de milicias don Agustín de Vildósola, y el capitán de caballos don Gabriel Prudhom Butrón y Mújica, en sus discretos pareceres, se conseguirá la conservación y extensión del santo evangelio, la seguridad de estos dominios de su majestad. Y aunque se aumenten gastos a su real erario, es muy próxima la esperanza de que con el tráfico de las minas que se descubrirán, por ser toda la tierra mineral, subvengan con los reales quintos, y aunque se aumente la real hacienda.

Y concluyo con decir, que es tan urgente y necesario, el de algunas fuerzas con toda prontitud, a lo menos el reemplazamiento de las plazas de la expresada compañía de Sinaloa, para que ábrase una escuadra competente la frontera de los indios seris y pimas bajos, que de lo contrario, se puede esperar la decadencia de esta provincia, de cuya vecindad no se puede hacer mucho aprecio para oponerse a los alzamientos (excepto de algunos fronterizos) por su general pobreza. No hay duda, que ocurren, pero en consumiéndose los bastimentos que aprontan las personas celosas, que tienen algún posible, les precisa volver a sus casas y aún cercenan para sus familias, de dichos bastimentos, y ayudan con esto a consumirse con brevedad. Y siendo muy lata la guerra de los indios, porque procuran esconderse, en que fundan su mayor defensa, es preciso que en los soldados arreglados se ponga la esperanza del remedio. Es cuanto se me ofrece consultar a vuestra señoría y mi dictamen.

Pueblo del glorioso San Miguel Arcángel de los Ures, y Agosto 13 de 1735.

Juan Bautista de Anza



## LX

### Account of Bernal de Huidobro on Yaqui Revolt (1740)

**T**he 1740 Yaqui Revolt was the first of the widespread Indian rebellions that racked northwestern New Spain in the mid-eighteenth century. It involved Mayos, Lower Pimas, and Cáhita-speaking Indians along the Río Fuerte as well. The causes of the rebellion were complex—drought, famine, arrogant missionaries, the penetration of Yaqui territory by non-Yaqui mestizos, mulattoes, and coyotes. But the underlying problem was the increasing competition for Indian land and labor that pitted the Jesuits against Spanish settlers led by Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, the first governor of the new province of Sinaloa-Sonora.

When Jesuits first entered Yaqui territory in 1617, they did so at the request of the Yaquis themselves, who had defeated the Spaniards in battle on three previous occasions. No soldiers marched into Yaqui territory. No Spaniards seized their fields or forced them to work in their mines. The Jesuits were therefore able to develop the eight Yaqui missions in isolation from many of the pressures that undercut missionization in other regions. For half a century, the Yaqui missions were the most peaceful and prosperous in the region, serving as breadbaskets that allowed the Jesuits to expand into the Pimería Alta and Baja California.

By the late 1600s, however, that isolation was beginning to break down. A series of silver strikes on the margins of Yaqui territory in the 1660s led to the creation of a new political unit—San Ildefonso de Ostimuri—around 1666. By 1691, Ostimuri was an *alcaldía mayor* stretching from the south bank of the Yaqui River to the north bank of the Mayo, and from the Sierra Madre to the Gulf of California.<sup>1</sup> Except for Belem, all the Yaqui missions fell within Ostimuri's jurisdiction.

Spanish settlement in the region intensified after 1683, when the discovery of rich silver deposits south of the Mayo River led to the foundation of Alamos a year later. Alamos developed into the largest and most powerful city in Sinaloa-Sonora. Its wealthy miners and merchants resented Jesuit control over the Yaquis and Mayos and tried to pry the Indians loose from the mission system. Caught

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1. Thomas C. Barnes, Thomas Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, *Northern New Spain*, pp. 61, 110; Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, pp. 264–270.

*between these two forces, the Yaquis tried to pursue their own goals of limited political and economic autonomy. They wanted their territorial boundaries respected. They wanted to be paid for their labor when they worked for the missionaries. They wanted to be free of the repartimiento system. Then, in the late 1730s, a series of alternating droughts and floods devastated their fields and forced many to forage in the mountains for wild foods.<sup>2</sup>*

*The result was a dangerously unstable political environment in which civil and religious authorities quarreled openly with one another, and Yaqui leaders aggressively protested both missionary abuses and the growing encroachment of non-Yaquis upon Yaqui lands. The two most prominent Yaqui spokesmen — Juan Ignacio Usacamea (Muni), governor of Rahum, and Bernabé Basoritemea, governor of Huirivis — attempted to advance the Yaqui cause through peaceful means. While they were away presenting their case in Mexico City during the spring of 1740, however, Yaquis and Mayos who had fled their famine-stricken homelands began raiding mines and ranches in Ostimuri. By June, the revolt had engulfed the Yaqui and Mayo Valleys and spread as far south as the Fuerte River. Most Spaniards in the region, including Huidobro, took refuge in Alamos or El Fuerte while the rebels roamed the countryside.<sup>3</sup>*

*From the very beginning, the uprising was fanned by wildly inflated fears on both sides. Rumors that Muni and Bernabé had been murdered and that the Spaniards planned to massacre all Indians spread rapidly among the Yaquis and their confederates. The Spaniards, for their part, believed that Sinaloa-Sonora was crumbling beneath a mighty pan-Indian alliance. Huidobro's panic-stricken assessment of rebel strength and Spanish weakness can only be understood in light of those apprehensions.*

*The reality of the situation, not surprisingly, was more chaotic — and less ominous — than either side perceived. The Yaqui Revolt was never a well-planned, coordinated rebellion like the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. On the contrary, it was a series of local uprisings that developed in response to local developments — resentment against individual missionaries or Spaniards, desperation in the face of serious food shortages, a desire for greater freedom from Spanish and missionary demands. There was no dominant leader and no articulated philosophy of revolt. In many cases, the rebels seemed content to humiliate rather than annihilate their Spanish adversaries.*

*After the Spaniards recovered from their initial shock, in fact, the revolt was relatively easy to suppress. Huidobro's pleas for help notwithstanding, the decisive battle of the rebellion had already taken place on August 26, a week before the following letter was written. That was the day when Agustín de Vildósola and his Sonoran militia defeated rebel forces at Tecoripa, a community of Lower Pimas on the outskirts of Yaqui territory. As a result, Vildósola was hailed as the savior of Sinaloa-Sonora while Huidobro was reviled as an indecisive coward, especially by his Jesuit enemies.*

*But even though Huidobro exaggerated the danger, the Yaqui Revolt terrified*

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2. Edward H. Spicer, *The Yaquis*; Hu-DeHart, *Missionaries*, pp. 59–87.

3. Luis Navarro García, *La sublevación Yaqui de 1740*.

*the Spanish government. After more than a century of tranquillity, the message was clear: the Yaquis, Mayos, and Lower Pimas could no longer be taken for granted. Missions alone could not keep the peace. And so bureaucratic wheels began to grind, and the Spanish military presence was increased in central Sonora — with a new presidio at Pitic and detachments of the presidio of Sinaloa stationed at Buenavista and Baroyeca. Ironically, that presence soon plunged Sonora into more than three decades of savage guerrilla war.*

**M**ost Excellent Sir:<sup>4</sup>

During March of this year, the Yaqui and Mayo Indian nations, who inhabit the provinces of Sinaloa and Ostimuri, rose in rebellion.<sup>5</sup> Since these provinces are within my jurisdiction, I attempted to put an end to this revolt with the weapons and soldiers of the royal presidio of Sinaloa, as well as with the militia companies from the same provinces, which were pleading to be recovered. Nonetheless, the Yaqui and Mayo nations are very large while the forces of his majesty protecting and defending these provinces are very weak. After Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera reduced the size of my company, only thirty soldiers are left under my command.<sup>6</sup> And even though necessity has forced me to form militia companies in the larger settlements of my jurisdiction, all the other residents have no permanent or continuous protection in their households. Moreover, because the local militiamen work in the silver mines or reduction works, or serve as mule drovers or in various other capacities, they are required to leave their homes for extended periods of time in order to make a living and seek profit. As a result, they are not available when needed for an emergency such as the present one. For

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4. The letter is addressed to Pedro Castro Figueroa y Salazar, Duque de la Conquista y Marqués de Gracia Real, who was viceroy of New Spain from August 17, 1740, until his death on August 22, 1741. A native of Coruña, Spain, he won the title Duque de la Conquista in an Italian campaign against the Austrians in 1734.

5. The boundaries of different provinces in northern New Spain were often vaguely defined. Moreover, their borders changed over time, causing considerable confusion in the historical literature. At the time this document was written, the gobernación of Sinaloa-Sonora stretched from the province of Culiacán to the missions of the Pimería Alta. Within that larger political entity, which had been created in 1732, a number of distinct provinces existed. In general, the province of Sinaloa encompassed the coastal plains and foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental from the Río Mocorito on the south to the Río Mayo on the north. Ostimuri, a much smaller province, ranged from the north bank of the Río Mayo to the south bank of the Río Yaqui. Both the fertile agricultural communities of the lower Río Yaqui and the important mining settlements to the east fell within its jurisdiction. The two provinces were usually governed by their own *alcaldes mayores*, at least until Sinaloa-Sonora was separated from Nueva Vizcaya in 1732 and was administered by a governor.

6. In his original report, Rivera recommended that the presidio of Sinaloa be relocated to Pitic (modern Hermosillo) 160 leagues to the north. At the same time, he suggested that thirteen of the presidio's forty-three plazas be transferred to the proposed presidio of Sacramento at La Junta, where the Río Conchos and the Río Grande converge. He later changed his mind, however, arguing that the danger of European pirates required that a garrison be maintained in Sinaloa itself. Although the presidio of Sacramento was never established, the number of soldiers at Sinaloa was decreased.



these reasons, it was not possible for me to extinguish the fires of this uprising, given its acknowledged strength and the inadequacy of the forces at my disposal.

Consequently, I decided to issue a report to the most illustrious and excellent predecessor of your excellency regarding all the events discussed in this account. The report was dispatched by mail from the *real* of Baroyeca<sup>7</sup> on May 26 of this year. By then, however, the uprising had grown so strong that I was forced to retreat to the *real* of Alamos<sup>8</sup> along with the few soldiers and settlers accompanying me. There were no more than forty-seven muskets among them. Furthermore, the settlers of the *reales* of Baroyeca, Río Chico, and Curea<sup>9</sup> also had to abandon their communities to avoid becoming victims of the barbaric audacity of the enemy. Still, some skeptical or overconfident residents of the *real* of Baroyeca stayed behind and paid for their mistake with their lives.

In view of this, I issued a new report to the aforementioned most illustrious and excellent lord, informing him of the Indian attacks up to June 23. I also reported that I had sent two dispatches to the *villa* of San Felipe, the *real* of Chihuahua,<sup>10</sup> pleading and exhorting the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to help by sending soldiers from those presidios as well as settlers and Tarahumara Indians. Because of the death of its captain, Don Juan Bautista de Anza, I ordered the lieutenant of the presidio of Corodéguachi to contribute forty soldiers from the company of Corodéguachi to this expedition, replacing them with the same number of men from the militia company of that province [Sonora] under the command of

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7. Baroyeca was the center of an important mining district in the mountains east of the Yaqui pueblos along the lower Yaqui River. Beginning in 1720, the *alcalde mayor* of Ostimuri resided either in Río Chico, another mining *real*, or in Baroyeca. A garrison of soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa was stationed there in the late 1740s following the Yaqui Revolt.

8. After the discovery of rich deposits of silver in the region in 1684, the *real de minas de la Purísima Concepción de los Alamos*, also known as *Real de los Frailes*, developed into the most important mining community in Sinaloa-Sonora. Located south of the Río Mayo in the foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental, Alamos became a center of wealth and power in the northwest, the base from which powerful merchants and miners challenged the hegemony of the Jesuits over Yaqui and Mayo Indian land and labor. In 1769, two years after the Jesuits were expelled, a branch of the royal treasury was established there. In 1783, Alamos became the see of the newly created diocese of Sonora. Following Mexican independence, the city served as the capital of the short-lived state of Occidente, which encompassed both Sonora and Sinaloa. A number of Alamos-based families such as the Almadás and the Elías-Gonzálezés constituted an extremely influential faction of northwestern Mexico's emerging urban elite.

9. San Francisco de Asís de Río Chico was an important mining and political center in Ostimuri. It was located along the Río Nuri, a tributary of the Río Yaqui, north of Buenavista and just south of the Lower Pima pueblos of Onavas and Tonichi. Curea was situated in the mountains east of Río Chico near Yécora, another Lower Pima settlement.

10. Located along the Río Chuiscar, a tributary of the Río Conchos, Chihuahua was founded in 1709 by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, who gave it the name San Francisco de Cuellar. It became the *villa* of San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua nine years later. As such, it functioned as the political and commercial center of an ambitious attempt to colonize and secure the western margins of the Bolsón de Mapimí. In 1718, the Jesuits established the colegio of Loreto there, and the *villa* often served as the preferred residence of the governors of Nueva Vizcaya.

Sergeant Major Agustín de Vildósola.<sup>11</sup> To that end, I ordered Vildósola to gather together the remaining militiamen. In addition, I issued dispatches to the *alcaldes mayores* and *justicias* of all the districts in this jurisdiction to send me all the relief troops they could as quickly as possible. I made all the necessary arrangements for their transportation and maintenance. As of that date, however, I had not succeeded in obtaining any aid at all.

Furthermore, I expressed my consternation at the spread of the uprising to the Lower Pimas, Guaymas, Batacosas, Tepahuis, and natives of the Fuerte River.<sup>12</sup> Due to the great numbers of the rebels, I was forced to concentrate all the armed forces of these two provinces in three headquarters: the capital of Sinaloa, the villa of El Fuerte, and this *real* of Alamos.<sup>13</sup> The roads are now closed, cutting off communication, especially with the province of Sonora. And because of their frequent messages and *tlatoles* soliciting help, I also feared that the rebels might attract to their cause nearby nations and those as far away as the Tarahumara. In order to prevent this from happening, I requested his excellency to take measures that were beyond my authority.

After having sent the above-mentioned report of June 23 to this higher authority, I received letters from the lieutenant of the presidio of Corodéguaqui and from Don Agustín de Vildósola, sergeant major of the militia. These letters were written on the twenty-second of the same month in the pueblo of Tecoripa.<sup>14</sup> Both men informed me that when they received news of the Yaqui uprising, they

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11. Born in Villares, Spain, Agustín de Vildósola became *sargento mayor* of the Sonoran militia in 1728. He held that office until 1741, when he replaced Manuel Bernal de Huidobro as governor of Sinaloa-Sonora. Vildósola was hailed by the Jesuits as the savior of the region after he defeated a large rebel force at Tecoripa and suppressed the Yaqui Revolt. He went on to become the most dominant political and economic figure on the Sonoran frontier until he was removed from office by Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo in 1748.

12. The Lower Pimas lived in a broad swath running from the lower Río San Miguel in western Sonora to the western slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental along tributaries of the upper Río Yaqui. They belonged to a long, broken arc of Piman speakers ranging from the Upper Pimas of southern Arizona and northern Sonora to the Tepecanos of northern Jalisco. Another group who spoke a Piman language was the Tepehuanes in Durango and southern Chihuahua. The Guaymas were the southernmost Seri-speaking group, ranging from the mouth of the Yaqui River north along the Sonoran coast to the estuary of Tastiota. The Tepahuis were a small, Cáhita-speaking group living north of the Mayo River. Pioneer Jesuit Pedro Méndez founded a mission among them in 1620, which developed into the community of Tepahui. The natives of the Fuerte River were Cáhita-speaking groups—Ahomes, Zuaques, Tehuecos, and Sinaloas—who had been conquered by Diego Martínez de Hardeide and missionized by the Jesuits in the 1590s and early 1600s.

13. The capital of Sinaloa was San Felipe y Santiago on the Río Sinaloa. The villa of El Fuerte was the former fuerte de Montesclaros on the Río Fuerte.

14. Located along the Río Tecoripa, an arroyo draining into the lower Río Yaqui, San Francisco Xavier de Tecoripa was founded as a mission among the Lower Pimas by Jesuit Martín Burgencio in 1619. Because of its location on the edges of both Yaqui and Seri territory, the inhabitants of Tecoripa often became caught up in the rebellions that flared across Sonora in the mid-eighteenth century. Lower Pimas from Tecoripa not only joined the Yaqui Revolt but also participated in the brutal guerrilla warfare that raged between the Spaniards and the Seris from the late 1740s until the Elizondo campaign of 1768–1771.

went to the pueblo of Tecoripa, which borders the territory of the rebels, in order to put an end to the uprising. The lieutenant led a squad of soldiers from his company while the sergeant major commanded another composed of militia from that province [of Sonora]. Because of the letters they had sent me and their great distance from the presidio [of Corodéguaichi], they awaited confirmation of my orders on the Tecoripa border, even though they had already received my original instructions in that pueblo.

On June 18 [probably July 18], the *alférez* of the militia, Don José de Usarraga,<sup>15</sup> arrived at this *real* escorting two couriers bearing letters written on the sixth of that month. In these letters, the aforementioned lieutenant and sergeant major informed me that they had been attacked that very day by hostile Yaquis allied with Guaymas and Lower Pimas, including some from the pueblo of Tecoripa itself. But after our forces had placed themselves in defensive positions, they repelled their adversaries, forcing them to retreat. Many rebels were killed, while others who escaped were wounded. Don José and Don Agustín also mentioned that they had captured twelve Indians from Tecoripa, Suaqui,<sup>16</sup> and other nearby places.

The *alférez*, Don José de Usarraga, informed me that on July 15, as he was passing through the pueblo of Tepahui,<sup>17</sup> he was confronted by armed natives of the town, who had joined forces with the Yaquis. The *alférez* and his men were forced to use their own weapons, killing and wounding some of the Indians and causing them to flee. After capturing one of the Tepahuis, the *alférez* continued on to this *real* [of Alamos]. He left here on the nineteenth, but on the next day, resting little more than a quarter of a league from a pueblo named Conicari,<sup>18</sup> he was suddenly attacked by the enemy hidden in the dense brush of that country. Nevertheless, the rebels were driven away by the weapons of our forces. The *alférez* had a squad of sixteen soldiers along with a convoy of settlers I had sent along for greater safety. There were a total of about forty men, including other travelers who had joined the group. Eight of them were wounded, four seriously, including the *alférez*, but they are now out of danger. Among the Indians many were wounded and nine or ten were killed. One of the most noteworthy among the dead was the captain of the rebel band, whose head was cut off and brought to this *real* when the soldiers returned. They also brought a Negro slave who had been a prisoner of the Indians. When questioned, he told everything he knew about the movements, intentions, and positions of the enemy.

On June 28, the rebels joined forces with the Saguis from the pueblos of

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15. José de Usarraga was one of Vildósola's most trusted officers. Following the suppression of the Yaqui Revolt, Vildósola temporarily stationed Usarraga in command of a squad of Sonoran militia at Buenavista on the outskirts of Yaqui territory.

16. Located down the arroyo from Tecoripa, Suaqui Grande was also founded by Father Burgencio around 1620. Like their neighbors to the north, the Lower Pimas of Suaqui occasionally rebelled against the Spaniards. In fact, the Lower Pima allies of the Seris, known as Sibubapas, were frequently identified as being from the pueblo of Suaqui during the 1760s.

17. The pueblo of Tepahui is located north of the Mayo River and south of Baroyeca.

18. Located on the Río Mayo upriver from Mayo territory proper, Conicari was established as a Jesuit mission among the Cáhita-speaking Conicarís in 1621.

Tehueco, Sivirijoa, Charay, Mochicahui, San Miguel, and Ahome<sup>19</sup> and attacked the villa of El Fuerte de Montesclaros, which is about twenty-five leagues from the presidio of Sinaloa. But even though the settlers were completely outnumbered by the Indians, they defended themselves so bravely that the Indians had to flee. Twenty-three Indians were killed, while only nine of our own people were wounded, none seriously. On hearing this from the lieutenant of that district, I promptly responded to the emergency by issuing the orders, men, and munitions necessary to ensure the safety of the villa. I have had to continue reinforcing that garrison, however, because I receive reports on a daily basis that the enemy is in the vicinity and is planning to attack the fort again.

Perhaps because they saw that our people were prepared, the Indians did not execute that attack. The lieutenant therefore decided to send one hundred men under the command of an officer named Nicolás Valdés<sup>20</sup> after them. Setting out, these men were attacked just before they reached a place called El Bacori,<sup>21</sup> where the rebels were camping. The Indians sprang on them in a very inconvenient and heavily wooded spot, which the rebels used to their advantage. Without suffering serious damage, they delayed our forces while they moved their families to safety, retreating to a hill at the cost of some dead and some others wounded. By the time our forces reached Bacori, they discovered that there were no Indian men, women, or children left there.

After recovering some church ornaments, decorations, and other miscellaneous items of little value that the Indians had there, the cabo decided to draw back to El Fuerte. That morning, two captured women had informed the forces that the rebels were expecting reinforcements from the pueblos downriver, as well as from the Yaquis and Mayos. The rebels then planned to attack the villa of El Fuerte again. Besides, most of the force's horses were useless due to the harshness of the weather, and there was a great shortage of animals in general because the rebels had seized most of the horses in these districts. Furthermore, the men had used up much of their ammunition in the previous battle. Because the cabo did not consider it advantageous to throw up defenses at Bacori, he retreated to the villa of El Fuerte, taking the church ornaments along with 130 head of cattle and some brood mares.

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19. These communities, inhabited primarily by Cáhita-speaking Indians, were all located along or just south of the Río Fuerte below the Spanish villa of El Fuerte. They are listed according to their proximity to that community—Tehueco being the nearest, Ahome the farthest. When Spaniards first began to conquer and missionize the lower Fuerte Valley in the 1590s and early 1600s, two Cáhita groups—the Ahomes and the Zuaquis—occupied the area. By 1740, however, missionization, disease, and assimilation had apparently broken down aboriginal ethnic boundaries, leading to the creation of a more generalized Cáhita society whose members were identified by some as Saguis. Today, Cáhita speakers along the Río Fuerte consider themselves Mayos (or, more properly, Yoremem, their own name for themselves), an example of how ethnic, cultural, and political differences among linguistically related peoples often become compressed or obliterated over time (see Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*; N. Ross Crumrine, *Mayo Indians of Sonora*).

20. Nicolás Valdés was teniente of the militia company of El Fuerte.

21. Located about ten leagues from El Fuerte, El Bacori was the hacienda of Tomás Bernal de Huidobro, cousin of Governor Huidobro.

Most of these ornaments and animals seemed to belong to the mission of Tehueco, so they were delivered to the reverend father Diego de Valladares.<sup>22</sup> Valladares was the missionary of that district who had been held prisoner by the Indians. Through the particular providence of God, however, he managed to escape and is now in the villa of El Fuerte. I decided to send Don Francisco Baso,<sup>23</sup> captain of the militia company of Spaniards from the *real* of Rosario,<sup>24</sup> to the aforementioned villa so he could lead the armed forces of that garrison in a new campaign against the rebels. By surprising them, he might be able to seize most of the summer corn crop the Indians had taken, thereby relieving the great scarcity of food that we have been suffering due to the poor yields of the preceding years.

The *alcaldes mayores* and *justicias* of the *reales* of Rosario and Copalá, as well as the villas of San Sebastián, Santiago de los Caballeros, and Valle de Mocorito in the jurisdiction of Sinaloa, sent me the relief troops I requested at great cost.<sup>25</sup> But most of these troops were extremely poor and their absence caused great suffering to their families. Consequently some deserted along the way while others deserted

22. Diego de Valladares, S.J. (1688–1756) was born in Puebla, where he entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1707. By 1730, he was working in the Sinaloa missions, where he served at both Tehueco and Mochicahui. He was visitor of the Sinaloa missions in 1751. He died at Mochicahui five years later.

23. Francisco Baso routed the rebels at Bacori, seizing seventy fanegas of maize in the process. He also participated in numerous other engagements during the Yaqui Revolt, including a successful pacification of the Río Fuerte in October 1740.

24. Nuestra Señora de Rosario, situated on the north bank of the Río Chametla (also known as the Río Baluarte) south of Mazatlán, was capital of the southernmost district of Sinaloa-Sonora. Known first as Chametla and then as Rosario, this region contained important saltworks and silver mines, the richest of which was Rosario itself, where silver was discovered in 1655. The province was governed by an *alcalde mayor* or a *justicia mayor* appointed by the governor of Sinaloa-Sonora.

25. Located along the Río Pánuco, a tributary of Río Chametla, the mining *real* of Copalá often served as capital of the *alcaldía mayor* of the same name. Situated just north of Rosario, the *alcaldía mayor* ran from the south bank of the Río Elota on the north to Mazatlán on the south. The mines of Copalá itself were being worked at least as early as the 1570s, probably by members of Francisco de Ibarra's expedition, who made their headquarters in the nearby villa of San Sebastián.

Located along a tributary of the Río de Presidio, the villa of San Sebastián was founded by Francisco de Ibarra around 1565, making it one of the oldest Spanish settlements in the Copalá district. When Copalá became an *alcaldía mayor* within Sinaloa-Sonora in 1733, the *alcalde mayor* usually resided either in the *real* of Copalá or in San Sebastián.

Santiago de los Caballeros was located in the Sierra Madre Occidental northeast of Culiacán. It was one of the *reales de minas* established by miners from Culiacán in the early 1600s. At the time of the Yaqui Revolt, the *alcalde mayor* of Santiago de los Caballeros was presumably named by the governor of Sinaloa-Sonora, but later in the century, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya was appointing *alcaldes mayores* stationed there.

The Valle de Mocorito refers to the broad alluvial valley of the Río Mocorito, the drainage south of the Río Sinaloa. The cultural and linguistic affiliations of the Indians living along the Mocorito at contact are unclear, living as they did along an ethnic frontier between Tahue speakers to the south and Cáhita speakers to the north. One of Nuño de Guzmán's soldiers—a Portuguese named Sebastián de Evora—was given a grant of *encomienda* in the valley during the 1530s. The *encomienda* then passed to Pedro de Tovar, but as late as 1550,

after arriving at this *real*. I have not been able to give them more than their daily meals, ammunition, some weapons, and some horses, because his majesty has no one in these provinces interested in meeting the increased expenses that arise during these crises. The settlers have no resources to support or supply such efforts. And I cannot do so because I have used up everything I had on various expeditions in the royal service, especially during the pacification of the rebellious nations on the island of California, where I was in command for about three years, until 1738.<sup>26</sup>

In response to my two requests and requisitions, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya writes me that he has dispatched fifty soldiers from the presidios in my jurisdiction under the command of Don José de Idoyaga,<sup>27</sup> captain of the flying company stationed in the valley of San Bartolomé.<sup>28</sup> In addition, fifty settlers in Chihuahua were about to follow under the command of the sergeant major of the militia, Don José Antonio de Uranga.<sup>29</sup> They had orders to await further instructions from me upon their arrival at the location where I am presently.<sup>30</sup>

The governor also informs me that on July 17, he received a letter from Don Joseph [Díaz] del Carpio, captain of the presidio of Janos.<sup>31</sup> In the letter, the cap-

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the native inhabitants still had not been completely subjugated. Missionized by the Jesuits in the 1590s, the Indians of the Mocerito Valley suffered a disastrous population decline due to epidemic disease. Nevertheless, the Society of Jesus maintained a mission cabecera in the pueblo of Mocerito itself until the Jesuits were expelled in 1767.

26. Huidobro is referring to his expedition against the Pericúe Indians of Baja California from 1734 to 1737. It is interesting that he calls California an "island" three decades after Kino determined that it was a peninsula.

27. José de Idoyaga was a veteran of the frontier military. In 1730, he conducted a review of the presidio of Cerrogorido following the resignation of its captain, Joseph García. In 1747, he was still captain of San Bartolomé.

28. Detachments of soldiers had been stationed in the valley of San Bartolomé east and southeast of Parral since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

29. As sargento mayor, José Antonio de Uranga, like Vildósola in Sonora, was head of the villa of Chihuahua's militia forces. He also served as alcalde of Chihuahua's *ayuntamiento*. Uranga married Micaela Trasviña and founded the influential Uranga family in Chihuahua. He died in 1759.

30. Idoyaga, Uranga, and the auxiliary forces from Nueva Vizcaya did not arrive in Alamos until September 7. By then, Vildósola had already defeated rebel forces at Tecoripa for the second time. That battle, fought on August 26, was the turning point of the Yaqui Revolt. Huidobro's desperate pleas for help notwithstanding, the soldiers and militia from Nueva Vizcaya played a very minor role in the suppression of the rebellion.

31. Joseph Díaz del Carpio was a veteran military commander along the northern frontier. Captain of Janos presidio during the Yaqui Revolt, he continued to occupy that office until Viceroy Revillagigedo ordered that he and Captain Santiago Ruiz de Ael of Terrenate switch positions in 1751. Revillagigedo did so in order to prevent the corruption and abuses of power so common among presidial captains. Both as captain of Janos and then of Terrenate, Díaz del Carpio campaigned vigorously against rebel forces during the Upper Pima Revolt of 1751–52. In fact, Luis Oapicagigua, leader of the rebellion, surrendered to Díaz del Carpio at Tubac on March 18, 1752.

tain reports that he has been summoned by the missionary fathers of the province of Sonora. They brought him up-to-date on the uprising of the Yaquis and Mayos and their union with the Upper Pimas and other nations, contending that the whole province is in a panic and on the verge of total destruction. Consequently, they begged the captain to help them with the armed forces under his command. In view of this, the governor ordered the aforementioned Captain Carpio to take thirty soldiers from his presidio and join the troops under Sergeant Major Vildósola. And after going to the place where he was most urgently needed, the captain was to report to me and await my orders. Per my orders, I suspect that Captain Don Joseph [Díaz] del Carpio is already at the mission of Tecoripa. I hope that Captain Idoyaga and Sergeant Major Uranga will arrive at this *real* with the needed soldiers and auxiliary settlers within the next eight to ten days.

In order to provide them with some relief during their march, on the ninth of this month, I sent these troops all the tractable mules I could, along with twenty silver marcos with which to buy sheep. I also sent a bill of exchange to Don Manuel Carrasco, resident of the pueblo of Chínipas,<sup>32</sup> so that he would supply them with the cows they needed, because I had no other provisions to send them. I did not dispatch them a single horse since, as I have said, I have so few of them that I am not even able to pursue the deserters. Those that remain have seen continuous service for more than three months. Considering that horses are the most essential element in a campaign, it is necessary to hold on to the ones we have until they have recovered.

Aside from these other considerations, the rains have been so heavy that it is impossible to continue the campaign, especially in those marshy, wooded, and impenetrable places where our enemies have their strongholds.<sup>33</sup> They know very well that they are able to resist our forces only in such advantageous positions. Therefore, I will not be able to penetrate enemy territory until the month of October when the ground has dried out. To do otherwise would be to expose the troops to the same risks experienced by a detachment of fifty-six men during more favorable weather in the month of May. Composed of both settlers and soldiers, these men were proceeding under my orders to the pueblo of Santa Cruz

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32. Located in the Sierra Madre Occidental along the Río Chínipas, a tributary of the Río Fuerte, Chínipas was founded by Jesuit missionary Julio Pascual in 1626. The mission was destroyed six years later, but was reestablished in 1676. During the first uprising, however, the Chínipas Indians—faithful to the missionaries—were driven from their territory by hostile Warihios and Guasapares, who spoke related languages. The Chínipas were then absorbed into the Sinaloa-Sonora missions, where they disappeared as a distinct ethnic group

33. In southern Sonora and northern Sinaloa, roughly two-thirds of the annual precipitation falls as convectational thundershowers during the summer months of July, August, and September. Following such downpours, rivers and arroyos often swell and overflow, causing widespread flooding. In relatively well-watered areas, such flooding isolated many communities and made transportation, travel, and military campaigning difficult if not impossible. In more arid areas such as Seri territory, on the other hand, late summer was the only time of year when enough water collected in arroyos, playas, and tinajas to make large Spanish military expeditions feasible.

when the enemy ambushed them in a marshy area near the pueblo of Etchojoa.<sup>34</sup> Five of our men were killed and almost all were wounded. Moreover, the *remuda* of horses was lost, along with many saddles and weapons that could not be retrieved from the mire.

On the twenty-fourth of this month, the last courier I sent returned to this *real* from that city [México], bringing me three dispatches from the archbishop viceroy, your excellency's predecessor. One dispatch ordered the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to provide the help I requested. Another commanded the *alcaldes mayores* and *justicias* of this jurisdiction to do the same. Since they have already done so, I have not forwarded the dispatches. I may, however, make use of the one to the governor, but only if there is no other way to obtain the Indian auxiliaries whom he says he has already ordered the captain general of the Tarahumara to send me. The third dispatch orders me to continue supplying the auxiliary troops, as I have begun to do. It also commands me to assign adequate wages to the militia, as well as to others whom I consider suitable for military service. Their wages will be effective for the duration of the expedition and will be paid, along with any other expenses incurred, from the royal funds of that assembly [*corte de México*] upon receipt of a sworn statement and a substantiated claim from me.

In a separate letter, his excellency informs me that the storehouses of the royal palace do not have enough muskets or other firearms to supply the campaign. Therefore, he has given orders that some swords and the necessary gunpowder be given to my colleague Don Gaspar de Alvarado.<sup>35</sup>

As of this date, our enemies include thirteen pueblos from the Yaqui River—Movas, Jecatari, Cumuripa, Buenavista, Cocorit, Bacum, Potam, Rahum, Torim, Vicam, Huirivis, Belem, and Guaymas;<sup>36</sup> eleven from the Mayo River—Batacosa, Tepahui, Macoyaqui, Conicari, Camoa, Cohuirimpo, Tesia, Etchojoa, Navojoa, Santa Cruz, and Tagueri;<sup>37</sup> six from the Fuerte River—Tehueco, Sivirijoa, Charay,

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34. Located along the lower Río Mayo, Etchojoa was a community of Mayo Indians missionized by Father Pedro Méndez in 1614. It remained one of the most important of the Mayo missions throughout the colonial period.

35. Gaspar de Alvarado may have been related to Francisco Julián de Alvarado, a native of Aloños, Spain, who settled in Alamos and became a wealthy and powerful miner and government official there. That particular Alvarado served as an officer of the militia during the Yaqui Revolt, and it is possible that he and his relatives had business and kinship connections with Huidobro.

36. Movas, Cumuripa, and Buenavista were Lower Pima communities. Cocorit, Bacum, Potam, Rahum, Torim, Vicam, Huirivis, and Belem were Yaqui missions that became the eight sacred towns of Yaqui mythology. Guaymas was a mission visita where Seri-speaking Guaymas and Lower Pimas occasionally settled.

37. Batacosa and Tepahui were located in the mountains northeast of the Río Mayo communities. Along with Macoyaqui and Conicari on the upper Mayo River, they were inhabited by Cahita-speaking groups distinct from the Mayo at contact; however, disease and assimilation broke down ethnic boundaries during the colonial period. Surviving members of these groups became identified as Mayos. The communities of Camoa, Cohuirimpo, Tesia, Etchojoa, Navojoa, and Santa Cruz were Mayo Indian missions or visitas along the middle and lower Río Mayo.



Mochicahui, San Miguel, and Ahome. Altogether, there are thirty enemy pueblos. The following mines are also abandoned and unable to operate: those of Sivirijoa, this *real* of Alamos, Baroyeca, the *real* of Río Chico, and Potrero, Ventana, and others.<sup>38</sup> These places support these provinces, because there is no commerce here other than working and exploiting their mines.

In addition to the above, any trade and communication with the province of Sonora is now impossible. Even from here to Sinaloa it is unsafe to travel from one place to another because bands of Indians attack not only merchants but haciendas, *estancias*, and ranchos as well, destroying them and forcing their owners to abandon them. Many parties and detachments of soldiers have been sent out from various locations to sweep the territory, but they have not been able to repress the audacity of the enemy nor stop such hostilities. This is because the Indians constantly behave with malice and set up camp only in well-hidden places. Consequently, our men rarely find them, and even when they do, the Indians manage to escape, fleeing to the bush and hills from where they can never be dislodged.

In order to put an end to such difficulties, I will restore the provinces from Sinaloa to the Pimería Alta—a distance of more than 185 leagues—to the state of quiet, calm, and safety they previously enjoyed. I will also reduce the rebels to the subjection and obedience in which they formerly lived, and restore the silver mines and reduction works to operating conditions. To do so, however, at least 500 men are needed, and they must be competent and capable of performing military service, because there will be no less than 12,000 or 14,000 rebel Indians from the three rivers.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, it is necessary to leave adequate garrisons in the capital of Sinaloa, the villa of El Fuerte, and this *real* of Alamos while pursuing the rebels, just in case they make use of our absence and attempt an attack.

Such a distribution of manpower is not possible without enough troops. At present there are 150 soldiers—30 in the presidio of Sinaloa, 40 I ordered detached from the presidio of Corodéguachi (although I have learned that up to now lieutenant Don Joseph Gómez<sup>40</sup> has only contributed 16), 30 to be dispatched by the captain of Janos presidio, Don Joseph [Díaz] del Carpio, and 50 that the governor of Nueva Vizcaya is sending with Captain Idoyaga. Therefore, I have decided to increase these 150 troops by enlisting 350 more, which I will select from the militia auxiliaries and the settlers of these provinces. Each will receive a soldier's wage of 400 pesos because they will be performing the same job. Because the cost of horses and weapons cannot be recovered under our present regulations, they must pay for their upkeep out of their own pockets. Furthermore, supplies cannot be obtained at any price, due to their great scarcity. Consequently, it

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38. The mines of Sivirijoa were located in the mountains south of the Río Fuerte. Those of Baroyeca, Río Chico, and Potrero were in Ostimuri. The mines of Ventana were situated east of Alamos.

39. The Jesuits disputed these figures, arguing that Huidobro inflated them in order to excuse his timidity and inaction.

40. Joseph Gómez de Silva was appointed first captain of the presidio of Terrenate in 1741.

is fitting that these new recruits should receive the proper salary since it is necessary to declare them fit for service. The wages of the officers I will determine according to the number of soldiers under their command. Their salaries will be equivalent to those of officers in the presidios, since they will be facing the same conditions.

Once the officers and soldiers for this very important enterprise have been approved, the difficulty lies in actually paying them. As I have frankly informed both you and your excellency's predecessor, neither the settlers nor I are wealthy enough to meet such costs. To pay expenses up to the present, I personally have had to obtain funds on credit from some of the traveling merchants. A prosperous resident of this *real* named Gerónimo also lent me 4,000 pesos. Because I urgently need to repay him as well as the others, I hereby request that the necessary amount be given to my associate, Captain Don Gaspar de Alvarado, in Mexico City. Begging your excellency's provident attention in this matter, I ask that you deign to advance me 50,000 pesos. I also ask that it be delivered to the aforementioned Alvarado with the proper bond and guarantee. At the proper time I shall send the captaincy general an account of expenses that have been incurred, as well as those to be incurred from now on during the campaign. As I have done many times when I was in charge of distributing royal funds, I will justify and verify all expenses as required.

In all that I endeavor, my experience will assist me in discharging my obligation to the royal service, which is my only consideration. Such consideration has moved me to make such a bothersome and lengthy report, bringing to the prudent attention of your excellency all that has taken place since the beginning of the revolt, as well as the means taken to repress and reduce the rebels. Furthermore, I want to inform your excellency of the strength of the rebel forces and the weakness of our own. It is important that the royal Crown not lose these extensive domains. Even more important is the teaching and spreading of the Holy Gospel to the natives. I hope that the wise decisions of your excellency will serve to free these provinces from the hostilities they suffer. I also hope that the neglect of the royal armed forces will be rectified, and that the royal treasury of our lord the king will be enriched by the royal fifths produced by the mines.

I had forgotten to inform your excellency that the Indians of the Fuerte River have captured Padre Francisco Matías de Mazariegos,<sup>41</sup> minister at the mission of Mochicahui. Padre Antonio de Estrada,<sup>42</sup> missionary of Camoa, has also been taken prisoner by the Indians along the Mayo River. Moreover, the Yaquis have

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41. Francisco Matías de Mazariegos, S.J., was born in Guadalajara in 1685. By 1719, he was working in the Sinaloa missions, first in the Yaqui pueblo of Torim, and then at Mocorito along the Río Fuerte. In 1726, Mazariegos was stationed in Tarahumara country, but by 1737, he was back in Sinaloa. Missionary at Mochicahui along the Fuerte River during the Yaqui Revolt, he ended his career at the Jesuit colegio in Guadalajara.

42. Antonio de Estrada, S.J. (1680–1745) was born in San Luis Potosí. He was ordained in 1705, and by 1719, he was missionary at Chínipas. Throughout the 1730s, he labored in the Sinaloa missions, finishing his career at Camoa, where he was stationed during the Yaqui Revolt and where he died five years later.

imprisoned *Bachiller* Don Pedro Martínez de Mendivil,<sup>43</sup> the present curate of the *real* of Baroyeca, along with more than forty Spaniards of different social classes, especially women and children. May your excellency zealously take into consideration the abuse and ill-treatment that these people are suffering. Since you were born to be a pillar of the faith, a scourge of its enemies, and a restorer of the king's dominions, you must relieve these afflicted provinces and serve both majesties. In the meantime, I pray his divine Majesty will protect your excellency for the many years required to preserve and enlarge these kingdoms. Real of Los Alamos, September 4, 1740.

Most excellent lord, your humblest servant remains at the feet of your excellency.

Manuel Bernal de Huidobro<sup>44</sup>

To my most excellent lord, Don Pedro de Castro Figueroa.

AGI, Guadalajara 88, ff. 530-37.

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**xcellentísimo señor:  
 Señor, habiéndose sublevado por el mes de marzo de este año, las naciones de indios yaquis y mayos que habitan esta provincia de Sinaloa y la de Ostimuri, como pertenecientes a la gobernación de mi cargo, ocurrió al reparo de este movimiento, así con las armas y soldados del real presidio de Sinaloa, como con los de las compañías milicianas de dichas provincias que pudieron ser habidos. Pero como dichas naciones son tan numerosas, y las fuerzas que su majestad tiene para resguardo y defensa de estas provincias tan débiles, que sólo se reducen a treinta soldados (a que el brigadier don Pedro de Rivera dejó reducida la compañía de mi comando). Porque aunque la necesidad me ha obligado a formar compañías milicianas en las poblaciones grandes de esta gobernación, todos los más que las componen no tienen asistencia fija y continua en sus domicilios. (Por ser unos operarios de minas y haciendas de sacar plata; otros, arrieros; y otros de

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43. Pedro Martínez de Mendivil was a secular priest and member of a prominent family at the *real* of Baroyeca. During the height of the Yaqui Revolt, in late May 1740, Mendivil and two other Ostimuri residents attempted to defuse the rebellion by negotiating with the Yaquis themselves. Their attempt failed, and they were imprisoned by the rebels. Nonetheless, Mendivil was instrumental in the surrender of the last of the Yaquis in October of the following year. He was undoubtedly related to, perhaps the son of, the Pedro Martínez de Mendivil who served as *alcalde mayor* of Ostimuri from 1704-1706, and who was one of the founders of Alamos itself.

44. Manuel Bernal de Huidobro became captain of the presidio of Sinaloa in 1723. A decade later, he was appointed first governor of the new province of Sinaloa-Sonora. His troubles with the Jesuits began in the late 1720s when he tried to use Upper Pimas from San Ignacio as auxiliaries—and pearl divers—in his campaign against the Seri Indians. The Jesuits accused him of nearly destroying the Seri mission system and of nearly losing Sinaloa-Sonora during the Yaqui Revolt (see Navarro García, *Sublevación*). He was replaced by Agustín de Vildósola in 1741.

varios ministerios, que, para buscar lo que necesitan, se ven obligados a salir de sus casas a trabajar por temporadas en los lugares y reales de minas donde hallan más comodidad.) De que resulta que cuando son necesarios para alguna urgencia no se hallan, como ha sucedido en la presente ocasión. Y por estos motivos no me fue posible reparar el incendio de la sublevación, cuya fuerza reconocida, y la desigualdad de las que yo podía facilitar.

Resolví dar cuenta de todo lo acaecido en esta razón al ilustrísimo y excelentísimo señor antecesor de vuestra excelencia, como lo ejecuté en consulta que le despaché con correo desde el real de Baroyeca el día 26 de mayo de este año. Y habiéndose vigorizado la sublevación, de forma que me fue preciso retirarme a este real de los Alamos con los pocos soldados y vecinos que me acompañaban, entre quienes no había más que cuarenta y siete escopetas. Y los vecinos del real de Baroyeca, los del Río Chico, y el de Curea, se vieron precisados a desertarlo por no ser víctima de la bárbara audacia de los enemigos, como les sebedió [*sic*: sucedió] a algunos del real de Baroyeca, que incrédulos, o confiados, se quedaron en él, y pagaron con las vidas su omisión.

En cuya vista hice nueva consulta a dicho ilustrísimo y excelentísimo señor, dándole cuenta de los insultos cometidos por dichos indios hasta el día 23 de junio. Y de cómo había despachado dos correos a la villa de San Felipe, el real de Chihuahua, pidiéndole por vía de exorto y requerimiento al gobernador de la Vizcaya me auxiliase con los soldados de aquellos presidios, vecinos e indios tarahumara que pudiese. Y que al teniente del presidio de Corodéguachi (por muerte de don Juan Bautista de Anza, su capitán) le ordené concurriese con cuarenta soldados de aquella compañía a esta expedición, dejando en lugar de los que destacase otros tantos de la compañía miliciano de aquella provincia, que le ministrase el sargento mayor don Agustín de Vildósola, a quien así mismo ordené concurriese al propio efecto con los demás milicianos que pudiese juntar. Y que había librado despachos para que los alcaldes mayores y justicias de todos los distritos de esta gobernación me despachasen con la brevedad posible los socorros de gente que pudiesen. Para cuyo transporte y manutención tenía expedidas todas las providencias que habían parecido más adecuadas a su consecución, pero que, sin embargo de todo, hasta aquella fecha no había conseguido el que viniese ninguno de dichos socorros.

Expresando así mismo la consternación en que me hallaba por haberse difundido la sublevación hasta los pimas bajos, guaymas, batacosas, tepahuis, y naturales del río del Fuerte, cuyo excesivo número me había obligado a reducir toda la gente de armas de estas dos provincias a tres cuarteles, que son la capital de Sinaloa, la villa del Fuerte, y este real de los Alamos, teniendo cerrados los caminos para la comunicación, especialmente con dicha provincia de Sonora. Y que me recelaba de que los rebeldes consiguiesen atraer a su devoción las demás naciones circunvecinas hasta la Tarahumara por los frecuentes mensajes y tlatoles con lo que solicitaban, para cuyo reparo pedí a su excelencia las providencias a que no podían extenderse mis facultades.

Después de haber despachado a ese superior gobierno la citada consulta de 23 de junio, recibí cartas escritas a los 22 del mismo, en el pueblo de Tecoripa, en que el teniente de la compañía del presidio de Corodéguachi y el sargento mayor miliciano, don Agustín de Vildósola, me dan cuenta de que, habiendo tenido noticia de la sublevación de los yaquis, habían ocurrido a reparar sus hostilidades al

pueblo de Tecoripa, fronterizo a las tierras de dichos alzados, dicho teniente con una escuadra de soldados de la compañía de su cargo, y dicho sargento mayor con otra de milicianos de aquella provincia. Y que sin embargo de haber recibido en dicho pueblo las órdenes que les había yo remitido, esperaban lo reiterase, en vista de sus cartas, y hallarse a tanta distancia del presidio, en cuyo ínterin se mantendrían en dicha frontera de Tecoripa.

El día 18 de junio [*sic*: 18 de julio] llegó a este real el alférez miliciano don José de Usarraga, convoyando dos correos, con quienes, por sus cartas, fechas el día 6 de dicho mes, me dan cuenta dichos teniente y sargento mayor, de que el citado día avanzaron aquella guarnición los enemigos yaquis, coadjuvados de los guaymas y pimas bajos, hasta del mismo pueblo de Tecoripa. Y que habiéndose puesto los nuestros en defensa, rechazaron a los contrarios, hasta obligarlos a que se retirasen a costa de muchos que quedaron muertos, y otros que escaparon heridos; y así mismo me insinúan dichos don José, y don Agustín de haber aprendido 12 indios de aquel pueblo, el de Suaqui, y otros comarcanos.

El citado alférez don José de Usarraga me informó de que, pasando el día 15 de dicho mes de julio por el expresado pueblo de Tepahuis, (cuyos naturales, como llevo dicho, están confederados con los yaquis) le salieron al encuentro con sus armas, precisándole a que, usando de las que traían dicho alférez y los suyos, matasen e hiriesen algunos de dichos indios, quienes se pusieron en fuga. Y habiendo aprendido a uno de dichos tepahuis, continuó dicho alférez su marcha hasta este real, de donde salió el día 19 del mismo, y el siguiente, habiendo llegado a sestear poco más de un cuarto de legua de un pueblo nombrado Conicari, les avanzó improvisamente el enemigo, que estaba abrigado de lo espeso de aquellos montes. Pero sin embargo, fueron rechazadas sus armas de las nuestras, que entre la gente de dicho alférez, una escuadra de diez y seis soldados y vecinos que yo envié de convoy para mayor seguridad, y otros pasajeros que se agregaron, componían como cuarenta hombres, de los que quedaron ocho heridos (los cuatro de riesgo, aunque ya están fuera de él), y entre ellos dicho alférez. De los indios, fueron muchos heridos, y quedaron muertos nueve o diez, uno de los cuales, y fue el que más se señaló, fue el capitán de aquella escuadra, a quien le quitaron la cabeza. Y habiendo retrocedido la marcha a este real la trajeron, y a un negro esclavo que tenían prisionero dichos indios, el que, examinado, declaró todo lo que sabía en orden a los movimientos, intención y disposición de los enemigos.

Quienes, juntos con los saguis de los pueblos de Tehueco, Sivirijoa, Charay, Mochicahui, San Miguel, y Ahome, avanzaron la villa del Fuerte de Montesclaros, que dista veinticinco leguas del presidio de Sinaloa, el mencionado día 28 de junio. Pero aunque el número de los vecinos era sumamente inferior al de los indios, se defendieron tan valerosamente que los hicieron poner en fuga, dejando muertos veintitres indios, sin que los nuestros quedasen más que nueve heridos, ninguno de riesgo. Lo que se me dio cuenta por mi teniente de aquel partido, a quien con la prontitud que demandaba la urgencia ministré los órdenes, gente y naciones [*sic*: municiones?] que parecieron convenientes para la mayor seguridad de aquella villa. Cuya gobernación me ha sido preciso ir reforzando por las frecuentes noticias que me llegaban cada día estar el enemigo alojado en aquellas cercanías, con ánimo de volver a avanzar a dicho fuerte.

Pero no habiéndolo ejecutado, quizá en vista de la prevención con que estaban

los nuestros, resolvió dicho teniente enviar en su solicitud cien hombres del cargo de un oficial nombrado Nicolás Valdés, ya yendo sobre la marcha. Antes de llegar a un paraje nombrado el Bacori, donde estaban rancheados dichos indios, les salieron a éstos al encuentro en paraje muy incómodo y boscoso, con cuya ventaja, sin recibir grave daño de los nuestros, los estaban entreteniéndolos mientras se ponían en salvo sus familias, como se experimentó. Pues habiéndoles hecho retirar a un cerro con pérdida de algunos que murieron y otros que fueron heridos, llegaron los nuestros a Bacori, en donde no hallaron indio, india, ni muchacho alguno.

Con que, habiendo recogido algunos ornamentos y alhajas de iglesia que tenían allí los indios con otras menudencias de corta entidad, determinó el cabo retroceder para el fuerte, por haberles informado dos viejas, que había aprendido aquella mañana, que estaba para llegarles a los enemigos refuerzo de gente, así de los pueblos de aquel río abajo, como de yaquis y mayos, con el aditamento de volver a invadir la villa del Fuerte. Y hallándose con la mayor parte de los caballos inservibles, así por lo rigoroso del tiempo, como por la suma escasez de ellos que generalmente padecemos (por haberse apoderado los enemigos con especial estudio de todos cuantos han podido haber en estos distritos). Y que las municiones que llevaba se habían gastado en la función, no tuvo por conveniente hacerse fuerte en dicho puesto del Bacori, y se retiró a la villa del Fuerte llevando dichos ornamentos, como ciento treinta cabezas de ganado vacuno, y algunas yeguas de vientre.

Que lo más pareció ser perteneciente a la misión de Tehueco, por cuya razón se le entregó al reverendo padre Diego de Valladares, ministro misionero de aquel partido, a quien tenían los indios prisionero. Y, habiendo escapado por particular providencia de Dios, se halla actualmente en dicha villa, a donde he tenido por conveniente despachar a don Francisco Baso, capitán de la compañía miliciana de españoles del real del Rosario, para que, comandando las armas de aquella guarnición, haga nueva entrada en solicitud de los alzados. Procurando sorprenderlos y apoderarse de porción considerable de maíces que han cogido de las cosechas de verano, para con ellos socorrer en parte la suma escasez de bastimentos, que por la esterilidad de los años antecedentes estamos experimentando.

Los alcaldes mayores y justicias del real del Rosario, Copalá, villa de San Sebastián, Santiago de los Caballeros, y valle de Mocerito, jurisdicción de Sinaloa, me despacharon, a costa de sumo trabajo, los socorros de gente que les pedí. Pero como los más son sumamente pobres, y dejaban sus familias pereciendo, desertaron algunos en el camino, y otros después de llegados a este real, donde no me ha sido posible hasta la presente ministrarles más que el diario sustento, municiones, algunas armas, y caballos, porque ni se mantienen en estas provincias ningunos intereses de que echar mano para los crecidos gastos que en semejantes ocasiones se ofrecen. Ni entre los vecinos hay caudales que puedan soportarlos por vía de suplemento, ni yo puedo hacerlo, por haber consumido cuanto tenía en varias expediciones del real servicio, especialmente en la pacificación de las naciones que se habían sublevado en la isla de California, en que estuve entendiendo casi tres años, y se feneció el de 1738.

El gobernador de la Vizcaya, en virtud de mis dos exhortos y requerimientos, me escribe haber despachado cincuenta soldados de los presidios de mi gobernación, al cargo de don José de Idoyaga, capitán de la compañía volante, que reside en el Valle de San Bartolomé, que estaban para salir otros cincuenta vecinos

que habían resultado en Chihuahua, bajo del comando del sargento mayor de milicias don José Antonio de Uranga, con órdenes de que, llegado a con [sic] sus destacamentos al paraje en que me hallo, estuviesen a los que por mí se les ministrasen.

Y me avisa que el día 17 de julio recibió carta del capitán don Joseph del Carpio, que lo es del presidio de Janos, en que le da cuenta de hallarse con requerimiento de los padres misioneros de la provincia de Sonora, en que haciéndole presente la sublevación de los yaquis y mayos y confederación con ellos de los pimas altos, y otras naciones, le aseveran estar dicha provincia en la mayor consternación y último extremo de su total ruina, porque le suplicaba impartiese el auxilio a las armas de su comando. En cuya atención ordenó a dicho capitán Carpio, pasase con treinta soldados de dicho su presidio a incorporarse con la gente que tuviese el sargento mayor Vildósola. Y, poniéndose en el paraje donde lo demandase la más urgente necesidad, me diese cuenta y esperase mis órdenes. Mediante lo cual, hago ya al dicho capitán don Joseph del Carpio en la misión de Tecoripa. Y espero lleguen a este real dentro de ocho, o diez días los mencionados capitanes Idoyaga y sargento mayor Uranga con el socorro de vecinos y soldados auxiliares de su cargo.

Pues para que tuviesen algún alivio en su marcha les despaché el día 9 del corriente todas las bestias mulares mansas que pude, y veinte marcos de plata para que comprasen carneros, y libranza a don Manuel Carrasco, vecino del pueblo de Chínipas, para que les proveyese de las vacas que hubiesen menester, por no hallarme al presente con otro refresco que poderles remitir. Caballos no despaché ninguno, porque, como llevo dicho, me hallo tan destituido de ellos que ni a un en qué seguir a los desertores me ha quedado con el continuo trabajo de más de tres meses. Y siendo la cosa más esencial para hacer el servicio, para continuarlo es necesario aguardar a que se reformen los que han quedado.

Fuera de que, con el rigor de tan copiosas lluvias, de ninguna suerte se pudiera continuar la expedición, mayormente en parajes tan pantanosos, boscosos e impenetrables, como en los que se hallan fortificados los enemigos, quienes tienen bien reconocido que sólo en parajes tan ventajosos le pueden hacer oposición a nuestras armas. En cuya atención, hasta el mes de octubre, que esté más enjuto el terreno, no podré entrar en los parajes donde se hallan los enemigos. Porque de lo contrario sería exponer las armas a la contingencia que experimentó en tiempo más al propósito, como es el mes de mayo, un destacamento de cincuenta y seis hombres, escogidos entre vecinos y soldados, que me derrotaron junto al pueblo de Etchojoa, pasando de mi orden, para el de Santa Cruz. Y habiéndole[s] salido una emboscada de enemigos en paraje pantanoso, quedaron muertos cinco. Salieron heridos casi todos, con pérdida de la caballada, que llevaban de remuda, y muchas sillas y armas, de los que no podían salir de los atolladeros.

El día 24 del corriente llegó a este real, de vuelta de esa ciudad, el último correo que despaché, y me entregó tres despachos expedidos por el señor arzobispo virrey, antecesor de vuestra excelencia. Uno para el gobernador de la Vizcaya, me ministrase los socorros que le pidiese, y otro para que los alcaldes mayores y justicias de esta gobernación practicasen lo mismo uno y otro. Está ya verificado, por lo que he suspendido la remisión de dichos despachos. Y si me hubiere de valer de él del citado gobernador, será en caso de que no pueda por otro medio facilitar la concurrencia de indios auxiliares, pues, según me dice, tiene mandado me los ministre el capitán general de la Tarahumara. El otro despacho es en orden a que yo

continúe las asistencias que he comenzado a la gente auxiliar. Y que así a los milicianos, como a los demás que yo considerare útiles para el servicio, les asigne los sueldos que tuviere por competentes. Los que han de correr mientras durare la expedición, y que su importancia con la de más gastos que en dicho efecto se causaren, se satisfará en las reales cajas de esa corte, con relación jurada y justificación competente que yo envíe.

Y en carta separada me previene su excelencia que por no haber en los almacenes de ese real palacio fusiles, ni otras armas de fuego con qué habilitar la expedición, tenía dado orden para que se les entregasen a don Gaspar de Alvarado, mi correspondiente, algunas espadas y la pólvora que pareciese necesaria.

A la fecha de ésta se hallan por los enemigos trece pueblos del río de Yaqui, que son: Movas, Jecatari, Cumuripa, Buenavista, Cocorit, Bacum, Potam, Rahum, Torim, Vicam, Huirivis, Belem, y Guaymas. Once del río de Mayo: Batacosa, Tepahui, Macoyaqui, Conicari, Camoa, Cohuirimpo, Tesia, Etchojoa, Navojoa, Santa Cruz, y Tagueri. En el río del Fuerte seis, que son: Tehueco, Sivirijoa, Charay, Mochicahui, San Miguel, y Ahome que todos componen el número de treinta. Así mismo se hallan despoblados, e impedidas de trabajar, las minas de Sivirijoa, las de este real de los Alamos, las de Baroyeca, real del Río Chico, y Potrero, las del de la Ventana y otras, que son las que mantienen estas provincias, pues no hay en ellas otro comercio que el laboreo y beneficio de dichas minas.

Además de lo referido, se halla imposibilitado el comercio y comunicación con la provincia de Sonora. Y aún en ésta desde Sinaloa, no hay ninguna seguridad para transitar de una parte a otra, porque las cuadrillas de indios que andan insultando no sólo a los traficantes, sino las haciendas, estancias, y ranchos, que tienen destruídos, obligados a sus dueños a que las hallan despoblado, sin que haya bastado a contener la abundancia de los enemigos, y reparar semejantes hostilidades, las repetidas partidas y destacamentos que por varias partes salen a recorrer la tierra. Porque como continuamente andan sobre la malicia, y no hacen mansión, sino es en parajes muy acomodados, raras veces los encuentran los nuestros, y si sucede luego tratan de escapar, huyendo a los montes y cerros de que nunca se desabrigan.

Para reparar semejantes inconvenientes, restablecer estas provincias desde Sinaloa hasta la Pimería Alta, (que hay más de ciento y ochenta y cinco leguas de distancia) a la quietud, sosiego, y seguridad que gozaban. Reducir los rebeldes a la sujeción y obediencia en que vivían, y restituir los minerales y haciendas de sacar plata a su corriente, son necesarios a lo menos quinientos hombres útiles y capaces de hacer el servicio, para que los sublevados en los tres ríos no bajarán de doce o catorce mil indios. Y como quiera que para salir en su solicitud es necesario dejar competente guarnición en la capital de Sinaloa, en la villa del Fuerte, y en este real de los Alamos, por si los enemigos gozando de nuestros movimientos los quisieren invadir.

No es capaz de acudir a todas estas distribuciones sino es con suficiente número de gente, y así he resuelto aumentar ciento y cincuenta soldados arreglados que se componen: los treinta del presidio de Sinaloa, cuarenta que he ordenado se destaquen del de Corodéguaqui (aunque hasta ahora sólo me hallo con la noticia de que había concurrido el teniente don Joseph Gómez con diez y seis), y treinta con que habrá concurrido el capitán de Janos, don Joseph del Carpio, y los cin-



cuenta que envía el gobernador de la Vizcaya con el capitán Idoyaga. Otros trescientos y cincuenta que nominaré entre los auxiliares, milicianos, y vecinos de estas provincias, asegurándole a cada uno el mismo sueldo de cuatrocientos pesos que goza un soldado, porque habiendo de ser igual el trabajo. Y en la presente constitución irreparable, el gasto de caballos, y armas que han de mantener a su costa, y los bastimentos que aún a todo costo no se pueden conseguir por la suma escasez que de ellos se padece, parece deben gozar el propio sueldo; siendo como es preciso el nombrarlos capaces, y oficiales correspondientes al gobierno y número de dichos soldados, les asignaré el sueldo que gozan los de los presidios por militar en ellos las mismas circunstancias.

Verificado el nombramiento de dichos oficiales y soldados que han de practicar tan importante expedición, se ofrece la dificultad de socorrerlos. Porque como llevo asentado en ésta, y expresé con toda ingenuidad al antecesor de vuestra excelencia, ni los caudales de los vecinos ni el mío lo permiten. Por lo que ha sido necesario para los gastos que se han ofrecido hasta la presente, los he buscado a mi crédito entre algunos mercaderes viandantes. Y un don Gerónimo, feliz vecino de este real, me prestó cuatro mil pesos. Cuya satisfacción, y de los demás, es urgente. Para cuyo efecto, y que me venga de esa ciudad lo necesario que en esta ocasión pido a mi correspondiente, dicho capitán don Gaspar de Alvarado, suplico a la providente atención de vuestra excelencia se sirva mandar se me adelanten cincuenta mil pesos, y que se le entreguen al susodicho con la obligación y aseguramiento que convenga. Pues a su tiempo remitiré a esa capitania general la cuenta de los gastos que se han causado y causaren de aquí adelante en la expedición, justificada y comprobada, como se me manda y he practicado varias veces que ha estado a mi cargo la distribución de intereses reales.

Que en todo procuraré acreditar la experiencia los deseos que me asisten de desempeñar mi obligación en el real servicio, que es el único objeto de mis atenciones. Y él que me ha movido hacer tan molesta y difusa narración, porque cerciorada la discreta atención de vuestra excelencia de todo lo que ha precedido en esta sublevación desde sus principios, de los medios que se han puesto para contener a los alzados, los que son necesarios para reducirlos, la pujanza de sus fuerzas, la debilidad de las nuestras. Y lo importante que es a la real corona el que no se dejen perder estos dilatados dominios. Y lo que es más, la comunicación y extensión en sus naturales al santo evangelio. Se sirva expender sus acertadas providencias, mediante las cuales espero lograrán estas provincias el beneficio de verse libres de las hostilidades que padecen las armas reales, el desagravio de su abandono, y el rey nuestro señor el aumento de su real erario, y en los reales quintos que le producen estos minerales.

Habíase pasado hacer patente a vuestra excelencia como los indios del río del Fuerte tienen prisionero al reverendo padre Francisco Matías de Mazariegos, ministro misionero en la de Mochicahui; los del río de Mayo al reverendo padre Antonio de Estrada, así mismo misionero de la de Camoa; y los yaquis al bachiller don Pedro Martínez de Mendivil, cura actual del real de Baroyeca, con más de cuarenta personas españolas de varios jaecces, especialmente mujeres y niños, que se llevaron de dicho real de Baroyeca y de otras partes, quienes están padeciendo los ultrajes y males tratamientos que puede considerar el experimentado celo de vuestra excelencia. Quien habiendo nacido para columna de la fe, azote de los enemigos de ella, y restaurador de los dominios del rey, le precisa ejercitar su generosa

propensión en alivio de estas afligidas provincias y servicio de ambas majestades. Mientras suplico a la divina guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia los muchos años que necesitan estos reinos para su aumento y conservación. Real de los Alamos y septiembre 4 de 1740.

Excelentísimo señor a los pies de vuestra excelencia su más rendido súbdito,

Manuel Bernal de Huidobro.

Excelentísimo señor don Pedro de Castro y Figueroa, mi señor.





## X

### Establishment of the New Presidios of Pitic and Terrenate (1741)

**D**uring the first four decades of the eighteenth century, New Spain held its northwestern frontier with only three presidios—Sinaloa, Fronteras, and Janos. But the 1740 Yaqui Revolt terrified the Spaniards, who envisioned a powerful pan-Indian alliance taking shape in Sinaloa-Sonora. As was so often the case, the Spanish government therefore responded after the fact by creating two new presidios—one at Pitic near the junction of the San Miguel and Sonora Rivers, the other at Terrenate along the headwaters of the Río San Pedro.

#### Father Molina to Governor Vildósola, 1741

*The first document, written in January 1741 by Padre Molina, the visitor of the northern missions, sets the stage for this development. Molina describes the vastness of the province of Sinaloa-Sonora and argues that the province should be split in half. A new governor, backed by a new presidio, could then keep the Yaquis and Pimas under control and take action against the Seris and Apaches.*

*That new garrison, according to Molina, should be established at either Pitiquín (Pitic) or San José de los Pimas, both located in central Sonora. Wily ecclesiastical politician that he was, Molina must have known that Governor Vildósola, to whom he addressed the letter, owned a large hacienda at Pitic and stood to profit from the establishment of a military garrison there. Vildósola was the new Jesuit hero—the savior of Sonora who suppressed the 1740 Yaqui Revolt—and the missionaries showered him with praise while heaping abuse*

upon his predecessor, Manuel Bernal de Huidobro. Consequently, Molina's advice may have been proffered as much to curry favor as to solve Sonora's intractable Indian affairs.

Molina further demonstrated his political savvy by linking the need for military security with the opportunity for economic development. The Jesuit knew that the guardians of the royal treasury were not about to allocate more funds for Sonora unless new sources of revenue appeared on the horizon as well. He therefore noted the decline of the rich mining districts of eastern Sonora and the abandonment of the pearl fisheries along the Sonoran coast. More troops meant more mines. More mines meant a healthy increase in the royal fifth.

**L**ord Governor and Captain General:<sup>1</sup>

My dear lord and master, I hope you find yourself in perfect health. Although I have not fully recuperated from my long and very serious illness, I wholeheartedly offer your lordship what health I have left.

The Society of Jesus has been entrusted to care for and to govern these poor nations for the greater service of God, the king, and the general spiritual welfare. It is strictly with this objective in mind that I make the following proposal, which, by the way, is of no direct benefit to the Society itself. Thus, your lordship cannot think that my motives are other than the ones I have expressed.

As you know, this government extends from the *real* of Rosario to the mission of San Xavier.<sup>2</sup> The mission is the last town in the valley of the Sobaipuris and also lies on the edge of the Pimería.<sup>3</sup> The distance between these two locations is well over 300 leagues, making the administration of this region quite unmanageable. Furthermore, it is impossible to send military assistance to both locations at once, because there are only thirty soldiers in the presidio of Sinaloa. Such a dilemma occurred last year when presidial and militia forces were called away by the greater emergency of a rebellion among the Yaqui, Mayo, and a part of the Lower Pima nations, thereby abandoning the Pimería Alta and the extensive prov-

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1. Vildósola was governor of Sinaloa-Sonora from 1741 to 1748.

2. The *real* of Rosario is in southern Sinaloa. Mission San Xavier is located along the Santa Cruz River just south of Tucson, Arizona. It was founded by Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino in 1700, but the present church, a magnificent example of colonial baroque architecture, was built under the direction of Franciscan missionaries between 1779 and 1797.

3. The valley of the Sobaipuris is the modern Santa Cruz River valley. Sobaipuri was the Spanish colonial term for Upper Pima Indians (O'odam) living along the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers of northern Sonora and southern Arizona. Mission San Xavier was indeed the northernmost mission in the Pimería Alta. Nevertheless, there were numerous Upper Pima communities farther north along the Santa Cruz, as well as along the Gila River south and southeast of modern Phoenix.

ince of Sonora to the continuous invasions of the Apaches, who are the mortal and irreconcilable enemies of all other nations.

Even if the royal arms are needed in only one location, great distances often delay the governor of these provinces from reaching such places. Such long delays can cause irreparable damage, not to mention the wear and tear on horse herds so detrimental to the royal treasury. Moreover, the local Spaniards find it very difficult to appeal their cases to so distant a governor. Oftentimes these poor inhabitants suffer violence or injustice at the hands of lieutenants and *alcaldes* who are unlettered and unqualified to administer justice. Unfortunately, there are no other qualified officials in these lands.

If your lordship finds my suggestions of benefit to the king and to the spiritual and temporal welfare of these provinces, I ask you to present to his excellency the viceroy those arguments that will not cloud his understanding of the situation. In particular, I propose that he divide this vast and unmanageable government in two, even if the salary has to be divided between the two governors in order to avoid additional expense to the royal treasury. Provinces from the *real* of Rosario to the *real* of Alamos, also commonly known as Alamos de los Frailes, would remain in Sinaloa. Sonora would then have one hundred presidial positions to protect the region stretching from Alamos to the area most recently conquered.

According to my limited understanding, the following results would occur once this division takes place and these troops are stationed in Sonora. By living at either Pitiquín or San José de los Pimas, the governor could easily smother any uprising the Yaqui nation intended to carry out.<sup>4</sup> He could also control the Guaymas, who have never been subjugated and who wander about like vagabonds without Christian instruction.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the governor could subdue the Seris, who have not been returned to their villages or to their catechism lessons since they revolted years ago.<sup>6</sup> The same could be done with the Pimería Baja.<sup>7</sup>

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4. Pitiquín, or Pitic, was situated just below the juncture of the Río Sonora and its major tributary, the Río San Miguel. Hermosillo, the state capital of Sonora, is located there now. In the early 1700s, Pitic was a *ranchería* of Lower Pimas on the frontier of Seri territory. Pedro de Rivera flirted with the idea of transferring the presidio of Sinaloa to Pitic in the late 1720s but decided against it. Nevertheless, its well-watered and strategic location continued to attract attention until a new presidio was finally established there in 1741. San José de los Pimas is located on the Río Mátape southwest of Pitic. It was founded as a *visita* of Tecoripa in 1653. It did not become a full-fledged mission until 1771.

5. The Guaymas were the southernmost Seri-speaking group who lived as far south as San Carlos Bay.

6. Chronic hostility existed between the Seris and the Spaniards despite Jesuit attempts to missionize the Indians. One of the Jesuits' biggest complaints against Vildósola's predecessor, Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, in fact, was Huidobro's refusal to force Seris to return to their missions along the lower San Miguel River following a series of rebellions in the late 1720s and early 1730s (see Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?").

7. Pitic was strategically located on the northwestern edge of the Pimería Baja and thus was in an excellent location to maintain control over the Lower Pimas. Lower Pimas, it

Moreover, the Pimería Alta, which has rebelled in years past, frequently threatens to rise up in arms again.<sup>8</sup> Because of their proximity to the Apaches, such a revolt would mean the total ruin of Sonora. By dividing the government in such a way, however, distances would be shortened, and the region could be thoroughly subjected to both God and the king, a situation laboriously maintained now only by constant military patrols.

Although they have been converted, the Papagos, a part of the Pimería Alta, are losing their souls because they have no desire to go to church or to attend their catechism lessons. Furthermore, they marry and interchange women according to pagan custom.<sup>9</sup> They live such a heathen life because their lands are incapable of being cultivated, of supporting a mission, or even of providing pasture for a horse herd. These lands produce only a small bean, and are almost totally lacking in water, forcing the inhabitants to drink from *batequis* [water holes].<sup>10</sup> Since their territory does not provide for all of their sustenance, the Papagos therefore come to work in the missions and ranches for three months or more each year.<sup>11</sup> With the reorganization of the government and the increase in presidial strength, it would be easy to drive the Papagos out of their sterile coun-

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must be remembered, had participated to a limited extent in the 1740 Yaqui Revolt. They were to become even more of a problem during the vicious guerrilla warfare that broke out between the Seris and the Spaniards later in the decade.

8. The Northern or Upper Pima Indians rebelled against the Spaniards in 1695. They were to mount an even more widespread revolt in 1751 (see Ewing, "Pima Uprising").

9. Northern Piman marriage was not marked by public ceremony, and unions were easily broken. The result was a pattern of serial monogamy in which men and women had only one spouse at a time but frequently entered into a number of marital relationships over the course of their lives (see Ruth Underhill, "Social Organization of the Papago Indians"; Frank Russell, "The Pima Indians").

10. There is no permanent flowing water in the Papaguería, even though a number of permanent springs are located in the vast, basin-and-range desert the Papagos occupy. Nonetheless, the Tohono O'odham, or Desert People, as the Papagos call themselves, were sophisticated arid-lands farmers, cultivating corn, squash, beans, and a number of lesser crops along and at the mouths of arroyos where runoff collected following summer thundershowers (see Edward F. Castetter and Willis H. Bell, *Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture*). The "small bean" referred to in this passage is undoubtedly the tepary bean (*Phaseolus acutifolius*), a legume that is more heat tolerant and drought resistant than common pinto beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), which the Papago also planted (see Gary Nabhan, *Gathering the Desert*). Batequi may refer to a well or water hole. It is employed more specifically along the coast of the Gulf of California, however, to denote freshwater springs that occur below the high-tide line.

11. During the mid and late eighteenth century, Tohono O'odham families frequently traveled to the missions and settlements of the Pimería Alta to help Northern Pimas living along the Santa Cruz, Magdalena, Altar, and Concepción drainages pick their crops in return for a portion of the harvest. Papagos also migrated to non-missionized Piman (Akimel O'odham or River People) communities along the Gila and Salt Rivers in central Arizona to do the same. It is possible this pattern was pre-Hispanic, but the introduction

try and oblige them to settle in the communities and fertile fields of the Pimería Alta.<sup>12</sup>

Also, during the pearling season, the governor of Sonora could send escorts to accompany those who go to the pearl beds between Tiburón Island and the coast of the Seri Indians. These pearl beds were completely abandoned at great loss to the royal income after the fishermen were attacked several times by the Seris because there was no escort to defend them and ensure their security.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, action could be taken against the Apaches, who until now could not be held in check by the lone presidio of Fronteras. With additional forces, however, squads periodically could be dispatched to accompany the presidial soldiers of Fronteras, thereby containing this nation, which grows increasingly bloody and mortally hostile each day. The Apaches are ruining all Sonora, with notable loss to the royal treasury. And as your lordship well knows, since you have lived there until now, the greatest mineral deposits lie in that zone comprising eastern Sonora, where rich mines such as the goldfields of Tepetates, San Bruno de Nacozari, and others have been abandoned because the continuous hostilities of the Apaches could not be resisted, causing great loss of life and property.<sup>14</sup>

I hereby put forth these suggestions for your lordship's consideration. If you deem them worthy of being presented to his excellency, please do so for the welfare of these provinces, especially the newly Christianized areas under my care and responsibility. In order that these areas flourish more each day and bear more abundantly the fruits of piety and obedience for both majesties, I ask your lordship once again to convey my thoughts to his excellency.

I await frequent instructions from your lordship. I will demonstrate my obedience and desire to serve your lordship by carrying out all orders gladly and

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of Old World crops, especially winter wheat, undoubtedly increased Papago seasonal migrations to Pima agricultural communities. Wheat, after all, was harvested in early summer before many wild plant foods had ripened and before the Papagos' own crops had matured (see Sheridan, "Kino's Unforeseen Legacy").

12. Tohono O'odham were frequently recruited to repopulate mission communities decimated by epidemics of Old World diseases such as smallpox and measles. This periodic influx of Papago migrants was particularly important along the Santa Cruz River, especially at Mission San Xavier (see Dobyns, *Colonial Tucson*).

13. Missionaries and colonial officials often talked about the pearl beds of the central Sonoran coast in order to stimulate royal or viceregal interest in Seri territory, a region too arid to farm or colonize in any conventional way. There even seemed to be a major effort to exploit oyster beds off the northeast coast of Tiburón Island in the late 1720s, when Manuel Bernal de Huidobro attempted to use Pimas from the missions of the Altar and Magdalena drainages as divers and laborers. Jesuit resistance to the use of Piman labor and Seri hostilities against the pearl fishermen themselves prevented this industry from becoming entrenched along the Sonoran coast. In retrospect, pearls seemed more of a lure than a reality in the upper Gulf of California (see Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?").

14. The famous *real* of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Nacozari was located along the upper Río Moctezuma in northeastern Sonora. Tepetates and San Bruno de Nacozari may have been located in the same region.



promptly. May our Lord protect your life and grant you prosperity for many long years. Tecoripa, January 18, 1741.

I kiss the hand of your lordship, my governor and captain general.  
Your most affectionate servant and devoted chaplain,  
Jesús Joseph Javier de Molina<sup>15</sup>

Don Agustín de Vildósola.

*A Spanish transcription of the document is published in Documentos para la Historia de México, 3d. Series, Vol. 1, pp. 918–920 (Mexico City, 1857).*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**S**eñor gobernador y capitán general:  
Muy señor mío y mi dueño, deseo a vuestra señoría perfecta salud y ofrezco a su obsequio la que me asiste, aunque no del todo recobrada de la gravísima y dilatada enfermedad que he padecido, con segura y verdadera voluntad.

Con el deseo del mayor servicio de Dios y del rey, y bien espiritual, de la compañía de Jesús, de estas pobres naciones encomendadas al cuidado y gobierno de los padres de dicha compañía, por el rey (que Dios guarde), propongo a vuestra señoría lo que por dichos fines me parece preciso, y en que por no tener ni resultar útil alguno a la compañía, no podrá vuestra señoría discurrir que yo tenga otro fin que los expresados.

Es cierto que esta gobernación, desde el real del Rosario hasta la misión de San Xavier, último pueblo del valle de los sobaipuris y fin de la pimería por otro, hay mucho más de 300 leguas, distancia que hace inmanejable este gobierno. Y que por su gobernación no puede, si en dos partes a un tiempo pide el bien de estos vasallos de su majestad la asistencia de las armas, acudir a ambas, por no tener más que el cortísimo número de treinta soldados en el presidio de Sinaloa. Como sucedió este año pasado, que llamadas las armas presidiales y milicianas, a la mayor necesidad de la sublevación de las naciones yaqui, mayo y parte de los pimas bajos, fue preciso dejarse desamparadas la Pimería Alta y dilatada provincia de Sonora a las invasiones continuas de los apaches, enemigos mortales e inconciliables de toda otra nación.

Ni tampoco, aunque en una sola parte sea preciso el socorro de las reales armas, puede acudir el gobernador de estas provincias sin grandes demoras que pueden ocasionar daños irreparables por las grandes distancias, y por estas mismas, ser inmenso gasto y consumo de caballadas con detrimento muy grande del real erario. Ni menos dificultad se experimenta y lamenta por estos pobres vecinos españoles para los recursos y apelaciones al gobernador distantísimo, en los frecuentes casos que padecen violencia o injusticia por los tenientes y alcaldes,

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15. Padre Joseph Javier de Molina (1694–1741) was born in Antequera, Spain. He spent most of his career in Spain, not arriving in northwestern New Spain until 1738, where he served at the Seri mission of Pópulo along the lower Río San Miguel and then at Dolores. That same year, he was named visitor of the northern missions. He died on April 21, 1741, two months after this letter was written, while inspecting the missions of the Tarahumara.

hombres sin letras e ineptos de administrar justicia, sino en estas tierras donde no hay otros.

Por todo esto yo propongo a vuestra señoría que si le parece del real servicio y bien espiritual y temporal de estas provincias, vuestra señoría expusiese estos y otros motivos que a su comprensión no se le ocultarán, excelentísimo, al señor virrey para que por (lo que) conviene, se dividiese este dilatadísimo, inmanejable gobierno; aunque fuese dividiendo el sueldo en los dos gobernadores para evitar el gasto de la real hacienda. Quedando él [gobierno] de Sinaloa con las provincias del real del Rosario hasta él [real] de los Alamos, llamado comúnmente de los Frailes, y él [gobierno] de Sonora con cien plazas presidiales desde allí hasta lo último conquistado.

Resultarían, a mi corto entender, de esta división y plazas en Sonora, que viviendo su gobernador en el Pitiquín o en San José de los Pimas, cubriría con gran facilidad la nación yaqui de cualquiera sublevación que intentase y la nación guaymas, nunca sujeta; sino vagabunda, ni doctrinada; la nación seri, que ya años pasados se alzó y no ha habido forma de reducirla a pueblos y doctrinas. Quedaba bajo las armas y del mismo modo la Pimería Baja, la Pimería Alta, cuya parte se alzó años ha y que frecuentemente amenazan alzamientos, los que podrían, con la vecindad por los apaches, ser total ruina de Sonora. De este modo podría ser bien sujeta a Dios y al rey, que al presente no lo está, sino trabajosamente con continuas escuadras y visitas por no ser larga la distancia.

La nación de los pápagos, parte de la Pimería Alta, que siendo mansa, todas sus almas se pierden, se podría fácilmente arrojar de sus estériles tierras, que sólo producen un frijolillo pequeño y del todo falta de aguas por lo que beben en batequis, y obligársele a vivir en fértiles tierras y pueblos de la Pimería Alta, a donde vienen a trabajar en las misiones y ranchos cada año por tres meses o poco más, porque allá en sus tierras no les alcanza el sustento, mas sin querer asistir a iglesia, doctrina, etc., y viviendo casados (variando mujeres) al uso del gentilismo sin doctrina ni cultivo en sus tierras, incapaces de tener misión, y ni aún puesto para caballada. Allí en todo y por todo viven una vida gentil.

También pudiera, entonces, el gobernador de Sonora enviar escolta al tiempo de la pesca de perlas. A los que fuesen al placer que está entre la isla del Tiburón y sobre la costa de los seris. Este placer está del todo abandonado con pérdida del real servicio por las hostilidades que dichos seris ejecutaron muchas veces en los pescadores, a causa de no haber escolta que defienda y asegure.

Y finalmente, aún contra los apaches, a quienes no puede reprimir el solo presidio de fronteras por estas provincias, podrían a tiempos, despacharse escuadras que con los presidiales de Fronteras contuviesen aquella nación cada día más sangrienta y mortalmente enemiga y que arruina toda la Sonora con notable daño de la real hacienda, pues como vuestra señoría, que por aquel lado ha vivido hasta ahora, sabe muy bien la mayor minería está en aquella banda que es la del oriente de Sonora, se han abandonado ricas minas, como fue de oro la de los Tepetates, las de San Bruno de Nacozeri y otras por no poderse resistir las continuadas hostilidades en vidas y haciendas causadas por los apaches.

Esto es lo que me pareció poner en la consideración de vuestra señoría para que si lo juzga digno de representar a su excelencia, para bien de estas provincias y singularmente de estas nuevas cristiandades, por el cuidado y algún cargo que de ellas tengo. Para que cada día más florezcan y den más copiosos frutos de piedad

y obediencia a ambas majestades, se digne vuestra señoría representarlo a dicho señor excelentísimo.

Espero frecuentes mandatos de vuestra señoría en cuya pronta y gustosa ejecución acredite yo mi obediencia y deseo de servir a vuestra señoría, cuya vida guarde y prospere Nuestro Señor dilatados años. Tecoripa y 18 de enero de 1741.

Señor gobernador y capitán general, bese la mano de vuestra señoría,

su más afectísimo siervo y rendido capellán,

Jesús Joseph Javier de Molina

Señor D. Agustín de Vildósola.

## Viceregal Decree Regarding Pitic, 1741

*In mid-1741, after Molina had died during an inspection of the Tarahumara missions, the viceroy heeded at least part of his advice. Sinaloa-Sonora remained one province; Molina's suggestion that the two entities be divided did not become a reality until 1831, ten years after Mexican independence. Nevertheless, Pitic was chosen as the site of a new presidio, and Vildósola did indeed exploit that garrison for all it was worth. In addition to Pitic, however, the viceroy also decreed that another presidio be established in Upper Pima country between the missions of Guevavi and Santa María Suamca. Moreover, he ordered the presidio of Sinaloa transferred to Buenavista upriver from the Yaqui missions and the presidio of Fronteras transferred to Terrenate. Suddenly, Sonora seemed to be awash in new military positions.*

*Few documents have generated as much confusion as the viceroy's decree. In an admirable piece of historical detective work, John Kessell demonstrated that no presidio was ever situated at or near Guevavi, or between the missions of Guevavi and Santa María Suamca.<sup>1</sup> Nor was the Fronteras presidio moved to Terrenate. Instead, Vildósola, exercising his prerogative not to follow the viceroy's instructions to the letter, selected Terrenate as the location of the new presidio. Fronteras remained where it was, just as the wandering presidio of Sinaloa remained headquartered in Sinaloa even though detachments were temporarily stationed at both Buenavista and Baroyeca during the 1740s. Nevertheless, the garrison at Terrenate was named San Felipe de Gracia Real de Guevavi—with Alias Terrenate tacked on the end—a title that confounded colonial officials and completely muddled the historical record of the time.*

Decree of the most excellent Duque de la Conquista<sup>2</sup> for the creation of two presidios, one in the area of Pitiquín and the other between the missions of Guevavi and Suamca, each with fifty men. Also decreed is the transfer of officers and men from Sinaloa to Buenavista and from Corodéguaqui to Terrenate according to the decision of the royal junta de guerra y hacienda on April 27, 1741.

**P**er my special order, the government of Sinaloa along with all its annexed areas has been officially handed over to Sargento Mayor Don Agustín de Vildósola. The Yaqui and Mayo nations, who had been in a state of revolt since the year 1739, were pacified under his strong command. This interim governor has kept me informed of all the steps taken in this matter, as well as the

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1. Kessell, "Puzzling Presidio."

2. The Duque de la Conquista y Marqués de Gracia Real—Pedro de Castro Figueroa y Salazar—was viceroy of New Spain from August 17, 1740 until his death in Mexico City on August 22, 1741.

current state of the province. In addition, he submitted a timely report regarding his well-founded mistrust of the above-mentioned nations and their neighbors. Had they joined forces, these Indians would have become fearsome and suspect, not only because of their barbarous inclination towards freedom but also because of the great vastness of their lands. That vastness has prevented the placing of detachments of soldiers where they would be able to protect the most endangered locations from the type of disturbances or conspiracies described in his report of March 17 of this year.

Considering the utmost significance of this matter, we would serve his majesty well and eliminate all fears by permanently subjecting these nations to the gentle yoke of submission and obedience. By placing detachments in the most isolated locations, peace could be maintained in their pueblos. In addition, the presence of such garrisons would deter other nations that have not yet been reduced from any acts of sedition or unrest. I therefore ordered that Vildósola's report and other related documents be sent to the junta general de guerra y hacienda<sup>3</sup> so that the material would be considered and discussed. I knew that the appropriate ministers of his majesty would attend such a junta as well as other intelligent and experienced persons who have direct knowledge of the entire province, its landmarks, settlements, and wastelands. These individuals would also know the easiest and most convenient means by which these nations communicate with one another.

Accordingly, the two juntas held on the twelfth and twenty-seventh of last April reviewed all that had taken place in order to gain a full understanding of the unfortunate circumstances and to decide upon the most useful and favorable changes that could be made in the present system of defense within that province. The junta unanimously agreed to create one hundred positions for two presidios that are to be erected and established. Furthermore, the junta also decided to reassign current positions to more suitable and strategic locations within the province.

To carry out these decisions, the order was given to transfer the thirty-one positions, including officers, of the old presidio of Sinaloa to the portal of Buenavista.<sup>4</sup> Soldiers transferred to Buenavista would be able to watch over the Yaquis, Mayos, and Lower Pimas and would not be far from the Tarahumara nation. And lest one think that such a transfer would leave the province of Sinaloa defenseless and abandoned, it should be noted that there are miners, merchants, ranchers, Spaniards, and people of mixed race in both Sinaloa and Culiacán who are organized into militias. These militias should always be prepared for whatever happens, in order that they can defend those provinces.<sup>5</sup>

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3. The junta general de guerra y hacienda was the standing committee of the viceregal Audiencia of Mexico that advised the viceroy and oidores on all important military and fiscal affairs.

4. Before it was inundated by the Alvaro Obregón Reservoir, the community of Buenavista was located at the mouth of a narrow canyon along the Río Yaqui upriver from the Yaqui mission pueblos, hence its description as a puerto or portal.

5. As Huidobro's description of the Yaqui Revolt makes clear, militias played an important

One of the two new presidios is to be established at the site or location called Pitiquín. It will have fifty positions, including officers. They are to receive the same wages as soldiers in the other presidios of the same province. This new presidio will not be very far away from the above-mentioned nations. It will also be very near to the Guaymas, Seris, Tepocas, and Tiburones, whose ambushes have caused the ruin of settlers along that part of the coast of southern Sonora on several occasions.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, these Indians have impeded pearl diving in those pearl beds and fisheries. At the same time, the new garrison will be able to watch over the Eudeve and Opatá nations<sup>7</sup> of that province as well as visit the Pimería Alta, which is under the command of the governor of Sinaloa-Sonora. And since that governor has his residence in the capital of Sinaloa, he will appoint a lieutenant of his own choosing to carry out his orders there.

It was the decision of the learned and experienced members of the junta to establish the other new presidio between the missions of Guevavi and Santa María Suamca at some spot along the river deemed most suitable by the governor.<sup>8</sup> This new presidio will also have fifty positions, including the officers. It will be able to communicate easily with the other new presidio of Pitiquín, as well as contain

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role in the suppression of that rebellion, as well as in other conflicts between Native Americans and Spaniards. Presidial garrisons were only one component of Spanish military security along the northern frontier. Militias and Indian auxiliaries were often just as important—or more important—in the defense of northern New Spain.

6. These four groups were all Seri-speaking bands along the coast of central Sonora. The Guaymas ranged from Guaymas Bay to the estuary of Tastiota. The Seris proper, also known as Salineros, occupied the region around Kino Bay. The Tepocas were the northernmost group, hunting, gathering wild plants, and fishing from the vicinity of Punta Sargento north to the mouth of the Río de la Concepción west of Caborca. They also ranged as far east as the mountains along the Río Bacoachi. The Tiburones lived on Tiburón Island off the Sonoran coast (see W. J. McGee, *The Seri Indians of Bahía Kino and Sonora, Mexico*; Richard Felger and Mary Beck Moser, *People of the Desert and Sea*; Sheridan, "Seri Bands in Cross-Cultural Perspective").

7. The Eudeves spoke a language closely related to Opatá—as closely related, Padre Juan Nentvig said, as Portuguese to Castilian. They lived along the middle stretches of the San Miguel, the headwaters of the Río Mátape, the southern stretches of the Río Moctezuma, and a portion of the Río Yaqui north of Tónichi (see Campbell W. Pennington et al, "La cultura de los eudeve"). The Opatas proper, on the other hand, occupied the valley of the Río Sonora north of Ures, the upper Río Moctezuma drainage, and both sides of the loop of the Río Bavispe. During the colonial period, both Eudeves and Opatas were considered the Indian nations most faithful to the Spaniards in Sonora (see Spicer, *Cycles*).

8. The mission of Guevavi, known at various times as San Rafael Arcángel, San Gabriel Arcángel, and Los Santos Angeles, was located on the east bank of the Río Santa Cruz approximately eight miles north of the modern international border. It was selected as a mission site by Kino in the early 1690s, but its first resident missionary did not arrive until 1701, and he quickly abandoned his post. The Jesuits resumed staffing the mission in 1732. It suffered considerable destruction during the Pima Revolt of 1751. Santa María de Soamca, situated along the upper Río Santa Cruz southeast of Guevavi, was first established by Kino in 1706 as a visita of Dolores. In 1732, however, Padre Ignatz Keller was assigned to Suamca, where he remained until his death in 1759. On November 19, 1768, Suamca was destroyed by an Apache attack (see Kessell, "Mission of Sorrows").

the populous nations of the Pimas Altos, Sobaipuris, Papagos, and Cocomaricopas.<sup>9</sup> When necessary, this new presidio, like the others of the province, will also become a central point of defense against the frequent invasions, thefts, and hostilities of the Apache Indians. It will then be able to assist as well as warn the presidio at Terrenate,<sup>10</sup> where the presidio of Santa Rosa Corodéguachi with its fifty men and officers is being transferred. The location of Terrenate is better situated to mount forays in coordination with the presidio of Guevavi, thereby impeding Apache invasions to the west and maintaining contact with the presidio of Janos to the east. It will also be able to visit the Opata and Eudeve nations when events call for such actions. The presidio of Janos will remain where it is, not only because of its strategic location but also because it is the only presidio in the region fortified with a surrounding wall.<sup>11</sup>

With this arrangement and disposition of forces, the province will be as if cordoned off. Moreover, the garrisons will be better able to protect it, as well as to communicate with and provide assistance to one another. At present, the passes and ravines by which the Indians of those nations communicate with one another are nearly under control. In the future, however, as the region is settled, it will be possible not only to deter hostilities but also to prevent the escape of those who commit them.

Through such means, the desired reduction of all these faithless nations to the fold of the holy Church will be achieved. In addition, fields will be cultivated and mines will be worked, resulting in corresponding profits for his majesty's royal treasury. Furthermore, trade will flow freely without encountering the dangers that have impeded it until now.

Because it seems that their former names were taken from their old locations, the two presidios that are being transferred must be given new names. The presidio to be placed in Pitiquín is to be named San Pedro de la Conquista. As stated before, it is to be under the command of the governor. The new presidio to be erected and established in Buenavista with thirty-one positions from the presidio of Sinaloa is to be called San Bernardo de Gracia Real.<sup>12</sup> The one to be built in

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9. The Pimas Altos, Sobaipuris, and Papagos were Piman-speaking groups of the Sonoran Desert. Pimas Altos often designated all Northern Pimas, but in this case, the term probably refers to those living along the Magdalena, Altar, and Concepción drainages. Sobaipuris occupied the Santa Cruz and San Pedro watersheds. Papagos inhabited the riverless region west of the Santa Cruz and north of the Concepción. Cocomaricopas were Yuman speakers living along the Gila River. They were staunch allies of the Gila Pimas and implacable enemies of the Yuman-speaking Quechans and Mohaves along the Colorado River (see Clifton B. Kroeber and Bernard L. Fontana, *Massacre on the Gila*).

10. Terrenate was located along the upper Río San Pedro just south of the modern international border. It was established as a Spanish stock ranch in the late seventeenth century.

11. The presidio of Janos was founded in 1686. In 1766, more than two decades after this document was written, walls were built surrounding two adjoining plazas, with the chapel, captain's quarters, and barracks being built along the walls themselves.

12. A detachment of soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa was temporarily stationed at Buenavista during the 1740s, but a permanent presidio was not established there until 1765. That presidio was named San Carlos de Buenavista.

Guevavi is to be named San Felipe. The one at Terrenate, which will be transferred from Corodéguaqui and have as its captain Don Francisco Antonio Bustamante y Tagle,<sup>13</sup> is to be called San Fernando.

I hereby appoint Don Joseph Gómez<sup>14</sup> captain of the new presidio of San Felipe, which is to be located at Guevavi with fifty assigned men, including the lieutenant, alférez, and sergeant. I do so in view of his great merit and services to his majesty in that province, and in special recognition of his demonstrations of bravery and leadership during the aforementioned pacification of the Yaqui and Mayo nations. The captain, as well as his officers and soldiers, are to be commended, rewarded, and assisted with salaries equal to those drawn by soldiers in the other older presidios of that province.

For the presidio and company to be erected, created, and established as San Bernardo de Gracia Real, I appoint Don Gaspar Fermel as captain.<sup>15</sup> Its thirty-one positions, including lieutenant, alférez, and sergeant will be transferred from Sinaloa. They shall have the same salaries they enjoyed before.

Both captains will be issued certificates of appointment so that they may go to the province of Sinaloa to recruit their garrisons. The interim governor, Don Agustín de Vildósola, should see to it that the persons enlisted are suitable for the service. In order to carry out the establishment of the two new presidios and the transfer of the others, the necessary orders are to be prepared along with the records of the two meetings. Thus the governor will know what was discussed and decided so that he can make the necessary arrangements. If, however, the governor feels that any of the presidios should be changed to locations that are either more convenient or that offer better protection to the province and easier coordination with one another, I leave it to his judgment and grant him authority to make the appropriate changes in order to achieve the end we are striving for.

The reason for creating one hundred positions for the two new presidios is to establish a barrier in Sonora to resist and expel all uprisings of the barbarous nations that have not yet been reduced. In order to keep peace among those that have submitted to his majesty, people and families should be found to settle near or within the boundaries of the presidios. People may come voluntarily, or they

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13. Francisco Antonio Bustamante y Tagle succeeded Juan Bautista de Anza the Elder as captain of the presidio of Fronteras after the latter's death in 1740. He quickly became the target of Governor Vildósola's wrath for not campaigning more vigorously against the Apaches. Because Fronteras was never transferred to Terrenate, Bustamante never served as Terrenate's captain.

14. Joseph Gómez de Silva took part in the suppression of the Yaqui Revolt the year before this document was written. He may have been a descendant of Diego Gómez de Silva, a miner at San Juan Bautista who became *teniente alcalde mayor* of Sonora in 1676. Gómez de Silva did not die in 1741 as Navarro García claims (see Navarro García, *Don José*, p. 84). Instead, he served as captain of the new presidio, which established itself at Terrenate, not Guevavi, for at least six more years.

15. Gaspar Fermel was captain of the presidio of Sinaloa in 1743, two years after this document was written. In the fall of that year, his own men urged Governor Vildósola to remove him from office. The reasons they gave ranged from his ignorance of military affairs to his effeminacy and corpulence.



may be persuaded to do so by offering them land upon which to build houses and cultivate the crops necessary for their subsistence. Such distribution of land should be made according to the design or plan decided upon for each presidio. Although the exact design may not be achieved right away, all measures and preparations should be established and followed from the very beginning in order to ensure the protection of the garrison.<sup>16</sup> In such fashion, the nearby settlers will be given shelter and refuge in cases of emergency caused by any sudden attacks by the barbarous Indians. They also will be better prepared to defend themselves against any ambushes attempted by these Indians or any nation that has already been reduced. With these four forts the entire province and its many large districts will be properly protected. Furthermore, the lands that until now have been uninhabited and under the domination of the gentile nations will be settled, inhabited, cultivated, and made fruitful. For in no other manner nor by any other means can these nations be drawn to the obedience of his majesty and share in the fruit of the redemption.

Moreover, it is essential for the establishment of these two presidios and the transfer of the other two that some funds be appropriated for the building of houses and everything else needed to make the presidios habitable for the soldiers. Although those being transferred will bring with them anything that is movable, orders will be given to provide the interim governor with an estimated amount—even though it is not the total needed—so that the construction of the forts may begin. While supervising the construction, the governor must keep a tight budget and conscientiously avoid unnecessary expenses to the royal treasury.

It should also be well understood that neither the settlers nor the Indians should be burdened by the construction of these presidios. Although they will be needed to cut wood and to collect and haul stones, this shall be no excuse to oppress them. They are to be fairly compensated for their labor—without exception and without extortion—according to the custom of that province. In the same fashion, and in order to recruit the one hundred new soldiers, a year's salary is to be paid in advance so that each soldier can arm and equip himself. At the same time, royal officials should also distribute cases of gunpowder required by the two presidios so that they will be ready to carry out their duties.

All these matters will be attended to not only by the interim governor Don Agustín de Vildósola, who is primarily responsible for the establishment and transfer of the presidios, but also by the captains, who have dedicated themselves to the service of his majesty with love, loyalty, and zeal. Thus I trust that they will carry out these important matters with a sense of honor and duty. Moreover, I rely upon the honor and duty of Don Agustín to oversee all the tasks I have entrusted to his zeal, guidance, and care. I expect that he will fulfill his great oblig-

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16. The idea of linking the establishment of presidios with the encouragement of civilian settlement was an idea that surfaced repeatedly in the writings of Spanish and Mexican officials. Those officials were well aware of the danger of a sparsely populated northern frontier. Their fears escalated after the French were replaced by the British in the Mississippi Valley after 1763. They reached a crescendo following the Texas Revolt and Mexico's war with the United States in the 1830s and 1840s. The result was a series of generally unsuccessful attempts to implant military colonies along the frontier (see Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846*).

ations and devote all his attention to these matters, issuing decrees, submitting the necessary justifications of his actions for my approval, and keeping me informed of everything he does. The dispatches that he sends will be duly recorded in the real tribunal de cuentas, in the accounting books of this royal treasury, and in other appropriate places. These records will confirm everything that has transpired up to now so that his majesty will remain informed about the progress of this affair. Veracruz, June 12, 1741.

*AGI, Guadalajara 135.*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Decreto del excelentísimo señor duque de la conquista para la creación de los dos presidios el uno en el paraje de Pitiquín otro en las misiones del Guevavi y Suamca con 50 plazas cada uno, incluso los oficiales y traslados de Sinaloa al paraje de Buenavista y el de Corodéguachi al de Terrenate conforme a lo resuelto en junta de guerra y hacienda del real y 27 de abril de 1741.

**D**espués que por orden especial mía, se entregó de la gobernación de Sinaloa, con todo lo anexo a su distrito, el sargento mayor, don Agustín de Vildósola, cuya buena conducta pacificó las naciones de los yaquis y mayos que estaban sublevados desde el año de 1739, me dio cuenta el citado gobernador interino de todos los pasos de este negocio, estado en que se halla aquella provincia. Informándome al propio tiempo de la justa desconfianza que tenía de las citadas naciones y de otras convecinas, con quienes se podían confederar, haciéndose temibles y sospechosas, no sólo por la inclinación a su bárbara libertad sino también por la demasiada extensión de aquellas tierras, la cual ha servido de embarazo a poner en los parajes más peligrosos y ocasionados aquellos resguardos que refrenen y eviten cualesquiera movimientos y conspiración con los demás, que contuvo su consulta de 17 de marzo pasado de este año.

Y considerando la suma importancia de este asunto y lo mucho que conduce al servicio de su majestad apagar todos los recelos, establecer con perpetuidad en estas naciones la obediencia y sujeción al suave yugo de ella, poniendo en los parajes más desiertos aquella custodia, con cuyo respeto se mantengan en la quietud de sus pueblos. Y que las naciones no reducidas a vista de estos resguardos se abstengan de moverlas a alguna sedición o inquietud, mandé llevar la consulta e instrumentos dependientes de ella a junta general de guerra y hacienda donde se tratase, considerase y discurrese la materia, a la cual no sólo concurriesen los ministros de su majestad, de que debe constar, sino también otras personas inteligentes y prácticas y de intuitivo conocimiento de toda aquella provincia, sus parajes, poblados y yermos, como así mismo de aquellos más oportunos y fáciles a la comunicación de unas con otras naciones.

Y en esta conformidad en las dos que se tuvieron a 12 y 27 de abril, próximo pasado, donde se hizo relación de todo lo acaecido y cuánto fue conveniente para poder resolver con pleno conocimiento de las circunstancias agravantes, lo más útil y proficuo al actual sistema de aquella provincia, atento a que con unánime acuerdo de toda la junta, se determinó aumentar el número de 100 plazas en dos

presidios que han de erigir, crear y establecer, moviendo a parajes más oportunos y necesarios, los que en aquella provincia están ya situados, poniéndose en ejecución lo resuelto.

Mandó que el presidio antiguo, que reside en Sinaloa, con el número de 31 plazas, incluso los oficiales, se traslade al puerto de Buenavista, con que se ocurre al resguardo de las naciones yaquis, mayos, pimas bajos. Y no está distante de la nación Tarahumara. Y para que no se entienda desamparada de guarnición la citada provincia de Sinaloa, teniendo ésta y la de Culiacán, mineros, mercaderes, rancheros, gente española, y de color quebrado, de las cuales están formadas milicias, deberán estar éstas siempre listas, para lo que pueda sobrevenir, como que están destinadas a su defensa.

Que en el sitio o paraje que llaman el Pitiquín, se establezca uno de los dos presidios nuevos, con el número de 50 plazas, incluso en ellas los oficiales y con los propios sueldos que gozan los otros presidios de la misma provincia. Siendo el intento de esta creación, el que no distando mucho de las naciones que están mencionadas, estará inmediato a las de los guaymas, seris, tepocas y tiburones, cuyas insidias han arruinado diferentes veces en aquella parte de la costa del sur de Sonora aquel vecindario, hostilizando e impidiendo el buceo de perlas en aquellos placeres y pesquerías. Y esta guarnición podrá celar con su custodia, las naciones eudeves y ópatas de aquella provincia y a más de esto se hallará en aptitud de poder visitar parte de la Pimería Alta, con cuyo comando ha de correr el gobernador. Y porque éste tiene residencia precisa en la capital de Sinaloa, pondrá teniente de su satisfacción que cumpla sus órdenes.

Que entre las misiones de Guevavi y Santa María Suamca, en el paraje del río que al gobernador parezca más a propósito, a dictamen de prácticos e inteligentes, se ponga otro de los presidios nuevos, con el propio número de 50 plazas, incluso los oficiales, atendiendo a que desde este paraje se podrá comunicar fácilmente con el antecedente del Pitiquín; y la guarnición de aquél contendrá las numerosas naciones de los pimas altos, soba y puris [sobaipuris], pápagos y cocomarcopas. Y en caso necesario centrará [centrará] como los otros presidios, la provincia, y podrá con mayor disposición defenderla de las frecuentes entradas de los apaches, de sus extorsiones y hostilidades, dándose para ello la mano y la voz con el presidio de Terrenate; a cuyo puesto se ha de trasplantar el de Santa Rosa Corodéguachi, con los 50 hombres de su guarnición, en que están comprendidos los oficiales de la compañía, cuyo paraje es más a propósito para manejarse por medio de sus correrías con el presidio de Guevavi, impidiendo la invasión de los apaches por aquel lado y comunicándose por el otro con el presidio de Janos. Y en casos precisos podrá visitar las naciones ópatas y eudeves, quedándose el mencionado de Janos en el mismo paraje de su situación por ser muy a propósito el sitio, y el único que en aquellas distancias se halla amurrado.

Con cuya disposición y figura parece vendrá a quedar aquella provincia como acordonada y con las guarniciones de su custodia en mejor aptitud y habilidad al resguardo de ella, como también más comunicables los recíprocos auxilios de unos presidios con otros, con los cuales, por lo presente, quedan los pasos y gargantas por donde se comunican los indios de las naciones que van referidas, casi tomadas. Y vendrán en lo futuro con el pueblo de gente, que es el intento conseguir a quedar atacados e impedidos no sólo a hostilidades sino a refugiarse de las que hayan cometido.

Por cuyo medio se logrará la deseada reducción de tanta nación infiel al redil de la santa iglesia. Se cultivarán aquellas tierras, trabajándose los minerales de donde resulte a la real hacienda de su majestad aquella utilidad correspondiente. Y el comercio tendrá la libertad que necesita para comunicarse de unas a otras partes, sin los peligros que hasta ahora lo han retraído.

Y porque la transmutación de los dos antiguos presidios permite, y aún obliga, a darles diverso nombre, porque el que antes han tenido parece se ha tomado de los mismos sitios, se denominará el presidio que se ha de poner en el Pitiquí, San Pedro de la Conquista, que como queda dicho, es del comando del gobernador. El nuevo que se erige y ha de establecer en Buenavista, con las 31 plazas del de Sinaloa, se ha de nombrar San Bernardo de Gracia Real. El que se ha de crear en el paraje Guevavi, se ha de llamar San Felipe. Y el de Corodéguaqui, que se ha de trasladar al paraje nombrado Terrenate, con su capitán don Francisco Antonio Bustamante y Tagle, se ha de intitular en lo venidero, San Fernando.

Y desde ahora nombro para capitán del presidio nuevo de San Felipe, que se ha de situar en Guevavi con 50 hombres de dotación, incluso el teniente, alférez y sargento, al capitán don Joseph Gómez, atento su mucho mérito y grandes servicios hechos en el de su majestad en aquella provincia, y con más señalamiento y demostración de su valor y conducta en la pacificación de que se ha tratado y entendido en las naciones yaquis, mayos. Así a este capitán, como a los oficiales y soldados, se les ha de considerar, atender y asistir con iguales sueldos que los que vencen y devengan los de los otros presidios antiguos de la enunciada provincia.

Y para el presidio y compañía que se erige, crea, y establece con el nombre de San Bernardo de Gracia Real, que es la de 31 plazas que se trasladan de Sinaloa, incluidos en este número el teniente, alférez y sargento, nombro por capitán a don Gaspar Fermel con los mismos sueldos que gozaban.

A cuyos dos capitanes se expidan los títulos de sus empleos para que con ellos pasen a la referida provincia de Sinaloa a la recluta de la guarnición, en que ha de tener intervención el gobernador interino, don Agustín de Vildósola, para las personas que se alistaren, sean proporcionadas al servicio. Y para que se ponga en práctica y ejecución el establecimiento de los dos nuevos presidios, y mutación de los otros, en la conformidad que va expresada, se libre el despacho necesario, el que se ha de acompañar con testimonio de las dos juntas, a fin que tenga presente el citado gobernador lo en ellas tratado y resuelto, y procure reglarlo [regularlo] y disponerlo como viere que convenga, respecto a tener la causa presente. Y si por esta razón echare de ver que es necesario alguna variación en los sitios a donde se han de plantar los presidios, no sólo por la comodidad de parajes, sino por el mejor logro del resguardo de la provincia y más facilidad de manejarse unas con otras guarniciones, le dejo árbitro y concedo facultad para que altere la disposición, haciéndose cargo del fin a que se encamina.

Y de que el intento de aumentar las 100 plazas en los dos nuevos presidios es el de poner en aquella provincia un antemural y expugnáculo con qué resistir todos los movimientos de las naciones bárbaras, y hasta ahora no reducidas, y mantener en quietud las que están a la obediencia de su majestad, procurando que a la linde o cercanía de los presidios se congregate la gente y familias que voluntariamente o por persuasión se puedan conducir a quienes se ofrezca, y desde luego se den las tierras correspondientes a las fábricas de casas y siembra de semillas, con que puedan subsistir. Haciendo los repartimientos de forma que cada presidio

venga a quedar en la figura que demuestra el diseño o ejemplar que se acompaña. Pues aunque se tiene presente que no luego, luego, se puede conseguir la formalidad que manifiesta, pero debe desde ahora plantearse y encaminarse todas las providencias y disposiciones a que en lo futuro quede así, con el fin de que la guarnición se defienda, y con él de que en casos estrechos tenga el vecindario inmediato un refugio y retiro a qué acogerse, libertarse de cualesquiera intempestivos insultos de los indios bárbaros, y proponerse con más aptitud a la defensa de todas sus asechanzas, o de las de alguna nación de las reducidas, con cuyos cuatro fuertes venga a quedar toda la provincia y sus largos distritos defendida proporcionalmente. Y las tierras que hasta ahora han estado yermas, y como tales dominadas de las naciones gentiles, se pueblen, avecinden, cultiven y fertilicen, pues no de otra manera ni con otro medio y arbitrio se pueden atraer a la obediencia de su majestad y a la participación del fruto de la redención.

Considérase también como inexcusable el que para el establecimiento de estos dos presidios y la traslación de los otros dos, será preciso algún caudal para la fábrica de casas y todo lo demás necesario a que queden habitables por los soldados, pues aunque de los que se han de mover, se podrá aprovechar mucho de lo asemoviente, con todo se darán las órdenes para que se subministre al gobernador interino aquella cantidad que se pueda presuponer, aunque no sea la total, para que en el ínterin que da principio a la erección y fábrica de los fuertes haga el más ajustado tanteo de costo, procurando ceñirse al mayor ahorro de la real hacienda, manejándose en la construcción de ellos con aquellos arbitrios de su celo, evitando con él los gastos inútiles.

Bien entendido que no por esto ha de gravar a los vecindarios ni a los indios; pues en los cortes de maderas, saca de piedras y su conducción, siendo inexcusable valerse de ellos, se les ha de satisfacer en tabla y mano su trabajo a proporción de la costumbre en aquella provincia establecida sin ocasionar extorsión. De la misma forma y para que vayan reclutando los 100 soldados, se subministrará lo que corresponde a un año de sueldo adelantado, para que desde luego pueda cada soldado estar armado y equipado, y al mismo tiempo se dará por oficios reales de estas cajas la pólvora correspondiente a los dos presidios, mediante cuya pretensión, se hallen en aptitud de hacer el servicio.

A todo lo cual, no sólo ha de atender el gobernador interino don Agustín de Vildósola, como a quien principalmente se comete este establecimiento y transmutación, sino también los capitanes, a quienes encargo se dediquen con amor al servicio de su majestad y con todo aquel celo, propio de su fidelidad, en quien libró esta importancia, persuadido a que la llenarán y desempeñarán con todo el honor de sus personas y obligaciones, fiando de las del referido don Agustín, la entera correspondencia a la confianza, que en nombre de su majestad tengo puesta a su cuidado, celo y conducta, esperando que se acredite a proporción de sus grandes obligaciones y que procederá en esta materia con toda su atención, formando autos y tomando las justificaciones necesarias para que recaiga mi aprobación, dándome cuenta a su tiempo y con oportunidad de cuanto ejecutare con la mayor individualidad. Y del despacho que se librare, se tomará razón en el real tribunal de cuentas y en los libros de la contaduría de esta real caja y demás partes que convenga, sacándose testimonio de todo lo operado hasta aquí, para dar cuenta a su majestad. Como se ejecutará en lo sucesivo de lo que en este negocio se fuere practicando. Veracruz 12 de junio de 1741.



## XI

### Investigation by Juez Pesquisidor Rodríguez Gallardo of Indian Prisoners at Pitic

(1748)

**A**gustín de Vildósola's tenure as governor of Sinaloa-Sonora was almost as controversial as that of his predecessor, Manuel Bernal de Huidobro. Hailed as a champion of the Jesuits when he took office, he quickly began to quarrel with individual missionaries. He also skirmished with Huidobro's partisans in colonial government, including several presidial captains. Meanwhile, the Seris continued to carry out sporadic hostilities while the Apaches ravaged Sonora almost at will.

Because of those problems, the Spanish government appointed a prominent lawyer from Mexico City to investigate Vildósola's administration and report upon the state of Sonora in general. That lawyer was Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, who left Mexico City with his new commission as juez pesquisidor and visitador general on February 21, 1748. When Rodríguez Gallardo reached the northwestern frontier, he interviewed numerous citizens, military men, and colonial officials. His conclusions were that Vildósola was an inefficient administrator who had misused funds, left his account books in disorder, and used the new presidio of Pitic for his own private gain. Accordingly, the visitor general removed Vildósola from office and dispatched him to Mexico City. Rodríguez Gallardo's more general report, entitled *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora, 1750*, was edited and published in Spanish by Germán Viveros.

Among the most unusual and interesting charges against the governor, however, was his abuse of Indian prisoners at Pitic. Other presidial commanders such as Tuñón y Quirós had turned soldiers into their personal labor force. Vildósola, however, employed Indians as well, most of whom were Yaquis and Mayos or Pimas from Onavas. The Yaquis and Mayos were probably seized during the 1740 Yaqui Revolt or the unrest that followed. The Opatas may have been arrested during Salvador Martín's campaign against witchcraft in Onavas in 1743. As Rodríguez Gallardo points out in his summary of the investigation, however, the Pitic archives contained no documentation concerning what crimes the prisoners were accused of or what sentences they received. As a result, Rodríguez Gallardo returned most of them to their villages and sent the more dangerous ones to the Apache frontier.

*The following three documents provide a fascinating glimpse of Sonoran society in the mid-eighteenth century. Rodríguez Gallardo discusses how the Indians were paid in clothing, not wages. Beldarraín elaborates upon this practice, providing detailed descriptions of the types of clothing the Indians wore. A veteran of the Sinaloa presidio, Beldarraín also notes what tasks the Indians performed, what rations they were given, and what wages they generally received along the frontier. Finally, the list of Indian prisoners gives the names and pueblos of origin of the Indians themselves. Together, these documents reveal much about daily life among the Indians of Sonora—what they ate, what they wore, what jobs they did. The documents also demonstrate once again how chronic labor shortages often led presidial captains and colonial officials to ignore royal regulations and manipulate presidios to their own ends.*



our Excellency,

One of the expressly stated duties of this inquiry is to investigate what type of work the Indians have been performing while detained or held prisoner at the royal presidio of San Pedro de la Conquista. Of no lesser importance is my obligation to examine these cases in order to suitably pronounce judgment upon them without losing sight of all the benefits the wretched Indians may gain from such work or of the protection furnished them under the same royal laws. My investigation revealed that the archive of the presidio did not contain a single deposition, legal decision, register of sentences, or slightest document from which one could determine the reasons for or duration of imprisonment. According to the sworn statement of Governor Vildósola's legal representative, many prisoners have been detained for serious crimes. That being so, the governor should not have dispensed with legal formalities. Yet the only record produced was a list of servants affirming that the Indians were such. As it turned out, the statement of the governor's representative at the outset of this investigation expressed some doubt as to whether the Indians in question were prisoners or servants. After only a preliminary interrogation, however, this question was resolved in favor of the Indians.

All the lofty authority of the Real Audiencia, over which the most excellent viceroys preside, is devoted to the inspection of prisons and to the examination of legal cases without discrimination, despite the fact that the cases may have originated with the most wretched and abject people.<sup>1</sup> Such cases are even considered

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1. The Audiencia of Mexico was the ultimate court of appeals for criminal cases in the viceroyalty of New Spain. Important civil suits, on the other hand, could be appealed to the Council of the Indies in Spain. Special attention was supposed to be paid to the defense of Indian rights, especially in the early years of the viceroyalty, when two days a week were reserved for suits involving Indians. By the 1570s, however, cases between Indians, or between Indians and Spaniards, were placed under the jurisdiction of a special court, the *juzgado de indios*. The viceroy was president both of the *juzgado de indios* and of the Audiencia of Mexico itself.

The viceroy was also in charge of supervising prisons in New Spain, designating *oidores* (members of the audiencia) to inspect those institutions. In Mexico City, for example, *oidores* were charged with visiting Indian jails every Saturday.

the most important and receive the greatest attention in the higher courts. This is a consolation those who live in remote and distant places do not have. I therefore judged it more than necessary to dedicate myself to the alleviation and consideration of these Indians, who were kept prisoner only through a respect for authority and by force of arms. But in my investigation of the eighty-two prisoners (or involuntary detainees, as they are called), my full attention could not be given to the examination of cases nor to the testimony contained in those cases that supposedly had been turned over to the captaincy general, because none were available. The only exceptions were five indictments that contained a number of additional defendants. Consequently I found it necessary to have recourse to extralegal and less reliable information. For that reason, it has been more difficult to justly decide the cases of these miserable Indians.

Based upon what I would qualify as sufficient information, I also proceeded to ascertain the occupations and working conditions of the prisoners. The very testimony of the party under investigation reveals that the prisoners worked in the fields, hacienda, orchard, and in other domestic and menial tasks in which only the governor had an interest. Furthermore, the prisoners were not paid a daily wage, nor were they given anything more than their ration of food and clothing. The only exception to this was a voucher for three months' wages, which the governor ordered paid to them upon their release. This information appears in the statement of the governor's legal representative in folio fifteen. I doubt whether the distribution of clothing alone is equivalent to a daily wage. Nonetheless, I can assure your excellency that in this area as elsewhere if the *hacendados* were allowed to choose between paying the Indians a daily wage or providing them with the clothing they usually wear, there would be no one who would not opt for the second choice, even more so if the hacienda owners could add the convenience of assuring the presence and labor of the Indians. Thus only this last circumstance makes the conscripts or day laborers so desirable in the haciendas.

Also, according to the statement of the governor's representative himself contained in folio fifteen, there appear to have been certain excesses in the work load. The information is convincing that punishments have been immoderate as well. I had all of these considerations in mind when I decided to release the Indians and return them to their respective towns with the approval of the reverend father missionaries. This decision applied only to those prisoners who had not been involved in any serious crime and who were assumed to have been condemned and judged guilty for the purpose of involuntary labor. I also learned that others apparently charged with the same crimes had met with a better fate and were maintaining themselves quietly and peacefully in their villages. Imprisoning them at the presidio of Pitiquí [Pitic] might reverse such civilized behavior, which should be assiduously preserved at all times. In exasperation they might seek the opportunity to escape. Their flight, being considered a crime, might then encourage them to commit graver offenses, turning them into vagrants and fugitives, a ways on the run.

Those whom it did not seem advantageous to return to their villages, I decided to send to the presidio of Fronteras so that they could be distributed along the Apache frontier. According to the report the captain of that presidio gave me,



Cuquiariachi and other villages are today empty and deserted.<sup>2</sup> They need to be repopulated in order to better curb the invasions of the enemy. Employing the extensive authority your excellency has vested in me, I have decided the fates of all the prisoners except for a very few, who remain imprisoned while awaiting action in their cases or information concerning their crimes.

Recently I have had in my presence the person who has charged his majesty for transporting and supporting the prisoners from the time of their apprehension and during the year 1742, the first year they spent at the presidio.<sup>3</sup> In light of the fact that his majesty has not profited from the work of these Indians, I therefore decided to bring this matter to your excellency's attention so that you could resolve and determine whether these expenses should be paid. Concerning the presidio, a separate ledger reveals that nothing has been expended or retained for its construction. According to one of the entries in the governor's sworn brief, however, the contractor Don Francisco Ortuzar clearly indicates that the reason given for remitting the Indians and keeping them in chains was to employ them in the construction of the two new presidios. And even though the Indians did not work for the governor during their first year, they did so during the succeeding years. Therefore it seems to me that his majesty should not share in the expenses of maintaining these prisoners.

Concerning the case against Sergeant Don Salvador Martín for his excessive punishment of those accused of being witches, I would like to suspend judgment until the proceedings have been remitted to me.<sup>4</sup> The legal representative assures

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2. Spanish and later Mexican officials were obsessed with populating their northern frontier in order to defend it against hostile Indians such as the Apaches or expansionist Europeans such as the French, British, and Russians (see Moorhead *Presidio*; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*). One way to do so was to encourage settlement around presidios and military colonies. Another was to send rebellious mission Indians to exposed and dangerous settlements such as Fronteras. In 1749, for example, Rodríguez Gallardo proposed to eliminate the threat posed by the Seri Indians once and for all by deporting all Seris from Sonora by sea and shipping them to islands in the Caribbean. His successor, Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla, modified that Draconian solution somewhat by arguing that only the adults should be exiled. Seri children, on the other hand, should be distributed among depopulated Opatá communities along the frontier such as Cuquiariachi (see Viveros, *Informe*; Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?").

3. Since most of the Indian prisoners were Yaqui or Mayo, they probably were apprehended because of their participation—real or imagined—in the 1740 Yaqui Revolt.

4. In August 1743, Vildósola dispatched his lieutenant, Sergeant Salvador Domingo Martín Bernal, to arrest a group of Pima men and women from the pueblo of Onavas accused of being *hechiceros*. The men were Blas el Cabo, Javier Tarramurra, Javier Baquero, Diego Bajorero, Diego Cabudac, Pedro Ganari, Juan Manuel, Simon Cocinero, Martin Musicopa, Lorenzo (the son of the fiscal mayor), and two other individuals known only as Domingo and Mateo. The women were Ana, the wife of the alcalde, and two other women identified only as Ana and Magdalena. Martín forced the accused to surrender to him a whole series of objects supposedly used in their witchcraft. These objects included a dead turtle, numerous figurines, stones, and feathers, baskets and strings of various plants and roots, especially *yerba del manzo* (*Anamopsis californica*), and various other charms and powders, all labeled as "diabolical instruments" by Martín. At least some of the accused were punished by receiving one hundred lashes "*bien dados*," by having the hair of their heads and

me that he has forwarded and dispatched these documents to the capitania general of your excellency. These documents should contain the sergeant's motives, [illegible], and the manner and form in which he proceeded. Even if the sergeant now has [illegible] that he did not draw up the proceedings, I should convince myself that the documents supposedly remitted by the governor give an account of all that took place and was done.

This is everything of which I propose to inform your excellency. May his divine Majesty guard your important life for many years.

Licenciado Joseph Raphael Rodríguez Gallardo<sup>5</sup>

## DEPOSITION

Testimony of Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, lieutenant of this royal presidio

**A**t this royal presidio and on the stated day, month, and year [August 1, 1748], I, the juez pesquisador and visitador, summoned Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín<sup>6</sup> to appear before me. He is a person who has my absolute confidence and, having held the position of alferez, he now serves as the interim lieutenant of this royal presidio. Since he swore in the name of God and by the

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bodies singed off, and by having three marks burned into their backs by glowing brands. This was the "excessive punishment" Rodríguez Gallardo was charged with investigating. The original documents regarding this case are in AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1282, ff. 402–5, 409–10. Flavio Molina provides a Spanish transcription and analysis of a portion of those documents (see Molina, "Instrumentos de hechicería").

5. Joseph Raphael Rodríguez Gallardo was born in Campeche but he grew up in the city of Mérida on the Yucatán Peninsula. After graduating from the Jesuit colegio there, he pursued studies in canon law and law at the Universidad de México. Upon matriculating, he began a long career as a lawyer and public official, serving first as an assistant to the fiscal of the Viceregal Audiencia, a post that may have familiarized him with the problems of the northern frontier. In January 1748, Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo appointed him *juez comisario*, visitador, and pesquisador of the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora. One of his primary responsibilities was to investigate the administration of Vildósola, and, if necessary, remove the governor from office, which he did. He was also charged with a more general task, however, that of proposing solutions to the broader problems of the northwestern frontier, particularly Indian hostilities and rebellions. The result was his famous *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora*, written in 1750 (ed. Viveros). When he returned to Mexico City after his inspection was over, Rodríguez Gallardo was appointed *contador general de reales tributos*, a post he occupied for fifteen years. He resigned in 1769 in order to travel to Spain to defend himself against charges of slander in a lawsuit involving the Archbishop of Mexico City and the expulsion of the Jesuits. In 1775, he returned to Mexico City to resume his duties as contador. He died there on July 6, 1781.

6. Juan Tomás de Beldarraín was a professional military officer who began his career as a member of the Sinaloa presidio stationed in Sonora. In September 1750, he participated in Ortiz Parrilla's invasion of Tiburón Island as commander of more than 400 Upper Pima auxiliaries led by Luis Oacpicagigua from Sáric. The next year, he fought Oacpicagigua during the Upper Pima Revolt. In 1752, he was appointed captain of the new presidio of Tubac, where he died in 1759.

holy cross to respond truthfully to everything that he was asked, I have accepted his testimony regarding the matters that were presented in today's *auto*.

When asked about the salary earned and the hours worked by the *tapisques* [Indian laborers], the lieutenant responded that it is public knowledge that in addition to their allotted rations, the *tapisques* earn 12 reales a week, which comes to 6 pesos a month or 72 pesos a year. If the Indian is a *barretero* (ore digger) who works in the mines, then he may earn between 7 and 10 pesos a week, depending on the work and the amount of ore he has dug. As for the *tapisques'* regular work schedule (which is also public knowledge), it is from sunrise to sunset. This schedule never varies, and the Indians are quite accustomed to it. The *barreteros*, however, work only half a day due to the harshness of the work.

When asked at what time the Indian prisoners of the royal presidio were sent out to work and at what time they were locked up, the lieutenant stated that as *alférez* of the company who had been assigned to this royal presidio and also as a settler of the area, he knows and certifies the fact that the prisoners who wear shackles always set out to work at the crack of dawn, in other words, at daybreak. Yet the prisoners who do not wear shackles usually leave an hour before daybreak. All the prisoners are gathered to return when the *angelus* tolls or even a little earlier.<sup>7</sup>

When asked what type of work or services were performed by the prisoners, the lieutenant stated that they have been building a dam and an irrigation ditch in order to channel water to the orchard and cultivated fields belonging to the governor. In addition, the prisoners fence, plow, and cultivate the orchard, and do whatever needs to be done in the cornfields and wheat fields, such as planting or harvesting. They also are constructing workshops to make wine, or carding, spinning, and weaving cloth on looms. One of the Indians is a blacksmith, and he is assisted by other prisoners at the forge. The prisoners also make a liquor [*aguardiente*] known as *mescal*<sup>8</sup> from the countryside. The governor runs a few small nearby mines, and the lieutenant has seen one of the prisoners working as a *barretero*. He does not know, however, whether other prisoners have also worked in those mines. Inside the presidio itself there are milling stones [*rastras*], cupels, and workshops for processing silver. The lieutenant therefore supposes that the Indians are also employed in this line of work, but he is not sure and has not actually seen them doing so. He has seen three or four prisoners working as sheepherders. Finally, he states that he has seen one of the prisoners accompanying the mule train that brings provisions to the presidio. Even though a little sugarcane is

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7. The *angelus*—a prayer commemorating the incarnation—was said at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the evening. It was always announced by the ringing of a bell.

8. *Mescal* is a generic term for the distilled liquor made from various species of the genus *Agave*. In Sonora, the most famous *mescal* is *bacanora*, made from *Agave angustifolia*. That species of agave grows in the Río Sonora drainage and may have been available in the Horcasitas area. Along the northern San Miguel watershed, however, the most common *mescal* is *lechuguilla*, distilled from *Agave palmeri* (see Conrad Bahre and David Bradbury, "The Manufacture of Mescal in Sonora, Mexico"; Nabhan, *Gathering*; Sheridan, *Where the Dove Calls*).

processed in the area, the lieutenant has not seen any prisoners working at this task and is not certain whether they do.

The lieutenant was also asked whether the Indians had been given anything to wear, what type of clothing it was, and whether he thought it was commensurate to the salary they should receive. He responded that the Indians' clothing usually consists of a loose shirt [*cotón*] made of sackcloth [*sayal*] or coarse cotton [*patío*], which costs at most 20 reales, a blanket worth 3 pesos, a piece of cloth usually made of coarse cotton that they wear instead of trousers and that cannot be worth more than another 3 pesos, and a hat that is worth about the same. However, the justicias or prison bosses [*mandones*] are given wool cloaks [*capotes de paño*] worth about 24 pesos, as well as cloth overcoats [*gabán de paño*], shoes, socks, cloth trousers, hats, and coarse cotton shirts with printed cotton sleeves [*mangas de ruán*]. All of these items are prudently regulated, and depending on how often they are supplied, which is more or less once a year, the cost does not exceed the 72 pesos of their salary. And although it may be true that the prisoners' wives are given skirts [*naguas*], cloth shawls, and vests [*cotones*] that they wear as blouses, and that their children are also supplied with clothing, it is also true that these Indian women work at making tortillas and grinding *pinole*,<sup>9</sup> and that the children carry water and do other similar jobs. Consequently what is supplied to the Indian women should not be counted against the salaries of their husbands.

It is also true that when their rations run out, the Indians come around during the week asking for more pinole and other things, which are given to them. This happens regularly when there is a shortage of corn. Because corn is their basic staple, the ration they receive during such shortages may not be enough. Moreover, they usually consume their ration of meat in two days.

Their funerals and weddings, which are provided to all except the prison foremen, are paid for as well. Such events do not occur every day, however, so the expenses do not add up to 72 pesos a year. One must also consider that the work these Indians perform is more arduous than work in other places. Furthermore, if the shipment of supplies to this royal presidio is delayed for more than a year, the clothing allotment for the Indians is also delayed. Nevertheless, the witness points out that although these Indians are not actually paid for their work, one can rest assured that, unlike most other places, the Indians are versed in Christian doctrine because of the special attention that is given to their education and religious instruction.

When asked whether prisoners were punished when they first arrived or for attempting to escape, the lieutenant stated that during the time he served at the royal presidio, there were no escapees nor did he see anyone being punished.

The lieutenant has stated that this is all he knows about the matter. After his testimony was read to him, he confirmed it by signing his name next to mine at the bottom of this official sworn statement. The witnesses have signed in my presence as well.

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9. Pinole was a staple of the Sonoran diet. It was made by parching wheat seeds or corn kernels, grinding the seeds up, and then mixing them with water when consumed.

Licenciado Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo  
Juan Tomás de Beldarraín  
Witness: Juan Vicente Arregui  
Witness: Bernardino de Escalante

PRISONERS AT PITIC, 1748

**L**ist of Indian prisoners who have worked and continue to work in various occupations and jobs

1. Agustín Tatabutemea from the pueblo of Huirivis<sup>10</sup>
2. Ignacio Alejandro from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo,<sup>11</sup> hereby named to oversee the rest of the prisoners
3. Felipe Chismeje from the pueblo of Torim<sup>12</sup>
4. Lorenzo Baromaza from the pueblo of Potam<sup>13</sup>
5. Felipe de Santiago Tacococai from the pueblo of Rahum<sup>14</sup>
6. Lorenzo Abamea from the pueblo of Torim
7. Francisco Jibibeamea from the pueblo of Etchojoa<sup>15</sup>
8. Calixto Moli from the pueblo of Rahum
9. Juan Francisco Veramea from the pueblo of Vicam<sup>16</sup>
10. Luis Jisamea from the pueblo of Torim
11. Gerónimo Siautemea from the pueblo of Huirivis—escaped
12. Alonso Yautemea from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
13. Vicente Tarmariz from the pueblo of Etchojoa
14. Esteban Cobotimea from the pueblo of Potam
15. Juan Diego from the pueblo of Tesia<sup>17</sup>—escaped
16. Diego Tiabuamea from the pueblo of Etchojoa
17. Juan Tehuano from the pueblo of Etchojoa

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10. One of the eight Yaqui mission pueblos, Huirivis was located west and south of the old channel of the Río Yaqui. After the Yaqui shifted course sometime in the early nineteenth century, Huirivis was abandoned until the development of irrigation canals in recent years allowed it to be reoccupied. Along with the other seven missions, Huirivis has become one of the eight sacred towns of Yaqui mythology.

11. Cohuirimpo was a Mayo mission pueblo along the Río Mayo.

12. Torim was another of the eight Yaqui mission pueblos. It was also the site of a large Jesuit granary used to store foodstuffs not only for the Yaqui missions but for the missions of Baja California as well.

13. Potam was another of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

14. Rahum was the westernmost of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

15. Etchojoa was a Mayo mission pueblo along the Río Mayo.

16. Vicam was another of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

17. Tesia was a Mayo mission pueblo along the Río Mayo.

18. Ignacio Alamea from the pueblo of Etchojoa
19. Francisco Mamesuai from the pueblo of Bacum<sup>18</sup>
20. Francisco Cabezón, Pima, from the pueblo of San Francisco<sup>19</sup>
21. Miguel Ubamea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
22. Juan Jecahua, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
23. Mateo Osimea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
24. Luis Caut Jisuame, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
25. Calixto Anuamea from the same pueblo
26. Matías Usacamea from the same pueblo
27. Vicente Siguijuinse, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Rahum
28. Francisco Matuamea, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Bacum
29. Manuel Subau, Yaqui, from the same pueblo
30. Juan Alamea from the same pueblo
31. Francisco Gogoli, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Torim
32. Francisco Alamea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
33. Simón Moyme, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Huirivis
34. Lucas Matusai, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Vicam
35. Gerónimo Puiteme from the same pueblo and nation
36. Santiago, Opata, from the pueblo of Arizpe<sup>20</sup>
37. Esteban Mapuamea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
38. Ignacio Jecagua, Mayo, from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
39. Ignacio Jinsemea, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Rahum
40. Gregorio Siraquisuamea from the same nation and the pueblo of Bacum
41. Francisco Alamea from the same nation and pueblo
42. Angelo Siarigua, Pima, from the pueblo of Santa María<sup>21</sup>
43. Ignacio, Pima, fiscal from the pueblo of Onavas<sup>22</sup>
44. Diego Humari from the same nation and pueblo
45. José Bastuca from the same nation and pueblo

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18. Bacum was one of the easternmost of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

19. San Francisco was a Lower Pima community located along the Río Sonora between Pitic and Ures.

20. Arizpe was an Opata community along the northern reaches of the Río Sonora. A mission was established there by the Jesuits in 1646. In 1776, Arizpe became the capital of the newly created Provincias Internas, thereby serving as the most important military and administrative center in northern New Spain. Ten years later, following another reorganization of the frontier provinces, the settlement was designated capital of the Intendencia of Sonora-Sinaloa. It remained so until the capital was moved south to El Fuerte in 1824, three years after Mexican independence.

21. The Santa María referred to here might be either of the Upper Pima communities of Santa María Magdalena or Santa María Suamca. In the next section, however, the author clearly distinguishes between Indians from the Pimería Alta and Pimas—those from the Pimería Baja. In this case, then, Santa María is most likely a Lower Pima community, possibly Santa María del Pópulo de Tónichi, which was located along the middle Río Yaqui north of Onavas.

22. Onavas was a Lower Pima community located along the middle Río Yaqui. A mission was established there by the Jesuits in 1622.

46. Javier Sihuangui from the same nation and pueblo
47. Miguel Humari from the same nation and pueblo
48. José Sogui from the same nation and pueblo
49. Blas Sarín from the same nation and pueblo
50. Martín Baimaruco from the same nation and pueblo
51. Agustín from the same nation and pueblo of Buenavista
52. Ignacio from the same nation and the pueblo of Pitiquí<sup>23</sup>  
Javier Sandía escaped about a month and a half ago, and he is from the pueblo of San Marcial<sup>24</sup>
53. Mateo Angelo, Pima, from the pueblo of San Joseph<sup>25</sup>
54. Javier from the same nation and the pueblo of Santa María
55. Francisco, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Bacum
56. Miguel Tejedor, Pima from the pueblo of Buenavista<sup>26</sup>
57. Salvador, Opata, from the pueblo of Baviácora<sup>27</sup>
58. Javier Forsi, Pima, from the pueblo of Onavas
59. Juan Minero from the same nation and pueblo
60. Bautista Jautemea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
61. Lorenzo Baromasa, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Potam
62. Antonio Sibiqui, Pima, from the pueblo of San Joseph

These are the ones who are kept and who work unchained, but are still considered detainees and treated as prisoners.

The following is a list of the Indians who wear shackles and also work with them on:

- I. Luis Siborsa from the Pimería Alta and the ranchería near the pueblo of Santa María Suamca<sup>28</sup>

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23. It is possible that the Pitiquí referred to here was the Upper Pima community of Pitiquín [Pitiquito] along the Río de la Concepción. Since the author usually reserved the term "Pima" to mean a Lower Pima, however, Pitiquí is probably Pitic, the Lower Pima settlement that became the site of a new presidio in 1741.

24. San Marcial was a Lower Pima community along the Río Mátape south of San José de los Pimas.

25. San Joseph is probably San José de Pimas, a Lower Pima community along the Río Mátape. It might also have been San José de Gracia along the Río Sonora between Pitic and Ures.

26. Buenavista, located on the margins of Yaqui and Lower Pima country along the Río Yaqui upriver from the Yaqui missions, was founded by the Jesuits in 1619. Following the Yaqui Revolt of 1740, a detachment of soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa was stationed there for a time, but Buenavista did not become a separate presidio itself until 1765.

27. Baviácora was an Opata community located along the Río Sonora upriver from Ures. The Jesuits established a mission there in 1639.

28. Santa María Suamca was an Upper Pima community located along the upper Santa Cruz River, which was called the Río Santa María until the late eighteenth century. Kino declared Santa María a mission in 1698, but no Jesuit resided there until Padre Ignaz Keller arrived in 1732.

2. Nicolás from the Pimería Alta and the pueblo of Caborca<sup>29</sup>
3. Miguel, Pima, from the pueblo of Nacameri<sup>30</sup>
4. Francisco, Pima, from the pueblo of San Joseph de los Pimas
5. Martín, Tarahumara, from the pueblo of San Andrés<sup>31</sup>
6. Sebastián from the same nation and pueblo
7. Matías from the same nation and pueblo
8. Tomás, from the Peñol of Babaroco, who, it is said, has acknowledged the pueblo of Santa Ana<sup>32</sup>
9. Alonso from the same nation and pueblo
10. Martín from the same nation and pueblo
11. Juan Antonio, Pima, from the pueblo of Maicoba<sup>33</sup>
12. Matías from the same nation and pueblo
13. Francisco from the same nation and pueblo
14. Ignacio Tacuri, Eudeve, from the pueblo of Opodepe<sup>34</sup>
15. José Coicha from the same nation and pueblo
16. Ignacio from the same nation and pueblo
17. Antonio Ignacio de Gautasegua, Mayo, from the pueblo of Nuri<sup>35</sup>
18. Juan Reyes, Lower Pima, from the pueblo of Buenavista
19. Miguel Tosamasai, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Bacum
20. Ignacio Mendizabal, Mayo, from the pueblo of Navojoa<sup>36</sup>

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29. Caborca was an Upper Pima community along the Río de la Concepción. Kino established a mission there in 1693.

30. Nacameri was a bi-ethnic Lower Pima and Seri community along the Río San Miguel. A mission was established for the Lower Pimas there by the Jesuits in 1638. The Jesuits then resettled Seris in the area during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1825, Nacameri's name was changed to Rayón, its present designation.

31. San Andrés was probably San Andrés de Sirupa, a hotbed during the 1697 Tarahumara Revolt located along the Río Papigochic in the northwestern corner of the Tarahumara Alta.

32. The Jesuit mission of San Joaquín y Santa Ana was located along the Río San Pedro, a tributary of the Río Conchos, in the Tarahumara Alta. The Peñol of Babaroco must have been a prominent landmark in the surrounding region.

33. Maicoba was a Lower Pima community in the foothills of the Sierra Madre. The Jesuits established a mission there in 1676.

34. Opodepe was an Eudeve mission community located along the Río San Miguel. A mission was established there by the Jesuits in 1649.

35. Nuri was a community of Nebomes—a Lower Pima group—situated along the Río Nuri, a tributary of the Río Yaqui. The Jesuits founded a mission there in 1622. Even though it was some distance from the Mayo heartland along the lower Río Mayo, Nuri was close to the headwaters of the Río Cedros, a tributary of the Mayo. Numerous Cáhita-speaking groups related to the Mayo occupied the Cedros region at contact. By the mid-eighteenth century, they had either disappeared or been assimilated by the Mayo themselves. Consequently, it would not have been uncommon for communities like Nuri located along an ethnic frontier to have Indians from other groups residing there.

36. Navojoa was a Mayo mission pueblo along the lower Río Mayo.



The following is a list of the mulattoes and those of higher status (called *gente de razón* to distinguish them from the Spaniards) who are imprisoned with shackles:

1. Francisco de la Fuente y Valenzuela, settler at the *real* of Los Alamos
2. Miguel Orduño from the same settlement
3. Joseph Ignacio Valenzuela, also from the *real* of Los Alamos
4. Francisco Marastegui from Sinaloa

Of these four, only the last one has worked.

This is the list of the prisoners who have worked. Yet when the time came for the legal representative to sign his name to it, he claimed that this list and the master list from which it was obtained included the names of some servants who are free and who work on a voluntary basis. Nevertheless, there was not a single specification, distinction, explanation, or annotation made on the master list to this effect. Thus, in accordance with yesterday's *diligencia*, all those listed herein were handed over to the lieutenant of this royal presidio as prisoners. However, I deemed it convenient to make a note of his claim so that the legal representative would sign it. As the diligencias indicate, all those listed herein will have to make an appearance in order to determine who is a voluntary servant, who is a detainee, and who is a prisoner.

Royal Presidio of San Pedro de la Conquista, July 22, 1748.

Licenciado Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo  
Tomás Pardo de Macías  
Juan Tomás de Beldarraín  
Juan Vicente Arregui

*AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1282, exp. 11, ff. 420-422, 386-388, and 374-375.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**xcelentísimo señor,  
Siendo uno de los expresos especiales encargos de la pesquisa el indagar en que se habían ocupado los indios que se mantenían detenidos o presos en el real presidio de San Pedro de la Conquista, y no menos de mi obligación el examinar sus causas para providenciar lo conveniente, sin perder de vista la mucha recomendación que se granjean por miserables los indios y el patrocinio que las mismas leyes reales le ministran, resultó de la primera obligación el que en el archivo no había testimonio ni aún sola razón de los autos, ni libro de entradas, ni el menor documento por donde pudiese comprender el motivo y tiempo de la prisión. Siendo así que según declaración del apoderado, muchos se hallaban presos por delitos graves (que de ser así no debiera haberse dispensado la formación de causas) y sólo se manifestó una tabla de sirvientes en que se hallaban asentados como tales. De suerte que al primer paso resultó la duda según la representación de la parte de si serían presos o sirvientes, pero con sólo el careo quedó este punto deslindado a favor de los mismos indios.

Toda la alta representación de la real audiencia a que presiden los excelentísimos señores virreyes se dedica en las visitas de cárceles, al examen de las causas indistintamente, aunque sean de los más míseros y abatidos, y aún éstas se concilian la mayor atención en los tribunales superiores por ser las más privilegiadas. Consuelo de que [del cual] carecen los que se hallan en partes remotas y distantes. Y por eso juzgué más que necesario el de dedicarme al alivio y atención de estos indios. Pero en la visita que practiqué de los ochenta y dos que estaban presos (o déseles el título de detenidos e involuntarios) sujetos sólo por el respeto de la autoridad y las armas, mi mayor atención fue no el examen de las causas por no haberlas, ni testimonio de las que se suponen remitidas a esa capitania general, a excepción de solo cinco informes sumarias en que se comprendían otros tantos reos, siéndome preciso ocurrir al extra judicial informe poco seguro y por eso más trabajoso para el que desea arreglar sus providencias en justicia con prospecto a los miserables.

Procedí también a averiguar la ocupación y calidad del trabajo y según la información que calificué por bastante, a vista de la propia confesión de la parte, resultó haberse ocupado dichos presos en las labores, hacienda, huerta y otros domésticos y serviles ejercicios en que sólo ha sido interesado el actual gobernador. Y que no se les ha pagado jornal, ni se les ha ministrado otra cosa que la ración y el vestuario, a excepción de un vale de tres meses, que ya para salir el gobernador mandó se les diese, según consta a foja 15 vuelta, por confesión del mismo apoderado. Y aunque pudiera admitir duda si se compensaría el jornal con la ministración del vestuario, sólo puedo asegurar a vuestra excelencia que así en esta tierra como en todas partes si se dejase al arbitrio de los hacenderos pagarles el jornal o darles de vestir y lo que visten regularmente los indios, ninguno habría que no eligiese esto segundo, y más si se le agregase el cómodo de asegurar la asistencia y el trabajo, pues sólo esta última circunstancia hace que sean tan apetecibles en las haciendas los adscripticios o gañanes.

También por propia confesión del apoderado, a foja 15, resultó haber habido algún exceso en el trabajo y la información convence haber habido alguna inmoderación en los castigos. Todo lo cual tuve presente para providenciar la soltura y restitución de los indios a sus respectivos pueblos con acuerdo de los reverendos padres misioneros. Lo que sólo providencié respecto de aquellos que no se reconocieron in [en] no dados en algún delito grave y en quienes ya debía suponer condonada y conjujada la culpa con antecedente servicio involuntario. Hallándome como me hallo instruído de que otros quizá con iguales causas han corrido mejor fortuna, manteniéndose en sus pueblos quietos y sosegados. Y porque de conservarse en el presidio del Pitiquí, invertida parte de su atención (que debe conservarse expedita en el todo) podría suceder el que exasperados buscasen ocasión a la fuga, y que concebida ésta como delito, se precipitasen en otros mayores, errando siempre y manteniéndose fugitivos y vagantes.

Pero a los que no me pareció conveniente el restituir a sus pueblos, he resuelto remitir al real presidio de Fronteras para que se distribuyan en los frentizos del apache, como es el de Cuquiarachi y otros que hoy se hallan exhaustos y desolados, y que demandan su repueble para más contener las invasiones del enemigo, según consulta que me ha hecho el capitán de aquel presidio. De suerte que a todos los presos les he dado destino usando de las amplias facultades que vues-

tra excelencia se dignó conferirme, a excepción de muy pocos que aún se mantienen aprisionados por demandarlo así sus causas o la noticia de sus delitos.

Por último he tenido presente el que a su majestad se le ha cargado y se le demanda el importe de la conducción de dichos reos y su manutención desde que se aprehendieron [apresaron] y todo el primer año que estuvieron en el presidio, que fue el de [17]42. De que me pareció poner certificación relativa en estos autos para que vuestra excelencia en vista de que no ha sido su majestad interesado en el trabajo de estos indios, resuelva y determine si habrá de reportar dichos costos. Pues por lo que dice al presente está constante en cuaderno separado no haberse expendido ni impedido cosa alguna en su fabrica, siendo así que según expresa en una de sus partidas de su relación jurada el proveedor don Francisco Ortuzar fue el fin de remitir y mantener en collera a dichos indios, el de que se empleasen en la construcción de los dos nuevos presidios. Y así parece que aunque no trabajasen el primer año en servicio del gobernador, habiéndolo hecho en los siguientes no debe su majestad entrar a la parte de estos gastos.

En cuanto a la incidencia que resulta contra el sargento don Salvador Martín por el inmoderado castigo que practicó contra los que se decían hechiceros debo suspender el juicio remitiéndome a los autos que asegura el apoderado haberse remitido y despachado a la capitania general de vuestra excelencia, en los que deberá constar el modo y forma de proceder, los motivos y cuerpo [ilegible]. Pues aunque dicho sargento ya ha jurado [ilegible] que no formó autos, debo persuadirme a los que se dice haber remitido el gobernador [donde] daba cuenta de todo lo sucedido y operado.

Es cuanto se me ofrece informar a vuestra excelencia la divina majestad guarde su importante vida muchos años.

Licenciado Joseph Raphael Rodríguez Gallardo

## DEPOSICIÓN

Testimonio de don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, teniente de este real presidio.

**E**n dicho real presidio, dicho día, mes y año, yo dicho juez pesquisador y visitador hice comparecer ante mí a don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, persona de toda mi satisfacción y a quien por tal nombré de teniente interino de este real presidio en el que antes obtuvo la plaza de alférez. Y a fin de recibirle declaración sobre los particulares que contiene el auto del día de hoy le recibí juramento que hizo por Dios y la señal de la Santa Cruz, bajo del cual prometió decir verdad en lo que se le preguntase.

Y sobre el salario que según estilo ganan los tapisques y horas del trabajo dijo: que es público y notorio que los tapisques ganan además de la ración que se les ministra, doce reales a la semana, que hacen seis pesos al mes y setenta y dos al año. Y que si es indio barretero que trabaje en minas, suele ganar de siete hasta diez pesos a la semana, según es el trabajo y tequio. Que la hora regular (según es igualmente público y notorio) en que salen a trabajar los tapisques es al salir el sol, que al meterse alzan del trabajo sin que en esto se introduzca novedad, porque ya están en esta inteligencia los indios. Y que en cuanto a los barreteros, que es trabajo recio, sólo duran el trabajo medio día.

Preguntado a qué horas han salido a trabajar y se han recogido del trabajo los indios en este real presidio, dijo: que como alférez que fue de esta compañía con asistencia en este real presidio y como inmediato vecino, sabe y le consta, que la presa que está con grillos ha salido siempre, como actualmente sale a trabajar, luego que rompe el nombre que es entre dos luces o al clarear el día, pero que cuando ésta sale, ya una hora antes ha salido a trabajar la demás presa suelta. Y que unos y otros se recogen a la oración o poco antes.

Preguntado en qué se han ocupado dichos presos y cuál ha sido el trabajo y servicio, dijo: que se han ocupado en hacer una presa y acequia por donde se conduce la agua [*sic*] a la huerta y labores del señor gobernador; en cercar, labrar y hacer dicha huerta, y en lo que se ofrece en ella en las labores de maíz y trigo, siembra y cosecha; en hacer oficinas para sacar vino; en los telares, cardando, hilando y tejiendo, y uno que es herrero, en la fragua, a que le ayudan otros presos; en sacar aguardiente de la tierra que llaman mescal. Y que como el señor gobernador ha laboreado algunas minitas inmediatas, ha visto que uno de los presos le ha servido de barretero, pero no sabe si otros de dichos presos también han trabajado en las minas, y que aunque hay dentro de este presidio rastras, cendradas y oficinas del beneficio de plata, se persuade a que también habrán trabajado en este ministerio, aunque no ha hecho refleja, ni lo ha visto. Que también en la pastoría de ovejas ha visto tres o cuatro presos que la cuidan. Y por último en la recua, con que se conducen bastimentos a este presidio, ha visto a uno de los presos. Y que aunque también se beneficia alguna caña, aunque poca, no ha hecho refleja, ni ha visto si trabajan presos en su beneficio.

Preguntado si se les ha dado de vestir a los que sirven, qué género de vestido y si hace juicio que corresponda al salario que debía habérseles ministrado, dijo: que el vestido de un indio regularmente se compone de un algodón de sayal o patío, que a lo sumo valdrá veinte reales, una frezada que son tres pesos, y un paño que usan en lugar de calzones, que regularmente es de patío, y valdrá cuando más, otros tres pesos, y un sombrero que valdrá lo mismo. Pero que a las justicias o mandones se les da capotes de paño que valdrá[n] veinticuatro pesos, gabán del mismo paño, zapatos, calcetas, calzones de paño, sombrero y camisa de patío con mangas de ruán. Todo lo cual a prudente regulación y según el tiempo en que se les ministra, que es poco más o menos cada año, si llega, no pasará de los setenta y dos pesos del salario. Y que aunque es cierto que a las mujeres de los presos se les ministran naguas, paños de rebozo y cotones que usan por camisa, y alguna ropita de iguales circunstancias a los hijos, también es cierto, que trabajan dichas indias en hacer tortillas y moler pinole, y los chiquitos en acarrear agua y otros proporcionados ministerios. Y así lo que se les da a las indias no se debe traer a colación para el salario de sus maridos.

Que también es cierto que cuando se les acaba la ración suelen ocurrir entre semana a pedir pinole u otra cosa que se les ministra, pero que esto sucede regularmente cuando por haber carestía de maíz no se les da íntegra la ración en esta especie, que es el bastimento recio para los indios, sino, en carne que se acaban en dos días.

Que también es cierto que se pagan entierros y casamientos, pero como esto no es todos los días y el trabajo de los indios es más recio que en otras partes y lo que se les ministra a todos, a excepción de los mandones, no equivale a setenta y dos pesos al año. Y si se retarda el avío de este real presidio por más de año, tam-

bién se retarda el vestuario, hace juicio el testigo que no se les paga el trabajo a dichos indios. Pero que puede asegurar que como en pocas partes están doctrinados, porque se tiene especial cuidado con su educación y doctrina.

Preguntado si cuando han venido presos y cuando han hecho fuga se les ha dado algún castigo, dijo: que en el tiempo que ha asistido en este real presidio no se ha ofrecido fuga, ni ha visto se les haya castigado. Y esto dijo ser todo lo que sabe sobre el asunto. Y habiéndosele leído su declaración se ratificó en ella bajo del juramento hecho, y lo firmó conmigo y los testigos de mi asistencia.

Licenciado Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo

Juan Tomás de Beldarraín

Testigo: Juan Vicente Arregui.

Testigo: Bernardino de Escalante.

#### PRESOS EN EL PRESIDIO DEL PITIC, 1748

**N** ómina de los indios presos que trabajan y han trabajado en varias ocupaciones y ministerios:

1. Agustín Tatabutemea, del pueblo de Huirivis
2. Ignacio Alejandro, nombrado aquí para el gobierno de los mismos presos, del pueblo de Cohuirimpo
3. Felipe Chismeje, del pueblo de Torim
4. Lorenzo Baromaza, del pueblo de Potam
5. Felipe de Santiago Tacococai, del pueblo de Rahum
6. Lorenzo Abamea, del pueblo de Torim
7. Francisco Jibibeamea, del pueblo de Etchojoa
8. Calixto Moli, del pueblo de Rahum
9. Juan Francisco Veramea, del pueblo de Vicam
10. Luis Jisamea, del pueblo de Torim
11. Gerónimo Siautemea, del pueblo de Huirivis—huído
12. Alonso Yautemea, del pueblo de Cohuirimpo
13. Vicente Tarmariz, del pueblo de Etchojoa
14. Esteban Cobotimea, del pueblo de Potam
15. Juan Diego, del pueblo de Tesia—huído
16. Diego Tiabuamea, del pueblo de Etchojoa
17. Juan Tehuano, del pueblo de Etchojoa
18. Ignacio Alamea, del pueblo de Etchojoa
19. Francisco Mamesuai, del pueblo de Bacum
20. Francisco Cabezón, pima, del pueblo de San Francisco
21. Miguel Ubamea, mayo, del pueblo de Etchojoa
22. Juan Jecahua, mayo, del pueblo de Etchojoa
23. Mateo Osimea, mayo, del pueblo de Etchojoa
24. Luis Caut Jisuame, mayo, del pueblo de Etchojoa
25. Calixto Anuamea, del mismo pueblo
26. Matías Usamea, del mismo pueblo
27. Vicente Siguiuinse, yaqui, del pueblo de Rahum
28. Francisco Matuamea, yaqui, del pueblo de Bacum

29. Manuel Subau, yaqui, del mismo pueblo
30. Juan Alamea, del mismo pueblo
31. Francisco Gogoli, yaqui, del pueblo de Torim
32. Francisco Alamea, mayo, del pueblo de Cohuirimpo
33. Simón Moymea, yaqui, del pueblo de Huirivis
34. Lucas Matusai, yaqui, del pueblo de Vicam
35. Gerónimo Puiteme, del mismo pueblo y nación
36. Santiago, ópata, del pueblo de Arizpe
37. Esteban Mapuamea, mayo, del pueblo de Etchojoa
38. Ignacio Jecagua, mayo, del pueblo Cohuirimpo
39. Ignacio Jinsemea, yaqui, del pueblo de Rahum
40. Gregorio Siraquisuamea, de la misma nación y pueblo de Bacum
41. Francisco Alamea, de la misma nación y pueblo
42. Angelo Siarigua, pima, del pueblo de Santa María
43. Ignacio, pima, fiscal del pueblo de Onavas
44. Diego Humari, de la misma nación y pueblo
45. José Bastuca, de la misma nación y pueblo
46. Javier Sihuagui, de la misma nación y pueblo
47. Miguel Humari, de la misma nación y pueblo
48. José Sogui, de la misma nación y pueblo
49. Blás Sarín, de la misma nación y pueblo
50. Martín Baimaruco, de la misma nación y pueblo
51. Agustín, de la misma nación y pueblo de Buenavista
52. Ignacio, de la misma nación y pueblo de Pitiquí  
Javier Sandía se huyó a como mes y medio, es del pueblo de San Marcial
53. Mateo Angelo, pima, del pueblo de San Joseph
54. Javier, de la misma nación y pueblo de Santa María
55. Francisco, yaqui, del pueblo de Bacum
56. Miguel Tejedor, pima, del pueblo de Buenavista.
57. Salvador, ópata, del pueblo de Baviácora
58. Javier Forsi, pima, del pueblo de Onavas
59. Juan Minero, de la misma nación y pueblo
60. Bautista Jautemea, mayo, del pueblo de Cohuirimpo
61. Lorenzo Baromasa, yaqui, del pueblo de Potam
62. Antonio Sibiqui, pima, del pueblo de San Joseph

Estos son los que se mantienen y trabajan sueltos pero en calidad de detenidos y corren como presos.

Sigue la nómina de los indios que están con prisiones de grillos y salen a trabajar con ellos:

1. Luis Siborsa, de la pimería alta, de ranchería inmediata al pueblo de Santa María Suamca
2. Nicolás, de la pimería alta y pueblo de Caborca
3. Miguel, pima del pueblo de Nacameri
4. Francisco, pima del pueblo de San Joseph de los Pimas
5. Martín, tarahumara, del pueblo de San Andrés
6. Sebastián, de la misma nación y pueblo

7. Matías, de la misma nación y pueblo
8. Tomás del Peñol de Babaroco, según dijo, ha reconocido al pueblo de Santa Ana
9. Alonso, del misma nación y pueblo
10. Martín, de la misma nación y pueblo
11. Juan Antonio, pima, de pueblo de Maicoba
12. Matías, de la misma nación y pueblo
13. Francisco, de la misma nación y pueblo
14. Ignacio Tacuri, eudeve, del pueblo de Opodepe
15. José Coicha, de la misma nación y pueblo
16. Ignacio, de la misma nación y pueblo
17. Antonio Ignacio de Gautasegua, mayo, del pueblo de Nuri
18. Juan Reyes, pima bajo, del pueblo de Buenavista
19. Miguel Tosamasai, yaqui, del pueblo de Bacum
20. Ignacio Mendizabal, mayo, del pueblo de Navojoa

Nómina de los mulatos y de más calidades (que llaman gente de razón a distinción de los españoles) los que se hallan aprisionados con grillos, y son los siguientes:

1. Francisco de la Fuente y Valenzuela, vecino del Real de Los Alamos
2. Miguel Orduño, de la misma vecindad
3. Joseph Ignacio Valenzuela, también del Real de Los Alamos
4. Francisco Marastegui, de Sinaloa

De los cuatro, sólo el último ha trabajado.

Esta es nómina de los que han trabajado, y de los que se hallan aprisionados. Y porque al tiempo de darla a firmar al apoderado, reclamó éste sobre que en ella y en la tabla de que es sacada, hay algunos sirvientes libres y voluntarios. Sin embargo, de la ninguna especificación, distinción, razón o apunte que se hecha menos en dicha tabla. Y de que todos los contenidos se le entregaron como presos al teniente de este real presidio, según se expresa en la diligencia del día de ayer. Tuve por conveniente el que puesta razón del reclamo, firmase el apoderado, pues en las diligencias que han de practicarse compareciendo uno por uno los contenidos al tenor de esta nómina, resultará cual es el sirviente voluntario, cual detenido y cual preso.

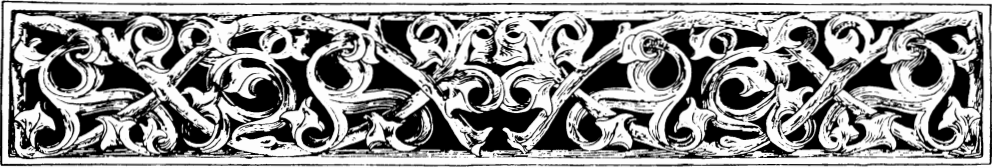
Real Presidio de San Pedro de la Conquista y julio 22 de 1748.

Licenciado Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo

Tomás Pardo de Macías

Juan Tomás de Beldarraín

Juan Vicente Arregui



## XII

### Protest of Father Provincial Andrés García on the Transfer of Pitic

(1749)

**R**odríguez Gallardo was one of a series of reformers who attempted to solve the nearly intractable problems of northern New Spain during the eighteenth century. Removing Agustín de Vildósola from office was one such solution. Another was to transfer the presidio of Pitic to San Miguel de Horcasitas, a settlement located between the two most important Seri Indian missions on the San Miguel River—Santa María del Pópulo and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe la Reina de los Angeles.

Rodríguez Gallardo's report on conditions in Sinaloa and Sonora was completed on January 26, 1749. That report was then forwarded to the auditor de guerra—the Marqués de Altamira—on March 8. Nine days later, the auditor responded with his official opinion, or dictamen. Jesús Andrés Javier García, the father provincial of the Jesuits in New Spain, was instructed by the viceroy to comment upon the auditor's proposals, and he protested the decisions vigorously.

Basically, the auditor accepted Rodríguez Gallardo's analysis of the situation. Both officials considered the Apaches to be the most serious threat to the security of northwestern New Spain. At the same time, however, the two men believed that coordinated action could not be taken against the Apaches until rebel Indians in Sonora were pacified. The Marqués de Altamira and Rodríguez Gallardo were particularly concerned about the Seri Indians and their Lower Pima allies, who ranged in small bands along the coastlines and dry deserts of central Sonora north and west of Pitic. In their minds, the Seris and Pimas formed a potentially fatal cyst in the Sonoran body politic, one that jeopardized mines and missions from the Pimería Alta to Ostimuri. Until those Indians were pacified or destroyed, sustained campaigns against the Apaches could not be undertaken.

Rodríguez Gallardo and the auditor also considered the Seris settled in the mission communities of Pópulo, Los Angeles, and Nacameri along the San Miguel River to be secret allies of the rebels. One reason for moving the presidio north was to stop those missions from being used as refuges and bases of operations for hostile Seris. Another reason, of course, was to break Agustín de Vildósola's economic hold over the presidio by transferring it upriver from Vildósola's hacienda at Pitic.

García agreed with the basic intentions of the two bureaucrats but he saw



grave problems with the presidial transfer. Land and water were scarce along the San Miguel, García argued. If a garrison of soldiers were stationed at Horcasitas, those soldiers would inevitably seize the fields of the Seris at Pópulo and Los Angeles and force the Indians to cultivate those fields for them. García knew that the fiercely independent Seris would never stand for such abuse.

Despite García's reservations, however, the transfer took place. It turned out to be even more disastrous than the Jesuit had predicted. Soldiers and settlers at Horcasitas did indeed grab Seri land and exploit Seri labor. The entire community of Los Angeles, for example, was resettled near the presidio. In the words of another missionary, Tomás Miranda, "The people work every day from sunup to sundown, poorly fed and badly mistreated without exception, including pregnant women."<sup>1</sup> When the mission Seris rebelled against these injustices, Rodríguez Gallardo rounded up their leaders and threw them in chains.

Such actions destroyed the economic foundation of the Seri missions. They also drove many mission Seris to join their gentile brethren to the west. The invasion of Tiburón Island, carried out the following year, further aggravated Seri-Spanish relations. For nearly a century, the Seri had been a minor thorn in the side of northwestern New Spain, stealing Spanish livestock and mounting revenge raids against Spanish ranchers who killed Seri cattle thieves. But Rodríguez Gallardo's "final solution" to the Seri problem — of which the presidial transfer was a part — rapidly escalated the hostilities, transforming petty raiders into determined guerrilla warriors. A few Jesuits like García foresaw such a transformation. Unfortunately, their advice was not heeded, and they soon joined Spanish officials in advocating the cultural if not physical genocide of the Seris themselves.<sup>2</sup>

The result, not surprisingly, was blood and desolation. Over the next twenty years, mines were abandoned, mission Indians revolted, and Sonoran economic development stagnated. Seri and Pima rebels were not suppressed until Domingo Elizondo's massive military campaign in the late 1760s.<sup>3</sup> And even then, Seris continued to raid mines and ranches and resist Spanish and Mexican colonization long into the nineteenth century. Thus, like so many poorly conceived reforms, the transfer of the presidio from Pitic to Horcasitas triggered a bloody chain of events that weakened rather than strengthened the security of northwestern New Spain.



our Excellency:

In obedience to your high decree of May 2 of the present year, your excellency ordered me to seek the opinions of experienced priests and then to offer my opinion whether or not it would be advantageous to transfer the pre-

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1. Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?" p. 324.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

3. Rowland, "Elizondo Expedition"; Navarro García, *Don José*; James R. Hastings, "People of Reason and Others."

sidio named San Pedro de la Conquista, alias El Pitic, to the place called San Pedro de la Conquista, or San Miguel. San Miguel is located between the pueblo called Los Angeles and that of Nuestra Señora del Pópulo of the Seri nation.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the fact that I have been in those places as visitor of the missions, I have sought the advice of others of our company in this city who have been to the same places, including those who have also held the office of visitor. Before conveying my feelings to your excellency, however, I should tell you that it is not advisable to establish a presidio there before conferring with other individuals who know the region. Only by proceeding in such fashion can you be certain to make the most appropriate decision. I also have well-founded information that there are documents that have not been allowed to come into your possession concerning this matter. Therefore, I have decided to discourse upon the reasons why the location of Pitic would be preferable to that of San Miguel. The following have occurred to me.

2. First of all, the presidio of Pitic is located within the territory of the Seri nation at a spot from which they can be quickly suppressed. Moreover, the ashes of the Yaqui Revolt are still smoldering. To transfer the presidio such a distance as that between Pitiquí and San Miguel would be to remove it that much further from the center of that nation, as well as from the Lower Pimas, the Guaymas, and the Upanguaymas. It is also said that when the rivers diminish during the dry season and water becomes scarcer, the river or arroyo passing through San Miguel suffers more than that which flows past Pitic. Even though the arroyo—the one that runs past the place called El Pescadero—is small, by the time it reaches Pitic, it has already united itself with the one that fertilizes the entire valley of Sonora, which is the larger of the two rivers.<sup>5</sup> For that reason, Pitic is less vulnerable to a shortage of water.

3. Furthermore, Pitic does not lack the arable land needed by a presidio. Inasmuch as the soldiers are always or almost always engaged in constant movement against their enemies, or serving as escorts for merchants, such lands do not have to be abundant. Because the soldiers must always be prepared for emergencies and be ready to carry out their duties without the slightest delay, it worries me that farmland is going to be distributed among them. I consider this a grave difficulty, because it means that the soldiers are either going to have to work

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4. San Miguel, which was renamed San Miguel de Horcasitas in honor of Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, viceroy of New Spain from 1746 to 1755, was located between the two most important Seri missions on the San Miguel River. Santa María del Pópulo, north of San Miguel, was established by Padre Juan Fernández in 1679. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe la Reina de los Angeles was situated downriver. It was founded around 1700.

5. Pitic (modern Hermosillo) is located just below the junction of the Río Sonora and its major tributary, the Río San Miguel. The San Miguel is what geographers call an intermittent stream, with stretches of flowing water alternating with expanses of sand. The Sonora, on the other hand, flows continuously north of Hermosillo. Even before it was dammed at Hermosillo, however, its waters usually sank below the surface of the coastal plains to the southwest. The flow of both rivers, of course, fluctuates considerably from season to season and from year to year.

these fields themselves or have the Indians work the fields for them. If they do not already cultivate the land—because they are not accustomed to such work, because they consider such work unworthy of their occupation, or because they are obliged to take part in continuous expeditions—then the Indians must do such work for them. And since these Indians must be gathered from the estuaries and coastlines, they are idle, lazy vagabonds unaccustomed to hard work.<sup>6</sup> If Indians such as these are forced to labor each day for their wages, we will run aground on the inevitable reef: the Indians will become exasperated and will seek to avenge themselves against those who force them to work, even if they are paid their daily wage, because they consider such force an affront.

4. Another objection is that since the Indians consider that the land in the San Miguel area belongs to them, they will consider it an injury if the land is distributed among soldiers and Spanish settlers. I consider it no less troublesome that when the water grows scarce in the arroyo—as always happens—the more powerful soldiers and settlers will irrigate their crops first. The poor Indians, on the other hand, will lose their seed even if they do sow it, and all their labor will be in vain because their fields will inevitably dry up for lack of water. I must not fail to point out that the Indians and the Spaniards cannot live together, and that is why it is necessary that they live apart. For that reason, the Indians who were scattered along the estuaries and coastlines were congregated in the region of Los Angeles, Pópulo, and Nacameri.<sup>7</sup> The missionary who cared for them informed me that about two hundred families were brought together there not very long ago.<sup>8</sup> If a large multitude of Indians are going to be gathered together, then much land and water must be given to them. Because the arroyo has so little water during the dry season when irrigation is necessary, however, there will not be enough water to distribute among the soldiers and Spanish settlers. Therefore, I believe the presidio should remain where it is. And just as in the past a squad of soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa was stationed in the pueblo of Pópulo, so

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6. García is referring to non-Christianized Seris living along the coasts of central Sonora. Because the Seris were hunter-gatherers and fisherfolk who did not live in permanent settlements or cultivate fields, the Spaniards usually categorized them as lazy and shiftless. García also uses the term *marismas* to describe their haunts. Literally translated as “marshes,” “swamps,” or “mud flats,” the word here refers to the numerous mangrove estuaries that dot the Sonoran coastline. Rich in mollusks, fish, and waterfowl, the estuaries served as important refuges for the Seri during times of war because the mangrove forests were nearly impenetrable.

7. Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Nacameri (modern Rayón) was located north of Pópulo along the Río San Miguel. Founded as a mission visita by the Jesuits in the mid-seventeenth century, Nacameri was an ethnically mixed community of Seris and Lower Pimas.

8. The population of mission Seris ebbed and flowed according to political conditions and the periodic epidemics of infectious disease that swept Indian communities in northwestern New Spain. Moreover, the Seris were not accustomed to sedentary agrarian life and often left the missions to follow their traditional round—foraging for a wide variety of foods in the desert and sea. Many Seris undoubtedly considered mission rations to be just another resource to be exploited, moving back and forth between the missions and life in the wild.

should a small squad of soldiers from the presidio of Pitic be placed among the Seri Indians congregated along the floodplains of Los Angeles and Pópulo.<sup>9</sup>

5. Concerning the measures proposed with great wisdom by the auditor de guerra, I find it most fitting that a mission for the Guaymas, Lower Pimas, and Upanguaymas be established in Guaymas.<sup>10</sup> I will promptly assign a missionary as soon as the time comes.

6. Secondly, I think that the entire island of Tiburón should be explored, surveyed, and demarcated. If a place with enough land and water is located—and none has been located until now—a mission should be founded.<sup>11</sup> Because there are a sufficient number of Indians on the island, it would be better to establish a mission there than to remove them and settle them on the mainland. For if it is natural for all people to love their country, among the Indians this attachment to the land of their birth surpasses all bounds. But if there is no suitable place on Tiburón to found a mission, it would be better to transfer the Indians—most of whom are gentiles—to the mainland by the most gentle and humane means possible before resorting to force of arms. Otherwise, I fear that if some of the Indians are killed, their kinsmen will remember such offenses in order to avenge themselves at the first opportunity.<sup>12</sup> Besides, those who are offended may spread their bad feelings among the barbarous nations, turning them against the Spaniards

9. As earlier documents in this section point out, detachments from the presidio of Sinaloa had long been stationed in various Sonoran communities.

10. The well-protected bay at Guaymas had attracted Spanish attention since the seventeenth century. Scarcity of water and proximity to Seri territory, however, postponed a permanent Spanish presence there until the mid-eighteenth century. Following Rodríguez Gallardo's 1750 *Informe*, Jesuits attempted to establish a mission there, first in 1751, then in 1756. Both attempts failed because of Seri hostilities. Then, in the late 1760s, Guaymas became an important port and military base during Domingo Elizondo's campaign against Seri and Lower Pima rebels. After the campaign ended, Spanish occupation was intermittent until 1811, when Guaymas was legally authorized to engage in maritime trade. By the 1820s, Guaymas was the most important port on the west coast of Mexico north of Mazatlán. An interlocking network of elite merchant families based in Guaymas and Hermosillo acted as one of the major axes of political and economic power in Sonora throughout the nineteenth century (see Stuart Voss, *On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century Mexico*).

11. No mission was ever established on Tiburón Island because sources of permanent water were so limited. An ill-fated attempt to found a mission on the mainland opposite Tiburón was undertaken by Franciscan Juan Crisóstomo Gil in 1772. That attempt came to an abrupt and bloody end in the same year when several Seris murdered Gil (see John L. Kessell, "Friars, Bureaucrats, and the Seris of Sonora"). Thereafter, the Spanish and Mexican military periodically invaded Tiburón, but no further efforts were made to missionize the Seris in their own territory.

12. Like many other Native Americans in North America, Seris felt obliged to avenge the deaths of kinsmen by taking the lives of the persons who killed them. In 1725, the execution of three Seri cattle thieves triggered a bloody assault on the home of Salvador de la Huerta, a rancher in Opodepe. Setting fire to Huerta's house while he was hosting a fiesta, the Seris shot or clubbed twenty-one men, women, and children who tried to escape (see Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?"; Sheridan, "El Asunto de la Huerta").

and making their ultimate conversion from paganism to our holy faith that much more difficult.

7. The third proposal is very sound: after gathering the Indians together, their weapons should be taken from them, even though this should not be done under a penalty as grave as death. Since the Indians live by hunting and fishing, however, it will be necessary to supply them with their necessities until they are able to support themselves. That will be hard to do in Guaymas because there is not much land suitable for cultivation there.

8. The auditor has also proposed that within two months each rancher should provide himself with a musket, leather jerkin, shield, lance, gunpowder, and ammunition. Moreover, at least six armed men should be found at every ranch, where they should build parapets on the roofs of their homes and erect two or three towers where the poor people can defend themselves. All these measures are legitimate parts of a plan to bring relief to that region. Nevertheless, the difficulty is that although the hills where they make their living abound in silver and gold, the inhabitants are so poor that few will be able to carry out the order to arm themselves.

9. The sixth proposal is the best that can be imagined—that settlements of Spaniards be established on the Apache frontier, and that the settlers be given lands and granted certain concessions. Such settlements would serve as a breastwork or presidio against the intrusions of the enemy. I must warn you, however, that such settlers are not likely to have the same weapons the ranchers are ordered to possess, especially those who do not have frontier ranches but instead live in places where the Apaches do not do battle.

10. It will be very useful to repopulate the settlements along the Apache frontier that are now short of Indians. But this repopulation must be done voluntarily by the same Indians who wish to migrate from their own land to those frontiers. Concerning the eighth proposal, I should say that the Apache Indians who come in peace should be well received. They should be assigned a place to live, given land near the presidio, and supported until they can reap the fruits of their labor. Nonetheless, serious problems have been experienced in the past and are experienced now because the Apaches are wont to come and survey the land in order to find out its entrances and exits, just as they did in years past when they came in peace and settled near the presidio of Corodéguachi.<sup>13</sup> For that reason, I believe the Apaches should be assigned boundaries and limits that they cannot leave under pain of death, because they are the most deceitful, treacherous, and bloodthirsty enemy of the Spaniard among all the Indian nations. There is a notable difference between the Seris and the Apaches. The Apaches always kill without motive, robbing treacherously and, if possible, by deceit and fraud. But while it is true that Seris have sometimes committed cold-blooded outrages, these have always been the work of a few individuals, not the whole nation. Those who have judged themselves to be injured or offended by some of the Spaniards have taken vengeance on them or on their families and possessions.

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13. Anza refers to this Apache settlement near the presidio of Fronteras in his 1735 document printed earlier in this volume.

11. There is no doubt that it would be very useful to have large Indian settlements on the Apache frontiers. The Indians could assist the presidial forces. If such a policy could be put into practice, and if there were other settlements full of Indians along the frontier like the mission of Baceraca [Bacerac], then the presidios would not be needed.<sup>14</sup>

12. I think it would be more effective to send small detachments against the Apaches to attack their rancherías unexpectedly in different places at the same time than to carry out general campaigns.

I hope such arguments clearly convince the auditor de guerra. This is my opinion, although I will always consider the decision determined by the great understanding of your excellency to be the wisest. Mexico City, at Casa Profesa, May 13, 1749.<sup>15</sup>

Jesús Andrés Javier García<sup>16</sup>

*From AGI, Guadalajara 301, ff. 52–56.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

**E**xcelentísimo señor:  
Obedeciendo al superior decreto de vuestra excelencia de 2 de mayo de este presente año en que me manda que tomando informe de padres prácticos, diese mi parecer sobre si es conveniente o no el que el presidio nombrado San Pedro de la Conquista, alias El Pitic, se transfiera al paraje nombrado San Pedro de la Conquista, digo San Miguel, que está sito entre el pueblo llamado Los Angeles y el de Nuestra Señora del Pópulo de la nación seri.

Digo que no obstante haber estado yo en aquellos parajes de visitador de las misiones, me he informado de otros que de nuestra compañía se hallan en esta ciudad y han estado también en los mismos parajes, y algunos de ellos con el mismo cargo de visitador, pero antes de exponer a vuestra excelencia mi sentir, debo manifestarle que previamente al establecimiento de aquel presidio, no es creíble se tomase la resolución de la fábrica de Pitic sin que hubiese juntas de prácticos o informes de otros que tuviesen conocimiento de aquellos países, para proceder

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14. Santa María Baceraca [Bacerac] was founded by Jesuit missionary Cristóbal García in 1645 as a mission for Opatá Indians living along the Río Bavispe. Exposed to constant Apache raiding, the Opatas at missions like Bacerac, Bavispe, and Huachinera quickly developed into staunch military allies of the Spaniards. Later in the century, a flying company composed of Opatas was created and stationed at Bavispe north of Bacerac.

15. The Casa Profesa was the headquarters of the Jesuit provincial in Mexico City. It is now the church of St. Philip Neri.

16. Jesús Andrés Javier García (1686–1764) was born in Extremadura, Spain. He entered the Jesuit order in 1705 and arrived in New Spain two years later. Much of his career was spent in Puebla or Mexico City, but he did serve as visitor of the northern missions from 1737 to 1740. He became provincial of New Spain in 1747, a position he held until 1750.

con acierto a determinar lo más conveniente. Y estoy con noticia fundada de que se hicieron autos que no pueden dejar de parar en el superior gobierno de vuestra excelencia, por lo cual me he puesto a discurrir qué razones serían para preferir el paraje de Pitic al de San Miguel y se me han ocurrido las siguientes:

2. La primera, que el presidio del Pitic se halla en paraje inmediato para contener a la nación seri dentro de la cual se halla. Y porque todavía humeaban las cenizas de la sublevación de la nación yaqui. Y el de San Miguel, se retira del centro otra tanta distancia, cuanta es la que hay desde El Pitiquí a San Miguel, como también se retira muchas [distancias] de los pimas bajos, guaymas, y upanguaymas. Alégase que cortándose los ríos en tiempo de seca [sequía] y escaseando el agua, es más expuesto a esta falta el río o arroyo que pasa por San Miguel que en el paraje del Pitic, pues en este puesto se halla ya unido con el arroyo, aunque pequeño, que pasa por el paraje que llaman El Pescadero y juntamente con el que fertiliza todo el valle de Sonora, que es mayor que los dos nombrados, por lo cual no está expuesto a que les falte el agua.

3. Tampoco falta la tierra para sembrar que lleva un presidio, pues éstas no pueden ser copiosas por ocasión de que los soldados siempre o casi siempre andan en continuo movimiento contra los enemigos, como también en escoltas precisas para conducir traficantes. Esta razón y el que estén mas expeditos los soldados para las urgentes ocurrencias y que no tengan la menor rémora para el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones, me hace temer y tener por grave inconveniente el que a los dichos se repartan tierras de labor porque o las benefician por sí o por medio de indios. Por si no las han de beneficiar ya por no estar acostumbrados a semejante trabajo, ya por tener dicha ocupación por indigna de su empleo y ya porque las continuas excursiones a que se ven obligados les impide semejante cultivo de sus tierras, con que precisamente han de ser los indios. Estos han de ser de los recogidos de las marismas, vagabundos, ociosos, flojos como que no están acostumbrados a laboríos. Si a éstos se les quiere obligar al trabajo diario pagándoles su salario, encuentro el escollo inevitable de que exasperen e intenten vengarse, teniendo por agravio el que se les obligue a trabajar aún pagándoles su jornal.

4. Hallo también el que teniendo los indios por suyas las tierras del paraje de San Miguel, tengan a agravio el que se repartan a soldados y a vecinos españoles. No tengo por menor inconveniente el que sucedería continuamente el que escaseándose las aguas del dicho arroyo querrán y lo conseguirán, como más poderosos los soldados y vecinos españoles, ser preferidos en los riegos de sus sembrados a los pobres indios que si siembran perderán su trabajo y semillas, que por falta de agua se secarán infaliblemente. No puedo omitir el expresar que los indios y españoles no son para habitar juntos y así es preciso que vivan separados. Por lo cual intentándose el congregar los indios que en aquellas marismas andan dispersos en el distrito de Los Angeles, Pópulo, y Nacameri, de los cuales estuvieron no muchos años ha congregados en Los Angeles y Pópulo como doscientas familias, como me expresó el padre misionero que las cuidaba. Será preciso que habiendo de juntarse gran multitud de indios se las concedan muchas tierras y aguas, y teniendo tan poca el arroyo en tiempo de seca (sequía), que es tiempo que se necesitan riegos, no sobrarán para repartir a soldados y españoles. Por lo cual tengo por conveniente el que se quede dicho presidio donde está y que como antiguamente se mantenía una escuadra de estacada [*sic*: destacada] del presidio de

Sinaloa en el pueblo del Pópulo, congregados que sean los indios seris, en la vega de Angeles y Pópulo se ponga una pequeña escuadra de soldados en dicho paraje de estacada [*sic*: destacada] del presidio del Pitic.

5. Pasando a hablar sobre las providencias que con grande acierto del señor auditor de guerra; a la primera digo, que hallo por muy conveniente se forme una misión en guaymas, que se componga de los indios guaymas, pimas bajos, y up-anguaymas, a la que daré prontamente misionero luego que fuese tiempo.

6. A la segunda, tengo por conveniente el que se registre, se examine, se demarque toda la isla del Tiburón y hallando, lo que hasta ahora no se ha hallado, algún paraje con aguas y tierras suficiente para fundar en dicha isla una misión. [Que] habiendo número suficiente de indios para formarla se funde antes en ella misión, que sacarlos a que pueblen en este continente, por cuanto si a todos es connatural el amar a su patria, en los indios pasa ya de raya el apego a la tierra en que nacieron. De no haber paraje apto en dicha isla para fundar misión, tendría por conveniente el que se procurasen sacar a aquellos indios, los más gentiles, a esta banda con los términos más suaves y benignos que se pueda, antes de llegar a los términos del rigor y de las armas, porque es de recelar que si llegan a causar éstas algunas muertes, queden los parientes conservando el agravio para vengarlo en la primera ocasión que tuviesen. Pueden también, los que quedasen agraviados, difundir su mal afecto a las naciones bárbaras contra la española, por lo cual se dificulte la ulterior conversión de la gentilidad a nuestra santa fe.

7. Es muy acertada la tercera providencia de que después de congregados los indios, se les prive de las armas, aunque no con pena tan grave como la de muerte. Mas es preciso que privadas de ellas, en que está la finca de su mantenimiento, por vivir de caza y pesca, se les haya de dar lo necesario hasta que ellos tengan con qué mantenerse, lo que difícilmente llegarán a conseguir en Guaymas por haber pocas tierras oportunas para laborío.

8. Las providencias de que dentro de dos meses se provean los rancheros de escopeta, cuera, adarga, lanza, pólvora, y municiones, que a lo menos haya en cada rancho seis hombres armados, que hagan terrados en sus casas, que pongan dos o tres torreones donde los pobres se defiendan. Todas son legítimos pactos de un entendimiento que ha comprendido el remedio de aquella tierra, sólo si hallo la dificultad de que siendo tan abundante de plata y oro aquellos cerros que trafican, es grande la pobreza de aquellos moradores, por lo cual pocos serán los que puedan poner en ejecución el mandato de las armas.

9. La sexta providencia de que se formen en la frontera del apache, pueblos de españoles en que se les den tierras, se les concedan privilegios, es la más excelente que se puede pensar, porque serán un antemural o presidio, que se opondrán a la entrada del enemigo, mas debo prevenir que estos pobladores a más de tener las armas dichas que se mandan a los rancheros, sean no de los que tienen ranchos fronterizos sino de aquellos que habitan en parajes a donde no combate el apache.

10. De mucho útil servirá el que a las fronteras del apache se repueblen los pueblos cortos de indios, mas este repueble se haga con voluntariedad [*sic*: voluntad] de los mismos indios que quisieren trasmigrar de su tierra a dichas fronteras. A la octava debo decir que los indios apaches que vinieren de paz, convendrá que sean bien recibidos, se les asigne paraje, se les den tierras cerca del presidio, se les mantenga ínterin, cogen frutos del cultivo de ellos. Mas por los graves inconve-



nientes que se experimentaron y se experimentan de que suelen venir a demarcar la tierra, conocer y saber las entradas y salidas, como lo hicieron años pasados unos que vinieron de paz y se arranchearon junto al presidio de Corodéguachi, tengo por muy conveniente el que se les asigne términos y límites de los cuales no puedan salir pena de la vida, porque es nación la más falaz, la más traidora, y más sangrienta enemiga del español que hay entre todas las naciones. Hay notable diferencia entre el seri y el apache, éste sin que se le dé motivo, siempre mata, roba a traición y si puede con engaño y falacia; aquél, es verdad que algunas veces ha cometido desafueros fríos, siempre han sido algunos particulares no en común toda la nación, que juzgándose agraviados y ofendidos de algunos españoles han tomado la venganza en ellos o en sus familias o bienes.

11. No hay duda que convendría grandemente el que hubiera en las fronteras del apache, pueblos crecidos de indios que auxiliasen las armas presidiales y así se podrá procurar poner en práctica. Y si como la misión de Baceraca se halla abundante de indios estuviera otras tan abundantes en la frontera no fueran necesarios los presidios.

12. Tengo por más conveniente, el que se hagan pequeños destacamentos contra el apache, que asalten de improviso rancherías por varias partes a un mismo tiempo.

Que no hice las campañas generales por las razones con que patente convence el señor auditor de guerra. Este es mi dictamen, aunque siempre tendré por más acertado lo que la gran comprensión de vuestra excelencia determinase vuestra señoría. México y Casa Profesa, mayo 13 de 1749 años.

Jesús Andrés Javier García



## XIII

### Construction of the Presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas (1750-1757)

**P**rior to the *Reglamento* of 1772, which mandated sweeping changes in presidial organization and construction, presidial fortifications in northern New Spain were often crude, architecturally unsophisticated structures if, indeed, they existed at all. Their shapes and sizes varied considerably, although most were square or rectangular in configuration. Construction techniques reflected the availability of local materials and the skills of local artisans more often than they did any attempts at military standardization. In the words of historian Max Moorhead, “As a defensive edifice, the presidio of the northern frontier of New Spain was centuries behind the fortification of Europe in basic architectural design.”<sup>1</sup> Some garrisons were never fortified, and none of the defensive structures rivaled those in the Caribbean or Yucatan.<sup>2</sup>

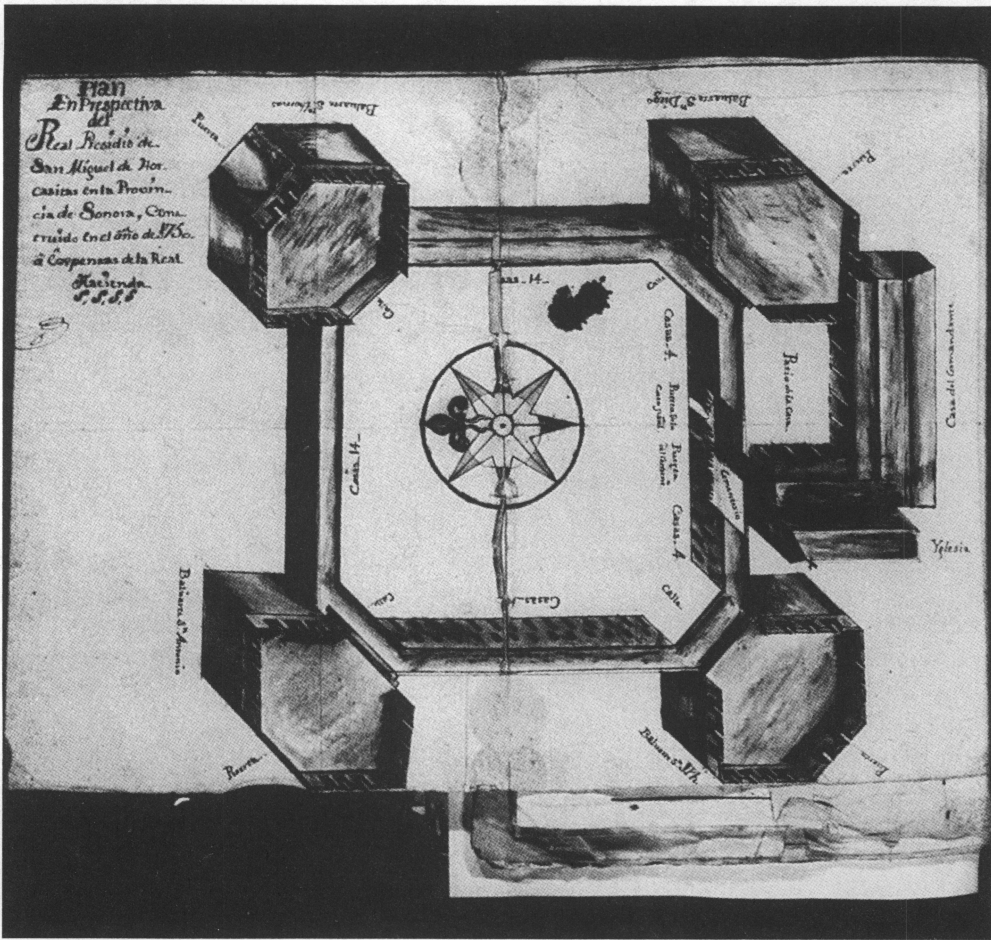
The following documents provide a rare, richly detailed glimpse of one such presidio, San Miguel de Horcasitas, at two periods in time—1750, soon after the presidio was started, and 1757, when much of it was falling apart. The last two documents are sworn statements taken during Governor Juan Antonio Mendoza’s investigation of the construction of the presidio. Like most such cases, the investigation generated charges and countercharges of corruption and mismanagement, pitting Ortiz Parrilla against his successor, Pablo de Arce y Arroyo. The selection of documents in this chapter, however, concentrates on details of the construction itself and how the 10,000 pesos earmarked for its construction were spent.

Like most northern presidios, Horcasitas was fashioned primarily of adobe. Nevertheless, many of its walls, including the exterior ones, were wattle and daub rather than adobe brick. Moreover, most beams were hewn from cottonwood, which is soft and easy to work but not very durable. Horcasitas quickly

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1. See Moorhead, *Presidio*.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 163; José Antonio Calderón Quijano, *Historia de las Fortificaciones en Nueva España*; Jack S. Williams, “Architecture and Defense on the Military Frontier of Arizona, 1752–1856,” pp. 34–36.



Plan of the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas. (Courtesy Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas, vol. 210)

developed into an important military and administrative center, but the presidio itself was a rudimentary and ramshackle affair.

The documents also reveal how deeply military construction was embedded in local political and economic affairs. Horcasitas was founded by Visitor Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo. Its construction was placed in the hands of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla. Yet neither Rodríguez Gallardo nor Ortiz Parrilla supervised the actual work. Instead, a prominent local settler—Joseph de Mesa—began many of the structures while the lieutenant of the presidio, Antonio Montero, completed them. No experts at military fortification were involved at any stage in the construction process.

Skilled labor was also difficult to find. One man, Joseph Lauro, received the salary of a bricklayer, but no other artisans are mentioned. On the contrary, Mesa was forced to use Seri Indian prisoners from the mission of Pópulo, who apparently knew nothing about laying bricks or working with wood. It is not

*surprising that the presidio deteriorated so badly in the space of seven years. As Jack Williams points out, however, the use of convict labor to build defensive fortifications—common in other parts of the Spanish Empire—was uncommon on the northern frontier.<sup>3</sup>*

*The crudity of local construction techniques was mirrored by the nature of the local economy—an economy in which cloth rather than currency seemed to be the major medium of exchange. Sonora in the mid-eighteenth century was still an isolated and undeveloped frontier. That isolation shaped the social as well as material processes of production.*

*Despite the haphazard construction of the presidio, however, the structure itself survived. A comparison of the Plan en Perspectiva del Real Presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas, drawn in 1750,<sup>4</sup> and Joseph de Urrutia's Plano de la Villa de S. Miguel de Horcasitas,<sup>5</sup> completed in 1767, reveals that the basic conformation of the presidio had not changed in seventeen years. The community centered around the garrison had expanded, but the garrison itself continued to make do with the basic structure it had inherited from Ortiz Parrilla, Mesa, and Montero.*

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3. Williams, *ibid.*

4. Original in AGN in Mexico City.

5. Original in the British Museum.

## On the Building of Horcasitas, 1750

Statement of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla:<sup>1</sup>

**O**n March 24, 1750, in the royal presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, lieutenant-colonel of the royal armies, captain of the dragoons of Veracruz, commander of the detachment of the city of Los Angeles, and governor and captain general of these provinces, presidios, borders, and coasts of the southern sea, stated that among the various depositions remitted to him by Licenciado Don Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, only one discusses the founding of this presidio and how it was constructed. Another deposition contains the accounts of what has been spent, both from fines allocated to this end as well as from royal funds. The deposition also asserts that the construction is sufficient in extent.

The governor does not agree with what is expressed therein. The rooms of the barracks are not comfortable, nor is there a guardroom. Moreover, the corridor (or ramada, as they call it in this region) and the rooms are too small for the quartering of any commander, who should be provided with the stores and secured areas necessary to maintain the soldiers and the presidio according to the inalterable style demanded of regular troops. The building also lacks jails, shackles, and granaries where the seeds and other provisions needed to maintain the soldiers should be locked up. The commander should have such facilities in order to be ready for the harvest, so that he will be able to store what later becomes scarce. In addition, the building has no kitchen, and, in reality, its towers are so poorly constructed, as the deposition relates, that neither one is solid.

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1. Diego Ortiz Parrilla had a long and checkered career as a military officer and civil official throughout northern New Spain. Before being appointed governor of Sinaloa-Sonora in 1749, he served for two decades in Coahuila, Texas, and Nuevo León. While governor of Sinaloa-Sonora, he implemented Rodríguez Gallardo's disastrous Seri Indian policy, destroying the Seri missions along the Río San Miguel, invading Tiburón Island, and transforming petty raiders into determined guerrilla warriors who seriously threatened Sonoran security for the next twenty years. After leaving Sonora in the wake of the 1751 Upper Pima Revolt, Ortiz Parrilla assumed command of the new presidio of San Sabá in south-central Texas in 1756. Two years later, he watched helplessly while a force of two thousand Tejas, Bidais, Tonkawas, Wichitas, Taovayas, and Comanches—many armed with French guns—sacked the San Sabá mission and killed eight people, including two Franciscan missionaries. The following year—1759—Ortiz Parrilla led a punitive expedition of presidial soldiers and Tlascalan and Apache auxiliaries against some of the Wichita, Tonkawa, and Taovaya bands who had participated in the San Sabá attack. On October 7, his force was defeated by Comanches, Taovayas, and others occupying a fortified Taovaya village along the Red River and Ortiz Parrilla was forced to retreat (see Robert S. Weddle, *The San Sabá Mission*; Weber, *Spanish Frontier*). Despite these setbacks, however, Ortiz Parrilla continued to hold high office, winning appointment as governor of Pensacola in 1761.

It appears that such exaggeration of arguments [in the deposition] can be explained only if the licenciado merely considered the idea of building a presidio rather than basing his account upon experience or the construction that remains. As it is, the accounts lack executive judgment and the information they should have, including information concerning future repairs.

Written as the governor ordered by the present *escribano de gobernación y guerra*,<sup>2</sup> who finds himself in this place, which is called a royal presidio without being one. I certified with my own eyes and judgment the form and quality of what has been constructed until now, and what of the licenciado's proposal to his excellency the viceroy has been accomplished in regards to the foundation of the presidio and its expenses. May all that has been produced help you to take the necessary steps to construct the presidio with the funds allocated by his majesty for that purpose.

Decreed, ordered, and signed by the governor, to which I swear:

Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla

In my presence:

Joaquín Joseph de Rivera<sup>3</sup>

#### Certification of Joaquín Joseph de Rivera

**I**, the undersigned *escribano de gobernación y guerra*, certify the preceding decree as I can, should, and have the right to do. I spent today examining the construction of the building destined to become the presidio called San Miguel de Horcasitas.

With the customary *vara rod*,<sup>4</sup> I measured the extent of the site, including the building and the adobe wall, starting from the foot of the ramada, or corridor, that now serves as the guardhouse. From south to north, where the adobe corrals end, the site measures seventy varas. From east to west, where the front is, it has a width of fifty varas. The first twenty varas from the front to the south, where the plaza is to be, is occupied by a hall eleven varas long and five wide. On its sides

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2. The *secretario de gobernación y guerra* served as both notary and advisor to the governor of a province. The individual holding this position certified all official documents issued in the governor's name. He also occasionally carried out official inquiries such as the one described here. Since the secretary of government and war was usually a prominent citizen of the province, the office was also, in a sense, an honorary one.

3. Born in Guadalajara, Joaquín Joseph de Rivera was a relative of Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, the notorious captain of Fronteras presidio. In 1718, Rivera settled in the *real* of Motepori, where he became a political ally of Tuñón y Quirós. In 1720, his appointment as *alcalde mayor* of Sonora sparked a major controversy that almost erupted into civil war. After stepping down from office to avert bloodshed, Rivera moved south to the mining community of Baroyeca. During the 1740s, he became *secretario de gobernación y guerra* under Governor Vildósola.

4. The *vara* was a common linear measure used to determine distances. Although the length of the *vara* varied somewhat from region to region, the *vara* of Burgos was a generally accepted standard. That *vara* measured 0.8359 meters or 32.9094 inches. A *legua*, or Spanish league, consisted of 5,000 varas.

are two rooms six varas long and the same five varas wide. The corridor is the same size as the hall, with a room on each side. Each room is the same size as the two mentioned above, with an opening in the middle that leads to the hall. Away from there along the same southern facing runs a corridor of the same size with columns of adobe. One of its corners serves as a partially walled room where prisoners are kept. There the guardroom is maintained.

Off the western corner of the room of this hall, there is a small square structure five varas high called a tower. It is not really a tower, however, because it does not have the shape of towers found in this region nor the size necessary for the defense of these barracks. The ground floor serves as a small pantry with one flimsy door. The tower has no door. Only the rooms and the hall have doors, four in number, none of which have locks except for one that does have a small lock and key. Moreover, none of the windows, of which there are only six, have shutters. This is the arrangement of the seven rooms the visitor said had been constructed. As for the corral, it is enclosed on all four sides by plain adobe walls five *tercios*<sup>5</sup> high. Every two and one-half varas there are openings that are called loopholes, even though they do not have the proper shape.

I also visited and inspected the site dedicated for the church, which is east of where the plaza is going to be. The site is marked by the trenches of the church's foundation, which are a *tercio* deep. The main entrance is to the west. From there to the presbytery I measured thirty varas in length and seven and one-half in width. The foundations of the sacristy and baptistery were marked in the same fashion, the first eight varas long and six wide, the second five square varas.

I also surveyed, inspected, and inquired whether the flat-roofed houses belonged to the soldiers and had been built at his majesty's expense. One is located on the west side and has only a single roofed room. The other faces the site of the church to the west. I was informed that the first belonged to the sergeant of this company, Joseph de Luján,<sup>6</sup> and was built at his own expense. The other belongs to Don Joseph de Mesa<sup>7</sup> who, because he is the most prominent citizen of this new settlement—and one whose merits are extolled by the visitor in the third sheaf of papers concerning its founding—received two *caballerías* of farmland [*tierras de pan llevar*]<sup>8</sup> and the site upon which the house is being built. These were given to him and his children under the expressed conditions [contained in a separate document].

5. A *tercio* was one-third of a vara.

6. A year later, Luján participated in Ortiz Parrilla's campaign against the Seris, leading an expedition of twenty-five soldiers that reconnoitered Seri territory near the mouth of the Río Sonora.

7. Joseph de Mesa was a prominent settler in Sonora. In 1737, he became deeply involved in the controversy over the discovery of silver nuggets at Arizonac.

8. A *caballería* was a unit of land commonly granted to soldiers or settlers moving into new or hostile territory. Measuring 1,104 by 552 varas, it was equivalent to 42.6 hectares or 105.2 acres. *Tierras de pan llevar* was a standard Spanish phrase to describe the agricultural land of a community. The phrase usually implied rights to irrigation water as well (see Michael Meyer, *Water in the Hispanic Southwest*).

In the rest of the area where the plaza is to be, there is no other building that can be called a barracks nor anything else that resembles a presidio. The dwellings where the soldiers are now living are made of wooden poles with roofs of cane and grass.<sup>9</sup> Some of the twenty-six citizens—of whom six have been given land to cultivate—also live in similar dwellings. And with the exception of seven or eight who have some property, the rest do not have anything, not even huts in which to live. They therefore have to work for others to support themselves. Otherwise they would perish because they have no occupation.

According to the account books provided by Don Joseph de Mesa, who was entrusted by the visitor with collecting fines, 993 pesos and 4 reales were allocated for the construction of the presidio. Expenses exceeded these funds, however; 1,174 pesos were paid to workers or used to purchase material and food, resulting in a deficit of 180 pesos and 4 reales. More expenses will follow when the auxiliaries are given the one hundred head of cattle and one hundred fanegas of corn the visitor offered them for constructing this presidio. It is declared that the apportioned expenses were charged at the average prices of 12 tomines [reales?], as is customary in this province.

So I swear according to law and give the following as my witnesses:

Don Clemente Díaz

Don Antonio Montero

Manuel Ramón Casillas<sup>10</sup>

Present in this royal presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas, March 24, 1750.

To this I truthfully attest:

Joaquín Joseph de Rivera, Escribano de Gobernación y Guerra

#### Decree of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla

**I**n the royal presidio of San Miguel [de Horcasitas] on March 28, 1750, the governor and captain general of these provinces acknowledges that he has seen the preceding account of the minute and careful investigation of what is needed for the establishment of a building so important to the royal service. In order that the existing structure be of use and not be a waste to the royal treasury, he recommends that what has been constructed up to now should remain and be maintained. Even though it is far from perfect and falls short of

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9. The soldiers' dwellings most likely were of wattle-and-daub construction, a common technique in the Sonoran Desert region. The cane referred to here is probably *carrizo* (*Phragmites australis*), a species of bamboo-like reed grass found throughout the world, or *Arundo donax*, a Mediterranean introduction widely cultivated in the Americas, which grows wild near springs, marshes, and rivers in the region. It is also possible that it was sugarcane, which is still cultivated along the lower stretches of the Río San Miguel and the Río Sonora.

10. Manuel Ramón Casillas may have been an ancestor of Ramón Casillas, who was born in Hermosillo in 1837 and went on to become a soldier and military ally of Ignacio Pesqueira during the Sonoran civil wars and the French intervention of the mid-nineteenth century.



meeting the conditions expressed in the declaration establishing it, and even though it should be located on better ground and closer to the arroyo for easier access to water, expenditures should not be increased. The necessary corrections would only delay the completion of the project.

Nonetheless, the presidio does need a jail, some shackles, a proper guard-room, some rooms designated as the paymaster's office, granaries, and two more rooms in the complex where arms, ammunition, and other supplies for the soldiers can be securely stored. Moreover, the soldiers require a church where they can hear Mass and where the holy sacraments can be administered. Fifty houses are also needed to shelter the soldiers and their families because it is not feasible in these presidios to enlist single men. They must have wives because there are no others to wash clothes, sew, or perform the other necessities. Otherwise, the soldiers would have to interrupt their work to carry out these tasks. The presidio also needs some bastions or towers with loopholes that are not shaped or constructed in the fashion that has been described. In addition, the corral should be completed so it begins at the house of the commander, in order that the horse herd can be quickly rounded up and enclosed when necessary.

With such considerations in mind, the governor ordered that the first corridor or ramada of the building be turned into the paymaster's office and the jail, and that twelve pairs of shackles be made to secure and punish criminals and to mortify any offenders condemned to the presidio. For them and for the soldiers, he also ordered a stock of sixteen holes, twelve for the limbs and four for the heads, with a strong iron lock. In addition, he commanded rooms and granaries to be constructed, all of adobe, and with the necessary doors, windows, locks, and keys.

According to the governor's design, the church and the houses of the soldiers will form a rectangular plaza; all will be built of adobe with doors facing onto the plaza and a wooden window in each house. And in every corner of the plaza, a tower or bastion will be placed above an arch. These towers will serve as the gates of the presidio constructed as the governor has designed.

As a result, the backs of the soldiers' houses will serve as walls for the square, and its corners as gates and bastions or bulwarks. These bulwarks will serve to protect the people and defend their homes by allowing the soldiers to lay down the fire that is enough to drive away the enemies who in this country besiege and attack the presidio. Therefore, it is necessary to continually watch over the peons and journeymen employed in this work to make sure they fulfill their obligations, to give an accounting of the expenses spent on the salaries of the workmen and journeymen, and to purchase materials at low costs.

The governor cannot divert his attention to the construction of this presidio because graver matters of the royal service require his consideration. For those reasons, he must leave the presidio. Consequently it would be better to find an intelligent person to accept responsibility for supervising its construction, regulating expenses, and setting a timetable to finish the project according to the determined budget. In this way, the salaries of foremen and mayordomos can be saved, as well as the money that would be given to the one in charge of keeping accounts, handing out pay, and soliciting the provisions that are rationed out, as is customary in this land. Such practices can be the source of much confusion and doubt.

In order to free himself of such concerns, the governor ordered a mandate to be circulated among the justicias of this jurisdiction so that they are informed of his decision. The mandate also orders the persons who apply for the position of constructing the presidio complex to appear briefly before the governor to acquaint themselves with its plans and to agree upon the amount of money they ought to be paid for the task. In the interim, work should proceed as it has been.

As for the residents of the presidio who according to the certification were assigned lands by the visitor general, they should be summoned by Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, the lieutenant of this company. He should instruct them to build their houses along the streets that have been laid out as quickly as possible and with the necessary measures for defense. In regard to the other residents enumerated by the certification who have no occupations or lands assigned, the lieutenant will receive the information sent to him in order to incorporate them into the local community or to provide them with the employment they should have. Soon the lieutenant should also measure the lands assigned to the presidio by the visitor general because the caballerías have not been registered. Only if the measurements are exact should the division and assignment of lands be carried out among those who are to be admitted as residents according to the law concerning towns.

In order to inform his excellency the viceroy, an affidavit will be drawn from the visitor general's decree and this decision.

I swear that the governor so decreed, ordered, and affirmed.

Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla

In my presence:

Joaquín Joseph de Rivera

*AGN, Inquisición vol. 1282, exp. 8, ff. 253-258.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

##### Declaración de Gobernador Diego Ortiz Parrilla:

**E**n el real presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas, en 24 de marzo de 1750 años, el señor don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, teniente coronel de los reales ejércitos, capitán propietario de dragones de Veracruz, comandante de los destacamentos de la ciudad de Los Angeles, gobernador y capitán general de estas provincias, sus presidios, fronteras y costas del mar del sur, dijo que entre varios testimonios que le ha remitido el licenciado don Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo es el uno el que trata de la fundación de este presidio y de lo que en él se ha construido y fabricado, y otro en que constan las cuentas de lo que se ha consumido y gastado, así de multas que a este fin destinó como de cuenta del rey, acertando por suficiente la capacidad de fábrica.

Y no concordando con lo que así expresa, porque las piezas de que se compone dicha casa no tienen comodidad, ni el que llama cuerpo de guardia es otra cosa que un corredor (o ramada, como en esta tierra llaman), y las piezas demasiada-

mente sucintas para el alojamiento de cualquiera comandante, que debe estar prevenido y con repuestos y precauciones a la conservación de los soldados y del mismo presidio, por demandarlo así la disposición y circunstancias del país y [e] inalterable estilo de la tropa arreglada. Careciendo, como carece, de cárceles, de las necesarias prisiones, y de precisas trojes en qué encerrar las semillas y demás víveres necesarios para la manutención de soldados, de que debe apercibirse el comandante al tiempo de las cosechas por lo que después escasean. Careciendo también de cocina, y de realidad en la mal entendida construcción de torreones que en dicho testimonio se relacionan, por no haber en lo substancial ni lo uno ni lo otro.

Y sólo sí un abultamiento de razones y explicación con que parece que el dicho licenciado consultó sólo con su mérito la idea de fabricar presidio, y no con la práctica y construcción que por asentado deja. Y por sí lo demás que testimonia y relaciona en las cuentas careciere del efecto ejecutivo, y de la inteligencia que debe haber, y por el reparo que pueda convenir en adelante.

Mandaba y su señoría mandó que por el presente escribano de gobernación y guerra, que se halla en este lugar que se nombra real presidio, sin serlo, certifique a vista de ojos y con juramento, lo que hasta aquí estuviere construido, su forma y calidad, y lo que hallare cumplido de lo propuesto. Y consultado por dicho licenciado al excelentísimo señor virrey acerca de la fundación y gastos a que en ella se han causado, para en su vista providenciar las demás, que precisas y necesarias sean con el acomodo a la cantidad que su majestad ha erogado para la construcción de dicha fábrica.

Así lo proveyó, mandó y firmó su señoría, de que doy fe.

Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla

Ante mí,

Joaquín Joseph de Rivera

#### Certificación de Joaquín Joseph de Rivera

**R**o, el infrascrito escribano de gobernación y guerra, certifico en cuanto puedo, debo y ha lugar en derecho como en virtud, de lo mandado en el auto antecedente. Pasé hoy día de la fecha a reconocer la fábrica de esta casa destinada para presidio con el título de San Miguel de Horcasitas.

Midiendo con una vara usual, las que el solar tiene de fondo, según lo que ocupa la casa y el cerco de adobe; habiendo medido su fondo desde el pie de la ramada, o corredor, en que hoy está el cuerpo de guardia, comenzándolo por el viento del sur para el norte hasta donde termina el corral de adobes, tiene setenta varas. Y cogiéndolo por el oriente para el poniente, que es el frente, tiene de ancho cincuenta varas; en las primeras veinte de fondo, que hace el frente, al sur, por donde ha de ser la plaza, están fabricadas una sala de once varas de largo y cinco de ancho, y a sus lados, dos cuartos de a seis varas de largo y las mismas cinco de ancho. Y en el corredor, que corre el mismo tamaño de la sala y cuartos, hace en cada extremo un cuarto correspondiente a los dos dichos, quedando en medio el claro que corresponde a la sala. Y más afuera de esto en la misma, frente

del sur, sigue otro corredor del mismo tamaño con pilares de adobes sirviendo una esquina de él como de cuarto, aunque no cerrada la pared, donde se guardan presos y aquí se mantiene el cuerpo de guardia.

En la esquina del cuarto de dicha sala que cae al poniente, está formado un altillo, que tiene como cinco varas de hueco, en cuadro, con el nombre de torreón, aunque en sí no lo es por no tener la figura de los que se usan en esta tierra, ni su proporción para defensa de la casa; su bajo sirve de despensita, la que tiene una puerta débil y sin ninguna el altillo, y sólo tienen las de los cuartos y sala, que son cuatro, sin cerraduras, a excepción de un cuarto que tiene chapa y llave. En esta forma se figuran las siete piezas que expresa el señor visitador quedan fabricadas y sin ninguna puerta en las ventanas que por todas son seis. El corral, cerrado en cuadro de adobe sencillo de cinco tercios de alto y por todo él muchos agujeros distantes uno de otro, dos varas y media, a los cuales dan título de troneras aunque no tienen la formación que se le debe dar.

Item. Reconocí y vi el sitio dedicado para iglesia que está por el viento del oriente al lado de la que ha de ser plaza, señalado con las zanjas de su cimiento, de un tercio de hondo; la puerta principal al poniente, y desde ella al presbiterio le medí treinta varas de latitud y siete y media de ancho. En la misma forma, señalados los cimientos de sacristía y bautisterio, la primera de ocho varas de longitud y seis de ancho, y el segundo cinco en cuadro.

Item. Reconocí, examiné y pregunté, si las casas de terrado que se hallan, la una en el costado del poniente con un solo cuarto techado, y la otra al poniente haciendo frente al sitio de la iglesia, si éstas pertenecían a los soldados y si estaban labrándose de cuenta de su majestad. Y me informaron que la primera pertenece al sargento de esta compañía, Joseph de Luján, que a costa de sus facultades la estaba haciendo, y la otra es de don Joseph de Meza, vecino de esta nueva población a quien por primero en ella y los méritos que se relacionan por el señor visitador en el cuaderno tercero de fundación, se le repartieron dos caballerías de tierras de pan llevar para él y sus hijas bajo de las condiciones que expresa, y así mismo solar para dicha casa que está actualmente fabricando.

Y en toda la demás circunferencia de la que ha de ser plaza, no se halla otra cosa fabricada a que se pueda dar nombre de cuartel ni forma de presidio, porque las habitaciones en que hoy se mantienen los soldados, son de estantería de palos y techos de caña y zacate. Y en la misma forma, la de algunos vecinos que a los seis de ellos, se les ha repartido tierras para sembrar y por todos componen el número de veintiséis; y a excepción de siete y [u] ocho que tienen algunos bienes, los demás carecen de ellos y aún de jacales en qué vivir, precisados a servir para mantenerse o a perecer por no tener oficio.

Y por lo que parece del cuaderno de las cuentas que ha dado don Joseph de Meza como depositario de las multas que dicho señor visitador puso en su poder, consignadas a la fábrica de este presidio que fueron novecientos noventa y tres pesos y cuatro reales. Superabunda el gasto, hasta mil ciento setenta y cuatro pesos que se han pagado a los operarios y consumido de materiales y raciones, por lo que hace alcance de ciento ochenta pesos y cuatro reales, con más el que resultare haber hecho con los auxiliares de que está pronto a dar cuenta, para que al que a su favor quedare, se le pase en data, en parte de las cien reses y cien fanegas de maíz con que ofreció ayudar para la construcción de este presidio. Y es declara-

ción que dichos gastos erogados están cargado[s] al precio medio de doce tomines [reales?] que se acostumbra en esta provincia.

Así lo juró en forma de derecho, y doy la presente, siendo testigos:

Don Clemente Díaz,  
Don Antonio Montero  
Manuel Ramón Casillas

Presentes en este real presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas en 24 de marzo de 1750 años. En testimonio de verdad,

Joaquín Joseph de Rivera, escribano de gobernación y guerra

#### Auto del gobernador Diego Ortiz Parrilla

**E**n dicho real presidio de San Miguel en 28 de marzo de 1750 años, el señor gobernador y capitán general de estas provincias, habiendo visto la certificación que antecede, en que consta lo mismo que su señoría tiene visto y averiguado con la prolijidad y esmero que se necesita para la plantificación de una tan importante fábrica y de una consideración celosa en el real servicio. Así porque para [que] éste pueda ser útil, como por ser de cuenta de la real hacienda, hallando que lo construido hasta aquí debe subsistir y conservarse, porque aunque carece de modelo y circunstancias conducentes al fin expresado en su auto, y del mejor terreno en que debió situarse en el mismo recinto y con más inmediación al arroyo para la comodidad del agua, no se deben aumentar los gastos que en enmendarlo se hacen precisos y en que se retardaría la creación de lo propuesto.

Y siendo tan necesaria la cárcel, algunas prisiones, formal cuerpo de guardia y piezas destinadas para pagaduría de soldados, trojes de bastimento y dos más en la casa para la guarda, seguro y buena conservación del armamento, municiones y otros menajes y alhajas precisas y necesarias para la tropa que está destinada; iglesia para que oigan misa y se les administren los santos sacramentos, y cincuenta casas correspondientes al número de soldados capaces de abrigar a ellos y a sus familias, por no ser practicable en estos presidios alistar soldados solteros, o porque no se encuentran de este estado, o porque para su asistencia necesitan de las mujeres por la falta que hay de otras que se apliquen y ejerciten en lavar ropa, coserla y los demás menesteres, para mantenerse en un cargo que sin intermisión de tiempo están trabajando; y unos baluartes o torreones con troneras no figurados ni construidos en la forma del que hay hecho y que se expresa en la certificación; y que se perfeccione el corral comenzado en la casa del comandante para que se encierre la caballada cuando convenga estar pronta y unida.

En cuya atención debía mandar, y su señoría mandó, que en el primer corredor o ramada de la casa se fabrique la pagaduría y cárcel, y que se hagan doce pares de grillos para seguridad y castigo de los reos que se apresaren y de los delinquentes que se condenaren a presidio y que sea necesario mortificarlos. Y para lo mismo y los soldados, un cepo de dieciséis escopleaduras, las doce de pies y las cuatro de cabeza, con su perno y cerradura fuerte de hierro. Y las piezas y trojes correspondientes al efecto referido, todo de adobes con las puertas y ventanas que sean correspondientes y las que faltan a la fábrica comenzada con las cerraduras y llaves que convengan.

La iglesia como está figurada; y las casas para habitación de soldados en la delineación que su señoría tiene hecha, con que quedará una plaza cuadrilonga, todo de adobes, quedando las puertas dentro de dicha plaza y una ventana de madera en cada casa, y en cada ángulo de la plaza, un torreón o baluarte sobre un arco cada uno, que serán las puertas del presidio construido y fabricado todo como su señoría lo ha delineado.

Con lo que vendrá a resultar que las espaldas de las casas de los soldados servirán de cortinas del cuadro, y sus ángulos de puertas y bastiones o baluartes, y por consiguiente resguardadas las gentes y defendidas las casas con los fuegos que se prevendrán en dichos baluartes, que es lo suficiente para los enemigos que en este país pueden sitiar y avanzar dicho presidio. Y porque se hace preciso una continua vigilancia y cuidado sobre los peones y oficiales que se han de emplear en el trabajo y precisarlos de cumplimiento de su obligación y llevar cuenta y razón de los gastos que se hicieron proporcionando los salarios de operarios y oficiales, y los menores costos de los materiales.

No pudiendo su señoría divertir su atención en esta fábrica por necesitarla para más graves expedientes del real servicio, y que precisamente, se le ha de ofrecer salir de este presidio. Juzga por más conveniente solicitar persona inteligente que admita la obra en mandamiento, hecho cargo de la forma de su construcción, y ajustando su valor y tiempo de perfeccionarla por cantidad determinada para que de esta suerte se ahorren los salarios de sobrestantes, mayordomos, y el que se debería pagar al que se le encargara la cuenta y ministración de pagas, y solicitud de bastimentos para racionar como en esta tierra es costumbre, de que se pueden originar muchas dudas y confusiones.

Y para exonerarse de ellas, mandaba, y su señoría mandó, se dé orden circular para que las justicias de la gobernación hagan saber esta determinación, y que las personas que se aplicaren a la construcción de dicha fábrica ocurran brevemente ante su señoría a actuarse de la delineación y ajustarse en la cantidad que deben llevar por ella. Y en el ínterin prosiga la obra en la forma que se está haciendo.

Y por lo que mira a los vecinos que en la certificación se expresan tener asignación de tierras repartidas por el señor visitador general, se les apercibía por don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, teniente de esta compañía, que hagan sus casas en donde se figuraren las calles, con la mayor brevedad que les sea posible, y con la seguridad necesaria a la defensa. Y por los restantes vecinos al número predicho en la certificación, que se mantienen sin oficio ni asignación de tierras, recibirá el dicho teniente la información que se le ha mandado para proveer en su admisión al vecindario o al destino que deben tener, y luego se pase a medir las tierras que sean asignadas al presidio por el expresado señor visitador por no constar las caballerías y sólo sí los cortos términos de su longitud, para con el debido conocimiento hacer el repartimiento y asignación a los que deban admitirse por vecinos, según la ley que de poblaciones trata.

Y del auto, certificación, y esta providencia, se saque testimonio para dar cuenta al excelentísimo señor virrey.

Así lo proveyó, mandó y firmó su señoría, de que doy fe.

Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla,  
Ante mí,  
Joaquín Joseph de Rivera

## Investigation of Horcasitas Construction, 1757

Statement of Joseph de Mesa:

**I**n the aforesaid town [San Miguel de Horcasitas], on July 5, 1757, the governor and captain general,<sup>1</sup> in obedience to the preceding decree, ordered the military captain, don Joseph de Mesa, to come before him. There, in my presence, the secretary received his oath, made in completely legal form. Mesa promised to tell the truth as he knew it in response to the questions asked him in accordance with the interrogation ordered by the aforementioned decree.

Mesa stated that at the time Colonel Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla came as governor of these provinces he found the main building of this presidio already constructed at the expense of the deponent. This was after the recent inspection by Don Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo. The building consisted of a hall twelve varas long. Connected to it were two rooms of seven varas each, along with a corridor of the same length as the hall with another room at each end, the smaller room measuring six varas and the other eight. This corridor faced south. The guardroom, through which one had to pass to enter the building, was located in this corridor. Another corridor was also built outside this one to protect the guards and to shade the hall from the sun.

Inside there was another small room that served as a pay office for the soldiers. Over this room was a loft used as a watchtower, which was reached by a wooden ladder located in the room to the west of the hall. A spacious patio with an adobe wall was also being built against the north side. [Governor Ortiz] Parrilla found it to be 1½ varas in height, with a small kitchen on the east side. All these rooms had windows and doors, and the two main ones and the pay office had locks. Their roofs, as well as the roofs that extended over the other offices, were of good cottonwood lumber that remain firm today.

Mesa also started a church. Besides the foundation, Parrilla found that the presbytery and more than half of the church itself had been completed, and that a great deal of stone had been delivered to the site to continue construction. The site had been blessed and the treasure [church ornaments] provided. And all this had been built at the expense of the deponent, who had graciously offered one hundred head of cattle and one hundred fanegas of corn in the service of his majesty. To this, the visitor [Rodríguez Gallardo] added a fine of 500 silver pesos and also a smaller fine, the amount of which Mesa does not recall. In addition to

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1. Juan Antonio de Mendoza was governor of Sinaloa-Sonora from 1755 to 1760, when he died of an arrow wound inflicted by Becerro, a Seri war leader. A native of Castile, Mendoza began his military career in Spain in 1720, serving in Africa and Italy before coming to Sonora as governor.

the one hundred cattle and one hundred fanegas of corn that he gave, by order of the visitor, Mesa also incurred some expenses to support Indian auxiliaries so they could make forays against the hostile Seris. Despite all these expenses, which according to Mesa's calculations totaled 1,000 pesos for the cattle and corn alone, Parrilla gave him credit for only 478 pesos, which were paid in horses and mules for the benefit of his majesty. Parrilla also gave him an iron bar weighing twenty-five libras. Mesa states that he purchased all necessary supplies for the work described above with money from the fines without touching the 10,000 pesos apportioned by his majesty for the construction [of the presidio].

After discussing these matters, Colonel Parrilla proposed that Mesa take charge of the construction of fifty adobe barracks to be roofed with cottonwood lumber. Each barracks would measure ten varas and have a dividing panel at the sixth vara so that each would have two rooms with a window and door. There would be four towers, one at each corner of the plaza. Mesa and Parrilla agreed that Parrilla should give the deponent 4,500 pesos in cloth to sell at 12 reales each, which, due to scarcity, is the average price at which cloth is sold in this province.<sup>2</sup> The procuring of tools, provisions, laborers, and journeymen was also left in Mesa's hands. After this agreement was made, Mesa received all the cloth mentioned. In the same paymaster's office, the colonel kept separate and retained goods to be disbursed for necessary supplies.

Mesa started the barracks and laid their foundations. He completed twelve of them except for the doors and windows. He also had the lumber cut and some of it delivered, along with a great deal of sawed timber for doors and lintels. The colonel then went to capture and imprison about seventy Seri Indians from Pópulo,<sup>3</sup> placing them and their families in two of the barracks mentioned above. The colonel proposed to the deponent that he feed the prisoners with pozole made from meat and wheat, and put the men to work. Mesa accepted the proposal, but after three weeks, he realized that the Seris were only able to make adobe bricks. They could neither lay the bricks nor erect the wood nor perform any other tasks, so their labor was not worth the cost of feeding them and their families. For this reason, Mesa complained to Parrilla about their unsuitability. Parrilla therefore allowed him to use the Seri women to carry mud, grass, carrizo,<sup>4</sup> and other materials necessary for construction. This went on for a week. At the end of that time, Parrilla summoned him and told him that besides providing the

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2. *Género a doce reales* in this case refers to lengths of cloth worth 12 reales apiece. There were 8 reales in a silver peso, so each género was worth 1½ pesos.

3. In the spring of 1750, Ortiz Parrilla arrested all Seris in the pueblos of Cucurpe, Opodepe, and Pópulo, the last being one of the two most important Seri missions. Some of the Seri women were apparently deported as far south as Guatemala, an act that fueled the flames of Seri resistance and contributed to the guerrilla warfare that raged for the next two decades (see Spicer, *Cycles*; Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?").

4. The bamboo-like cane described in note 9 of the preceding document, carrizo has been and remains a common material in Sonoran ceilings and roofs.



Seris with food, every month he had to give each Seri 3 pesos worth of cloth valued at 12 reales apiece so that the Seris could clothe themselves.

The deponent realized that Parrilla was not aware of how little work the Seris did. Nor did he understand the risks the deponent ran that some of the Seris in his charge might escape, or that the prisoners themselves might carry him away. When the deponent did not agree to the new arrangement, the aforementioned colonel told Mesa that he would do him a great favor and remove his obligation to finish construction [of the presidio] because Parrilla knew that it would not be completed in the allotted time. Parrilla said that he would pay Mesa for the work he had done up to that day according to his accounts. The deponent agreed to this and determined his expenses to be 1,300 pesos based upon the estimated cost of each barracks. This did not suit the colonel, who finally agreed to give Mesa 450 pesos worth of cloth valued at 12 reales apiece. Parrilla also agreed to pay 3 pesos worth of cloth apiece for the one hundred fanegas of wheat and seventy head of cattle Mesa had purchased for the construction of the presidio, even though the wheat and cattle had cost Mesa 4 pesos apiece. As a result, Mesa lost 170 pesos. And even though he took a share of the lumber when he quit the job, he left another share of straw, carrizo, and adobe bricks, as well as the earth that had been dug up and the adobe molds. Mesa had borne the cost of all of these materials over and above the requirements of the first agreement, yet he was to be given nothing more than the aforementioned 450 pesos worth of cloth valued at 12 reales apiece.

The construction of the barracks was continued under the supervision of Don Antonio Montero, who was the lieutenant of the presidio. The deponent did not know what manner of contract Montero had with Parrilla. He did know that Don Joseph Lauro was given the salary of a bricklayer and that two soldiers—Salvador de Aztorga and Juan López—were appointed as overseers. Other soldiers were re-assigned to look after the Seri prisoners who were making adobe bricks.

When the barracks were finished, Parrilla decided to enlarge the main living quarters within the patio, which had been designated for that purpose since the time of the visitor [Rodríguez Gallardo]. On the west side, Parrilla built a hall and lodgings. On the north side, he constructed a granary for provisions along with a warehouse with two rooms for the clothing of the soldiers. In back of the warehouse, within the *plaza de armas*, Parrilla built a guardroom and two rooms for a jail, one larger than the other. He enclosed the patio of the house and built five small rooms on the west side. And on the corner to the south of the main house, he built a stable in the same place where the deponent had erected the first kitchen. What had formerly been the guardroom he enclosed and made two rooms. All these rooms had doors and locks.

Joseph Luján had constructed four rooms adjacent to the new hall Parrilla built. Parrilla bought those rooms for an unknown price and turned them into a bakery, kitchen, pantry, and a room in which he placed a mill for grinding wheat bought from Don Joseph Lauro. He enclosed this with a patio attached to the chapel, which was also built within the *plaza de armas*.

A large part of the outer wall of the barracks built by Parrilla—or Montero under Parrilla's orders—consists of a framework or fascine of mud and branches [wattle and daub]. For this reason, as well as because the wood used for roofing

was green, some of the wood has warped and split and the walls have cracked. The same thing has happened with the corridors or ramadas in the patio of the house and with the warehouse. Most of its beams have warped, many have broken, and part of it has collapsed. As soon as the aforesaid Colonel Parrilla found out his successor was coming, he tore down the new hall he had built and what had been done in the rooms he had purchased from Luján. Part [of the rooms] he gave to Don Javier de León. The part at the entrance of the flour mill he sold to Don Félix Peralta for one hundred fanegas of wheat, which were paid to him immediately. He returned the kitchen to the place where he had built the stable.

Leaving aside that which was built and left finished by the visitor, the entire construction project included the entrance to the chapel, the barracks that Mesa built and Parrilla continued, and the rooms that Parrilla gave away. Yet in good conscience and according to his understanding, Mesa judges that the most he received in return for his expenses was 600 pesos in cloth valued at 12 reales apiece. According to accounts of what was paid to the deponent, that sum was in return for the eleven barracks he completed, for having laid the foundations for all fifty quarters, and for leaving behind all the material noted above.

At that time, the lumber was considered part of the entire construction project. Also, the greater part of the work force were Seri prisoners, who represented no expense other than their sustenance and the coarse woolen jerseys or blankets that were given to them. Mesa likewise believes that Don Antonio Montero and the soldiers who supervised the work drew no salary other than their wages and performed no other tasks in the royal service. Furthermore, the pillars of the corridors along the patio as shown in the plan were the trunks or the forked branches of the trees that were cleared from the site of the presidio for its construction and for the construction of the houses of the inhabitants who settled there. He also states that what look like doors in the four towers of the plaza de armas are actually entrances to the street because they have no doors or locks and never had them. And what the plan shows confirms the idea that the actual reality [of the presidio] is quite different from what is pictured. If the deponent did not know the presidio and the material used in its structure, and judged it by the plan alone, he would think that it was a strong and well-fortified structure and that the bulwarks pictured in the plan were sufficient for its defense. In his opinion, however, the bulwarks can only serve to post sentries because of their height.

As to the cost of the work in reales, we refer to what the merchants state below under oath. Accustomed to dealing and contracting with people from Mexico, they will know how much could be accomplished with 1,000 pesos spent [on cloth] there and sold here at 12 reales apiece.

Under the oath that I have taken, all stated here is the truth. When this was read to Mesa, he affirmed and ratified it. The deponent declared that he was more than fifty years old. He signed [the deposition] along with his lordship, who signed and sealed it as well. To this I swear.

Joseph de Mesa  
 Before me,  
 Joaquín Joseph de Rivera  
 Señor Secretario de Gobernación y Guerra

## COLOSIO ON HORCASITAS, 1757

Statement of Francisco Colosio:

**I**n the town of San Miguel de Horcasitas on the sixth day of the aforesaid month and year [July 1757], Don Francisco Colosio appeared before the governor and captain general. He is a resident of this same town and one of those named to investigate this royal presidio. Under the oath he took, he stated that he has investigated and inspected with great care the entire structure, comparing it with the plan he was given. He said he was not present when the work was completed and Don Antonio Montero turned it over to Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla.

Colosio stated that the plan is without doubt a figure of the structure. One exception is that the plan shows doors on the outside of the four towers, which none of them have or have ever had. Instead, there are only street entrances for entering and leaving the plaza de armas. Nor does the drawing of the church correspond because what appears to be a tower is a belfry of ten or twelve adobes. Two bells used to be hung from a beam passing through the adobes. Because of its weakness, however, the bells have been moved to another crossbeam suspended from forked wooden poles. What look like pillars in the patio of the main house are trunks of mesquite and cottonwood—what are here called horcones—forked poles produced by nature, some twisted and others straight. There are not four barracks in front of the guardroom on the east side. There is only a corridor between the two rooms that serve as a prison and where the sentinels are posted. In the center is a large room they call the guardroom. Through it, one passes to and from the house of the commandant.

Continuing to the west, in front of the cemetery are two rooms and beyond them six more that abut what is shown as the bastion of St. Joseph. Between the side of the chapel and the main house, a structure is shown, but it is nothing more than a patio or corral divided by two partitions. The one to the north is made of wood, the other to the south of adobe. Together they form three patios or corrals. On the north side, there is a corridor of various horcones roofed with timbers of cottonwood. The whole thing is cracked and sagging. The witness has been informed that it served as a jail for the Seri women who were captives. The middle area serves as a commons. The southern part [of the presidio] has two corridors of horcones on two sides as well, both in the same state as the one already mentioned. They serve as a passageway to enter the chapel through the room in front of it, which serves as a sacristy.

On the south side [of the presidio], in the front part of the main building where Visitor Don Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo had left off construction, Colonel Parrilla continued building a hall and a room. He also put four small rooms in the area he had purchased from Sergeant Joseph Luján, and added a small room on the corner to the west, enclosing it with an adobe wall [connected to] the corner of the presbytery of the chapel. This left another patio, separate from the one on the east side. Before leaving this governorship, Parrilla left this structure divided into two dwellings with their two little patios. He gave the aforementioned hall of the main house and three rooms to Javier de León. He sold the other part to Félix de Peralta.

In the interior of the house Parrilla built four other rooms, a granary, a store, and a back room behind the corridors of horcones. Colosio stated that at the beginning they were all made of cottonwood and roofed with carrizo, with parapets but without thatch. Today they are all ruined by water. All the rest of the beams are sagging and many are broken. Two sections have fallen down just past the guardroom, one about five varas long, the other not as long. The rest is about to fall into the same condition if repairs are not made before the coming summer rains.

Colosio also investigated the soldiers' living quarters and the material of which they were made. He found that nineteen were of adobe and the rest of wattle and daub [*fajina*], and that all were roofed with cottonwood timbers, carrizo, and earth. They had parapets of adobe with doors and windows of wood. Many of their beams were bent and broken. The roofs of four rooms had fallen in.

Of the four towers, two are of adobe and the other two of wattle and daub with the same type of roof in the same state of deterioration. They are crowned with parapets of adobe and, along certain stretches, turrets of the same material. Because of their artless construction and the damage caused by time, most of them have fallen down. Colosio also went on to investigate the chapel with its two rooms. One is used as a sacristy and the other as an entryway to the chapel for the governor and his attendants. All have double adobe walls and are roofed with cottonwood as described above, except that the timbers are apparently thicker and of better quality, because no defects have been observed up to now in any of their beams. The main entrance and those of the sacristy and front room have locks and are of good wood.

According to the deponent's understanding and conscience, the cost of [building the presidio] could have reached 9,000 pesos. This is based upon his knowledge of the materials used to construct the buildings, the ordinary levels of skill of the people of this land, the salary they commonly receive, and the merchandise with which they are paid, assuming that merchandise brought its highest legal price. It is common knowledge among merchants, from what the deponent has been told, that 1,000 pesos worth of cloth in Mexico triples in value in this region. If 9,000 pesos are divided by three, and 500 pesos in freighting costs are added, then the highest cost of the entire project would be 3,500 pesos in reales. This would not include the work done by Licenciado [Rodríguez] Gallardo, the part Parrilla was asked to pay for, and the rooms that Parrilla bought from Luján.

It seems to the witness that the chief causes for the ruin of the presidio spring from the fact that it was built of poorly constructed wattle and daub. Those walls made of adobe bricks are in good shape with the exception of the parapets, which, being made of wretched material, have been demolished by the summer rains. The other factor is that the lumber used in construction, because of its nature, rots easily. Not all of it was allowed to season before being cut. And, more than anything else, leaks dampened it and caused the greatest damage.

Colosio judges another cause of the deterioration to be the lack of care taken to repair the gutters of the barracks. When they saw the rain coming, the only action some of the soldiers took was simply to leave the quarters in which they were living and move into another room with their father, brother, or kinsman. The deterioration also results from a remedy generally used in this region to repair leaks, which is to re-cover the roofs with earth that is beaten solid with a

rammer. That repairs the damage in the shortest time and avoids the greater expense of building a roof of concrete or brick. It is also done because of the lack of builders who are skilled in putting on roofs. The ruin of the towers was brought about by the negligence of the officers, who permitted the rubbish of the plaza de armas to be thrown up against them, raising up refuse heaps that soaked them with moisture.

As to how much it might cost to rebuild, Colosio does not dare to estimate. Most of the wood in the structure is rotten. Even if the roofs made of earth and the adobe parapets are maintained, he judges it necessary to reroof all the rest. And even though some of the beams may still be serviceable and the earthen material could be replaced, Colosio believes that the expense would be useless because in three or four years the same problem would appear again. In his opinion, the solution is to roof [the presidio] with better wood and at least use shingles, parapets, and gutters made with a mixture of lime and sand. Such materials are not readily available nearby, whereas the cottonwood and carrizo used in the first structure are.

It should also be noted that the walls of the eight barracks at the side of the church need to be rebuilt because the present ones are wattle and daub of poor quality. The walls are undermined and threaten to fall into ruin. Operating under the assumption that the project cost an estimated 3,500 pesos in reales, or 9,000 pesos in cloth, the wisest and most disinterested individuals should be able to calculate the cost of rebuilding [the presidio].

Everything stated here is in accord with Colosio's true knowledge and understanding. He offers his opinions in good conscience with no signs of special interest or partiality under the oath he has taken and which he has now affirmed and ratified. He declares he is more than fifty years of age, and he signed this statement along with his lordship, who signed and sealed it as well. To this I swear.

Francisco Colosio  
 Before me,  
 Joaquín Joseph de Rivera  
 Secretario de Gobernación y Guerra

*AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 210, ff. 255-263.*

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Declaración de Joseph de Mesa:

**E**n dicha villa en 5 días de dicho mes de julio de 1757 años, el señor gobernador y capitán general, en consecuencia del auto antecedente, mandó venir a su presencia al capitán miliciano don Joseph de Mesa, y en ella, estando por ante mí el señor secretario, le recibió juramento, que hizo en toda forma de derecho, bajo del cual prometió decir verdad a lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado, que siéndolo por el interrogatorio, expresó en dicho auto.

Dijo que al tiempo y cuando entró de gobernador de estas provincias el señor coronel don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, halló hecha la casa principal de este presidio,

que a costa del declarante se construyó desde recién entrado a su visita el señor don Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo. Que se compone de sala de doce varas, y pendiente de ella, dos cuartos de a siete varas cada uno, un corredor igual con la sala y en cada uno de sus extremos un cuarto, el menos de seis varas y el otro de ocho. Que dicho corredor miraba al sur, y en él se mantenía el cuerpo de guardia por el cual se entraba a dicha casa, y a más de dicho corredor se le hechó otro para fuera para retirar un poco la guardia, y porque la sala quedara más libre del sol.

Que a la parte interior tiene otro cuarto pequeño que sirvió de pagaduría de los soldados, y sobre él un altillo que tenía su escalera de madera en el cuarto del poniente de dicha sala, el cual servía de torreón. Que así mismo se estaba levantando un espacioso patio de pared de adobe a la parte del norte, que halló dicho señor Parrilla de vara y media de alto, y a la parte del oriente una corta cocina. Que todas las dichas piezas estaban ya con sus ventanas y puertas, y las dos principales, y la de la pagaduría, con sus llaves. Sus techos de buena madera de álamo como hasta hoy se distingue con firmeza entre las demás oficinas que se han alargado.

Que también dio principio a una iglesia; que halló dicho señor Parrilla fuera de cimientos, el presbiterio y más de la mitad de ella, y mucha piedra aprontada en el mismo paraje para proseguirla; el lugar bendito, y puesto el tesoro. Que todo lo referido se había fabricado a expensas del declarante con cien reses y cien fanegas de maíz que graciosamente ofreció en servicio de su majestad para dicha obra, a la cual agregó el señor visitador quinientos pesos en plata de una multa, y otra más corta que no tiene presente su cantidad, y que así de ella, como de [ilegible] cien reses y cien fanegas de maíz que dio, hizo algunos gastos por orden de dicho señor visitador, en indios auxiliares para correrías contra el enemigo seri. Y sin embargo de todo lo referido, llevando cuenta y razón del gasto de la obra, apreciando en mil por suma las reses y maíz que dio, le alcanzó dicho señor Parrilla en cuatrocientos setenta y ocho pesos, los que le pagó en mulas y caballos a beneficio de su majestad y a más de ello le entregó una barra de hierro con veinticinco libras, y un caso del mismo, pero que con el dinero de las multas había comprado, por necesarios para dicha obra, sin que hasta entonces se hubiera tocado en los diez mil pesos que erogó su majestad para la fábrica.

Que dadas cuentas, le propuso dicho señor coronel Parrilla que tomara a su cargo la fábrica de cincuenta cuarteles de adobe techados con madera de álamo; cada cuartel con diez varas, con división de tabique en las seis para que quedasen dos piezas en cada uno, con su ventana y puerta, y cuatro torreones, uno en cada esquina de la plaza. Y se ajustaron en darle al declarante cuatro mil quinientos pesos en género a doce reales, que es el precio medio a que con suma escasez de género se vende en esta provincia, corriendo de cuenta del declarante la solicitud de herramientas, bastimentos, operarios y oficiales. Que hecho dicho ajuste recibió el todo de dichos géneros, y separados en la misma pagaduría se los retuvo dicho señor coronel para que de ellos fuese gastando los necesarios.

Y habiendo dado principio a los cuarteles, teniendo cimentados los cincuenta, los doce concluidos a excepción de las puertas y ventanas, las maderas cortadas, y parte acarreada para los restantes, y así mismo mucha cuarteronía para puertas y umbrales de ellas, pasó dicho señor coronel a aprehender y aprisionar como

setenta indios seris del Pópulo, y con sus familias los puso presos en dos de los dichos cuarteles, y le propuso al que declara que los sustentase con pozole de carne y trigo, y que hiciese trabajar a los hombres. Que aceptó la propuesta, y a las tres semanas reconoció que no le tenía cuenta, porque los hombres aprisionados sólo podían hacer adobes y no les servían para subirlos, ni subir madera, ni otros ministerios, y no correspondía su trabajo al gasto que hacían ellos en comer, y que comieran sus familias, por cuya razón, reclamó a dicho señor Parrilla representándole el inconveniente, y facilitó el que también trabajasen las mujeres en acarreo de lodo, zacate, carrizo y otros materiales para la obra, con cuya obligación prosiguió una semana. Y al fin de ella, le envió a llamar el dicho señor Parrilla, y le dijo que a más del sustento de los seris, le había de dar tres pesos en género de a doce reales por cada seri al mes, para que se pudieran vestir.

Que reconoció el declarante no le tenía cuenta por el corto trabajo, y por el riesgo que tenían de huirse de él a algunos de que se le podía hacer cargo, y al menos el de las prisiones que se llevaran. Y no conviniendo el declarante con el nuevo trato, le dijo dicho señor coronel, que le haría un gran bien en sacarlo de la obligación que tenía de acabar la obra, porque conocía que no la había de concluir en el tiempo que había compactado, y que le pagaría lo que hasta aquel día tenía trabajando por la cuenta de parte que había hecho; que convino el declarante en ello, y regulando el gasto por mil y trescientos pesos, según tenía tanteado el costo de cada cuartel, no le cuadró al dicho señor coronel, y por último ajuste sólo le pasó en data cuatrocientos y cincuenta pesos en géneros a doce reales. Y pagándole en la misma especie cien fanegas de trigo y setenta reses que para dicha obra tenía compradas a tres pesos, habiéndole costado al declarante a cuatro, con que salió perdiendo ciento y setenta pesos. Que al mismo tiempo que se separó de la obra junto con proporción de madera, dejó otra de zacate, carrizo y adobes hechos, tierra escarbada y adoberas, que todo lo había costado sobre el primer trato, sin que por estos materiales se le diese nada más que los dichos cuatrocientos y cincuenta pesos en género a razón de doce reales.

Que se prosiguió la fábrica de dichos cuarteles, administrándola don Antonio Montero que era teniente del presidio, y no supo el declarante qué trato de contrato tuvo con dicho señor Parrilla. Que también supo que a don Joseph Lauro se le señaló salario por razón de albañil, y que de sobrestantes se señalaron dos soldados que fueron Salvador de Aztorga y Juan López, y otros que se remudaban en cuidar los seris presos que trabajaban en las adoberías.

Que conclusos los cuarteles determinó dicho señor Parrilla alargar la vivienda principal dentro del patio, que para ello quedó destinado desde en tiempo del señor visitador; en el cual, al lado del poniente hizo una sala y un aposento, y al norte una troje para encerrar bastimentos, hizo almacén con dos piezas para la ropa de los soldados, y a sus espaldas, dentro de la plaza de armas, formó el cuerpo de guardia, y dos cuartos para cárcel, el uno mayor que el otro. Y cerrando el patio de la casa hizo cinco aposentos pequeños a la parte del poniente, y a la esquina del sur de la casa principal hizo caballería, que es el mismo lugar en que el declarante fabricó la primer cocina. Y el que antes fue cuerpo de guardia cerró y hizo dos cuartos, todas las dichas piezas con sus puertas y cerraduras.

Que contiguo a la nueva sala que hizo, había fabricado Joseph Luján cuatro cuartos, los cuales le compró, que no sabe en qué cantidad, y en ellos labró

panadería, cocina, despensa, y una pieza en que puso una tahona de moler trigo que le compró a don Joseph Lauro, y cerró con un patio pegándolo a la capilla que dentro de la plaza de armas hizo también.

Que los cuarteles que dicho señor Parrilla labró Montero de su orden, tienen mucha parte de la pared de afuera de cajón o fajina de lodo y rama, y así por esto como porque las maderas con que se techaron pusieron verdes, se han vencido y quebrado algunos y cuarteándose las paredes. Que lo mismo sucedió con los corredores o ramadas que hay en el patio de la casa, y con el almacén que todo lo más de su vigería está vencida y mucha quebrada y parte caída. Que luego que dicho señor coronel Parrilla supo que le venía subesor [sucesor], desmembró la nueva sala que hizo y lo que labró en los cuartos que compró a Luján, y parte le donó a Javier de León, y parte, entrando el molino, vendió a don Félix Peralta en cien fanegas de trigo que le pagó de contado; y volvió a poner la cocina a donde había hecho caballeriza.

Que toda la obra, entrando la capilla, los cuarteles que el declarante hizo, los que prosiguió el señor Parrilla y las piezas que dejó enajenadas, y dejando fuera lo que se labró y dejó hecho el señor visitador, juzga el declarante en su conciencia, y según su inteligencia, que lo más que pudo tener de costo sería el de seiscientos pesos en géneros a doce reales, haciéndose cargo de lo que a este declarante le pagó por los once cuarteles fabricados, por haber cimentado todos los cincuenta y dejándole todos los materiales que deja expresados.

Y que en aquel tiempo estaba la madera pegada a la misma obra. Y también que la mayor parte que la trabajó fueron los presos seris sin más gasto que el sustento, y tal cual algodón de sayal o fresada (frazada) que se les dio. Y así mismo porque considera que don Antonio Montero, y los soldados que sobrestanteaban la obra, no tiraban más salario que el de su sueldo y no se ocupaban en otra cosa del real servicio. Y que los que en el plan se figuran pilares de los corredores del patio son troncos u horcones de los mismos árboles que se desmontaban en el recinto del presidio para su fábrica, y la de las casas de los vecinos que se poblaron. Y que las que se figuran puertas de los cuatro torreones de la plaza de armas son propiamente bocascalles porque no tienen puertas, ni cerraduras, ni nunca se les puso. Que por lo que el plan demuestra se confirma que va mucho de lo vivo a lo pintado; que si el declarante no conociera el presidio y su material fábrica, y lo juzgara por sólo el plan, entendería ser una obra de mucha fortaleza, y los que se pinta baluartes bastantes para defenderlo. Y en su sentir sólo pueden servir de apostar centinelas por tomar esa más altura.

Y que en cuanto al costo que la obra pudo tener en reales se remite a lo que bajo de juramento declaren los mercaderes, que como hechos a tratar y contratar con gente de México sabrán cuánto adelantan mil pesos empleados allá y vendidos aquí a doce reales. Que todo lo referido es la verdad so cargo del juramento que hecho tiene; en que siéndole leída esta su declaración se afirmó y ratificó. Declaró ser de mayor de cincuenta años y lo firmó con su señoría que lo rubricó. De que doy fe.

Joseph de Mesa.

Ante mí,

Joaquín Joseph de Rivera.

Señor secretario de gobernación y guerra.



## COLOSIO SOBRE HORCASITAS, 1757

Declaración de Francisco Colosio:

**E**n la villa de San Miguel de Horcasitas en 6 días de dicho mes y año, ante el expresado señor gobernador y capitán general, compareció don Francisco Colosio, vecino de esta dicha villa y uno de los nombrados para el reconocimiento de este real presidio. Y so cargo del juramento que tiene hecho dijo que con todo cuidado lo ha reconocido e inspeccionado por lo que toca a la fábrica, cotejándola con el plan que se le entregó, y que no se halló presente cuando se concluyó y la entregó don Antonio Montero al señor gobernador don Diego Ortiz Parrilla.

Que dicho plan es, sin duda, figura de la dicha fábrica a excepción de que en los cuatro torreones se describían puertas por la parte de afuera, y ninguno la tiene, ni nunca la han tenido, porque sólo son unas bocascalles de entrada y salida de la plaza de armas. La figura de la iglesia tampoco corresponde porque lo que parece torres es un campanario de diez o doce adobes, en el que atravesado un palo se colgaron dos campanas, las que hoy por su debilidad, se han mudado sobre otro puente a horcones de madera. Que los que se figuran pilares del patio de la casa principal son troncos de mesquite y álamo, o como acá llaman horcones, que produjo la naturaleza, unos tuertos, y otros derechos. Que no hay tales cuatro cuarteles antes de la guardia, para la parte del oriente; que sólo hay un corredor entre los dos cuartos que sirven de cárcel en que se apostan las centinelas, y enmedio un salón que llaman cuerpo de guardia por el que se comunica la casa del comandante.

Y siguiendo al poniente, antes del cementerio hay dos cuarteles, y pasado, seis, que confinan en el que se pinta baluarte de San Joseph. Que entre el costado de dicha capilla y la casa principal se figura obra, y no es otra cosa que un patio, o corral dividido con dos tabiques, uno al norte de madera, y otro al sur de adobe, que forman tres patios o corrales. En el que mira al norte hay un corredor de horcones varios, techado de madera de álamo, toda la más vencida y reventada, el cual tiene noticia el testigo, que sirvió de cárcel de las indias seris que estuvieron presas. Y la de enmedio sirve de lugar comunes, y el del sur tiene también en dos costados dos corredores de horcones en la misma postura que el que queda dicho, que sirve de pasadizo para entrar a la capilla por el cuarto que tiene enfrente del que sirve de sacristía.

Que en la parte del sur, testera de dicha casa principal, en el recinto del sitio que dejó labrado el señor visitador don Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, siguió fabricando el dicho señor coronel Parrilla una sala, un cuarto, y por compra que hizo al sargento Joseph Luján, metió otros cuatro pequeños, y que añadió otra pieza a la esquina del poniente, cerrando de pared de adobe con la esquina del presbiterio de la capilla, dejando otro patio, diviso del que deja declarado a la parte del oriente. Que esta dicha fábrica antes de salir de este gobierno dejó dividida en dos viviendas con sus dos patizuelos. Donada la dicha sala de la casa principal y tres cuartos a Javier de León; y la otra parte vendida a Félix de Peralta.

Que en lo interior de dicha casa labró otros cuatro cuartos, una troje, tienda, y trastienda bajo de los corredores de horcones; que al principio deja declarado todos de madera de álamo, techado con carrizo, con pretiles sin bardas, que hoy se hallan arruinadas de las aguas, y todo lo demás de la vigería vencida y mucha quebrada con dos trechos caídos, el uno como de cinco varas, y otro de menos, al

pasar a la guardia; y en disposición todo lo demás de verse en el mismo estado, si antes de que entren las venideras aguas no se repara.

Que así mismo ha reconocido todos los cuarteles en que habitan los soldados, y su material, y halla estar contruidos diecinueve de adobe, y los restantes de fajina, todos techados con madera de álamo, carrizo y tierra; con pretiles de adobe, con sus puertas y ventas (ventanas) de madera, con mucha de su viguería vencida y quebrada, y cuatro cuartos ya desfondados del techo.

Que de los cuatro torreones, los dos son de adobe y los otros dos de fajina con el mismo género de techo, y la propia ruina. Que se coronan con pretil de adobe, y a trechos unas almenas del mismo material, que por haberse puesto sencillo, y la injuria del tiempo, se hallan las más derrocadas. Que así mismo pasó a reconocer la capilla, y sus dos cuartos; que sirve el uno de sacristía y el otro de pasadizo o entrada del señor gobernador y sus familiares a dicha capilla. Toda de pared doble de adobe, es techada con la misma madera de álamo aunque al parecer más gruesa y mejor, porque hasta hoy no se advierte defecto en ninguna de sus vigas. Su puerta principal y las de esa sacristía y cuarto de enfrente, con sus cerraduras y de buena madera.

Que en la inteligencia del declarante, de los materiales de que dicha fábrica se construyó, del ordinario trabajo de la gente de esta tierra, el común salario que gana, y en los efectos de mercancía que se les paga, y supremo precio que llaman de toda su ley, halla en su conciencia, que pudo llegar su costo a nueve mil pesos. Y que como según conocimiento de mercaderes, y al que a este declarante como a tal le ha advertido, mil pesos empleados en géneros en México, triplican el sumo precio de toda su ley en esta tierra; repita los nueve mil pesos por tres, y a estos quinientos pesos de fletes. Y toda la obra, a excepción de lo que fabricó el dicho señor licenciado Gallardo, y de lo que le pidieron costar al señor Parrilla, las piezas que compró a Luján, es de sentir que su sumo costo sería el de tres mil y quinientos pesos en reales.

Que las principales causas de las ruinas del presidio, le parece al testigo, nacen de haberse fabricado de cajón o fajina mal ordenada, porque las (que) son paredes de adobes se mantienen buenas, a excepción de los pretiles, que como de ruin material los han demolido las aguas. Lo otro porque sus maderas a más de ser por su naturaleza fáciles de corrupción, no se cortaron igualmente en sazón, y a más de eso, por las goteras se han mojado, de donde les ha provenido el mayor daño.

Que la otra causa que juzga de su deterioro le parece proviene del poco cuidado que ha habido en reparar las goteras de los cuarteles, porque algunos de los soldados que los han habitado, viendo que se les llueve, el remedio que han tenido es mudarse a otro, con su padre, hermano, o pariente. Y también procede la ruina de que el remedio que generalmente usan en esta tierra para reparar goteras es recargar los techos de tierra apretada a golpe de pisón, con lo que más breve se vencen, porque se prehuyen del mayor costo que tiene el techo de hormigón o ladrillo, y por la falta de alarifes que hay para ponerlos con inteligencia. Que la ruina de los torreones procede de incuria de los oficiales, que han permitido que las escorias de la plaza de armas se echen arrimado a ellos, levantando muladares que los han humedecido.

Que en cuanto al costo que puede tener el reedifico no se atreve a calcularlo, porque estando lo más de las maderas corruptas y manteniéndose los techos de tierra y pretiles de adobe, juzga por necesario retechar todo lo más, y aunque pue-

dan servir algunas vigas, subsistiendo el material de tierra se persuade que el gasto será infructuoso porque a los tres o cuatro años se verá de la misma manera, que el remedio en su sentir, es techarlo de mejor madera. Y al menos ripianes, pretiles y conductos de canales, con mezcla de cal y arena, cuyos materiales no se hallan tan inmediatos como tuvieron en la primera fábrica la madera de álamo y carrizo.

Y que también es de advertir que los ocho cuarteles de la parte de la iglesia se reedifiquen con sus paredes, porque las que tienen, como que son de fajina y de mal material, se hallan socabadas y amenazan ruina. Y que en el supuesto de que ha tanteado la obra, por el costo de tres mil y quinientos pesos en reales y reducidos a nueve mil en géneros, a su ley podrán los más discretos y desinteresados, venir en conocimiento del costo que puede tener el reedifico.

Que todo lo referido es cuanto alcanza a su leal saber y entender, y juzga en su conciencia, sin asomos de intereses o parcialidad, bajo del juramento que hecho tiene, en el que se afirmó y ratificó. Declaró ser de más de cincuenta años de edad, y lo firmó con su señoría, que lo rubricó. De que doy fe.

Francisco Colosio

Ante mí,

Joaquín Joseph de Rivera

Señor secretario de gobernación y guerra



## XIV

### Establishment of the New Presidio of Tubac

(1752)

**I**t must have been a cold, early winter night—November 20, 1751—when the few Spaniards and their servants living in the Piman community of Sáric heard that the Apaches were about to attack. Terrified, they hurried to take refuge in the home of Luis Oacpicagigua, the dynamic Pima military leader who had been appointed captain general of the Pimería Alta earlier that year. In the late summer of 1750, Oacpicagigua had led more than four hundred Upper Pima auxiliaries against the Seri Indians when Governor Ortiz Parrilla invaded Tiburón Island. Luis's steadfastness and military valor had even prevented a possible mutiny among Ortiz Parrilla's Spanish troops.<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards trusted him. He was their ally, one of the most effective warriors on the northwestern frontier.

All that soon changed. After the Spaniards had crowded inside his dwelling, Oacpicagigua set the structure on fire. Twenty-two men, women, and children perished in the blaze or were clubbed to death as they tried to escape. Similar attacks flared that night and the next day in Atil, Caborca, Tubutama, Oquitoa, Búsani, Pitiquito, Sonoita, Agua Caliente, and Arivaca. When the flames died down, more than one hundred people had been killed, including two Jesuit missionaries—Tomás Tello at Caborca and Enrique Ruhen at Sonoita. Suddenly, the Pimería Alta was no longer a haven but a killing ground—in danger of being wrested away from the Spaniards by the very man in whom they had placed their trust.<sup>2</sup> The Upper Pima Revolt of 1751 was just one of the rebellions that rocked Sonora in the mid-eighteenth century. Like the Yaqui Revolt of 1740 and the chronic guerrilla warfare waged by the Seris and Lower Pimas between the late 1740s and the early 1770s, the conflict was symptomatic of a number of different ills: the increasing encroachment of non-Indians on Native American lands, the growing rigidity of the Jesuit mission system, and the desire for greater

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1. Thomas E. Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?"

2. Ewing, "Pima Uprising."

*autonomy among Native Americans themselves. Jesuits and Spanish officials bitterly blamed each other for both the Yaqui and Upper Pima Revolts, but the truth was that missionaries and Spaniards alike were competing for and exploiting Indian land and labor. Caught in the middle, Native Americans occasionally lashed out with sudden acts of violence like the bloody massacre at Sáric.<sup>3</sup>*

*The events after the outbreak of the rebellion followed a familiar pattern. In the first flush of bloodshed and fear, the Spaniards saw their dreams of northern expansion shattering as the Pimería Alta smoldered around them. But Oacpicagigua, for all his charisma, was not able to mobilize the scattered and independent Pima rancherías in a sustained and effective fashion, and the revolt soon lost impetus. After a disastrous defeat at Arivaca, most of the Upper Pimas drifted back to the missions or retreated to refuges like the Santa Catalina Mountains. Governor Ortiz Parrilla, for his part, acted cautiously. Rather than pursuing a war of blood and fire, he offered amnesty to the Pimas who surrendered. On May 18, 1752, Oacpicagigua himself laid down his arms before Captain Joseph Díaz del Carpio at a Pima settlement called Tubac on the Santa Cruz River. Luis was taken into custody, released, and then imprisoned again at the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas, where he died in 1756. Like the Yaqui rebellion of 1740, the Upper Pima revolt disintegrated as soon as Spanish presidial and militia forces made their presence felt in Pima territory.*

*Nevertheless, the Spaniards concluded that stronger measures needed to be taken in order to keep rebellion from erupting again. And so they decided to establish a permanent military garrison in the Pimería Alta. As in the aftermath of the Yaqui Revolt, the creation of a new presidio was, first and foremost, a response to rebellion among groups who had already been incorporated into the Spanish Empire. The Spaniards had neither the money nor the manpower to practice preventive military medicine. They could only treat the epidemic after it had broken out.*

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3. Spicer, *Cycles; Deeds*, "Legacies of Resistance, Adaptation, and Tenacity."

## Opinions on the Best Location for the Presidio, 1752

*The documents that follow reveal several stages in the complicated bureaucratic process leading to the foundation of the presidio of Tubac along the Santa Cruz River. First, Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo requested the advice of Father Provincial Juan Antonio Balthasar, the only high-ranking official in Mexico who knew Sonora and the Pimería Alta firsthand. After Balthasar recommended the creation of a new presidio, the viceroy authorized Governor Ortiz Parrilla to raise fifty recruits. At the same time, however, the governor was ordered to solicit the advice of missionaries, military officials, and settlers in order to determine the best location for the garrison. Thus, the process represented a dialectic between frontier experience and the assessments of a highly centralized bureaucracy in Mexico City.*

*The frontiersmen debated the merits of various places, including Tubac and Tucson. They also recommended that the garrison be increased from fifty to sixty men and split into two squads—one stationed in the western Pimería Alta, the other in the Santa Cruz Valley. Not surprisingly, Ortiz Parrilla and the penny-pinching viceregal officials in Mexico refused to authorize ten more positions. Nevertheless, they did accept the advice of the Sonorans on several other matters, including the establishment of the presidio at Tubac, where plenty of water and pasturage were available and where, symbolically, Oacpicagigua had surrendered. Moreover, they set in motion a series of moves that eventually resulted in the transfer of the ancient presidio of Sinaloa to Altar around 1755. As a result, the desire of the frontiersmen for two garrisons in the Pimería Alta ultimately prevailed.*

### BALTHASAR ON PRESIDIOS, 1752

Report of the most reverend father superior, provincial of the Company of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

**M**ost Excellent Lord,  
Complying with your excellency's mandate, issued on this very day, I shall try to the best of my humble ability and with the utmost care to respond to your orders. I shall do so without tedious details, because I do not want to delay your efficacious decisions.

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1. Padre Juan Antonio Balthasar (1697–1763) was born in Lucerne, Switzerland. Ordained in Mexico City in 1722, he quickly rose through the ranks to become rector of several Jesuit colegios in Mexico City and eventually provincial of the Jesuits in New Spain from 1750 to 1753. He also had considerable experience on the northwestern frontier, serving as a missionary in Topia, Nueva Vizcaya, in 1724, and as visitor of the northern missions

Driven by his zeal, the governor<sup>2</sup> has responded promptly to the unexpected and disastrous uprising of the Upper Pimas. He has given most proper orders that, no doubt, will end the rebellion, pacify the rebels, and prevent the spirit of rebelliousness from permeating and contaminating the Indians of other nations. The use of gentle methods in pacifying the rebels is certainly reasonable and consistent with the pious intentions of our Catholic monarchs. The governor's report insinuates that those intentions will justify his management of the situation. I suspect, however, that such methods will not achieve the desired results. It is possible that other means may prove to be necessary and just in order to clear up this matter.

In any case, the objective should be not only to end the ravages caused by the rebels, but also to achieve a solid peace rather than a feigned or deceitful one. In the forthcoming months and years, your excellency should deign to show the Indians the strength of the Catholic armed forces ready and alert. In such a manner, their respect will be won. Furthermore, any hopes that the rebels might have of either continuing their uprising or of concealing their treacherousness with a feigned surrender will be quashed.

The militiamen of those regions cannot be obliged to leave their homes for long periods of time, nor can the royal presidios spare their soldiers. In my humble opinion, it will therefore be necessary to order the aforementioned governor to promptly recruit fifty soldiers to be placed under the command of an experienced leader. With the camp and headquarters of the troops located in the Pimería Alta, the soldiers could easily come to the aid of the nearby mission districts and settlements subjected to the enemy's fury. Between the missions of San Ignacio and Tubutama, there is an ample plain with water and pasturage that would be a very suitable place for the squad to remain as long as necessary.<sup>3</sup> There the squad could protect not only the two above-mentioned missions, but the mission of Sáric as well, where the rebels first began to vent their fury.<sup>4</sup> The soldiers could also guard the pueblo of Oquitoa and the mission of Caborca, where the rebels

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from 1744 to 1747. An ardent advocate of Spanish expansion in the northwest, Balthasar infuriated many of his fellow Jesuits in New Spain when he accused them of misappropriating 1,500,000 pesos from the Spanish government during a sixty-year period (see Donohue, *After Kino*; Peter Masten Dunne, *Juan Antonio Balthasar*).

2. Diego Ortiz Parrilla, governor of Sonora-Sinaloa from 1749 to 1753.

3. There are several wide valleys drained by tributaries of the Río Magdalena between San Ignacio and Tubutama. The following document by Díaz del Carpio mentions Tupo by name, which is nearer San Ignacio than Tubutama. Balthasar might also have been referring to Ocuca, which is closer to Tubutama and Oquitoa.

4. Santa Gertrudis de Sáric was a Northern Pima settlement along the upper Río Altar. In 1751, Padre Juan Nentvig established a mission there but was forced to flee several months later when the Pima Revolt broke out. Beginning in 1756, Padre Bernard Middendorf spent fourteen months there, concluding that the Pimas of Sáric remained "rebellious and treacherous." As late as 1776, "Piatos," or Upper Pima allies of the Seris, were still occasionally causing trouble in the Sáric area. Sáric also suffered from repeated Apache attacks, especially in the late eighteenth century.

committed other atrocities.<sup>5</sup> The squad's encampment will be only a short distance from all these locations, allowing it easily to go wherever it is needed, and also to pursue and destroy what remains of the rebels.

With such a squad in the Pimería Alta, the presidios of Terrenate and Fronteras will be able to employ their forces to resist the raids of the barbarous Apaches without worrying about the pacification of the Pimas. In addition, the presidio of San Miguel [de] Horcasitas will be fully capable of nipping in the bud any designs of the Seris, who have failed to learn their lesson from previous punishments and who are once again provoking us to use force of arms. Yet when the Lower Pimas and Yaquis, as well as the Seris, see the presidio completed, they will not dare to raise the slightest disturbance even if they desire to do so.

Your excellency should order the governor himself to recruit and enlist the above-mentioned squad according to their practical experience and knowledge of such matters. As soon as this order from your excellency arrives, it will quickly be carried out, and many men will come not only from Sonora but from Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya as well. You will find that enough of the men will be fit, competent, and even anxious to enlist in this squad. The only problem that could delay the unfolding of this plan might be the scarcity of weapons and ammunition, and the difficulty in supplying such provisions in those remote lands, which generally do not have stocks of arms. In this matter, however, your lordship's great vigilance and foresight will serve to produce the best decisions and solutions to this problem. Those soldiers will therefore be provided with the means necessary for them to serve efficiently. With good fortune, they will also promote and complete the desired pacification of the Indians.

In my imperfect judgment, such a course of action also offers other prospects whose utility is in no way insignificant. Your excellency's gentle governor, whom we have enjoyed until now, has rightly been caused great sorrow by the uprisings and disturbances. If, as I hope, those disturbances are quickly silenced, your excellency will already have completed half the plan to carry out the subsequent conquests of the many gentile Indians who border the Pimería Alta. Once the tranquillity of these Indians is assured, and once their attendance at the preaching of the Gospel has been reestablished in the pueblos to guarantee and make good that tranquillity, it will be easy to move the headquarters of the same squad to the lands and nations of the interior. Time and necessity will determine whether the squad should be increased in size. Moreover, because of their proximity, the commanders of the squad will be able to make inquiries and come to know the most convenient places where, in time, the squad could be stationed. Thus, your excellency will receive glory and additional merit for having made a decision, despite great adversities, that will not only retain for our monarch the vassals he has already acquired, but will also open the door and clear the path for the new conquests that his Catholic majesty desires, as indicated in his royal decrees.

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5. San Antonio de Oquitoa was founded as a mission visita by Kino in 1689. Throughout the Jesuit period, it always remained a visita of Tubutama or Atil. Located along the Río Altar not far from its junction with the Río Magdalena, Oquitoa was quickly swept up in the Pima Revolt when the rebels killed five Spaniards, a mulatto, and a Nixora slave there, and eighteen Spaniards and one Yaqui at a mining camp nearby.



I will not mention anything about the money needed for all that has been proposed. It would be foolish of me to presume that your excellency might ignore the fact that nothing will be attempted, executed, or achieved without financial assistance. At such a critical conjuncture, I am certain that your excellency has firmly resolved not to spare the necessary expenses.

Regarding the commander who will lead the troops in the Pimería, the governor will undoubtedly make the right choice because he knows the soldiers and captains of the region. In such fashion, he will justify your excellency's confidence in leaving the decision to his discretion. All I know is that Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín has proven his vigor, courage, and readiness for any type of combat. He is familiar with the territory, and he has earned the respect of others. For these reasons, I believe that even the rebellious Pimas will learn to respect him as well. Moreover, it will also be very easy to find another to occupy his current position.

I have one more thing to say, even if it is insinuated in [the governor's] report. The new captain, Don Juan Antonio Menocal, deserves, if I am not mistaken, to be forgiven by your excellency and the governor for failing to report his plans before proceeding with them.<sup>6</sup> He is new to the job and inexperienced. Nonetheless, it is fair to infer that his prompt arrival in the district of Suamca at the very least interrupted the course of the uprising. Once the governor has been informed of the reasons why the captain made his hasty decision, I believe his feelings will be mitigated.

Other matters have been fairly set forth in the governor's report. I hope, however, that he will be frank enough to realize that although Captain Luis has many past merits, he is the author of the rebellion.<sup>7</sup> The governor seems to insinuate that Luis was moved to take such desperate action because he was mistreated. Even if this is true, neither the missionary priests nor any of the other settlers, who all respected and honored Captain Luis, can justify the excesses, injuries, destruction, scandals, and evil examples he precipitated. If, in fact, anything had happened to justify his actions, it would have undoubtedly reached the ears of the governor. Furthermore, Captain Luis knew very well that just as he had been honored and promoted for his valor, so, with even more reason, would he have been upheld in his grievances.

I am becoming more convinced that the honors Luis received have made him haughty. Having been commended for bravery, he has persuaded himself that he has the right to command and dominate all his kinsmen. The governor is quite

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6. Juan Antonio Menocal was captain of the presidio of Fronteras when the Pima Revolt broke out. At the request of Padre Ignaz Keller, missionary at Santa María Suamca, Menocal interrogated and executed Pedro de la Cruz, also known as Pedro Chihuahua, a kinsman of Luis Oacpicagigua who was suspected of spying for the rebels. Angered at what he considered an act of insubordination, Governor Ortiz Parrilla started a formal investigation of Menocal's actions in 1752. Menocal died the following year before his case was decided by Spanish judicial authorities (see Ewing, "Pima Uprising").

7. In 1754, another Pima, Luis of Pitic, claimed that Oacpicagigua had carried out the rebellion in order to avenge the Pimas massacred at Tupo in 1695 (see Ewing, "Pima Uprising").

keen at discerning each person's merits. For this reason, I am a bit shocked that he is so eager to pledge his support for Luis when there is room to doubt him and to wonder whether his past accomplishments are greater than his present treacheries and evil deeds. The lofty understanding of your excellency will arrange and ordain whatever seems most suitable in this matter.

Forgive the liberties I have taken in this report. May the arguments presented here be given the weight they deserve. Meanwhile, I ask the Lord to guard the important life of your excellency in all happiness for many years. Casa Profesa of Mexico, January 18, 1752.

Juan Antonio Balthasar

#### CARPIO ON PRESIDIOS, 1752

Judgment and opinion of Joseph Díaz del Carpio, captain of the royal presidio of Terrenate, and other settlers of the valleys of Santa Ana and San Luis.

**I**n the pueblo of San Ignacio on April 10, 1752, the following were brought together and assembled as a result of the summons that had been issued: I, Don Joseph Díaz del Carpio, captain of the royal presidio of Terrenate; Don Bernardo de Urrea,<sup>8</sup> militia captain and teniente of the justicia mayor; Don Joseph Ignacio de Salazar,<sup>9</sup> alférez of the militia; Don Antonio Olguín,<sup>10</sup> alférez; Pedro de Espinosa,<sup>11</sup> sergeant of the royal presidio; Don Francisco Javier Padilla,<sup>12</sup>

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8. Bernardo de Urrea (1710–1777) was born in Culiacán. His family moved to Sonora when he was a young boy, and by 1748, he was teniente alcalde mayor in Pitic and justicia mayor of the Pimería Alta. He commanded militia units against both the Seris and Upper Pimas, playing a major role in the suppression of the Pima Revolt. His reward was appointment as captain of the Sinaloa presidio in 1752. Under Urrea, that presidio was transferred permanently to the Pimería Alta, where it became the presidio of Altar. Urrea later served on several occasions as governor of Sonora-Sinaloa. The family he founded quickly rose to prominence, and his grandson, José de Urrea, became a leading figure in both Sonoran and Mexican politics during the chaotic decades following Mexican independence (see Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*).

9. Joseph Ignacio de Salazar was alférez of the militia in northern Sonora and a prominent *vecino* of Santa Ana. He was one of the first Spaniards to learn of the Pima Revolt. He quickly enlisted nine men and rode to Oquitoa, securing the release of fifty Yaquis held prisoner by the rebels. That was the first Spanish action against the Pimas.

10. Antonio Olguín was alférez of the presidio of Terrenate. At the insistence of Padre Keller, he was the one who actually apprehended Pedro de la Cruz, even though Menocal soon arrived to take over the interrogation.

11. Pedro de Espinosa was sergeant of the presidio of Terrenate.

12. Francisco Javier Padilla was also present at the execution of Pedro de la Cruz. He was an alférez in the local militia and a miner in the Santa Rita Mountains. The Jesuits later alleged that he was an unsavory character who had been run out of New Mexico.

sergeant of the militia; Don Joseph Romero,<sup>13</sup> *alférez reformado*; Don Ignacio Romero,<sup>14</sup> *comisario de justicia*; and other settlers (who will sign below) from the valleys of Santa Ana<sup>15</sup> and San Luis in this Pimería Alta. Because of their continuous travels—forays through certain areas at times, at other times through nearly the entire district—these individuals have acquired full and reliable knowledge of the region. The settlers—some of whom have been here for more than twenty years—have traveled in the course of their business enterprises and affairs. The others have turned the country upside down in the course of their military activities. All in all, they have seen, inspected, and reconnoitered the most suitable, useful, and convenient sites in the area.

After asking for their attention, I, said captain of the presidio, read out loud, verbatim, and in a clear and intelligible voice the dispatch issued by the *teniente coronel* of the royal armies, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, who is also governor and captain general of these provinces. The dispatch is included in the first three pages of these proceedings. Once everyone had heard and clearly understood its contents and important points, they began to discuss the subject and offer their suggestions. For a little more than two hours, careful attention was given to the unfortunate consequences that might result from some decisions, as well as the prudent and favorable results of others, in order that we might attain the firm and enduring security for which we long. Finally, a uniform and unanimous opinion was reached.

Those in attendance acknowledged the higher decision of the most excellent viceroy of these kingdoms with regard to establishing a squad of fifty men in the Pimería. However, they stated that if the squad were stationed in the center of this region, it would only be able to restrain and subdue an uprising similar to the one that just occurred among the Indians here. The armed forces of the squad would be useless in other emergency situations because the pueblos of the Pima nation are so dispersed and far apart, with some located to the north and others to the west. Furthermore, the squad would not be able to guard against and contain the hostile Apaches, who frequently invade this Pimería and then run off with the horse herds they steal or usurp from careless settlers. It would not be easy for the above-mentioned armed forces to follow them. Even if they did, the enemy would be at liberty to make their escape and avoid punishment.

With all due respect for the higher rulings of the most excellent viceroy, and with the understanding that they in no way wish to contradict his sovereign decision, those present agree that it would be of greater benefit to the royal service and to public welfare if the squad were composed of sixty men. The squad could then be divided into two detachments of thirty men each. One could be stationed

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13. Joseph Romero was a retired *alférez* in the local militia and part of the large Romero family founded by Nicolás Romero in the 1720s in San Luis Valley, as that portion of the valley of the Santa Cruz River south of Guevavi was known.

14. Ignacio Romero was *comisario de justicia*, or deputy magistrate, for San Luis Valley. He also was a member of the Romero clan.

15. The Santa Ana Valley lies along the Río Magdalena south of Magdalena and San Ignacio.

in the pastures of Tupo, the other at the place called Tubac.<sup>16</sup> Both locations are well known for their comfort and are quite habitable since they have many good house sites and permanent water, as well as arable land and other desirable qualities. With thirty men stationed in each location, the entire frontier would be cordoned off in a semicircle from the presidio of Santa Rosa de Corodéguchi to the Pimería Alta in the west. Once our positions become common knowledge, respect for our armed forces will pacify the entire [Pima] nation in the pueblos to the north and west. Furthermore, it will be possible to prevent the entrance of the hostile Apaches, who until now have entered the district at will, attacking these lands and penetrating well beyond this pueblo and the boundaries of the Pimería.

If, on the other hand, the whole company were located in only one place, such as the pasturage of Tupo, which is the best spot in the western Pimería, our forces would be very far from the northern Pimería, where many of the most bellicose and warlike Indians of this nation live.<sup>17</sup> However, if two detachments of thirty men each were located at Tupo and Tubac, our forces would ensure the obedience and subjection of the Indians both in the west and the north. In this way, the two detachments would be easily alerted in case of any emergency. They could either join forces with soldiers from Terrenate or go separately without delay to any nearby place that might need help.

Another reason to establish a garrison in Tubac is to prevent the Indians of the north, if they rebel, from uniting with the Indians of the west. The Indians of the west will also be deterred from such a union, because they will be in the same situation as those of the north. Tubac, after all, is only twenty-five leagues from San Xavier del Bac,<sup>18</sup> twenty from the Sobaipuris, and twenty-five from Ter-

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16. Tubac was a ranchería of Upper Pimas located along one of the relatively few stretches of permanent flowing water in the Río Santa Cruz. Even before the disastrous arroyo cutting of the late nineteenth century, the Santa Cruz did not flow the entire length of its channel except during floods. Geographers therefore classify it as an intermittent stream. The names "Tubac" or "Tubaca" themselves are Hispanic corruptions of a Piman word or phrase. According to linguist David Shaul (personal communication), the place-name is from the Sobaipuri rather than Tohono O'odham (Papago) dialect of Upper Piman. Possible meanings include "black pond," "black ditch," "cloud," or even "menstruating." Beginning in the early 1730s, Tubac became one of several visitas of the newly reestablished mission of Guevavi.

17. For nearly a decade after Oacpicagigua's surrender in 1751, rebel Pimas continued to launch sporadic assaults against Spanish and mission Pima settlements in the Santa Cruz Valley. One of their leaders was Jabanimó (Hawani Mo'o, or Crow's Head), leader of the Gila Pimas. In the fall of 1756, Jabanimó organized or participated in an uprising at San Xavier del Bac that may have been triggered by Jesuit Alonzo Espinosa's attempts to suppress the Pimas' fall harvest festival (see Dobyns, *Colonial Tucson*). Troops from the Tubac presidio pursued the rebels, killing fifteen. Two years later, the Pimas attacked Guevavi during Easter celebrations. Some Upper Pimas continued to fight in alliance with the Seris and Lower Pimas as late as the 1770s.

18. Although the Spanish league was notoriously variable and imprecise, the most common value was equivalent to 2.6 miles. Since Tubac is less than 40 miles from Mission San Xavier, 25 leagues was clearly an exaggeration of the distance between the two places.

renate. With the armed forces arranged in such a manner, those at Terrenate would only have to guard the other part of the province to prevent the entrance of the hostile Apaches. Terrenate would also be able to thwart any possible threats by nations that border the Pimería Alta such as the Eudeves, Jovas, and Opatas.<sup>19</sup>

Each place and presidio should be secured with as little cost to the royal treasury as possible. Taking into consideration the weapons of the Indians and the type of war they wage, all that is necessary for the security and defense of each location is to surround the site with an adobe wall. This wall should be of the appropriate thickness and height and have two or three gates. Such a wall would be insurmountable; if the Indians dared to climb it, they could be easily repelled. By taking this measure alone, even when most of the presidial troops were away, the few that remained would be able to bring their women and families inside and defend the place quite well. The mere sight of the wall will intimidate the Indians, who will consider it impregnable and impossible to vanquish with their weapons.

This is the unanimous judgment and opinion of each and every one of the assembled gathering. I myself am in complete agreement with them. All of us, including the witnesses, have signed.

Joseph Díaz del Carpio

Witnesses:

Juan Antonio Ramírez<sup>20</sup>

Bernardo de Urrea

Isidro Sánchez [de] Tagle<sup>21</sup>

Francisco Javier de Padilla

Juan Martínez<sup>22</sup>

We also consider Ocuca [Ocuca]<sup>23</sup> to be a very favorable site because it is nearer to the Seris and Pimas, it has a better water supply, and it is a better location for the foundation [of a presidio].

19. The Opatas and Eudeves dominated the river valleys of central and eastern Sonora. According to one Jesuit, their languages were as closely related as Castilian and Portuguese. The Jovas lived in the northwestern foothills of the Sierra Madre. Their language was also similar to Opatas but they relied less upon agriculture than the other two groups (see Spicer, *Cycles*; Pennington et al, "Cultura").

20. Juan Antonio Ramírez may have been related to Juan Crisóstomo Ramírez, who became alférez of the new presidio of Tubac and founded the large and influential Ramírez family in southern Arizona. Or the scribe who copied the original document may have erred in transcribing the name itself. A settler as important as Juan Crisóstomo most likely would have participated in the junta organized by Díaz del Carpio.

21. Isidro Sánchez de Tagle was lieutenant of Fronteras presidio.

22. Juan Martínez may have been the Juan Manuel Martínez listed as a soldier in the new presidio of the Pimería Alta by Ortiz Parrilla on March 26, 1752.

23. Ocuca is located southeast of Altar along a tributary of the Río Magdalena. When Ortiz Parrilla decided upon Tubac as the site of the new presidio of the Pimería Alta, a detachment of twenty soldiers was also stationed at Ocuca. It was withdrawn when the Sinaloa presidio was transferred to Altar in 1755.

## Opinions on Best Location

Signed with a rubric:

Juan Joseph de Ochoa

Luis Domínguez

At the request of Antonio de Alviso:<sup>24</sup> Francisco Pérez Serrano<sup>25</sup>

At the request of Urbano García: Francisco Pérez Serrano

Joseph Romero

At the request of Nicolás Romero:<sup>26</sup> Isidro Sánchez de Tagle

Ignacio Romero

At the request of Joseph Ignacio Salazar: Isidro Sánchez de Tagle

Pedro de Espinosa

Antonio Olguín

At the request of Juan García: Juan Joseph de Ochoa

At the request of Juan María Quintero: Francisco Javier de Padilla

At the request of Vicente de Salazar: Francisco Pérez Serrano

At the request of Juan Manuel Martínez: Francisco de Salazar<sup>27</sup>

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24. Antonio de Alviso may have been the Julián Antonio de Albizu listed as a soldier of the new presidio of the Pimería Alta on March 26, 1752. In 1775, a Domingo Alviso, born in 1740, was one of the soldiers from Tubac who accompanied Juan Bautista de Anza to California. Domingo may have been Antonio's son. Interestingly enough, another Antonio Alviso, also spelled Albizu, took action against rebel Suma and Janos Indians during their 1684 revolt. It is possible, then, that a long line of Alvisos served as soldiers on the northern frontier of New Spain.

25. Francisco Pérez Serrano belonged to one of the elite families of Sonora. On June 24, 1761, Juan Bautista de Anza married Ana María Pérez Serrano, perhaps Francisco's sister. The bishop of Durango, on the other hand, implied that she was the sister of Padre Joseph Manuel Díaz del Carpio, the son of the former commander of the presidio of Terrenate. Whatever the exact nature of the relationship, the marriage typified the web of kinship that wove elite families together along the northwestern frontier (see Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*).

26. Nicolás Romero settled in the San Luis Valley in the 1720s, founding the Buenavista Ranch south of Guevavi along the Río Santa Cruz. He was also patriarch of the influential Romero family. His son Juan Bautista served as alferez of the largely Indian military company of San Rafael de Tubac after the presidio was transferred to Tucson in 1775.

27. Francisco and Vicente Salazar were probably relatives of Joseph Ignacio de Salazar. The Salazar family remained prominent in the Santa Ana area throughout the eighteenth century. María Ignacia Salazar, for example, married Toribio Otero, who received a small land grant near Tubac in 1789. One of his heirs, Sabino Otero, went on to become one of the largest ranchers in southern Arizona during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*).

## SEGESSER ON PRESIDIOS, 1752

Opinion of Padre Felipe Segesser:<sup>28</sup>

**L**ord Governor and Captain General, In compliance with your order dated May 8, 1752, your lordship requested advice from me, Father Jacobo Sedelmayr, father visitor of the Pimería Alta, and Father Rector Gaspar Stiger, also assigned to the Pimería. You did so because of our experience and knowledge of that region.

I have complied with your lordship's order in the preparation of this report. In order to reduce the Pimería Alta, I believe that your lordship must establish two presidios. The first should be located either at Santa Catalina,<sup>29</sup> or nearby at the place called Tucson [Tucson].<sup>30</sup> Both locations possess abundant water and pasturage for the people who will settle there, as well as for their horse herds and livestock. Such a garrison will be able to subdue and reduce the gentile Indians to the north and east of the Pimería. These Indians include not only those who live

28. Padre Felipe Segesser (1689–1762) was born in Switzerland and arrived in New Spain in 1730. He was stationed at numerous missions in Sonora and the Pimería Alta, including Guevavi, Cucurpe, Tecoripa, and Ures, and served as visitor of the northern missions from 1751 to 1753. While at Tecoripa, he helped Agustín de Vildósola defeat Yaqui and Lower Pima rebels during the 1740 revolt. He died in Ures.

29. The scribe who copied Sedelmayr and Stiger's reports clearly wrote "Santa Catarina." The same scribe, however, recorded the place-name as Santa Catalina when copying Segesser's report. Nevertheless, both spellings undoubtedly referred to the same location, reinforcing the conclusion that the Santa Catarina or Catalina of Kino and Manje's time had been relocated upstream.

30. When Kino first visited the Tucson basin in the 1690s, there were a series of Upper Pima rancherías strung along the Río Santa María (later the Río Santa Cruz). Bac was the southernmost, Santa Catarina or Santa Catalina de Cuitabagu ("well where the people gather mesquite beans") the northernmost. According to Kino's companion, Juan Mateo Manje, Santa Catarina was fifteen leagues (approximately thirty-nine miles) downstream from San Agustín de Oiaur, which was located five leagues (about thirteen miles) north of Bac (see Ernest J. Burrus, *Kino and Manje*). The precise location of Santa Catarina has never been determined, but if Manje's distances were reasonably accurate, Santa Catarina would have been somewhere in the vicinity of the Picacho Mountains, where, in fact, archaeologists have located several large late prehistoric or protohistoric cisterns (Paul Fish, personal communication). Since even in the late 1600s the Santa Cruz did not flow year-round north of the Tucson Mountains, Santa Catarina would not have made a very good presidial site. It is possible, however, that Santa Catarina or Catalina had been moved upstream closer to the other communities of the Tucson basin sometime during the first half of the eighteenth century. Such a location would make more sense in the context of these missionary reports.

Tucson probably refers to the large Pima village of San Agustín del Tucson, which was situated north of Kino's San Cosme del Tucson at the base of Sentinel Peak across the river from where the presidio of Tucson was eventually established in 1776. Bernard Middendorf had opened a mission at San Agustín del Tucson shortly before the revolt began. Because Pimas lived in scattered rancherías rather than nucleated pueblos, however, it was often hard to tell where one settlement ended and another began.

along the Gila River, but also the rancherías of the Apaches, who have challenged us by situating themselves to the north and in the nearby mountains.<sup>31</sup> In such manner, the region will be contained. In cooperation with the presidio of San Felipe de Guevavi, alias Terrenate, your captains will also easily be able to carry out the civil and political orders of his majesty for the education of the Indians themselves.

The other presidio should be situated at Arizona<sup>32</sup> or Sariqui [Sáric], two places with as much pasturage and water as the aforementioned Tucson. A presidio there will be able to pacify the Papago Indians to the west. And since these locations lie in the center of the Pimería, such a garrison will easily be able to join with the other two presidios not only in pacifying the Pimería and safeguarding her missions, but in defending her against the hostilities of the Apache nation as well.

These are my opinions based upon the knowledge I have, and I hereby complete the report your lordship requested. I pray to God that they are accurate. I also pray that he may watch over your important life for many years. Written from this mission of San Miguel de Ures, May 25, 1752.

Felipe Segesser, JHS

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31. During the mid-eighteenth century, the mountains northeast of the Tucson basin were occupied by the Western Apaches. As Pima occupation along the San Pedro declined, the Arivaipa band regularly hunted wild game and gathered acorns, agaves, and piñon nuts in the Santa Catalina and Rincon Mountains that formed the northern and eastern boundaries of the basin (see Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apaches*).

32. Arizona, or Arizonac, was a mining *real* southwest of modern Nogales, Sonora. Founded in 1730 by Gabriel de Prudhom Heider Butrón y Mújica, alcalde mayor of Sonora, Arizonac achieved lasting fame in 1736 when huge chunks (*bolas*) and slabs (*planchas*) of silver were discovered nearby. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza declared the silver to be buried treasure rather than unrefined ore, which meant that the king of Spain was entitled to all the wealth, rather than the customary fifth (20 percent) paid as a tax on mineral recovery. The controversy triggered by Anza's decision slowed the rush of prospectors into the area. But while Arizonac may have withered as a mining community, it passed into legend as an example of the northern frontier's fabulous mineral wealth. It also bequeathed its name to the state of Arizona even though Arizonac itself lies south of the international border (see Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*; Sheridan, *Arizona*).



## SEDELMAYR ON PRESIDIOS, 1752

Another [Opinion] of Padre Jacobo Sedelmayr:<sup>33</sup>

**B**y order of Father Visitor Felipe Segesser, I hereby offer my opinion concerning where the new presidio or presidios in the Pimería Alta should be located. If there is to be one presidio, I propose that it be placed at Arivaca.<sup>34</sup> If this location is subject to disease<sup>35</sup> and therefore not suitable, however, then the presidio should be established near Agua Caliente<sup>36</sup> or Arizona or Sáric. Any one of these sites is in the center of the Pimería, and thus closer at hand to put an end to the disturbances of the Indians and to ensure the tranquillity of the towns. Either of the aforementioned locations also offers the convenience of water and pasturage to support the presidial horse herd.

But if two presidios are to be erected, then I think one should be placed about four or five leagues beyond San Xavier at Santa Catalina or Tucusona [Tucson]. Both locations have abundant water and pasturage. The other presidio should be located in the valleys of Sáric, Caborca, or Tubutama. The first presidio will interrupt the disorders of the Northern Pimas and nearby Papagos. The second will contain the Western Pimas and the neighboring Papagos. In this manner, one or the other of the presidios will happen to be where large numbers of Pimas have caused rebellions in the past, and where more care is needed.

This is my opinion, which I have signed. Ures, May 10, 1752.

Jacobo Sedelmayr, JHS

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33. Padre Jacobo Sedelmayr (1702–1779) was born in Bavaria. He arrived in Mexico in 1735 and reached the Pimería Alta by 1737, where he served at the missions of Dolores and Tubutama. An indefatigable explorer, Sedelmayr crisscrossed the Papaguera, followed the Gila to its confluence with the Colorado, and even attempted to visit the “apostate” Hopis. He ardently promoted the expansion of the missions to the Gila River, a process that helped trigger the Pima Revolt (See Dunne, *Jacobo*).

34. Located in a fertile and well-watered valley southwest of Tubac, Santa Gertrudis de Arivaca was the westernmost visita of the mission of Guevavi. During the 1730s and 1740s, however, Spanish ranchers and miners began displacing the Upper Pimas living there. Soon after the Pima Revolt broke out, at least eleven Spaniards and some friendly Indians were killed in the area. A detachment from Terrenate commanded by Alférez Antonio Olguín was therefore sent to secure the area. Early in January, Olguín's troops were reinforced by twenty-five men under Bernardo Urrea. At dawn on January 5, according to Spanish accounts, more than two thousand Pima warriors led by Oacpicagigua attempted to launch a surprise attack against the Spanish forces. The Spaniards had been warned of the attack, however, so the eighty-six soldiers were able to stand their ground, repulsing the disorganized rebels. Demoralized, many of the Pimas returned to their communities or took refuge in the Santa Catalina and Santa Rita Mountains. Consequently, the battle at Arivaca represented a turning point in the Pima Revolt (see Ewing, “Pima Uprising”).

35. Malarial fevers were common in well-watered areas of southern Arizona.

36. Agua Caliente is located about twenty kilometers north of Imuris along Highway 15.

STIGER ON PRESIDIOS, 1752

Another [Opinion] of Padre Gaspar Stiger:<sup>37</sup>

**M**y opinion concerning a fixed and permanent presidio for this Pimería corresponds with that of my Father Visitor Jacobo [Sedelmayr]. I think the site of Arizona is more comfortable and appropriate. And if two presidios are to be established, then I agree with Father Sedelmayr that the second one should be placed at Santa Catalina or Tucson.

At present, however, urgency exists because the Pimas Caborqueños<sup>38</sup> are stealing cattle and horse herds from this valley. Until we subdue these thieves, I feel that the presidio intended for the Pimería should be located at the rancho of Ocuca because these thieves have to pass nearby.

By the same token, Indians living in various rancherías around Baboquivari,<sup>39</sup> along with some Papagos and some Indians from the north, are stealing cattle and horse herds from the San Luis Valley and the partido of Guevavi. These thefts must be stopped. In the interim, then, I believe that the presidio of Sinaloa should provisionally be stationed between Tubac and Guevavi, or in either of those two places. Both those locations are on the route along which the thieves steal and drive out the cattle and horse herds. Once these thefts have ceased, the permanent presidio or presidios may be established at the above-mentioned locations.

This is what I believe, to which I attest.

Gaspar Stiger

*ministro de doctrina* in the partido of San Ignacio

PARILLA ON TUBAC, 1752

Decree of Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla:

**I**n the royal presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas on June 2, 1752, I, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla—teniente coronel of the royal armies, *capitán propietario* of the dragoons of Veracruz, commander of the troops stationed in the city of Los Angeles,<sup>40</sup> governor and captain general of this kingdom of Nueva

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37. Padre Gaspar Stiger (1695–1762) was born in Germany and arrived in New Spain in 1731. Along with Segesser, he was soon sent to reestablish the abandoned missions of the Santa Cruz Valley in southern Arizona; in 1733, he was serving at San Xavier del Bac. In 1736, he succeeded the irascible Agustín de Campos as missionary at San Ignacio, where he died nearly three decades later. During the early 1750s, Stiger staunchly supported the expansion of the mission system and the establishment of a presidio along the Gila River.

38. Pimas from Caborca.

39. The Baboquivari Mountains are located southwest of Tucson. They form the eastern boundary of the largest reservation of the Tohono O'odham (Papago; "Desert People"). Baboquivari Peak is a sacred mountain to the Tohono O'odham, who believe that one of their creators, I'toi, resides there. Jutting into the sky 7,730 feet above sea level, it is one of the most dramatic landmarks in the Pimería Alta.

40. Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Puebla, southeast of Mexico City.

Andalucía,<sup>41</sup> including the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora and everything attached to them, their borderland presidios and the coasts of the southern sea—serve in the name of his majesty. I have seen the packet of *autos* concerning the search for a suitable place to station the troops who, by superior order of the most excellent viceroy, have been recruited for the present in the recently pacified Pimería Alta.

The dispatch I issued this past April 4 requested officials and other subjects familiar with the Pimería's terrain to express their opinions concerning the best way to secure, defend, and protect the interior presidios of this jurisdiction. I assigned this task to Don Joseph Díaz del Carpio, captain of the royal presidio of San Felipe Gracia Real, alias Terrenate. He, in turn, ordered the convocation of a meeting through an *auto* dated the seventh of the same month.

The following pronouncements and opinions were unanimously agreed upon during this meeting by the above-mentioned Captain Don Joseph Díaz del Carpio, the militia captain Don Bernardo de Urrea, and other military officials, militiamen, and residents who know the Santa Ana and San Luis Valleys. They all believed that in order to ensure the future serenity and peace of the recently pacified Pimería, it would be advantageous to increase the present company from fifty men to sixty men. Thirty could then be stationed at Tupo and the other thirty at Tubac. With this arrangement and decision, the pueblos of the west, as well as the Indians known as *norteños*—all contained within the Pimería Alta—could be kept under bridle and made even more loyal by the intimidating sight of the armed forces. These same forces could also easily prevent the alliance and confederation of any Pimas who attempted another new rebellion. Both squads could quickly put an end to any Pima schemes, plans, or seditious ideas. In case of a sudden incident, each squad could operate independently or easily join forces with the other. If necessary, they could also quickly unite with the forces of Terrenate.

Aside from these important benefits, there would be another advantage that would be no less useful to the service of the king and the safety of all. With a presidio established at Tubac, that entranceway would be closed to the barbarous Apaches who invade and attack the province. Thus, the garrison at Terrenate could focus all its energy and attention on the other part of the frontier infested by the same enemy. It could also proceed with all the vigor of its spirit to immediately curtail any disturbances by the other peaceful nations bordering the Upper Pimas.

Finally, a decision should be made to fortify the presidios with adobe walls of proper thickness and height. In case enemies attack or most of the garrison has to be dispatched on urgent business, the presidios would therefore remain secure and defended. Considering the weapons of the Indians and the type of war they wage, the families of the presidial soldiers could also be protected and sheltered within such walls, even if only a few defenders remained.

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41. During the early 1640s, Pedro de Perea, the first alcalde mayor of Sonora, proposed separating Sonora from Sinaloa and calling the new province Nueva Andalucía. The Jesuits, who were in charge of missionizing the northwest, opposed Perea, and the separation never took place during the colonial period. Nonetheless, the name continued to surface from time to time on maps and in official documents.

Regarding such objectives, Captain Don Joseph Díaz del Carpio, along with a majority of the officials and settlers, who spoke for the others, later decided that Ocuca would make a better site than Tupo. Ocuca not only is closer to the Seris and Pimas, but also has better sources of water and other advantages for the foundation of a presidio.

On April 22, Don Francisco Javier de Escalante<sup>42</sup> and Don Joseph Moraga,<sup>43</sup> both officers of the royal presidio of Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, also gave me their opinions. They agree substantially with the preceding reports concerning the division of the troops, the size of the garrisons, and the sites where they should be established for the reasons and causes that have been laid out. The two officers also concur with the proposal to surround the presidios with walls. In such a way, the garrisons would be adequately defended and able to prevail over any sieges or attacks by the Indians.

On the twenty-fifth of last month, the most Reverend Father Felipe Segesser, visitor of the missions of this province, advised me that it would be necessary and advantageous to place two presidios in the Pimería. According to Father Segesser, some of the troops should be stationed at Santa Catalina or nearby at a place called Tucuson. Both locations have water and pasturage. A garrison there would subdue and reduce the gentiles surrounding the northern and eastern portions of the Pimería, not only those who live on the banks of the Gila River, but the rancherías of the Apaches as well, which are situated farther upstream and in the nearby mountains. The garrison would dominate the entire region and be in a position to cooperate with the presidio of San Felipe Gracia Real, alias Terrenate, which is not far away. The commanders would also be able to easily carry out his majesty's orders concerning the education of the Indians.

Father Segesser likewise believes that it would be advantageous to station the other portion of the troops at Arizona or Sáric. Both offer the same advantages. Both are suitably located to subdue the Indians of the west—Papagos and others—as well as those in the center of the Pimería. Furthermore, those troops could cooperate with the soldiers stationed at Santa Catalina or Tucuson, as well as those garrisoned at the royal presidio of Terrenate. Such measures will achieve the praiseworthy goals of keeping the Pimería subordinate and obedient, protecting its missionaries, and guarding against the hostilities carried out by the indomitable Apaches.

The Reverend Father Jacobo Sedelmayr, visitor of the districts of the aforementioned Pimería, also provided an opinion. In the event that only one presidio is established, Father Sedelmayr believes that it would best be situated at Arivaca. If that spot is subject to disease and therefore not suitable, however, then the presidio should be placed at Agua Caliente, Arizona, or Sáric. Any of those

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42. Francisco Javier de Escalante was lieutenant of Fronteras presidio. A veteran of frontier military service since 1720, Escalante agreed that a garrison of sixty soldiers, split between Tupo and Tubac, would best protect Sonora and the Pimería Alta.

43. Joseph Moraga, alférez at Fronteras, had served on the northern frontier since 1726. Like Escalante, he believed that two detachments of thirty men each should be established, one at Tupo or in the Altar Valley, another at Tubac or Sópори, between Tubac and San Xavier del Bac.

places is centrally located in the Pimería, close at hand to stop the disturbances of the Pimas and to ensure the tranquillity of their pueblos. Furthermore, all of these spots enjoy the desired advantage of pasturage and water. But if two presidios are established, Father Sedelmayr feels that one should be placed at Santa Catalina or Tucuson—both equally convenient—while the other should be situated in the valleys of Sáric, Caborca, or Tubutama. The former could resist the disruptions of the Northern Pimas and their Papago neighbors. The latter could curb and restrain the Western Pimas and the nearby Papagos. With this well-balanced arrangement, both squads would be stationed where the Pima multitudes have caused disturbances in the past.

The most Reverend Father Rector Gaspar Stiger endorsed this proposal. For now, however, Father Stiger judges that it would be useful to station the new company at the rancho of Ocuca. Since the Pimas from Caborca, who have been stealing cattle and horses from that valley, traffic in stolen livestock throughout the Ocuca area, the troops should be placed there until these rustlers and evildoers are subdued. Furthermore, the Indians who live in various rancherías around Baboquivari—with some Papagos and Northern Pimas among them—also come to steal cattle and horses in the valley of San Luis and the district of Guevavi. Consequently, Father Stiger feels that the Sinaloa company should be stationed temporarily between Tubac and Guevavi or at either of these two places, because the thieves use this route to take out their stolen goods. Once they are stopped, the troops should then be stationed at the two places proposed by Father Visitor Jacobo Sedelmayr.

Finally, in view of the present circumstances, it is necessary to reflect upon all that has been expressed and unraveled from the opinions outlined above, notwithstanding the letter written by the captain of the new company, Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, on the thirteenth of last month. Beldarraín reported that the pueblos of the Pimería were in a favorable state. He also informed me, however, that an Indian from the pueblo of Caborca had to be punished with death. The Indian was the leader of a small group from the ranchos near the western pueblos who had been stealing some cattle and horses. Using this execution as an example, the captain expected to reform the Indian's accomplices. According to the captain's letter of May 29, this was actually achieved; after the main transgressor had been punished, his followers became submissive and obedient. Furthermore, a whole ranchería of Western Pimas who had caused damage through their robberies were captured that same day on the twenty-eighth. Those Indians had been disciplined with the appropriate punishment and were now back in their pueblos. With these measures, it may be presumed that thefts in that area will cease.

Despite the apparent reduction and punishment of those who were considered wrongdoers, however, I wish to adopt the most precautionary security measures throughout the entire Pimería for now. I do so in order to provide the necessary means to ensure that the pacification, tranquillity, and serenity of the natives become more secure, permanent, and stable each day.

I declare that for the present, Captain Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín and the new company of fifty soldiers be stationed at Tubac. Their conduct should be guided by the orders, instructions, and regulations that most suitably and adequately serve the objectives of their establishment and assignment. Thus in re-

spect to that northern area, they will be able to perform the duties that have been extensively discussed and proposed in the judgments and opinions outlined above. Tubac is considered an advantageous location because it has the necessary qualities to maintain the troops and afford them a place from which to carry out the obligations of their assignments. Moreover, it is near the settlements of the San Luis Valley. Although their numbers are few, there are still enough settlers to assist the troops. Conversely, the troops can come to the settlers' aid in case of emergency or need.

As a further precaution, our forces who find themselves in the western Pimería should be prepared to act quickly in order to carry out the duties proposed in the above opinions. In such a way, the western pueblos will not lose sight of the intimidating appearance of our arms. Considering that Ocuca is located some distance from the large number of settlers living at Santa Ana, who will be able to offer prompt assistance to the official armed forces, I have ordered Captain Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín to assume the responsibility of stationing a detachment of twenty soldiers from his company at Ocuca under the command of a subordinate officer. This detachment is to be rotated each month. Furthermore, it is to act according to the regulations, instructions, and orders that will ensure its proper direction.

Up to now, per my orders, a detachment of eight soldiers has been maintained at the pueblo of San Ignacio. Their presence has been useful in fulfilling certain objectives in the service of his majesty. However, the Reverend Father Rector Gaspar Stiger, minister of that pueblo, has suggested to the captain that a change be made because he is satisfied with the loyalty of his Indians and does not want to give them any reason to believe that he distrusts them. The captain informs me that he has reached the same conclusion. With this in mind, I therefore ordered the withdrawal of the aforementioned detachment.

Let it be understood that everything determined by this resolution is temporary and provisional, and let the respective orders reflect that fact. With the duly authorized testimony remaining in all of these *autos*, the originals will be sent on to the most excellent viceroy of these kingdoms with a separate report. Thus the viceroy, with his superior and higher understanding of what is being done, will deign to resolve to his sovereign liking the following matters: the name by which the new company is to be known in future, the site or place where it should be established, and whether it should remain in one location or be divided in two as our informants propose. His sovereign judgment will always decide what is best.

So I have decreed, ordered, and signed in the presence of my witnesses.

Diego Ortiz Parrilla

Martín Cayetano Fernández de Peralta<sup>44</sup>

Manuel Joaquín de la Carra

*From AGI, Guadalajara 419, ff. 22–25, 85–89, 101–2, 102–3, 103, and 104–12, respectively.*

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44. Martín Cayetano Fernández de Peralta succeeded Manuel de Mena as lieutenant to the governor of Sinaloa-Sonora in the late 1730s. In the process, he became deeply involved in the problems leading up to the 1740 Yaqui Revolt. Educated by the Jesuits, Fernández de

## DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Informe del muy reverendo padre prepósito provincial de la Compañía de Jesús.

**E**xcelentísimo señor,  
 En obediencia del superior mandato de vuestra excelencia, expedido este mismo día, procuraré con el mayor esmero a que mi pequeñez alcanza, para no demorar las eficaces providencias de vuestra excelencia responder, aunque sin prolijidad a lo que vuestra excelencia se digna de ordenarme.

El señor gobernador ha acudido con toda prontitud a medida de los impulsos de su celo al inopinado frangente del alzamiento de los pimas altos. Ha dado muy acertadas disposiciones que sin duda producirán los deseados buenos efectos de atajar la rebelión y pacificar a los alzados sin permitir que el espíritu de la sublevación ni penetre ni contamine a los indios de otras naciones. El valerse de medios suaves para apaciguar a los atumultuados es sin duda conforme a toda razón y a la piadosa intención de nuestros católicos monarcas. Lo cual practicando dicho señor gobernador, como en su consulta insinúa, justificará su proceder, pues aunque me recele que por este medio no se conseguirán todos los fines pretendidos. Pero acrisolarán y acreditarán por justos a los demás medios a que acaso podrá verse precisado.

Como quiera que en este punto no se debe procurar solamente el poner fin a los estragos causados por los alzados, sino débese también atender o conseguir pacificación sólida y no aparente o solapada, es preciso que vuestra excelencia se digne de dar la providencia que en los meses y años próximos vean aquellos indios el vigor de las armas católicas aprontadas y dispuestas en modo que no sólo se concilien el debido respeto, mas también corten las esperanzas a los alzados de poderse conservar en sublevación o de poder disfrazar su alevosía con las engañosas muestras de fingido rendimiento.

Y porque por tanto tiempo ni los milicianos de aquellos países pueden ser obligados a ausentarse de sus casas, ni los demás presidios reales de aquellos contornos pueden carecer de sus soldados, será por esto preciso, a mi corto parecer, expedir orden al dicho señor gobernador para que prontamente reclute el número de cincuenta soldados que debajo de cabo experimentado y alentado ponga el real y asiento de su tropa, en la misma Pimería Alta en donde fácilmente pueda acudir a los partidos y poblaciones más inmediatos que han sido el objeto del furor enemigo. Hállase en el medio de las misiones de San Ignacio y Tubutama un plan capaz y proveído de agua y pastos, que será lugar muy acomodado para que por el tiempo que fuere necesario se continúe en él la dicha escuadra, pues no solamente resguardará las citadas misiones, mas también la de Sáric en donde comenzó a descargarse la furia de los sublevados, y el pueblo de Oquitoa en donde cometieron otras maldades con la misión de Caborca. Pues de todos estos parajes distará poco el real de esta escuadra y con facilidad podrá acudir a donde la necesidad lo pidiere y se hallará en aptitud de perseguir a las reliquias de los alzados hasta llegar a extinguirlas.

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Peralta vigorously supported Ortiz Parrilla during his lengthy battles with the missionaries in the aftermath of the 1751 Upper Pima rebellion. Consequently, the Jesuits considered him a Judas who had turned against them.

Con esto los presidios de Terrenate y Fronteras, podrán emplear sus esfuerzos en resistir a las entradas del bárbaro apache, sin ser dividido su cuidado en la pacificación de los pimas. Y el presidio de San Miguel Horcasitas estará en la buena y plena disposición de disfrutar los intentos de aquellos seris, que no habiendo escarmentado de los castigos pasados provocan nuevamente el vigor de las armas. Y viendo no solamente estos seris, mas también los pimas bajos y los yaquis, completado aquel presidio no se atreverán, aún cuando quisieran, a intentar la menor inquietud.

El mismo señor gobernador encargado por vuestra excelencia de reclutar y alistar la mencionada escuadra según su actividad, práctica y conocimiento en tales materias, en breve dará cumplimiento. Y entre los muchos que, al llegar esta orden de vuestra excelencia, habrán ya concurrido no sólo de la Sonora, mas también de la Sinaloa y Nueva Vizcaya, hallará bastantes que sean aptos e idóneos y aún deseosos de alistarse a la dicha escuadra. La sola dificultad que pudiera en alguna manera retardar y demorar la ejecución de esta idea, pudiera ser la escasez de armas y municiones proporcionadas y la gran arduidad de poderse proveer de ellas en aquellas tierras tan remotas y por lo común poco abastecidas de semejantes provisiones. En esto la vigilancia y gran acierto de vuestra excelencia se servirá de dar las providencias y disposiciones que fueren más oportunas para proveer aquellos soldados con los medios que los hagan expeditos para servir con provecho y poder promover y felizmente concluir la pacificación deseada.

Tiene también éste mi corto dictamen los visos de otra utilidad nada despreciable, porque si como espero, se seogaren en breve los alborotos e inquietudes que causaron tan justo sentimiento al pacífico gobernador de vuestra excelencia que habíamos gozado hasta el presente, tendrá en tal caso vuestra excelencia adelantada la mitad de la empresa que se disponía y trazaba para las conquistas ulteriores de la numerosa gentilidad confinante con esta misma Pimería Alta, porque asegurada la quietud de estos indios y habiéndose vuelto de nuevo a entablar su asistencia y doctrina en los pueblos que afiance y pruebe su quietud, será fácil poder adelantar el asiento de esta misma escuadra a las tierras y naciones interiores, engrosándola a medida de lo que el tiempo y la necesidad dictare ser más conveniente, y aún los mismos cabos, como más cercanos podrán inquirir y venir en conocimiento de los parajes más oportunos, en donde a su tiempo pueda colocarse. Tendrá vuestra excelencia con esto la gloria y el nuevo mérito de haber, aún entre las mayores adversidades, escogido un arbitrio que no solamente conserve a nuestro monarca los vasallos que ya se habían adquirido, mas también, abra la puerta y franquee el camino para nuevas conquistas, conforme al deseo de su majestad católica insinuada en sus reales cédulas.

Yo no añadiré cosa acerca del dinero necesario para todo lo expresado, pues fuera necesidad mía el presumir que a vuestra excelencia se oculte que sin este socorro, nada se intentará, nada se obrará, nada se conseguirá, y me consta que vuestra excelencia tiene la acertada resolución de no perdonar en tan críticas coyunturas a los gastos necesarios.

Por lo que toca al cabo de la escuadra que asista con ella y la dirija en la Pimería, el señor gobernador que conoce aquellos soldados y capitanes, sin duda desempeñará con su acertada elección la confianza que vuestra excelencia hiciere en dejarla a su arbitrio. Yo solamente sé que don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín ha dado pruebas de esforzado, animoso y pronto para todos los combates, es práctico



de las tierras y se ha hecho respetar. Y creo que por tal los experimentarán los mismos pimas alzados y en su cargo que actualmente ejerce es más fácil poder substituir otro.

Digo por último, ya que en la consulta se insinúa, que el nuevo capitán don Juan Antonio Menocal merece, si no me engaño, que vuestra excelencia y el señor gobernador se dignen de perdonarle como nuevo y aún poco práctico las faltas que hubiere tenido en haberse adelantado ni debidamente comunicado sus operaciones, pues habiendo acudido con tanta prontitud al partido de Soamca, se puede justamente discurrir que su presencia por aquel lado a lo menos atajó el curso a la sublevación. Y cuando el señor gobernador se halle informado de los [méritos] razones que asistieron al dicho capitán en la resolución que apresuró, creo que se mitigará su sentimiento.

En lo demás justamente expresado en su consulta, espero también, que dicho señor gobernador tendrá la bondad de reflejar que aunque los méritos pasados del capitán Luis, autor de la sublevación, hayan sido muchos y aunque se verificase como parece que quiere insinuarlo el dicho señor gobernador que el dicho Luis, a causa de algún maltrato, se haya movido a tan desesperada resolución. Que no obstante es innegable que ni de los padres misioneros ni de los demás vecinos, de quienes todos era estimado y honrado, no podrá alegar razón por la cual se justifiquen los excesos, daños, ruinas, escándalos y malos ejemplos a que se ha precipitado, pues si algo de esto hubiera acaecido, sin duda hubiera llegado a los oídos del señor gobernador de quien bien sabía que como había sido honrado y promovido por su valor, así también hubiera, con más razón, sido defendido en sus agravios.

Yo más me persuado que las honras recibidas lo han engrdeído y lo han persuadido que habiéndose distinguido en valor, tenía derecho para poder mandar y dominar sobre todos sus parientes. El señor gobernador tiene sobrada perspicacia en distinguir los méritos de cada uno, y por esto me hace alguna fuerza verlo tan empeñado en favor de Luis, que se puede confundir o dudar si mayores son sus prendas pasadas que sus presentes alevosías y maldades. Vuestra excelencia en este punto se servirá de disponer y ordenar lo que a su alta comprensión parezca ser más conveniente.

Y perdonándome la libertad de haberme extendido en este informe. Se dignará de darle el peso que merecieren las razones alegadas, mientras pido al Señor guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia en toda felicidad por dilatados años. Casa Profesa de México, 18 de enero de 1752.

Juan Antonio Balthasar

#### CARPIO SOBRE PRESIDIOS, 1752

Dictamen y parecer del don Joseph Díaz del Carpio, capitán del real presidio de Terrenate, y los vecinos de los valles de Santa Ana y San Luis:

**E**n dicho pueblo de San Ignacio en 10 días del mes de abril de 1752 años, estando juntos y congregados mediante las citaciones que se hicieron, yo don Joseph Díaz del Carpio, capitán del real presidio de Terrenate; don Bernardo de Urrea, capitán miliciano y teniente de justicia mayor; don Joseph

Ignacio de Salazar, alférez miliciano; don Antonio Olguín, alférez, y Pedro de Espinosa, sargento del dicho real presidio; don Francisco Javier Padilla, sargento miliciano; don Joseph Romero, alférez reformado; don Ignacio Romero, comisario de justicia, y demás vecinos (que irán firmados) de los valles de Santa Ana y San Luis en esta Pimería Alta, quienes mediante el tráfico continuo, ya en correrías por unas partes y ya casi en todo el recinto de ella, en los propios negocios y diligencias, los unos como vecinos, radicados de más de veinte años y los otros por sus ejercicios militares, le tienen trasegado su terreno, con lo que han adquirido conocimiento pleno y formal de todos ellos, y han inspeccionado, visto y reconocido sus sitios proporcionados, útiles y convenientes.

Y habiéndoles pedido atención, yo, el expresado capitán, les hice notorio y leí en claras e inteligibles voces *de verbo ad verbum* el despacho expedido por el señor teniente coronel de los reales ejércitos, don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, gobernador y capitán general de estas provincias, contenido en las tres primeras fojas de estas diligencias. De que oídos y bien inteligenciados de su tenor y puntos substanciales a que se dirige, comenzaron a proponer y tratar sobre la materia lo que a consideración de cada uno le parecía ser conveniente y favorable. Y después de dos horas, poco más, de conferencia en dichos puntos, atendiendo y premeditando cada uno las objeciones y resultas que ocurrían sobre unos dictámenes, y el acierto y buena elección de otros, en cuanto se pueda apetecer para una constante y perpetua seguridad, sobre la materia conferida, se resolvieron unánimes y conformes a dar de común sentir su dictamen, reduciéndolo a uno concordes todos.

Y asentando que la superior determinación del excelentísimo señor virrey de estos reinos de que se sitúe una escuadra de cincuenta hombres en dicha Pimería, dicen que de colocarse en el centro de ésta, la referida escuadra, resultaría sólo el reprimir y sujetar en lo futuro otra sublevación que acaeciera, como la que acaba de experimentarse en sus naturales, sin servir para otras prontas providencias las armas de dicha escuadra, por la dispersidad y lejanía que tienen los pueblos de esta nación pima, que unos caen al norte y otros al poniente. Ni podrán servir para el reparo y contención del enemigo apache, porque internándose éste (como suele hacerlo) en esta Pimería y retirándose luego con los robos de caballada, que se llevan y extorsionando a los vecinos que encuentran descuidados, no les será muy fácil a dichas armas el seguirlos, y cuando lo sea, ya la fuga los habrá puesto en salvo sin que logren el castigo.

Por lo cual, venerando rendidamente la superior providencia del excelentísimo señor virrey, y sin que en manera alguna se entienda ni presuma oposición a tan soberana determinación son de parecer y sentir el que sería de más importancia al real servicio y bien público, que la dicha escuadra se compusiera de sesenta hombres, para que dividida en dos trozos de a treinta cada uno, se colocarán los unos en el potrero del Tupo y los otros en el puesto de Tubac, cuyos parajes tienen bien reconocidos ser cómodos y muy a propósito para ocuparlos, así por los buenos y muchos estalajes y permanencia de agua en ellos, como de tierras para cultivo y más circunstancias que los hacen apetecibles. Y asentada en cada uno de ellos los treinta hombres, quedaría sin duda alguna toda la frontera acordonada, en figura de un semi-círculo desde el presidio de Santa Rosa Corodéguchi hasta la Pimería Alta del poniente. De cuya inteligencia resultaría, no sólo tener sujeta, con el respeto de las armas, toda la nación que comprenden los pueblos del norte y el poniente, sino que también podrá impedirle el paso para la introduc-

ción que hace en ella el enemigo apache. Que hasta ahora lo frecuente libre, a su voluntad, hostilizando aquellos terrenos, hasta internarse adelante de este pueblo pasando los términos de la pimería.

A más de que si se situase el todo de la compañía sola en un puesto, y habiendo de ser este el del potrero del Tupo, por ser el mejor que cae a la parte del poniente de dicha Pimería, quedarán estas armas muy distantes de la parte del norte, donde habitan muchos indios y los más esforzados belicosos y guerreros de esta nación. Con que colocándose (como llevan dicho) en los dos puestos del Tupo y Tubac las dos escuadras de a treinta hombres se asegurará con el respeto de las armas, la obediencia y sujeción de los indios, así del norte como del poniente, y en esta forma las dos escuadras están fácilmente prontas para en cualquier caso repentino, unirse con las armas de Terrenate o para acudir por sí, cada uno, sin dilación a aquella parte inmediata que necesitare socorro.

Y también estando guarnecido el puesto de Tubac (acaso de que los indios del norte se rebelasen) estorbaría ésta la unión que los dichos solicitarán con los del poniente, igualmente a éstos les impedirá lo mismo, atento a su proporcionada situación, pues la del referido puesto de Tubac a San Xavier del Bac, se cuenta veinticinco leguas y del propio Tubac a los sobaipuris veinte y a Terrenate veinticinco. Y estando estas armas en esta disposición sólo atenderán las de Terrenate a guardar la otra parte de esta provincia y contener la introducción de dicho enemigo apache en ella. Y también todo lo que por contingencia quieran intentar las naciones que confinan con dicha Pimería Alta como eudeves, jovas y ópatas.

Y que en cuanto a la seguridad con que se debe preparar cada puesto y presidio a poca costa de real hacienda, haciéndose cargo de las armas de los indios y de las circunstancias de la guerra que hacen, y de que forma. Hallan que quedará suficientemente seguros y defendidos, cerrándolos con una pared de adobe, de correspondiente ancho y altura con dos o tres puertas. Lo que les servirá de una muralla incontrastable para los indios y desde donde con facilidad (caso que se atrevan a avanzar) fueran rechazados. Con cuya única providencia, aunque destaquen el mayor número del presidio, con el corto que quedare estará bien defendido entrando en su interior a las familias y mujeres, pues sólo la perspectiva del cerco o muralla será de mucho respecto a dichos indios considerándole inexpugnable e imposible de batirla con sus armas.

Que este es el parecer y sentir de los informantes juntos y cada uno de por sí, y es el mismo que por mi parte doy, por haber sido en todo conforme con los referidos, quienes lo firmaron conmigo y testigos de asistencia.

Joseph Díaz del Carpio.

Testigo:

Juan Antonio Ramírez.

Bernardo de Urrea.

Isidro Sánchez Tagle.

Francisco Javier de Padilla.

Juan Martínez.

Otro sí que hemos discurrido, por más propicio paraje el de el Ocucac por estar más a los seris y pimas y mejores aguajes y lo mejor para la fundación.

Señalado con una rúbrica:

Juan Joseph de Ochoa.

Luis Domínguez.

A ruego de Antonio de Alviso: Francisco Pérez Serrano.

A ruego de Urbano García: Francisco Pérez Serrano.

Joseph Romero.

A ruego de Nicolás Romero: Isidro Sánchez de Tagle.

Ignacio Romero.

A ruego de Joseph Ignacio Salazar: Isidro Sánchez de Tagle.

Pedro de Espinosa.

Antonio Olguín.

A ruego de Juan García: Juan Joseph de Ochoa.

A ruego de Juan María Quintero: Francisco Javier de Padilla.

A ruego de Vicente de Salazar: Francisco Pérez Serrano.

A ruego de Juan Manuel Martínez: Francisco de Salazar.

#### SEGESSER SOBRE PRESIDIOS, 1752

Dictamen del padre Felipe Segesser:

**S**eñor gobernador y capitán general,  
En cumplimiento del orden de vuestra señoría que con fecha 8 de mayo de este año 1752. Me remite vuestra señoría para que se le dé dictamen por mí y los padres Jacobo Sedelmayr, visitador de la Pimería Alta, y padre rector Gaspar Stiger de la misma pimería, como tan prácticos e inteligentes en su terreno.

Haciendo el debido acuerdo por el conocimiento que me asiste y arreglado el informe que vuestra señoría me pide, hallo por conveniente y necesario así para la reducción de la Pimería Alta, el que los dos presidios que vuestra señoría ha de situar en ella, el que el uno se ponga en el paraje de Santa Catalina o en el inmediato nombrado Tucuson, por ser ambos abundantes de agua y pastos así [para] la población, como para las caballadas y cría. Con cuya guarnición se consigue la sujeción y reducción del gentilismo que abraza la parte del norte y oriente de dicha pimería. Y contiene no sólo la que habita las márgenes del río Gila, sino las rancherías de apaches apostadas más arriba, y las sierras inmediatas abrazando el terreno. Y dándose la mano con el presidio de San Felipe de Guevavi alias Terrenate, cómodamente sus capitanes celar [celarán] el cumplimiento de los [las] órdenes, de su majestad, civiles y políticas para la educación de los indios.

Y así, el otro presidio situándose en el Arizona o Sariqui, parajes de igual calidad que el antecedente de Tucuson, sujetará así los indios de poniente, papagos y demás como en el centro de la pimería. Y que con la misma comodidad, se dará la mano con los dos antecedentes. No sólo sirviendo para el fin de sujetar la pimería, mantener con seguro sus misiones, sino para reparar las hostilidades que en ella ejecuta la nación apache.

Este es mi sentir por el conocimiento que me asiste, con lo que dejo satisfecho el informe de vuestra señoría por cuyo acierto pido a Dios, y que me guarde la importante vida de vuestra señoría muchos años. De esta misión de San Miguel de Ures, mayo 25 de 1752.

Felipe Segesser, JHS.

SEDELMAYR SOBRE PRESIDIOS, 1752

Otro del Padre Jacobo Sedelmayr:

**P**or orden de mi padre visitador Felipe Segesser doy parecer sobre en que paraje o parajes se haya de poner o se hayan de poner el presidio nuevo o los nuevos presidios en la Pimería Alta. Supuesto pues que se ha de poner un presidio, es mi parecer que éste se ponga en el Arivaca o si por estar este paraje sujeto a enfermedades allí no convenga, se ponga hacia el Agua Caliente o Arizona o Sáric. La razón es porque puestos en cualquier parajes estaría como en medio de la pimería y más a mano para atajar las alteraciones de los indios y acudir al sosiego de los pueblos. Cualquiera de los mencionados parajes tiene (la) comodidad de agua y pasto con que mantener la caballada presidial.

Pero si se han de erigir dos presidios, en tal caso es mi parecer que uno se plante como cuatro o cinco leguas más allá de San Xavier en Santa Catarina o en Tucusona, parajes abundantes de agua y pasto, y el otro en el valle de Sáric, Caborca, y Tubutama. El primero como inmediato atajará los desórdenes de los pimas norteños y papagos inmediatos, y el segundo contendrá los pimas del poniente y confinantes papagos. De esta suerte, uno y otro vendrá de estar en dónde la muchedumbre de los pimas ha ocasionado las pasadas sublevaciones y en dónde se necesita más cuidado.

Es lo que me parece y lo firmo. Ures y mayo 10 de 1752 años.

Jacobo Sedelmayr, JHS.

STIGER SOBRE PRESIDIOS, 1752

Otro del Padre Gaspar Stiger:

**M**i parecer en orden a un presidio fijo y permanente que se ponga en esta pimería corresponde con él de mi padre visitador Jacobo, y tengo por más cómodo y acertado el paraje del Arizona, y si acaso pusiesen dos, me conformo, la misma manera que el segundo se ponga en Santa Catalina o Tucson.

Para la presente urgencia, por estar robando actual los pimas caborqueños ganados y caballadas de este valle, me parece que conviene se esté hasta sujetar estos ladrones, el presidio señalado para esta pimería en el rancho del Ocuca por cuyos contornos de preciso han de cruzar los sobre dichos ladrones.

Y como de la misma suerte están robando actualmente los indios que viven en varias rancherías alrededor de Baboquivari, y algunos papagos, y algunos norteños con ellos, los ganados y caballadas del valle de San Luis y partido de Guevavi, soy de parecer que provisionalmente, en el ínterin, se atajan estos hurtos, se ponga el presidio de Sinaloa entre Tubac y Guevavi o en cualquiera de estos dos parajes, que es el camino por donde sacan y arrean los dichos ladrones los ganados y caballadas. Y en habiendo ya cesado los dichos latrocinios, se ponga presidio fijo o presidios en los parajes ya arriba mencionados.

Así lo siento de lo cual doy fe.

Gaspar Stiger

ministro de doctrina en el partido de San Ignacio

## PARILLA SOBRE TUBAC, 1752

## Determinación de Gobernador Diego Ortiz Parrilla:

**E**n el real presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas, en 2 días del mes de junio de 1752 años, yo, don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, teniente coronel de los reales ejércitos, capitán propietario de dragones de Veracruz, comandante de los destacados en la ciudad de Los Ángeles, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Andalucía, provincias de Sinaloa, Sonora y demás agregadas, sus presidios fronteras y costas del mar del sur, por su majestad. Habiendo visto este cuaderno de autos formados sobre la ubicación de terreno conveniente para colocar la tropa, que por última superior disposición del excelentísimo señor virrey de estos reinos se ha levantado por ahora en la Pimería Alta recién pacificada.

Visto el despacho por mí expedido a los 4 de abril próximo pasado, para que así sobre este particular asunto, como en cuanto al de la mayor seguridad, defensa y resguardo de los presidios internos de esta gobernación, me expusiesen su parecer los oficiales y otros sujetos prácticos de los terrenos de la pimería, cuya diligencia cometí a don Joseph Díaz del Carpio, capitán del real presidio de San Felipe Gracia Real, alias Terrenate, quien por auto de 7 del mismo mes, mandó convocar a junta.

Visto los dictámenes y pareceres que en ella produjeron el sobredicho capitán y el capitán de milicias, don Bernardo de Urrea, con los demás oficiales, militares y milicianos concurrentes y varios vecinos prácticos de los valles de Santa Ana y San Luis, todos los cuales de común acuerdo fueron de sentir que para consultar mejor a la futura serenidad y quietud de la pimería recién pacificada, estimaban conveniente el que erigiéndose la actual compañía de cincuenta hombres sobre el pie de sesenta, se colocasen treinta en el paraje del Tupo y otros tantos en el de Tubac, con cuya disposición y arbitrio, tanto los pueblos de la parte del poniente como los que llaman nortños, comprendidos en la Pimería Alta, se conservarían sujetos y más fieles con el freno y respetuosa vista de las armas, las cuales podrían impedir entonces fácilmente la alianza y confederación de unos y otros pimas, caso de intentarla para otra nueva rebelión. Y ambas escuadras desbaratarían con brevedad las máquinas, trazas o ideas sediciosas de unos y otros pimas, bien fuese operando cada escuadra por sí en cualquier lance repentino o procediendo unidas sus fuerzas, por no ser difícil su breve incorporación y la de las armas de Terrenate cuando el caso lo demandase.

Y que a más de estos importantes provechos, se seguiría otra no menos providencia útil al servicio del rey y seguridad del común, porque presidiada la parte de Tubac, se cerraría al bárbaro apache aquel puerto por donde se introduce a hostilizar la provincia. Y que entonces todo el nervio de la guarnición de Terrenate tendría su objeto y atención a la otra parte de la frontera infestada del mismo enemigo y procedería con el vigor de todo su espíritu a cortar improvisamente cualquier movimiento de las otras naciones pacíficas confinantes de los pimas altos.

Y que por último para que los presidios, en el caso de ser avanzados por los enemigos, y en el de que fuese necesario destacar la mayor parte de sus guarniciones para algunas urgentes ocurrencias, quedasen seguros y defendidos se lograría con el providente arbitrio de amurallarlos con una pared de adobe de proporcionado

ancho y elevación, en cuyo interior recinto, aunque fuese corto el número de los defensores, podrían estar sostenidos y abrigadas las familias de sus presidiales, habida consideración a las armas de los indios y a la guerra que estos acostumbran.

En cuyos términos, el enunciado capitán don Joseph Díaz del Carpio con la mayor parte de los oficiales y vecinos, añadieron por otro sí, que en el lugar del propuesto paraje del Tupo, habían discurrido después por más a propósito el del Ocuca por estar más a los seris y pimas y contener mejores aguajes y otras conveniencias adaptables a la fundación.

Visto los dictámenes que a los 22 del citado mes de abril, me expusieron don Francisco Javier de Escalante y don Joseph Moraga, ambos oficiales del real presidio de Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, quienes substancialmente concuerdan con los antecedentes informes, en cuanto a la división de esta tropa, el número de su dotación y sitios en que deberá fijarse por las razones y fundamentos que expenden, conviniendo así mismo en cuanto al propuesto arbitrio de que amurallados los presidios se mantendrán suficientemente defendidos y libres de que puedan prevalecer sobre ellos los bloqueos y acometimientos de los indios.

Visto el parecer que a los 25 del mes próximo pasado, me expuso el muy reverendo padre Felipe Segesser, visitador de las misiones de esta provincia, en que asienta por necesario y conveniente el que se presidien dos puestos de la pimería, colocándose una parte de tropa en el paraje de Santa Catarina o en su inmediata, nombrado Tucuson, ambos proveídos de agua y pastos. Para que el respeto de esta guarnición sujete y reduzca el gentilismo que abraza la parte del norte y oriente de dicha pimería, comprensiva no sólo de la que habita los márgenes del río Gila, sino las rancherías de apaches apostadas más arriba y las sierras inmediatas, señoreando todo el terreno y dándose la mano con el no distante presidio de San Felipe Gracia Real, alias Terrenate, cuyos cabos podrán cómodamente celar el cumplimiento de las órdenes de su majestad para la educación de los indios.

Y que en la misma forma conviene apostar la otra parte de tropa en el puesto de la Arizona o Sáric que ambos son de iguales conveniencias y se figuran en proporción equivalente al objeto de sujetar así los indios del occidente, pápagos y los demás con los del centro de la pimería. Y que también se dará la mano esta tropa con la que se hubiere de colocar en Santa Catarina o Tucuson y la que guarnece el real presidio de Terrenate. Cuya providencia traerá el laudable fin de conservar subordinada y obediente la pimería, mantener con seguro sus misioneros, y reparar las hostilidades que en ella ejecuta el indómito apache.

Visto el consiguiente dictamen del muy reverendo padre Jacobo Sedelmayr, visitador de los partidos de dicha pimería, en que asienta que en el presupuesto evento de que sólo se haya de establecer un presidio en los terrenos de ella, estará bien colocado en el puesto de la Arivaca o no estimándose tal cual se requiere por ser paraje sujeto a enfermedades, podrá fijarse hacia la Agua Caliente, Arizona, o Sáric, porque en cualquiera de ellos, vendrá a quedar centrado, como en medio de la pimería, y más a la mano para atajar las alteraciones de aquellos indios y ocurrir al sosiego de los pueblos, a cuya disposición influye la circunstancia de gozar todos los dichos parajes la conveniencia apetecible de pastos y aguas. Pero que en el caso de tratarse y ponerse en efecto la erección de dos presidios, es de sentir y parecer que el uno se plante en Santa Catarina o Tucuson, sitios de igual providencia, y el otro en el valle del Sáric, Caborca, y Tubutama. Para que el primero se oponga a los desórdenes de los indios norteños y sus vecinos pápagos, y el segundo

contenga y reprima a los pimas del poniente y pápagos confinantes. Con cuya proporcionada situación estarán colocadas una y otra escuadra donde la muchedumbre de los pimas ha ocasionado las pasadas alteraciones.

A cuyo dictamen subscribió el muy reverendo padre rector Gaspar Stiger, proponiendo el que por estar los pimas caborqueños robando ganados y caballadas de aquel valle, juzga conveniente, que por ahora hasta sujetar los cuatrerros, se apueste la nueva compañía en el rancho del Ocuca, en cuyos contornos han de traficar los malhechores. Y porque de la misma suerte los indios que viven en varias rancherías alrededor del Baboquivari y algunos pápagos y norteños con ellos, se internen a robar ganados y caballadas del valle de San Luis y partido de Guevavi, es de sentir que la compañía de Sinaloa se apueste provisionalmente, bien sea entre Tubac y Guevavi, o en cualquiera de ambos parajes, respecto a ser el camino por donde extraen los ladrones sus robos. Y que en cesando éstos, se coloque la tropa sobre los dos parajes propuestos por dicho padre visitador Jacobo Sedelmayr.

Visto últimamente lo que de los dichos dictámenes se deteje [desteje] y lo que en razón de todo lo expuesto y deducido convino reflexionar. Dije: que atentas las presentes circunstancias, y sin embargo de que en carta de 13 del mes próximo pasado escrita por el capitán de la nueva compañía don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, en que da cuenta individual del favorable aspecto en que se hallan los pueblos de la pimería, me participa la noticia de haber sido castigado con la muerte un indio del pueblo de Caborca. Que hecho caudillo de otros pocos en los ranchos inmediatos a los pueblos del poniente, robaban algún ganado y caballada, con cuya ejemplar demostración esperaba la enmienda de sus consortes. Que con efecto se ha logrado, pues por las últimas noticias que en carta de 29 del citado mes de mayo, escribe dicho capitán, me participa, no solamente el rendimiento y subordinación de los indios, que seguían al principal agresor, que experimentó el castigo, sino que así mismo el día 28 fue aprendida toda una ranchería de indios, de la parte del poniente, que ocasionaban perjuicios con sus robos, por lo que fueron escarmentados con la corrección correspondiente y quedan congregados en sus pueblos con cuyas providencias se debe presumir que cesen los robos de aquella parte.

Supuesta la reducción y castigo de los que se consideraban malhechores, deseando como deseo, no obstante adaptar por ahora los más precaucionales seguros resguardos, por lo que dice al todo de la pimería, proporcionando los medios que hagan cada día más firme, permanente y estable la quietud, pacificación y serenidad de aquellos naturales.

Debía declarar y declaro: que por ahora, se coloque y asiente el capitán don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín con la nueva compañía de cincuenta soldados en el puesto de Tubac. Para que encaminando su conducta bajo las órdenes, instrucciones y reglas más propias y adecuadas al objeto de su creación y destino, pueda desempeñar las obligaciones que por lo respectivo a aquella parte del norte se consultan y difusamente proponen en los dictámenes y pareceres expresados. Por estimarse aquel paraje útil en cuanto a las conveniencias necesarias para la conservación de la tropa, y también proporcionado para acudir a las urgencias de su destino. Y por influir también la circunstancia de estar inmediato el vecindario del valle de San Luis, que aunque compuesto de corto número, podrá ser suficiente para auxiliar la tropa o ser auxiliado de ella en la precisión y urgencia de los casos que lo demandaren.



Y porque a mayor cautela conviene el que los pueblos del poniente no pierdan de vista el respetuoso aspecto de las armas, sino que antes bien, puedan éstas hallarse por aquella parte aprontadas en tal disposición que puedan oportunamente operar ocurriendo a las obligaciones que en los mismos dictámenes extensamente se proponen. Respecto a que el paraje del Ocuca se halla como distante del numeroso vecindario que habita el puesto de Santa Ana, por lo que podrá contribuir a las armas arregladas auxilio pronto. Mandaba y mandé que el expresado capitán don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín haya de estar y esté con la obligación de mantener fijo un destacamento de veinte soldados de su compañía con un oficial subalterno en el sobredicho paraje del Ocuca, cuya partida alternará mensualmente y procederán bajo las correspondientes reglas, instrucciones y advertencias que convingan a su mejor dirección.

Y por cuanto hasta aquí se ha mantenido de mi orden, en el pueblo de San Ignacio, un destacamento de ocho soldados habida la correspondiente refleja a ciertos fines del servicio de su majestad que lo dictaban conveniente, provocando por ahora a variar en la providencia la insinuación que el reverendo padre rector Gaspar Stiger, ministro de aquel pueblo ha hecho al citado capitán, sobre que estando satisfecho de la fidelidad de sus indios, desea no darles motivo para que presuman el que tiene de ellos alguna desconfianza, como en los mismos términos, me lo participa dicho capitán en su inteligencia, y de lo que convino tener presente, mandaba y mandé que se retire el citado destacamento.

Y que todo lo resuelto en esta determinación se entienda con la calidad de por ahora y provisionalmente, a cuyo efecto se darán las órdenes respectivas. Y quedando de todos estos autos, testimonio autorizado en forma, se hará remisión de los originales al excelentísimo señor virrey de estos reinos, con separado informe para que su superior y más elevada comprensión en inteligencia de lo que producen, se digne resolver lo que sea de su soberano agrado, así en cuanto a la denominación con que en lo futuro ha de ser distinguida y conocida la referida nueva compañía, como sobre el sitio o paraje en que deba establecerse, y si en uno solo convendrá fijarse o dividirse en dos, según se consulta y propone por los informantes o lo que sobre todo fuere de su justificado soberano arbitrio, que como siempre será lo mejor.

Y así lo proveí, mandé y firmé con los testigos de mi asistencia.

Diego Ortiz Parrilla.

Martín Cayetano Fernández de Peralta.

Manuel Joaquín de la Carra.

## Junta Regarding Tubac, 1752

*The first two-thirds of the report of the real junta de hacienda — the highest advisory council to the viceroy regarding fiscal affairs in New Spain — briefly summarizes the Pima Revolt and reviews the recommendations of the authorities concerning the creation of a new presidio in the Pimería Alta. Much of the report incorporates exactly the same wording found in earlier documents. The final portion of the report, translated below, presents the resolutions of the junta itself.*

Resolutions of the real junta de hacienda, Mexico, October 9, 1752

**T**he response given by his majesty's fiscal is hereby put forth in writing. The opinion of the auditor general of war has also been presented in view of the previous meetings of September 6 and 11 of this past year. The resolution of agreement of the thirteenth of the same month provided for the convocation of this meeting. The decision of the viceroy is needed regarding the following points:

1. The first point that must be decided upon by his excellency is whether the salaries earned by the fifty soldiers should be paid in full as of April 1 of this year, since their service started on that date.
2. The second point is whether there should be an increase of ten soldiers. Such a company of sixty soldiers could be divided into two squads or detachments of thirty men each, stationed in the places to which the governor refers.
3. The third regards where the presidio of the Pimería and its two detachments should be located.
4. The fourth is whether the presidios of the province of Sinaloa should be fortified with adobe walls and surrounded with trenches as suggested by the above-mentioned governor.
5. The fifth concerns the reduction in the number of extra weapons. It had been decided at a meeting held on January 27 of this year that extra arms were to be sent to the presidios for the use of the settlers. The governor has suggested that these arms be reduced to only fifty muskets and as many swords. He also pointed out how cumbersome and unmanageable the mortars were in order that they not be sent. In addition, the governor has noted how difficult it is to find hides to make the leather armor.
6. The sixth point requests his excellency to distinguish and make known the aforementioned presidial company by giving it a name.

In regard to the first point, it was resolved that the fifty soldiers be paid their salaries from the day that they enlisted. This decision was made in accordance with the resolutions of the previous real junta de guerra, that the soldiers be paid by royal officials from the day they were listed on the roster. This matter should

be handled separately from these *autos* and be handed down to the royal officials to be carried out.

The second point concerns the addition of ten soldiers, forming a presidial company of sixty positions that could be divided into two squads or detachments of thirty men each, to be assigned to the places referred to by the governor. It was unanimously agreed that since the *autos* do not contain complete instructions on this matter, a decision should await the arrival of information concerning the pacification of the Pimas. If this pacification is considered to be stable, safe, and permanent, not only will it not be necessary to open ten new positions, but some of the present fifty soldiers may even be discharged. This is particularly true in view of the extinction of the Seri, which, although a few vestiges of this nation survive, renders the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas unnecessary and superfluous.<sup>1</sup> One squad should therefore be sufficient for the safety and defense of this frontier. Therefore, in order to make a decision regarding an increase in the armed forces, complete and exact instructions will be necessary, including both the remittal of *autos* concerning the pacification of the Pimas as well as those drawn up and remitted regarding the extinction of the Seri. In consideration of such, the proposed increase of ten positions is not granted at this time. In view of the present situation, however, the governor should detach ten positions from the presidio of Horcasitas and incorporate them into the presidio of the Pimería if he considers it necessary to station sixty soldiers in the Pimería Alta. In such a way, these positions will be deployed where they are most urgently needed.

The third point concerns the location of the presidio of the Pimería and its two respective detachments. It was decided that with respect to the general welfare, the presidios should be located not only in areas where they can contain the enemy and defend the region, but also where soldiers and other settlers can establish themselves under presidial protection. Thus, it is necessary to have the convenience of farmlands with necessary and sufficient water. In consideration of such matters, however, the diligencias say nothing, nor do they state whether the suggested locations are suitable for the containment of the enemy, the defense of the region, or the establishment of the soldiers and settlers. Yet once the settlers take root, the presidio may be advanced, leaving the country protected at all times. Since the governor knows the area, he should select the best locations with the above-mentioned qualities. Then the presidio and its two detachments can be established and stationed in those places. The execution of this matter will be brought to the attention of the viceroy for his approval.

The fourth point regards whether the presidios should be fortified with adobe walls and surrounded with trenches. It has been decided that the governor should

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1. After the invasion of Tiburón Island in 1750, Ortiz Parrilla proclaimed that only a "small number" of Seri rebels remained at large. He and other Spanish officials greatly underestimated the tenacity of their Seri foes. During the 1750s and 1760s, the Seris and their Lower Pima allies were the greatest threats to northwestern New Spain after the Apaches. Sonoran presidios, including Horcasitas, continued to campaign against them throughout the colonial period. In the late 1760s, in fact, the Spanish government organized the largest military expedition in Sonoran colonial history to subjugate the Seris and the Lower Pimas. Commanded by Colonel Domingo Elizondo, even that massive undertaking was only partially successful (see Rowland, "Elizondo Expedition").

adhere to the plan or map already put forth by his excellency with respect to the fortification of all interior presidios. In order to achieve this end, a copy of the plan will be transmitted, with the understanding that the presidios of Terrenate and Fronteras not be altered in any way, since a decision is still pending as to whether the presidios should remain in those locations or be advanced or transferred to other places judged to be advantageous.

The fifth point concerns extra weapons for the settlers in case they are recruited. It was decided that regardless of what the governor argued, the resolutions adopted by the previous royal junta should be upheld, with the exception of the mortars, whose transportation is judged to be both costly and a hindrance. Furthermore, the mortars are not necessary for the type of warfare and the battles fought [in that region]. As for the leather armor, the governor and every captain who receives royal orders must procure hides for themselves, acquiring them either in that province or in the neighboring provinces of Nueva Vizcaya or New Mexico.

All the dispositions, instructions, and rules agreed to at the preceding royal junta will be observed, as well as any others that his excellency may set forth for the improved preservation, existence, care, and integrity of the aforementioned armed forces. The aforementioned royal junta decided to title the new presidio the presidio of the Pimería. However, the review of the attribute or name by which the new presidio should be known is reserved to his excellency in his proper, appropriate, and superior position of viceroy.

Thus the preceding matters were agreed upon and resolved. Signed and sealed with eleven rubrics by the following:

His excellency, Don Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas<sup>2</sup>  
Francisco Antonio de Echavarri<sup>3</sup>  
Domingo Valcárcel<sup>4</sup>  
Marqués de Altamira<sup>5</sup>  
Antonio Andreu y Terras<sup>6</sup>

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2. Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas (1682–1768), Conde de Revillagigedo, was the forty-first viceroy of New Spain, serving from 1746 to 1755.

3. Francisco Antonio de Echavarri was *decano*, or senior oidor, of the Audiencia of Mexico.

4. Domingo Valcárcel (1700?–1780) was also an oidor. In 1767, when Valcárcel was *decano* of the audiencia, he refused to carry out the expulsion of the Jesuits, which led to his arrest.

5. The Marqués de Altamira was auditor de guerra. The auditor de guerra was a special assistant to the viceroy in military affairs and often was himself an oidor of the audiencia. In matters of military justice, he served as legal counsel to the viceroy. The auditor also coordinated with and executed decisions of the junta de guerra, the committee of the audiencia that oversaw military matters.

6. Antonio Andreu y Terras was fiscal of the Audiencia of Mexico. The position of fiscal was an extremely important one. Fiscales provided legal counsel to the viceroy and the audiencia and also reported all matters concerning the royal treasury directly to the king. A strong fiscal therefore could limit viceregal authority by acting as guardian of the king's interests in New Spain. Energetic and able fiscales like Andreu often determined policy because viceroys frequently accepted their recommendations without modification.

Juan Crisóstomo de Barroeta<sup>7</sup>  
Joaquín de Cortillas<sup>8</sup>  
Ignacio Joseph de Miranda  
Joseph Díaz de Celis  
Joseph del Mazo Calderón<sup>9</sup>  
Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo

From AGI, Guadalajara 144–148.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Disposiciones del real junta de hacienda, México, 9 de octubre de 1752:

**A** sí mismo se asentó a la letra la respuesta dada por el señor fiscal de su majestad y dictamen del señor auditor general de la guerra, dados en vista de los antecedentes de 6 y 11 de septiembre pasado de este año. Y decreto de conformidad de 13 del mismo en que se previno se procediese a la convocación de esta junta. Y reduciéndose los puntos sobre que ha de recaer su decisión son los siguientes:

1. El primero, sobre que se declare por dicho señor excelentísimo que la satisfacción y paga del correspondiente sueldo que han devengado los cincuenta soldados, debe entenderse desde el día 1 de abril de este año por haber comenzado en él a hacer el servicio.

2. El segundo, sobre si deben aumentarse diez soldados para que componiéndose la compañía de sesenta soldados, se divida en dos escuadras o destacamentos de a treinta hombres que se apuesten en los parajes que el gobernador refiere.

3. El tercero, sobre la situación que deba tener el presidio de la pimería y sus dos respectivos destacamentos.

4. El cuarto sobre si los presidios de la provincia de Sinaloa se deberán circunvalar y fortalecer con la tapia de adobe como enuncia el citado gobernador.

5. El quinto, sobre si las armas de refacción, que en la junta de 27 de enero de este año, se resolvió se remitan a aquellos presidios para que sirvan de refacción al paisanaje, se deben reducir a sólo cincuenta escopetas y otras tantas espadas como refiere el citado gobernador, haciendo presente lo embarazoso e inmanejable de los pedreros para que no se la remitan y la dificultad que encuentra en la consecución de las gamuzas para que se fabriquen las cueras.

6. El sexto, sobre que el enunciado señor excelentísimo se sirva de distinguir y poner nombre a la citada compañía para que se conozca.

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7. Juan Crisóstomo de Barroeta was regent of the *real tribunal y audiencia de cuentas*. The tribunal de cuentas audited all royal accounts in New Spain.

8. Joaquín de Cortillas was contador—accountant or auditor—of the tribunal de cuentas.

9. Ignacio Joseph de Miranda, Joseph Díaz de Celis, and Joseph del Mazo Calderón were officials of the royal treasury.

Se resolvió en cuanto al primer punto, en orden a la satisfacción y paga del correspondiente sueldo que han devengado los cincuenta soldados desde el día que se alistaron, en conformidad de lo resuelto en la real junta de guerra antecedente, fueron de dictamen que oficiales reales los satisfagan desde el día que consta por el pie de lista, que se deberá separar de estos autos y bajarse a oficiales reales para este efecto.

En cuanto al segundo punto, sobre si se deban aumentar los diez soldados para que componiéndose la compañía de sesenta, se divida en dos escuadras o destacamento de treinta hombres, que se apuesten en los parajes que el gobernador refiere, fueron de común dictamen que por no tener íntegra instrucción los autos y deberse esperar a que vengan los formados sobre la pacificación del pima, y por considerarse que de ser dicha pacificación estable, segura y permanente, no sólo no será preciso el dicho aumento de diez plazas, sino que aún se deberán excusar algunas de las cincuenta, principalmente cuando con la extinción del seri y aunque subsistan algunas cortas reliquias de esta nación, se debe estimar no necesario o superfluo el presidio de San Miguel de Horcasitas, y suficiente o bastante una sola escuadra para el seguro y defensa de esta frontera. Y que por eso, para resolver el aumento de armas que se ha consultado, es necesario la íntegra cabal instrucción que habrán de ministrar siempre, así los autos que se remitan sobre la pacificación del pima, como los que se han formado y remitido sobre la extinción de seri. Que en esta atención no ha [*sic*] lugar por ahora el consultado aumento de las diez plazas, y que el gobernador en caso de considerar precisas las sesenta en la Pimería Alta, y como que tiene la cosa presente, destaque las diez plazas del presidio de Horcasitas y las incorpore con las del presidio de la pimería, dándoles el destino a que precise la urgencia.

Sobre el tercero punto, en orden a la situación que deba tener el presidio de la pimería y sus dos respectivos destacamentos, fueron de dictamen que respecto a que la practicable atención debe ser que los presidios se sitúen en parajes donde no sólo puedan contener al enemigo y defender la tierra, sino también donde puedan radicarse los soldados y otros pobladores a su abrigo, para lo que es necesaria la comodidad de tierras de labor con la agua [*sic*] necesaria y suficiente. Y en atención a que no instruyen las diligencias que se tuviese consideración a este intento, ni si los parajes consultados al tanto que sean aptos para la contención del enemigo y defensa de la tierra, lo sean también para la radicación de soldados y pobladores, a fin de que radicado el vecindario pueda avanzarse el presidio, quedando siempre abrigado el país. El gobernador como que tendrá conocimiento, elija los mejores parajes en que concurren todas las calidades expuestas, procurando que o en los que consulta, siendo de esa calidad o en otros aptos, y los mejores que hubiere se radique y sitúe el presidio o sus respectivos destacamentos, dando cuenta para su aprobación de lo que practicare en la materia.

Sobre el cuarto punto, en orden a si los presidios se deberán circunvalar y fortalecer con la tapia de adobe, fueron de dictamen que el gobernador se arregle al plan o mapa formado de orden de su excelencia para la fortificación de todos los presidios internos. Y que a este fin se le remita copia, entendiéndose que en cuanto a los presidios de Terrenate y Fronteras no ha de hacer novedad, respecto a estar pendiente el punto sobre si deban o no subsistir en los parajes a donde se hallan, avanzándose o trasmutándose a otros que parezcan convenientes.

Sobre el quinto punto, en orden a las armas de refacción para el paisanaje en el caso de reclutas, fueron de dictamen, que no obstante lo que el gobernador expone, se observe lo resuelto en la real junta antecedente a excepción de los pedreros, cuya conducción se estima embarazosa y costosa, y ellos no tan necesarios para la calidad y funciones de la guerra. Y en cuanto a las cueras, el gobernador por su parte y cada uno de los capitanes por la suya, a quien se escriban cartas, las procuren ir adquiriendo, bien sea en aquella provincia o bien en las confinantes de la Nueva Vizcaya o Nuevo México.

Observándose todas las disposiciones, instrucciones y reglas acordadas en la antecedente real junta y las que se sirviere dar su excelencia para la mejor conservación, existencia, cuidado y limpieza de dichas armas, y reservándose a su excelencia como propio y peculiar de su superior viceregía inspección el distintivo o nombre con que deba conocerse el nuevo presidio, resolvió en la misma real junta que se intitule el presidio de la pimería.

Y así lo acordaron y resolvieron. Señalado con once rúbricas de los señores:

Su excelencia, Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas.

Francisco Antonio de Echavarri.

Domingo Valcárcel.

Marqués de Altamira.

Antonio Andreu y Terras.

Juan Crisóstomo de Barroeta.

Joaquín de Cortillas.

Ignacio Joseph de Miranda.

Joseph Díaz de Celis.

Joseph del Mazo Calderón.

Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo.



## XV

### Informe of Father Provincial Ignacio Lizasoáin (1763)

**T**he official report of Padre Ignacio Lizasoáin, S.J., visitor general of the missions of Sonora, Sinaloa, the Tarahumaras (Baja and Alta), and Baja California, is one of several Jesuit documents bemoaning the disastrous state of affairs along the northern frontier in the early 1760s. Undated, the informe was probably written in 1763 after Lizasoáin completed his monumental tour of the missions, mining camps, and other settlements of Sonora, the Tarahumara region, Nueva Vizcaya, the Pimería Alta, Baja California, and Sinaloa between April 1761 and January 1763. As such, it stands as a damning, if unintended, indictment of the policies unleashed by Rodríguez Gallardo in the late 1740s.

The worst of those policies was Rodríguez Gallardo's destruction of the Seri mission program, against which Padre Andrés García's 1749 letter to the viceroy, presented earlier in this section, warned. As Lizasoáin's informe and other documents, particularly the anonymous "Breve resumen de los desastres, robos, y asolamientos acaecidos en la provincia de Sonora hostilizada de apaches, seris, y pimas alzados,"<sup>1</sup> written in 1760, and Padre Juan Nentvig's *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona* in 1764, reveal, Spanish policies had transformed the Seris into determined guerrilla warriors who threatened the security of Spanish Sonora almost as much as the Apaches did.<sup>2</sup> Because of Seri hostilities, the Spanish Crown authorized the largest military expedition in Sonoran colonial history under the command of Colonel Domingo Elizondo in 1765.<sup>3</sup> Jesuit historian John A. Donohue believes that Lizasoáin's report and Nentvig's *Rudo ensayo* probably helped secure that authorization.<sup>4</sup>

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1. The "Breve resumen" is located in AHH, 17, 69.

2. Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?"

3. Rowland, "Elizondo Expedition."

4. Donohue, *After Kino*.



*The report also reflects the growing rigidity and dissatisfaction of the Jesuit missionaries themselves. By the mid-eighteenth century, the glory years of Jesuit evangelism were past. No new mission fields had been opened since Kino had ventured into the Pimería Alta and Salvatierra into Baja California more than two generations before. The enthusiasm of a Kino or the gruff sympathy of an Agustín de Campos rarely glowed in the pages of missionary letters or reports anymore. On the contrary, missionaries complained at length about the laziness, fickleness, and barbarity of the Native Americans they were supposed to convert. There were still Jesuit explorers like Jacobo Sedelmayr who dreamed of extending the boundaries of the mission system to the north and west, but the Spanish Crown no longer had the resources or will to support such expansion. The mid-eighteenth century was a period of sour stalemate for Jesuits as well as Spanish officials.*

*Many Native Americans had also grown to despise mission life. After years of forced labor, occasionally harsh mission discipline, and missionaries interfering with their indigenous religious, curing, sexual, and other cultural practices, they resented the power the missionaries had over the way they made their living, carried out their ceremonies, and organized their societies. Moreover, epidemics of Old World diseases such as smallpox and measles periodically devastated mission communities and contributed to a catastrophic population decline among mission Indians. As scholars such as Henry Dobyns and Robert Jackson have demonstrated, mission Indian communities in both the Pimería Alta and Baja California were not able to reproduce themselves.<sup>5</sup> Deaths exceeded births, and the only way missions like San Xavier del Bac survived as Indian communities was by continually recruiting neophytes from outside the communities themselves. Many O'odham (Pimas and Papagos), Yoemem (Yaquis), and other Native Americans eagerly adopted Old World animals like cattle, horses, sheep, and goats, and Old World cultigens like peaches, lentils, fava beans, and, above all, winter wheat.<sup>6</sup> They also appreciated many Catholic rituals and supernaturals, even though modern ethnographic research indicates that their interpretation of those rituals and supernaturals followed Uto-Aztecán rather than orthodox Catholic principles about who God was and how the universe operated.<sup>7</sup> But they chafed under missionary control and opposed the encroachment of Spanish miners, ranchers, and farmers onto their lands. By the early 1760s, every group missionized by the Jesuits with the exception of the Opatas and Eudeves had taken up arms against the Spanish Empire during the past two decades.*

*The result was a growing belief among Jesuits as well as Spanish officials that the only way to restore New Spain's security and prosperity was to establish more professional military garrisons. Lizasoáin's response to rebellion in Sonora was to call for the creation of two new presidios, one near the territory of the Yaquis,*

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5. Dobyns, *Colonial Tucson*; Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Population Decline*.

6. Sheridan, "Kino's Unforeseen Legacy."

7. Spicer, *The Yaquis*; Larry Evers and Felipe Molina, *Yaqui Deer Songs/Maso Bwikam*; William Merrill, *Rarámuri Souls*.

*Seris, and Lower Pimas, the other in the Opata pueblo of Bavispe in northeastern Sonora. Two years later, the Spanish Crown did indeed found the new presidio of San Carlos de Buenavista on the edges of Yaqui and Lower Pima country. And in 1779, Teodoro de Croix, comandante general of the Provincias Internas, chose Bavispe as the site of a presidial company of Opata soldiers that had been authorized two years before.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps unrecognized, Lizasoáin's recommendations became realities.*

*But one of the ironies of history is this: the Jesuits who championed an iron fist in northern New Spain never saw their proposals bear fruit. By the late eighteenth century, when Spanish soldiers and their Indian allies had worn the Seris down and were taking effective action against the Apaches, the Jesuits had long been expelled from all Spanish dominions and replaced by Franciscans. The Bourbon reformers of the late colonial period wanted no strong mission program to challenge their access to Indian land and labor or to interfere with their political and economic control of the Provincias Internas. After toying with the idea of abolishing missions once and for all, they grudgingly accepted the Franciscans but viewed them as subordinate players in a game that placed more power in the hands of the Spanish Crown and more resources in the hands of powerful ranchers, miners, and hacendados.*

*As for Lizasoáin's other recommendations concerning the population of the northern frontier, they tantalized and frustrated Spanish and later Mexican officials for most of the next century until the United States of America seized California, New Mexico, and Arizona during the Mexican War. The number of Spaniards and castas (people of mixed race) in northern New Spain did increase in the late colonial period while the number of pacified Indians declined. Nonetheless, the Spaniards were trying to retain control over an immense domain with very few people, a dilemma that became an obsession after Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821.<sup>9</sup> Not until the late nineteenth century did a tidal wave of European immigration wash over the North American continent and overwhelm the Native Americans of the western United States and northern Mexico. Until then, Sonora, Arizona, and the rest of the Greater Southwest remained contested ground.*

Report by Padre Lizasoáin concerning the provinces of Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya.



Most Excellent Sir:<sup>10</sup>

Sir, I am pleased to comply with your excellency's order by means of this brief, individual account. I shall set forth for your lofty consideration the actual state and lamentable condition of that part of America most worthy of consideration and attention in Sinaloa, Sonora, Pimería, Tarahumara, and the

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8. Moorhead, *The Presidio*, p. 89.

9. Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, pp. 158–206; *Spanish Frontier*, pp. 193–95, 209, 265, 322, 342; Gerhard, *North Frontier*, pp. 23–31; Sheridan, “The Limits of Power,” pp. 167–68.

10. Joaquín de Montserrat (1700–1771), the Marqués de Cruillas, was viceroy of New Spain from 1760 to 1766. Born in Valencia, Montserrat was a career military man who

other provinces that make up the two vast jurisdictions of Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya. Would that my pen could satisfy your excellency's zealous, Christian desires and allay the great need for aid in these provinces. At the very least, I will attempt to make an accurate report complete enough to pierce your excellency's merciful breast with grief. I am confident that your authority, along with your love for your sovereign and your concern for the relief of your subjects, will give rise to the decisions most conducive to the goal we all desire.

A century and a half have already passed since the jurisdiction of Sinaloa became united with the Church and the realm of the Spanish Crown. Whereas such a long period should have given us peaceful possession of these provinces—and the well-founded hope of advancing the spiritual conquest of new peoples and the extension of our sovereign's domain over new realms—the inescapable providence of the Most High has allowed new fears to grow. We fear not only that we will fail to advance one step further in those lands, but also that we will lose those that have already been conquered through the sweat and blood of so many missionaries, the constant labor of military men and officials, and considerable expenses from the royal coffers.

The lamentable cause of these ills is the inhuman cruelty of the Seris, who are presently allied with many of the Pimas and Papagos. Their continuous, bloody attacks hold the provinces of Pimería, Sonora, and Ostimuri in a state of terrified dismay, practically forcing the inhabitants to abandon their homes in order to save their lives. This has already happened throughout much of the Pimería and Sonora, whose residents have retreated to the provinces of Ostimuri and Sinaloa. Their desertion is the enemy's greatest triumph. Our enemies gain more terrain, and there are fewer combatants to resist and oppose their assaults in the future. Moreover, the settlers' voluntary flight swells the pride of these enemies, who consider themselves more powerful and more successful the more they see themselves feared.

The abandonment of these lands not only affects the settlers but has far-reaching ill effects among the Indians of other nations as well. It is incontrovertible that all Indians must now be treated with a prudent distrust of their loyalty. It is also certain that these Indians are governed more by what they see and what they experience than by reasons that capture their understanding. Other nations far more numerous than those of our enemies shall see how their daring and cruelty triumph over our troops and the Spaniards who inhabit those lands. They will also see how the boldness of our enemies goes unpunished. It is to be feared that, guided by such a bad example, these Indians might want to follow in their footsteps, shaking off the gentle yoke of the Gospel and the obedience to their sovereign. The inescapable consequence of this is easy to see: the total ruin of those provinces.

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fought in Europe before being sent to New Spain to reorganize the army in order to protect the viceroyalty against an anticipated British invasion. Montserrat spent more than 20 million pesos doing so, leading to accusations of corruption and conflict with Visitor General José de Gálvez. Montserrat was absolved of all charges in 1768 (see Navarro García, *Don José*).

The well-known and scandalous uprising of the Yaqui nation in 1740 shows that this fear is not merely speculative. The Yaquis allied themselves with the Mayo and Fuerteño nations and put our troops to the test. And once these nations were pacified, the uprising of the Pimería Alta followed ten years later. The cruelty of this revolt fattened itself upon the most sacred possessions of the churches and their ministers. Two of the missionaries met cruel deaths—Padre Enrique Ruhen and Padre Tomás Tello. With those provinces in such a state, it is equally true that the work of the missionary fathers is largely fruitless. Ultimately, the Indians, children of fear, will not only be removed from the tenderness and affection merited by their miserable poverty, but from the punishment of their misdeeds as well. Such a situation may not permit the missionary [to bring the Indians] before the judgment of the governor and his subordinates in order to avoid greater and more lamentable consequences.

The bloody cruelty of the enemy Seris is well known. It dates principally from the year 1750. Since then, the Seris have made their fatal alliance with the Upper Pimas and the Papagos, attacking sometimes in the Pimería Alta, sometimes in Sonora, in the mining district of Atunes and in the area around the presidio of San Miguel, along the Ríos Sonora, Mátape, and Nácori, in Saracachi, where they killed that valiant Christian nobleman, Governor Juan de Mendoza, in the *real* of Soyopa along the famous Río de San Antonio de la Huerta, and finally, along the Río Yaqui and in the province of Ostimuri, where in earlier times the enemy hardly ever reached.<sup>11</sup> It would be a lengthy process to enumerate the different types of people whose deaths have been mourned in those provinces over the course of the last thirteen years.

This cruelty can be understood in part from the events that took place in the pueblos I administered during the same years—events to which I can attest without the least hyperbole. In 1750, because of my vow of obedience, I went to found the mission of San José de Guaymas<sup>12</sup> in response to the reports made by Don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, the juez pesquisidor of that jurisdiction [Sinaloa-Sonora]. These reports discussed the suitability and need for that mission as a border on the Seri nation and a place where a language common to both nations [the Seris and the Guaymas] [was spoken]. I entered those lands at the beginning of 1751 and founded the mission in a place where one hundred families had already congregated. Before six months had gone by, however, the enemy made an

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11. Saracachi, located north of Cucurpe along the Río Saracachi, was an important gold placer mining district during the 1760s. Soyopa and San Antonio de la Huerta were mining *reales* along the middle Río Yaqui on the border of the provinces of Sonora and Ostimuri.

12. San José de Guaymas was originally founded by Padre Juan María Salvatierra as a mission visita among the Lower Pimas and as a port to supply the missions of Baja California. While Salvatierra was alive, in fact, Guaymas was under the jurisdiction of Salvatierra's mission of Loreto on the Baja Peninsula. After Salvatierra's death, Guaymas was abandoned until Lizasoáin unsuccessfully attempted to reestablish it in 1751. Padre Juan Lorenzo Salgado made another attempt to found a mission there in 1756. He also was driven out by Seri and Lower Pima hostilities. A permanent Spanish settlement did not survive in the area until the Elizondo expedition made Guaymas its port and one of its major garrisons in the 1760s.

assault on the outskirts of the pueblo, killing six men and two women. The Seris then told a woman accompanying the two women who were murdered to warn me to order the natives [of the mission] to make arrows, because in five days the Seris were going to return to the pueblo to fight them.

Realizing that the survival of the new settlement was hopeless and that we all stood at risk, my superiors ordered me to go to the pueblo of Belén.<sup>13</sup> I went there with the entire nation [the Guaymas]. Some time later, the enemy entered the pueblo of San José de Guaymas, burned the poor church and the house where I had been living, and took possession of the settlement. They are still there today, launching their attacks from even closer range. I left Belén to administer one of the missions on the Río Yaqui. Among that nation alone, we have already counted about one hundred individuals who have died at the hands of the enemy during their repeated invasions.

If what I have already recounted is enough to give an idea of the risk to those provinces and the inhuman cruelty of the enemy, the news I have just received is no more favorable. In a letter dated April 14 of this year, José Garrucho,<sup>14</sup> the father visitor of the province of Sonora, says the following: Since the departure of Governor José Tienda de Cuervo,<sup>15</sup> the enemy have been turned loose as if they were a torrential river. Bursting the dikes of their own barbarity, they have spread to all parts of these provinces, dividing their numerous encampments of Seris, Pimas, and Papagos into three detachments, each with its respective captain. Some of them carried out invasions throughout the province of Ostimuri. They committed several murders at the rancho of Bachomoban, and then passed through the area around Baroyeca to the rancho of Sauce, carrying off many horses from this rancho or hacienda and from the surrounding area.

One month before that, they also made an onslaught in the area around Mátape, where they killed seven citizens of that town who were seeking to earn their livelihoods at a gold placer. At almost the same time, in the ravine of Rebeico,<sup>16</sup> they assaulted five soldiers from the presidio of Tubac who were leading about 130 horses. They killed one soldier, wounded another, and made off with

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13. Belén, or Belem, was one of the eight original Yaqui missions founded by Jesuits in the early 1620s. By the eighteenth century, it was a tri-ethnic community of Yaquis, Lower Pimas, and Seri-speaking Guaymas.

14. Padre José Garrucho, S.J. (1712–1785) was born in Isla de Cerdeña, Spain. He entered a Jesuit novitiate in 1731. By 1748, he was working in the mission of Oposura in Sonora, where he spent most of his career and where he was arrested when the Jesuits were expelled in 1767. From 1760 to 1763, he was visitor of the northern missions.

15. José Tienda de Cuervo was governor of Sinaloa-Sonora from 1761 to 1762. Captain of the dragoons of Veracruz, he was appointed governor by the Marqués de Cruillas to deal forcefully with Sonora's many Indian enemies. After little more than a year of frontier service, however, he was recalled to resume his former position when war broke out between England and Spain.

16. Rebeico is located northwest of Soyopa in mountainous country west of the middle Río Yaqui. During the late seventeenth century, it was a pueblo of Jova Indians administered as a visita from the Jesuit colegio at Mátape. Mines were first established there in 1673.

all the horses. (These enemies could also have been Apaches.) The same thing happened to a Mexican mule train assaulted by these Indians upon leaving Má-tape. Although the mule train was recovered through the aid of citizens of the area and friendly Indians, it was at the loss of two muleteers dead and one wounded.

Finally, in order not to tax your excellency's attention further, as this letter surely does, there is not a mission, ranch, hacienda, or mining *real* in those provinces that has not been terrorized by the furor and inhuman cruelty of the enemy. This is so much the case that even necessary communication by letter is fraught with risk.

What makes this state of affairs all the more doleful is that written by Padre Alonso Espinosa<sup>17</sup> of Guevavi and Padre Ignacio Pfefferkorn<sup>18</sup> of San Xavier del Bac, both located in the Pimería Alta. The former says: "Most of the Indians of San Xavier have gone away, and I find myself very much alone. Almost no one but the old and sick remain; the Indians from Tucson withdrew into a thick forest." The latter says that in Tumacácori,<sup>19</sup> almost all the Papagos left after the death of Governor Felipe; only the Pimas have remained. In the pueblo of Calabasas<sup>20</sup> it is the same. Although these Indians say they fled because they fear the Apaches, we fear that they may be availing themselves of this ample pretext to carry out their robberies and misdeeds. Experience has shown that the peaceful state of many of these Upper Pimas and Papagos, seemingly so untroubled and tranquil, has been a live flame covered with ashes, ready to show itself for what it truly is at the slightest wind.

At almost the same time, an encounter took place between the lieutenant of the presidio of San Miguel, Don Félix Sánchez, and his soldiers and the Seris and Pimas. The lieutenant and one soldier lost their lives in this encounter. Other soldiers were wounded.

Up to this point, I have concerned myself only with the attacks of the enemy Seris, Pimas, and Papagos, without telling of the most powerful enemy, the Apaches. From the mission of San Xavier del Bac, the westernmost limit of Christianity, to the outskirts of the mining *real* of La Santísima Trinidad de la

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17. Padre Alonso Espinosa, S.J. (1720–1786) was born in the Canary Islands. He came to Mérida as a young boy and was ordained there. He was missionary among the Upper Pimas at San Xavier del Bac from 1756 until the Jesuits were expelled in 1767.

18. Padre Ignatz Pfefferkorn, S.J. (1725–?) was born in Mannheim, Germany. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1742 and was sent to northwestern New Spain in 1756. He spent his first five years on the frontier at San Francisco de Atil in the Pimería Alta. Then, in May 1761, he was transferred to Guevavi. After his health began to fail in 1763, he recuperated at Oposura (modern Moctezuma) and was posted to the more established mission of Cucurpe, where he stayed until the Jesuit expulsion. He was imprisoned in Spain until 1777. Upon being released, he returned to Germany, where he wrote his famous description of the province of Sonora (see Theodore E. Treutlein, trans., *Sonora*).

19. San Cayetano de Tumacácori, later renamed San José, was an Upper Pima community along the Río Santa Cruz south of the presidio of Tubac. During the Jesuit period, it was a visita of Guevavi, which was located twelve miles upriver.

20. Calabasas was another mission visita of Guevavi along the Río Santa Cruz. It was situated ten miles south of Tumacácori.

Plata,<sup>21</sup> this nation holds the provinces of Sonora and the Pimería under the shadow of fear. Their boldness defiantly pushes them past the presidios of Tubac, Terrenate, and Fronteras, which defend that frontier at equal distances from one another. The attacks of the Apaches are not as frequent as those of the Seris and Pimas, but they perhaps inflict even more suffering because of the great multitudes of Indians who take part in them.

If almost all the provinces of the jurisdiction of Sinaloa are in the lamentable state that your excellency can infer from this succinct report, the current state of the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya is no better. This is due to the inhuman and boundless furor of the Apaches, who border both these jurisdictions on the north for almost four hundred leagues. At times they have pushed on past the presidio of Janos, as their attacks in the San Buenaventura Valley and at the hacienda of Carmen demonstrate.<sup>22</sup> At this hacienda, they attacked in view of sixty armed *hombres de razón* and a large number of Indians employed in the wheat harvest. They ran off eleven pack mules belonging to the sixty *hombres de razón*, who were left with only their pack loads, having lost all their beasts of burden. Apache attacks have caused similar outcries in Chihuahua and its surrounding area. These assaults make the camino real practically unusable for Mexican mule trains in the Basuchil Valley, the pueblo of Temechic, Papigochic, Santo Tomás, etc.<sup>23</sup>

This has also left the missions of the reverend Franciscan fathers in the most extreme need. These missions are Namiquipa, Las Cruces, and Bachimba with its *pueblos de visita*.<sup>24</sup> Each day the same difficulties are also experienced by the

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21. La Santísima Trinidad de la Plata, also known as Trinidad de la Peña Blanca, was a mining *real* in the province of Ostimuri northeast of Río Chico. It was the center of a mining boom in the 1740s.

22. The valley of San Buenaventura, an important agricultural and ranching area southeast of the presidio of Janos, is located along the Río Santa María, which flows north and drains into the Laguna de Santa María in northern Chihuahua. A detachment of soldiers was stationed there in 1760, and a full-fledged presidio was established in the area in 1765. Those soldiers were moved north (downriver) to Velarde during the military realignments of the 1770s. Santa María del Carmen y de la Peña Blanca was an important hacienda east of San Buenaventura. It was established by Father José García Valdez in 1732, and was located along the Río del Carmen, also known as the Río Santa Clara, which drains into the Laguna de Patos.

23. The Basuchil Valley was located along the Río Papigochic near modern Ciudad Guerrero in northwestern Tarahumara country. It was first settled by Spaniards in the early 1650s and was reoccupied in the 1670s. Concepción Papigochic, also known as Villa Aguilar, was the foremost settlement in this valley. A Jesuit missionary settled there in 1649 but was killed the following year. In the 1670s, Jesuits José Tardá and Tomás de Guadalajara moved back into the area, establishing missions among the Tarahumara at Papigochic and Temechic. Santo Tomás, north and downriver of Papigochic, became a center of Spanish farming and ranching in the late seventeenth century.

24. San Pedro de Namiquipa was a Franciscan mission among the Conchos Indians established in the 1660s or 1670s. It and its *visita*, Las Cruces, were located along the Río Santa María upriver (south) of the valley of San Buenaventura. Bachimba was another Franciscan mission among the Conchos west of Julimes.

missions our order has on that frontier, especially the missions of Temósachic, Mátachic, Santo Tomás, Papigochic, Temechic, Carichíc, and Coyachic.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, the richest haciendas of that frontier [also experience the same problems]. These are owned by various lay persons, financiers of the mining works at the famous *real* of San Felipe in Chihuahua.

It is true that the enemy Apaches could not have penetrated Tarahumara territory without coming across many members of these nations who became part of their band and partners in their robberies and crimes. Yet the very unfaithfulness of these wretches yields a new reason for our distress; it provides a cover for enemies within the province who, being even more cunning, are the ruin of those provinces. This happened last year with some Indians belonging to the mission of Temósachic. After being apprehended as accomplices in a robbery with some Apaches, these Indians were taken as prisoners to Chihuahua. When their relatives found out that these men had been imprisoned, they threatened that if any of them were put to death, their relatives would know how to avenge them many times over by killing the Spaniards and their missionary.

This, most excellent sir, is the present state of the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, the Pimería, Tarahumara, and, finally, the two vast jurisdictions of Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya, where causes for our gravest sorrow everywhere abound. Without doubt, another consideration of incomparable importance is how the Apaches hinder new spiritual conquests and our efforts to extend the Gospel to new peoples along the Gila and Colorado Rivers, in the province of Moqui,<sup>26</sup> and in other territories whose limit is thus far unknown. Such conquests are dear to the zealous and Catholic heart of our invincible monarch, Felipe V (may he be blessed by God). Impelled by his Christianity and zeal, his majesty issued a *cédula* ordering our missions to move onward to new spiritual conquests. He has frequently contributed money from his royal coffers toward the same design.

Also toward this end, the province of New Spain has placed twenty-two missions in the province of Topia under the care of the most illustrious bishop of Durango, Doctor Don Pedro Anselmo de Tagle,<sup>27</sup> in order to have individuals [missionaries] to populate the new missions. Perhaps there would now be a well-known preacher—and the word of God adored—along the watershed of the Río

25. These were all Jesuit missions among the Tarahumara. Mátachic and Temósachic are situated along the Río Papigochic north of Santo Tomás. They were founded by Padre Tomás de Guadalajara in 1676. Carichíc is located southeast along one of the western tributaries of the Río Conchos. It was established by Padre Guadalajara in 1675. Coyachic is along the Río Satevó, another tributary of the Conchos, northeast of the mining town of Cusiuhiriachic. It was founded by Padre José de Tardá in 1673–74.

26. The Spanish term for the Hopis.

27. Pedro Anselmo Sánchez de Tagle (?–1772) was born in Santillana del Mar, Spain. Educated at the universities of Valladolid and Salamanca, he came to New Spain as a fiscal of the Inquisition. As bishop of Durango from 1747 to 1757, he presided over the secularization of Jesuit missions in Tepehuan country and the Tarahumara Baja, which began in 1753. These included the mission of Tamazula in the province of Topia, a rugged section of the Sierra Madre located on the border of Sinaloa. In 1757, Sánchez de Tagle became bishop of Michoacán, a position he held until his death.



Colorado had it not been for the obstructions of so many enemies. The spiritual conquest of the Californias confirms this point. There [the frontier] has advanced about eighty leagues since 1751. The mission of Santa Gertrudis has been founded, along with the *residencia* of San Francisco de Borja. There is also the hope of founding another new mission in the place called Los Angeles.<sup>28</sup> The establishment of these missions makes it likely that the mouth of the famous Río Colorado will shortly be reached through that region.

The principal motive for aiding those afflicted provinces is that of religion. Nonetheless, more than enough other reasons offer themselves for our consideration. Therefore, I cannot hide these reasons from your excellency. The provinces that make up the jurisdictions of Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya undeniably hold within their breasts all the riches of silver and gold that can render a monarchy envied by other kingdoms and worthy in and of itself. Very clear evidence of this truth lies in the mines of Chihuahua, Cusihuiachic, Indé, Urique, Batopilas, Los Frailes or Alamos, Sivirioja, Baroyeca, Río Chico, Aguaje, the *real* of Santísima Trinidad de la Plata, Soyopa, Atunes, Cumuripa, Suaqui, Cananea, and various others.<sup>29</sup> The famous discovery of Arizona or the Bolas de Plata holds a place apart, [because we do not know] whether it was the source of that silver or a treasure trove hidden in antiquity.

Many of the aforementioned mines are abandoned now because of our Indian enemies. Whether because of the proximity of these foes or because they impede the cultivation of the land and the production of the fruits necessary for such work, those that are being mined are miserably staffed. Each of these mines is capable of annually producing a considerable sum if it is worked with the persistence required by royal ordinances. What sums would these mines yield if they

28. The mission of Santa Gertrudis was founded in 1752, and San Francisco de Borja was established ten years later. They represented the Jesuits' last great thrust north up the Baja Peninsula. The Bay of los Angeles is east of San Borja across from the southern tip of Isla Angel de la Guarda in the Gulf of California. Lizasoáin visited the Baja missions when he made his monumental inspection of the northern mission system in 1761–62.

29. Cusihuiachic is located southwest of Chihuahua City in eastern Tarahumara country. In 1687, silver was discovered in the area, and Cusihuiachic became the center of a mining boom that led to the Tarahumara rebellion of 1690 (see Sheridan and Naylor, *Rarámuri*). Indé was one of the first mining camps in Nueva Vizcaya, settled in 1567. It is situated east of the Río de las Nazas in Durango. During the colonial period, it was primarily a Tepehuan community, but it included Salineros and other Indians from the Bolsón de Mapimí to the east as well. Urique lies at the bottom of the deep canyon of the Río Urique, a tributary of the Río Fuerte. In 1690, a silver strike there brought the first wave of Spanish settlers into the region, perhaps the most rugged in the entire Sierra Madre. Batopilas, located in the next major *barranca* to the east, was another important mining community in the heart of the Sierra. It was established in 1708.

Aguaje was a mining community in northern Sonora in the upper Río Moctezuma watershed. Cananea was a Pima ranchería in northern Sonora during the late seventeenth century. Silver was discovered there in 1760; Padre Ignatz Pfefferkorn listed it as one of the six major silver mines of Sonora in his description of the province of Sonora (see Treutlein, *Sonora*). During the late nineteenth century, it developed into one of the major copper mines in Mexico.

were manned and worked with such persistence? How great would be the relief of the needs of the settlers and, consequently, how much greater would be the sum of the royal fifths due his majesty and the royal treasuries? On the other hand, however, how great are the losses and how many are the setbacks that arise from the immobilization and abandonment of so many mines? These losses affect not only private citizens but his majesty and the common good of his subjects as well.

The rich and unique pearl fisheries of Tepoca also justly claim their rightful place in this account. In former times these pearl fisheries were avidly sought out by the outfitters of *canoas*,<sup>30</sup> but they are abandoned now because of enemy Seris. In addition to the singularity of having white pearls of the finest luster, this placer holds the incomparable advantage of being located along the shores of this coastline, near the provinces of Sonora and the Pimería. Yet for twenty years, canoa owners have not risked exploring those inlets nor diving to the flat bottoms beneath them. It is very likely that over the long course of these years, extraordinary oyster beds have developed. From these beds much could be gained for the common good, for the parties involved in this risky business, and for the royal exchequer through the fifth due his majesty.

Everything stated in the preceding paragraphs shows clearly the usefulness, suitability, and singular gains that would accrue to our invincible monarch from keeping these vast provinces in calm and tranquil peace. Such utility rises to incomparable importance, both for his majesty and for all the settlers of the Americas, when seen in the light of the recent and very notable discovery of gold in Soyopa, whose equal may perhaps not be found in this entire monarchy. It is now approximately five years since a poor settler passing through the arroyo of Soyopa happened to discover gold dust. Not satisfied with his good fortune, this man told neighbors about his find. The news passed from one to another until not long afterwards the *real* of San Antonio de la Huerta took shape. The number of settlers grew until more than 50,000 persons—most with no more equipment than a *batea*—were spread along the banks of the arroyo washing the sands of those placers. Not everyone found the same amount. Nevertheless, at the end of the day, all sold the fruits of their labor, that is, the gold that they had extracted. Without processing the gold in any way, they spent it in the stores.

The miners undoubtedly extracted much gold during this period, but one may also wonder if they did not allow even more gold to slip from their bateas. This proposition may seem exaggerated, but the proof of it is clear: the method used by the Indians to search for gold is to put their fingers in the batea and examine the dirt using their senses of touch and sight. Since much of the gold is hidden from these means of perception, the Indian wastes time making many attempts [to search for gold]. Moreover, the Indian feels few pangs in throwing out the first washing because he hopes to find in the second washing what he did not find before. We must also bear in mind what all knowledgeable persons say—that mercury in that *real* [Soyopa] is so unknown that many of the workers have probably never seen or heard of it. It is also doubtful whether anyone in these placers, ei-

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30. Canoas were boats propelled largely by oar.

ther among the Indians or the gente de razón, has taken advantage of the mercury process. I must also add that women and boys search for gold just as much as the men do.

After the rains began, the mining works along the arroyo were obstructed. In spite of the weather, however, the workers, excited by the gold they had already found in the ravine, spread out across the surrounding hills. Their hopes were not in vain, for they found about the same amount of gold to fuel their avarice. They discovered gold not only in the area near the aforementioned *real* but also in other *reales* and placers of gold that were in no way inferior to the first one [Soyopa]. These are the *reales* and placers of Cumuripa, Junta de los Ríos, Las Tortugas, Rebeico, Bacoachi, Saracachi, Salas, Cuquiárachi, Bacanora, and, most recently, Lona Colorado [*sic*], discovered less than a year ago.<sup>31</sup> In other words, from the Río Yaqui to Cuquiárachi—a distance of 140 leagues—and from Bacanora to the royal presidio of San Miguel—an area fifty leagues wide—there is hardly a ravine or an arroyo, a hill or a mountain, that is not covered by this mantle that nature has spread over the land.

Some say that these gold placers, particularly those in the arroyos, are made up of particles coming from some hill or hills in which there are veins or outcrops of gold. As I said before, however, I think it more likely that they arise from a seam or mantle of gold that nature has spread over that land. I arrived at this opinion by observing first that many hills where no mountain streams flow are equally peppered with this metal, and second that other placers are found at distances of fifty or a hundred leagues, as was mentioned before. It is certain that the latter have no connection with, or dependence upon, the hills that empty their waters and streams into the arroyo of San Antonio, Río Chico, etc.

In sum, be it for this or some other reason, what is pertinent to our objective is that the author of nature has taken great pains with this land, having adorned it with so many and such precious metals. This region therefore deserves the utmost measures to conserve such metals with the greatest splendor. This is especially true when one takes into account the fact that, in accordance with the fragility of our nature, divine providence often offers us such incentives in order to achieve higher designs like the propagation [of the Gospel] among our enemies. This is also done in order to make the Gospel known to new peoples, in accordance with the decree of the divine will to save all men.

Thus far, I have done nothing more than to put before your excellency's lofty consideration the fatal state in which the provinces of the two jurisdictions of Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya currently find themselves. I do not seek to persuade your excellency that these provinces are in such a forsaken state that there is no

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31. Bacoachi lies along the Río Sonora north of Arizpe. It was an Opata community on the frontier of the Pimería Alta missionized by the Jesuits in the mid-seventeenth century. According to Padre Pfefferkorn, gold was discovered there in 1758. Cuquiárachi was an Opata community along a tributary of the Río San Pedro bordering the hostile Sumas and Janos. It was missionized by Padre Marcos de Río in 1654. Bacanora, on a tributary of the Río Yaqui east of Soyopa, was an Eudeve settlement missionized by Padre Pedro Méndez in 1627.

remedy for their needs. Rather, [I have reported these facts] so that, dictated by your most experienced leadership, you may give the swiftest and most suitable orders to achieve the most peaceful pacification of the area already conquered. I do so in view of your excellency's devotion and love for our king and for your subjects. We therefore shall have well-founded hopes of furthering the conquest of new and numerous nations for the sake of their Creator, our great God, and also for our invincible monarch, Carlos III.

It is also true that other nations are very ambitious for new discoveries and new colonies. The wealth of those lands [Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya]—and the probability that the conquests that follow will not be inferior—is not hidden from them. Our inaction may give such nations the opportunity to penetrate from the north or from Canada and make themselves masters of those lands. Truly, our monarch and his entire kingdom must be aware of this fact.

[These are] my views concerning the most conducive means of remedying conditions in those territories. I abstain from giving my opinion concerning matters foreign to the nature and station which I profess. Nevertheless, from what I have said, your excellency's keen insight will bring to light that which is necessary for your decisions.

**T**he First Expedient:

Enemy Seris, in league with the Upper Pimas and Papagos, have gained control over all the territory from Caborca to San José de Guaymas. This territory extends for one hundred leagues along the coast, which is its longest side. To the south, the Seris hold the island of Tiburón, although the nature of their communication with the inhabitants of this island is not well known. Nor is it known whether the inhabitants of that island go forth to commit hostilities on the mainland. Because they aspire to do nothing more than to spend their lives in whatever leisure and liberty that nature allows, they find enough sustenance in those islands to satisfy their desires with the fruits, roots, and animals the island produces, and with the shellfish those shores provide.

To the north, they hold the Cerro Prieto. This is a stronghold that until now has been considered insurmountable, not because it is in reality, but because at times we allow ourselves to become preoccupied with imagined difficulties that produce fantasies within us. Cerro Prieto is not, as most people think, a natural stronghold with only one entrance. Instead, it is made up of various rocky canyons full of thorny thickets—Nopalera, Cara Pintada, and Cosari, even though the latter canyon is not as close as the first two, and other similar canyons.<sup>32</sup> To the north and east, these enemies are surrounded by Belén and the pueblos of Yaqui country and the provinces of Sonora and Pimería Alta, as far as Caborca.

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32. Cerro Prieto, known today as the Sierra Libre, was a refuge for Seris and Lower Pimas throughout the colonial period. It is a long, relatively low range of hills stretching along the highway between Hermosillo and Guaymas. Spanish forces made numerous attempts to invade the Cerro Prieto, but its rugged terrain, narrow canyons, and thorny, impenetrable vegetation protected rebel Indians and gave them time to break into small groups and slip away to other mountains or to the Sonoran coast.

The presidios of San Miguel de Horcasitas and Altar<sup>33</sup> are found in the center of this territory. The most frequent invasions of these enemies are from Guaymas through Belén to the Río Yaqui; from Cosari and Cerro Prieto via Santa Rosa and Bacatetebe to Cumuripa; and from Tecoripa to the mining *reales* of San Antonio, Soyopa, and Río Chico. Detachments are also sent out from Cerro Prieto through Los Pilares, where they head for San José de los Pimas and the areas around San Miguel, Anacori [Nacori], Rebeico, Nacameri, the Río de Sonora, Saracachi, and Bacoachi. Sometimes, although not as frequently, they go out through the Pimería Alta and attack Santa Ana, Tubutama, Caborca, and their surrounding areas.

In order to prevent these assaults, our forces hold as many places and passes as the enemies hold for their sorties. Beginning at the sea coast and ending at the presidio of San Miguel, the first of these locations is the pueblo of Guaymas, [where there is] a sufficient and perennial source of water. Four leagues away, between Guaymas and Cerro Prieto, there is another water hole where rushes grow between some hills. In Santa Rosa, fourteen leagues north of Guaymas, the water supply, even though it is from wells, lasts all year.<sup>34</sup> Then there is the water hole of Cosari, which also has good, permanent water.<sup>35</sup> Other watering holes are Bacatetebe, found not far from Pitic, and that of Los Pilares, in addition to those of the frontier pueblos.<sup>36</sup>

It is true that if the forces of the presidio of San Miguel and Altar had nothing more to do than oppose these enemies, they would seem to be sufficient in number to protect the frontier and to punish the enemy. But because enemy Apaches sometimes venture as far as Mátape, Sahuaripa, Bacanora, Oposura, and Cumpas, which are all pueblos in Sonora, the troops must confront these assaults.<sup>37</sup> When this happens, the Seri, Pima, and Papago frontier is left, if not totally unprotected

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33. The garrison from the ancient presidio of Sinaloa was already being called the presidio of Altar by the time Lizasoáin wrote this report.

34. There is an Estación Santa Rosa along the tracks of the Ferrocarril del Pacífico in the Guaymas Valley about twenty-five miles northeast of Guaymas. Just west of there is a ranch called El Aguajito in the eastern foothills of the Sierra Santa Ursula. Cerro Prieto was also known as the Sierra Santa Rosa, however, so the wells may have been located somewhere in that range.

35. This water hole was probably in the canyon of Cosari on the eastern side of Cerro Prieto.

36. The water hole of Bacatetebe was probably located in Cañada Bacatete, which drains the middle portions of the Sierra Bacatete north of Yaqui country and east of Guaymas. Juan Bautista de Escalante visited Bacatetebe during his campaign against the Seris and Lower Pimas in 1700, describing it as "an arroyo filled with water and places with reed grass." Los Pilares is in Cañada Los Pilares in the northwestern part of the Sierra Bacatete. The Sierra Bacatete was an important refuge for the Yaquis during their struggles with the Mexicans during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

37. Mátape, now called Villa Pesqueira, is located along the headwaters of the Río Mátape. An Eudeve community missionized by Jesuit Lorenzo Cárdeñas in 1629, it later became the site of a Jesuit colegio and extensive hacienda under the direction of Padre Daniel Marras in the 1670s (see Charles W. Polzer, "The Evolution of the Jesuit Mission System"). Sahuaripa, situated on a tributary of the Río Yaqui in eastern Sonora, was an Opatá community missionized by Jesuit Pedro Méndez in 1627. Oposura (modern Moctezuma) and

by our troops, at least greatly weakened. The three remaining presidios—Tubac, Terrenate, and Fronteras—border on the territory of the enemy Apaches. Because this enemy is so numerous and attacks with so many people, the forces of these presidios can do nothing more than respond to these assaults.

From all this, it is evident that all five presidios at present are not sufficient restraint to contain the boldness and force of so many enemies. On the contrary, at least two companies or presidios of fifty men each need to be raised for the restoration or pacification of those provinces. Since the enemy Seris are now a more immediate danger and risk threatening those provinces, it would be even more advantageous to establish a new company or presidio in the pueblo of San José de Guaymas, or in Bacatetebe or Agua Caliente de Cumuripa. These are the most suitable places from which to attack enemy Seris in the province of Ostimuri. The other company or presidio would best be established in the pueblo of Bavispe<sup>38</sup> or BÁCERAC on the Apache frontier. If these presidios or companies take up residence in a mission pueblo, they should be independent of the pueblo and its houses, as is the case in California at the royal presidio of Loreto. There, the Indian ranchería or pueblo is located on one side of the church, and the royal presidio is on the other side or in the opposite direction. This arrangement will guard against problems that are not hidden from your excellency's keen perception.

If these companies are situated in the aforementioned places, the presidios of San Miguel and Altar would be able to perform their main duty, which is to curb the invasions of the Seris, Upper Pimas, and Papagos. Their troops would not be diverted in response to Apache attacks, leaving their own territory unprotected. Consequently, the other four presidios, namely Tubac, Terrenate, Fronteras, and the new company of Bavispe, would be better able to guard the northern border, obstructing the invasions of enemy Apaches from that direction. In addition, this measure would allow the troops of the old presidios and the new companies to take turns making frequent sorties to observe the movements and tracks of our various enemies.

All captains would report to the governor and his officials at least once a month concerning what has taken place and what these events might lead to in the future. This would allow the governor to take whatever measures he deems most opportune. Likewise, your excellency would be informed every four months of whatever may have occurred, assuming that this arrangement is facilitated by monthly mail service from those provinces to Guadalajara. Indeed, in this new system, the officers of one presidial squad would be obliged to communicate with the squad of another presidio on an almost daily basis. Thus, enemy attacks would rarely succeed. This is especially true if the friendly Indians who go out to look for signs of the enemy in their pueblos and respective jurisdictions warn the pre-

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Cumpas lie along the Río Moctezuma, a tributary of the Río Yaqui in central Sonora. These Opatá settlements were missionized by Jesuit Egidio Montefrío in 1644.

38. Located along the Río Bavispe in northeastern Sonora, Bavispe was an Opatá community missionized by Franciscans in 1646. The Franciscans were soon ordered out of Sonora, however, and Jesuits replaced them in 1653 (see Charles W. Polzer, "The Franciscan Entrada into Sonora").

sidual squads in time. With such swift warning, presidial troops would be able to punish our enemies or seize the booty our enemies have taken in their nocturnal attacks.

This frequent communication between one squad and another is so necessary that without it, it would be useless to add more companies; all this would do would be to fruitlessly accumulate new expenses to the royal treasury. Another means of achieving such communication would be for some of the presidial squads to act as flying squads, which amounts to the same thing. The best proof of this truth is the experience of what has happened during the invasions of the Apaches in recent years. Sometimes the Apaches attack a pueblo ten or twenty leagues away from the nearest presidio. The few Indians of the pueblo do not dare follow the enemy, in part because of their small numbers, in part because they have no inclination to engage in such expeditions. Instead, they take the role of warning the presidio of the enemy's attack.

A presidio is composed of fifty men, eight or ten of whom must be left behind to protect the horse herd, while at least another ten must stay in the presidio itself. Of the remaining men, one must take into consideration the fact that some of them may be ill, not to mention all the other routine reasons why the entire company may not be at the presidio. In this case, when the captain wishes to go to the aid of the pueblo under attack, he sends out a cabo with whatever small number of soldiers that circumstances permit. If this cabo overtakes the enemy only to find himself outnumbered, or finds the enemy in a more strategic position than he, the squad is obliged to retreat shamefully in view of the enemy or to risk their honor in an assault. I said if he overtakes the enemy, for it is clear that during the time it takes for the Indians to notify the presidio, the captain to give the orders and appoint soldiers, [for the soldiers] to go and round up the horses and bring them to the presidio and, finally, for the squad to set out on the enemy's trail, two or three days have gone by. This is more than enough time for the enemy to depart unpunished with the booty they have taken.

Aside from various other reasons, I believe that those stated above make obvious the need for the creation of two new companies or presidios. I realize, however, the expenses that this project would cause the royal treasury. I am also aware that the outbreak of the last war, and the re-establishment of the island of Havana [Cuba], have not only used up all the royal treasury's funds, but have also obliged your excellency to avail yourself of the loan the citizens of this city have provided as loyal subjects, because of the love they profess for their king.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, I am not at all convinced that this new project will burden the royal treasury. On the contrary, I maintain that it not only will favor the treasury but add to it as well.

The facts that lead me to this opinion are the following: The cost of two companies of fifty men each, including the salaries of the captain and his respective officers, is a little more than 40,000 pesos annually. Shortly after the discovery of

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39. The French and Indian War broke out between England and France in 1754. Under the terms of the Second Bourbon Family Compact, Spain entered the war on France's side in 1761. One consequence was the British invasion and occupation of Cuba, which was returned to Spain under the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

gold at San Antonio de la Huerta, it is certain that the taxes due his majesty produced a great and singular increase in the royal treasury. This is easy to verify by consulting the special offices for these proceeds [branches of the treasury] in Durango, Guadalajara, and at this court. The sum undoubtedly would have grown during the following years had not the licentiousness and boldness of the enemy made it impossible for miners to exploit many new and rich works. Because of this, revenue from these taxes may have decreased during the years cited. Recently, a special bonanza has been discovered in the placers of San Antonio, and in the recent gold strike known as the Colorado Valley and Cieneguilla.<sup>40</sup> Don Vicente Morales,<sup>41</sup> a muleteer from the interior where the presidios are situated, just arrived at this court. He registered 946 marks of gold in the city of Durango. The arrival of another muleteer, Don José Calvete, is expected. It is estimated that he will bring in more than 1,000 marks of gold. Who doubts that other muleteers will bring in and register other considerable sums, according to the load they are able to carry and their personal abilities, and this in the most calamitous of times?

Taking this for granted, I make the following argument. Currently there are three or four thousand laborers employed in working those placers, in spite of the imminent risk threatening them. Once that area is somewhat secure and cordoned off from the enemy's entry, the number of workers will be much greater, their work will be much more active and intense, and the production will be much more profitable. I shall not stop to ascertain the number of people who could be employed in those placers and in the search for gold. What I can affirm is that in the past year, speaking primarily of the discovery [in the area] where I was administering one of the missions of the Río Yaqui, there were more than 3,000 Indians from that nation alone settled at those placers.<sup>42</sup> In addition there were many others from the Mayo, Fuerte, Opata, Eudeve, Lower Pima, and other nations, as well as Spaniards and people of reason, who were forced and obliged by necessity to participate in the processing of gold. Thus, in view of all that I have said, it does not seem unlikely to me that the total number of workmen would reach or surpass 5,000 persons per day.

I now return to our subject. Let us suppose that without fear of the enemy, 6,000 persons would be working daily, or, so as not to make the number appear excessive, 5,000. Let us also suppose that each person extracts half a quarter-ounce each day. In my experience, this is the least amount that has been and continues to be extracted during these years, both in gold dust and in nuggets of one,

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40. Cieneguilla is located in the extremely arid desert of northwestern Sonora south of the Río Altar. During the early 1770s, it became the center of one of the largest gold placer mining booms of the late eighteenth century.

41. There is a Vicente Morales listed in the 1768 census of Parral, an important mining and commercial center in southern Chihuahua. Morales's occupation is given as scribe, but Parral was a frequent destination for mule trains wending their way between Mexico City and the northern frontier.

42. Yaqui Indians migrated in large numbers to become wage workers in the mines of Sonora and Chihuahua during the colonial period and the nineteenth century. They were considered by many employers to be the best laborers in northern Mexico (see Hu-DeHart, *Missionaries*).



two, and three ounces, and even in pounds of virgin gold that have been found. Five thousand persons at half a quarter-ounce per day would extract 625 ounces, which makes 78 marks and 1 ounce per day. Multiply this yield by 300 days (leaving 65 days free for Sundays and holidays), and it will be seen that the work of these 5,000 persons will annually produce the sum of 23,437 marks and 4 ounces.

The gold that has been extracted up to now has been of eighteen, nineteen, twenty, and sometimes twenty-two carats. Let us suppose that on the average the gold is nineteen carats. In this case, the 23,437 marks of nineteen-carat gold will need to be converted to twenty-two carats, which is the point at which the gold is considered usable for payment of the taxes due his majesty. Converting these 23,437 marks to twenty-two carats would equal 20,252 marks. Out of these, each mark yields 16 pesos for his majesty, including the *diezmo* and *señoreaje*.<sup>43</sup> Thus, this amount yields the king the sum of 324,032 pesos per year for all his taxes. When one compares this sum with the cost of 40,000 pesos per year for the two new presidios, it obviously exceeds the cost and expense of the presidios by 284,032 pesos. This appears to demonstrate that the creation of the two new presidios or companies, far from being burdensome to the royal treasury, would render considerable benefits to the royal coffers.



The Second Expedient:

The preceding expedient is more suited to and in accordance with the current unfortunate state of those afflicted provinces, because it outlines the most pressing remedy for their needs. Nevertheless, I consider that it is neither the most efficient solution nor is it in and of itself sufficient to promise us the complete peace needed in these provinces. Eventually the time could arrive when, due to the inaction of our troops or because of the uprising of new enemies, it may be needful to add more and more companies and presidios. This fear is more credible to those who know that not many years ago, these provinces, if not kept in a state of Octavian peace,<sup>44</sup> at least had many fewer disturbances. At that time there were only two presidios—one in the villa of Sinaloa, and the other in Fronteras. Since then, several presidios have been raised in succession, such as those of Altar, Terrenate, and Tubac. In spite of this, the settlers of those lands have suffered greater injuries and more grievous lamentations each day. One must therefore admit that this method is not necessarily the one that promises us the desired solace. Nor is it the only means that would bring about the peacefulness and tranquillity of those provinces.

The main solution—and the only one I find absolutely necessary—is to populate those depopulated lands and valleys with the appropriate number of families

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43. The term *diezmo* refers to two different taxes. One was an ecclesiastical tithe of 10 percent. The other was a tax of 10 percent levied by the royal treasury on gold and silver produced by established miners who reduced the ore at their own *haciendas de minas*. The tax rate on all other precious metals, including gold and silver purchased from other miners or from Indians, was one-fifth (the *quinto real*). The *señoreaje* was a special tax levied at royal mints.

44. The imperial Pax Romana under Gaius Octavius, Caesar Augustus (63 B.C.–A.D. 14).

of Spaniards and gente de razón. This will firmly ensure the true tranquillity of those provinces, and will probably facilitate the penetration of our troops further into the interior, rendering new and greater fortuitous glory to our great Lord God at every step. It will also yield new vassals and dominions for our sovereign. It is certain that a population made up of such people—with the land to guarantee their subsistence—is the strongest presidio to resist the attacks of the enemy. Each individual is a fortress, each family an entrenchment, each town an impregnable citadel.

No one ignores the fact that the land is not only esteemed for its metals but is also especially favored by heaven with a benign climate and an abundance of all types of produce with which the earth repays the industry of those who cultivate them. Added to this is a healthy climate, which is generally free of the epidemics, sicknesses, and contagions so frequent in many parts of this kingdom. Neither may one omit another singular benefit, which is that the settlers of these provinces find the antidote for their ills and the remedy for their sicknesses in many extraordinary medicinal herbs, antidotes, roots, gums, salts, etc. With these materials, Anacérbeo Dioscorides could assemble the most satisfactory, abundant, and copious pharmacopoeia, which would be the envy of all the spagírica.<sup>45</sup>

Beginning with the area around Chihuahua, it is sad to see the best lands and most pleasant valleys depopulated, including the valleys of San Luis, Torreón, and Ricacho, and almost all the land as far as San Buenaventura.<sup>46</sup> The valley of San Buenaventura is not totally depopulated, but although it is capable of sheltering many thousands of settlers, its inhabitants are scarce and few in number. The valley of Casas Grandes—or the Palaces of Moctezuma—far surpasses all these valleys.<sup>47</sup> Tradition has it that Moctezuma sallied forth from there with his people to populate these lands. Casas Grandes enjoys the advantage of a copious river that waters the entire valley. It is also bursting with fertility, affording great amenity, and [those who wish to] may secure their livelihood there with little work.

Assuming that I am well-informed concerning the territories belonging to the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya, I can do no less than remind your excellency that

45. Anacérbeo Dioscorides was a famous Greek physician and herbalist. The Dioscoreaceae family of tropical plants—the yam family—is named after him. The spagírica were iatrochemists, disciples or graduates of a school of medicine in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, who sought to apply the science of chemistry to medicine. The spagírica believed that chemical action was the sole essential to the proper operation of vital functions.

46. The valleys of Torreón and San Buenaventura are along the Río Santa María in northern Chihuahua.

47. Casas Grandes is located along the Río Casas Grandes, which drains into the Laguna de Guzmán in northwestern Chihuahua. The ruins of the prehistoric city of Paquimé, which dominated the region in the fourteenth century, are perhaps the most spectacular in northern Mexico. The Spaniards called those ruins the Casas Grandes and attributed their construction to the Aztecs under Moctezuma. Some archaeologists believe that Paquimé was, indeed, an outpost of Mesoamerican traders in the Greater Southwest (see Charles Di Peso, *Casas Grandes*). Franciscans established a mission among the Suma Indians there in the 1660s.

the difficulties of this jurisdiction have been caused to a great extent by the extinction of the presidios of El Gallo, Cerrogordo, and Conchos.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, everything that I have proposed for the betterment of the provinces under the jurisdiction of Sinaloa pertain to the provinces belonging to Nueva Vizcaya as well. That is, one or several of the extinguished presidios should now be re-established or rebuilt because of the imminent risk posed by the enemy at this time and the fear that those territories may become depopulated. It should also be done to ensure the future stability and permanence of the territories that are now abandoned. Regarding the place where these new presidios should be founded, I believe that one at least should be established in the valley of San Buenaventura, twenty-five to thirty leagues from the presidio of Janos. Since I am not personally familiar with the passes and [good] locations in Nueva Vizcaya, as I am with the provinces of Sinaloa, your excellency should consult the reports of persons more knowledgeable about the state of this jurisdiction.

I return now to the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Pimería. The distances between those provinces and this capital and court of Mexico City are five hundred leagues from Sonora, and more than six hundred from the farthest reaches of the Pimería Alta. The necessity of founding the two new presidios has already been established, both in order to swiftly resolve the problems there and to advance the population of those territories by gente de razón and Spaniards. I therefore must discuss the difficulties posed in carrying out the latter project.

Two weighty difficulties offer themselves to my ignorance. First, what people are going to be the settlers of those lands and where are these families going to come from? Second, how are those families going to be transported? The first of these I certainly do not judge to be insurmountable; it is well known that this city shelters a multitude of poor, idle, wandering people. The same situation is true, in proportion to their size, in the cities of Puebla, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato, and in other cities, mining camps, pueblos, and ranches. What harm would come to any of these cities or settlements if these unproductive shoots were to be pruned, since they are useless to these commonwealths and serve only to suck the juice from them? None, to be sure. On the contrary, as great a benefit would result for the commonwealths as for them. These people would gain the wherewithal to lead a rational and Christian life of innocence and moderation, free of the risks their license, idleness, and poverty pose for these commonwealths. The commonwealths would be no less relieved to find themselves free of people who serve only to increase their multitudes of commoners.

It is not my intention in such a case to persuade your excellency to offer assistance to vicious, useless, and scandalous people. Because these settlers are going to lands so recently converted and so vulnerable in their Christian faith, their lives must serve as examples rather than provoking scandal with their vices. If your excellency therefore finds it more suitable to send people from a lesser distance, you undoubtedly will encounter them from Rosario northward—along the coast of Durango, throughout the Sierra, in Parral and Chihuahua, and along the

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48. The presidios of San Pedro de Gallo and San Miguel de Cerrogordo in northern Durango, and San Francisco de Conchos in southern Chihuahua, were suppressed by the viceregal junta de guerra in 1751.

frontier. Besides, if that land were pacified, so many people would go there voluntarily that there would be more than enough. Experience has shown that with the slightest hope of materially bettering themselves, many thousands of individuals of both sexes have made their way to the discovery of Arizona, or Bolas de Plata, as well as to the recent discovery of gold in Soyopa.

The second difficulty is the transportation of these families to such remote territories, the excessive costs of such transportation, and the equally difficult task of maintaining them there. This is due not so much to the lack of provisions and foodstuffs as to the high price of the necessary goods for clothing oneself. Because merchants bring the necessary clothing from this city by means of muleteers, an excessive price for every item is inevitable. Such a consideration would terrify even those most desirous of going to those territories.

This stormy reef—the greatest obstacle I perceive in this matter—can be avoided by putting into practice the plan that has previously been discussed in your excellency's palace. This plan consists of conveying to those lands by sea all the goods, cloth, and merchandise necessary for rational and human life. Shipping this material either from the port of Acapulco or from Navidad,<sup>49</sup> would overcome all the obstacles involved in conveying these goods by land. It is also necessary to put this plan into effect if the provisions of the cédula of his majesty Felipe V for the discovery and settlement of the Río Colorado are to be achieved.

In the year 1750, the governor of Sinaloa, Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, made a report to the most excellent Conde de Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain. In that report, Governor Ortiz Parrilla clearly demonstrated the utility and profit both the royal Crown and the soldiers would derive from this plan. Two ships were to be constructed and were to convey everything necessary from Acapulco, either up to the Río Yaqui or to Guaymas or the coasts of the Pimería. These boats would have had the famous port of Guaymas, called Isla de Pájaros,<sup>50</sup> as a resting place along their route. In the opinion and view of navigator Don Manuel Correa,<sup>51</sup> this is among the most worthy of ports, both for its spacious entrance and for the hills surrounding the bay.

The governor's proposals were not carried out, perhaps because the expense of constructing the two ships seemed excessive. This project may face all the same objections. When examined in a better light, however, the project is so reasonable and advantageous that its utility overcomes any objections regarding expenses that might arise or oppose it. Nonetheless, I may not have perceived difficulties so great that they, in the consideration of your excellency, may delay the execution of this project. If so, may it please your excellency to propose the project to

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49. During the colonial period, Acapulco was the only legal port on the west coast of New Spain for commerce between Mexico and the Orient. The port of Navidad was located on the Bahía de Navidad at the mouth of the Río de Cihuatlán, which forms the border between the modern Mexican states of Jalisco and Colima. It was a port of major importance in the sixteenth century.

50. Isla de Pájaros is a crescent-shaped island at the entrance to Guaymas Bay.

51. Manuel Correa was the navigator who wrote a lengthy description of Tiburón Island during Ortiz Parrilla's invasion of Tiburón in 1750.

the merchants of this city and to grant them a license to hold an annual market or fair. This could be held along the Río Yaqui, at the port of San José de Guaymas, or in another port that appears more suitable. These merchants would accept such a proposal and would take on the construction of the aforementioned boats. In such a case, I think that your excellency would then have to give the necessary orders for repairing the road from this city to Acapulco, or to the port of Navidad, in order to make it more passable and more easily negotiated by beasts of burden.

Truly, I do not understand why the minor difficulties encountered in this matter are not mastered. Other sea routes, such as those from the kingdom of Peru or from Spain, offered far graver difficulties and far more immediate risks because of their long crossings. Yet these difficulties were overcome because of the profits possible through the negotiation of the high seas. To sail from the port of Acapulco to the port of San José de Guaymas, or to another port in Sonora, would normally take twenty days or, at most, one month. This route does not have the inevitable dangers of the gulf. With only a moderate knowledge of navigation, those piloting the boats can make the journey by skirting the shore until they arrive at the mouth of the Río Yaqui, where it is necessary to take soundings in order to reach the port.

The cost of constructing and maintaining two boats should not exceed a moderate amount. This expense appears very slight when compared to the power of our king and lord, to the funds of the merchants of New Spain, and to the assets of a private individual. Moreover, the profits to be gained from these expenditures will be incomparably greater. The reason for this is clear. Aside from the increases and gains the interested parties will receive from the proposed fair, it can also be arranged for these boats to carry the yearly supplies for the presidios of San Miguel, Altar, Tubac, Fronteras, and the two new presidios. Perhaps the accounts of the missionary fathers of the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Pimería can also be incorporated into this system. Within a few years, the transportation of such goods should exceed the costs of the boats and their maintenance, as well as the salaries of the crews that navigate them. In addition, many other useful features of this plan may be hidden from me but familiar to those accustomed to the finer points of these commercial matters. Even without such gains, however, the convenience and advantages to be gained from the construction of the aforementioned boats is evident simply from what has been stated here.

In light of this, it appears to me that using these boats the families who would have to be transported to those lands could most likely be transported to the port of San José de Guaymas. If this could not be accomplished in one voyage, at most it would take two or three. This would result in fewer expenses to the royal treasury and cause less inconvenience to the families themselves. From San José de Guaymas, they could then follow their respective routes and reach their destinations by land, unless, as was already mentioned, these families were settlers from the surrounding area, or from not-too-distant lands. In that case, the main difficulty of transporting these families—the solution of which has been discussed in the preceding paragraph—has already been overcome.

This, most excellent sir, is my view concerning the state of the provinces that make up the vast jurisdictions of Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya. I have attempted to discuss the needs of these provinces and to suggest the means and solutions I

think are necessary to attain their greater tranquillity. Although I would have liked to limit myself to greater brevity, my objective has not permitted this. I have been motivated by my love of the Christian religion as a clergyman, by my loyalty as a subject of our invincible monarch, and by my [concern for] the common good. May this discourse be fortunate enough to merit the dignity of your excellency's attention and bring honor to our sovereign and greater glory to the Most High.

Most excellent sir, I kiss your hand.  
Your most devoted servant and humble chaplain,  
Ignacio Lizasoán<sup>52</sup>  
The Most Excellent Marqués de Cruillas  
Viceroy of New Spain

*From AGN, Historia 16, ff. 63–81.*

#### DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Informe del Padre Lizasoán, sobre las provincias de Sonora y Nueva Vizcaya.

**E**xcelentísimo señor:  
Señor: Satisfago gustoso, por esta breve e individual relación, al precepto de vuestra excelencia, poniendo delante de su alta consideración el actual estado y lamentable sistema de la parte más considerable y más digna de atención de esta América, en las provincias de Sinaloa, Sonora, Pimería, Tarahumara, y de las demás que componen las dos vastas gobernaciones de Sinaloa y Nueva Vizcaya. Ojalá mi pluma pudiera satisfacer a los celosos cristianos deseos de vuestra excelencia, y a la extrema necesidad de remedio de dichas provincias, a lo menos procuraré hacer una exacta relación de lo más notable, bastante a penetrar de dolor el piadoso pecho de vuestra excelencia, confiado de que su autoridad y amor a su soberano y al alivio de sus vasallos, han de producir las providencias más conformes al fin que todos deseamos.

Cuenta ya siglo y medio de la mayor dicha de ser agregada a la iglesia y al dominio de la corona de España la gobernación de Sinaloa, y cuando esta larga época pudiera tributarnos una sosegada posesión de sus provincias y una bien fundada esperanza de adelantar in dies[ilegible] la conquista espiritual de nuevas gentes, y la extensión de nuevos dominios a nuestro soberano, ha permitido la in-

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52. Padre Ignacio Lizasoán, S.J. (1717–1789) was born in Pamplona, Spain. He arrived in New Spain in 1750, where he was soon posted to the new mission of San José de Guaymas. Lizasoán served as visitor general of the northern missions until 1765 and made a major inspection of missions from the Tarahumara to Baja California between 1761 and 1763. A copy of that inspection, entitled “Noticia de la visita general de esta Prov. de Nueva España q. comenzio dia quatro de abril de 1761 A.D. y se concluye a finis de 1763 con algunas notas y adiciones q. pueden servir pa el conocimiento de estas Misiones y Provincias,” is found in the W. B. Stephens Collection, University of Texas at Austin. Lizasoán was rector of the Jesuit colegio of San Gregorio in Mexico City when the Jesuits were expelled. He died in Bologna, Italy, twenty-two years later.

excusable providencia del Altísimo, que crezcan nuevos temores de no sólo no adelantar un paso en aquellas tierras, sino también de perder las ya conquistadas a expensas del sudor y sangre de muchos misioneros, continuos trabajos, militares, oficiales y considerable suma de gastos en las cajas reales.

El origen funesto de estos males es la inhumana crueldad de los seris, coligados en el día con muchos de los pimas y pápagos, quienes con sus continuados sangrientos asaltos, tienen en asombrosa consternación las provincias de Pimería, Sonora y Ostimuri, poniendo a sus vecinos en casi forzosa necesidad de abandonar sus casas por asegurar sus vidas. Ya esto se ha verificado en la mayor parte de las provincias de Pimería y Sonora, retirándose sus habitantes a las provincias de Ostimuri y Sinaloa; si bien este desamparo de los vecinos de aquellas provincias es el mayor triunfo de los enemigos, logrando con él mayor terreno, y consiguientemente menos combatientes que resistan y se opongan en adelante a sus asaltos, fuera de que esta voluntaria fuga acrecienta más el orgullo de estos enemigos, teniéndose por tanto más poderosos y dichosos, cuantos [cuanto] se ven más temidos.

No sólo produce estos efectos este desamparo de sus tierras en sus pobladores, sino también otro mal trascendental a los indios de las demás naciones. Es inconcuso que todos los indios al paso que deben ser tratados con prudente desconfianza de su fidelidad. Es también cierto que más se gobiernan estos por los ojos, y por las especies que produce en estos la experiencia, que por razones que cautiven su entendimiento. Viendo pues otras naciones mucho más numerosas que las de estos enemigos, que triunfa su osadía y crueldad de nuestras armas y de los españoles que habitan aquellas tierras, quedando impune su atrevimiento, es temible que guiados de tan mal ejemplo quieran seguir sus pisadas sacudiendo el suave yugo del evangelio y la obediencia a su soberano de lo cual ya se ve esa forzosa consecuencia: la total ruina de aquellas provincias.

Y porque se vea que no es meramente especulativo este temor, notorio es el escandaloso alzamiento que el año de 1740 de este presente siglo, tuvo la nación Yaqui coligada con la nación Mayo y Fuerteña, o del río del Fuerte, que tanto dio qué hacer a nuestras armas. Y sosegadas estas naciones, se siguió a los diez años, el alzamiento de la Pimería Alta, cebándose su crueldad en lo más sagrado de los templos y de sus ministros; dando cruel muerte a dos de ellos, es a saber: el padre Enrique Ruhen y al padre Tomás Tello. Es igualmente cierto, que estando aquellas provincias en este sistema, es en gran parte infructuoso el trabajo de los padres misioneros, pues al fin los indios, cohibidos del temor, deben ser llevados no solamente de la blandura y cariño a que se hace acreedora su lastimosa pobreza, sino también del castigo, castigando sus desórdenes; el que acaso no permite el padre misionero a la justicia del gobernador y subalternos, por evitar mayores y más lamentables consecuencias.

Notoria es la sangrienta crueldad del enemigo seri, principalmente desde el año de 1750 y después acá con la fatal alianza de los pimas altos y pápagos, ya en la Pimería Alta, ya en Sonora, ya en el mineral de Atunes, ya en la cercanía del presidio de San Miguel, ya en el río de Sonora, Mátape y Nácori; ya en Saracachi, dando muerte [a] cristiano valeroso caballero, el señor gobernador don Juan de Mendoza; ya en el real de Soyopa, en el famoso río de San Antonio de la Huerta, y finalmente en el río de Yaqui y provincia de Ostimuri, adonde en otros tiempos apenas llegaba la forma de este enemigo. Fuera largo reducir a guarismo, las

muertes de diversas clases de gentes, que en el discurso de estos trece años se lloran en aquellas provincias.

Lo que en parte se puede inferir de lo que sin ningún[a] hipérbole puede [puedo] asegurar haber sucedido en los pueblos que he administrado en estos mismos años. El año de 1750, pasé por orden de la obediencia, a fundar la misión de San José de Guaymas, por informes que dio de la conveniencia y necesidad de dicha misión como frontera de la nación seri, y común idioma a ambas naciones, don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, juez pesquisidor en aquella gobernación. Entré en aquellas tierras a principios de 1751, se fundó la misión donde ya tenía congregadas cien familias; pero antes de los seis meses, se arrojaron los enemigos a las vertientes del pueblo, donde dieron muerte a seis hombres y dos mujeres, avisándome, con la compañera de las dos muertas, que mandase hacer flechas a los hijos, porque a los cinco días pasarían al pueblo a reñir con ellos.

Noticiosos mis superiores de la ninguna esperanza de la subsistencia de aquella nueva fundación y del riesgo en que todos estábamos, me mandaron salir al pueblo de Belén, adonde pasé con toda la nación. Después de algún tiempo entraron los enemigos en el ya citado pueblo de San José de Guaymas, quemaron la pobre iglesia y casa en que vivía y se apoderaron del pueblo, donde hasta el día de hoy se mantienen, y de donde con más inmediatez hacen sus asaltos. Pasé de Belén a administrar una de las misiones del río Yaqui, de cuya sola nación, en repetidas invasiones que ha hecho este enemigo, llevamos ya contados cerca de cien individuos muertos a sus manos.

Si sólo lo dicho bastaba para formar concepto del riesgo de aquellas provincias y de la crueldad inhumana de los enemigos, nada más favorables son las noticias que acabo de recibir por carta del padre visitador de la provincia de Sonora, José Garrucho, quien con fecha 14 de abril de este presente año, dice lo siguiente: Desde la salida del señor gobernador don José Tienda de Cuervo, se soltaron los enemigos en ademán de un torrente de un río, y rompiendo los diques de su barbaridad, se extendieron por todas estas provincias, dividiendo su campo numeroso de seris, pimas y pápagos, en tres destacamentos con sus correspondientes capitanes. Unos hicieron sus invasiones por la provincia de Ostimuri, por el rancho de Bachomoban, haciendo algunas muertes en él y pasando por cercanías de Baroyeca, hasta el rancho del Sauce, llevándose mucha caballada del dicho rancho o hacienda y sus contornos.

Se arrojaron también un mes antes a las inmediaciones de Mátape, donde mataron siete vecinos de dicho pueblo que estaban solicitando el remedio de sus necesidades en un placer de oro. Casi al mismo tiempo acometieron en el cajón de Rebeico a cinco soldados del presidio de Tubaca que conducían 130 más o menos caballos, y mataron un soldado e hirieron otro, y se llevaron la caballada; si bien estos enemigos pudieron haber sido apaches. Lo mismo experimentó una recua mexicana acometida de estos últimos a la salida de Mátape, la que aunque recobrada por el socorro de vecinos e indios amigos, fue con la pérdida de dos arrieros muertos y uno herido.

Y en fin, por no cansar más la atención de vuestra excelencia, lo que produce dicha carta, es que no hay misión, rancho, hacienda o real de minas de aquellas provincias, que no esté hecho blanco del furor e inhumana crueldad de los enemigos, tanto que aún la necesaria comunicación por cartas, es arriesgada.



Lo que hace más lastimoso este sistema es lo que escriben el padre Alonso Espinosa, misionero de San Xavier del Bac, y el padre Ignacio Pfefferkorn, misionero de Guebavi, ambos de la Pimería Alta. El primero dice: los indios de San Xavier se han ido los más, y me hallo tan sólo, que casi sólo los viejos y los enfermos han quedado; los del Tucson se metieron en un bosque espeso. El segundo dice: en Tumacácori, después de la muerte del gobernador Felipe, casi todos los pápagos se fueron, sólo los pimas han quedado; en el pueblo de las Calabasas lo mismo. Y aunque la huida de estos indios es por temor de los apaches como ellos dicen, es muy temible se valgan de este espacioso pretexto para sus robos y maldades, y pues la experiencia ha enseñado que el sosiego de muchos pimas altos y pápagos, al parecer quietos y sosegados, ha sido una viva llama encubierta con una ceniza, pero expuesta a que al menor viento se manifieste lo que es.

Casi por el tiempo dicho fue el encuentro del teniente del presidio de San Miguel, don Félix Sánchez y sus soldados con los seris y pimas. Perdieron la vida en este combate dicho teniente y un soldado, quedando también heridos otros soldados.

Hasta aquí sólo me he hecho cargo de las invasiones de los enemigos seris, pimas altos y pápagos sin hacerme cargo del más poderoso enemigo, cual es el apache, que desde la misión de San Xavier del Bac, término de la cristiandad por el poniente, tiene asombradas las provincias de Pimería y Sonora hasta las vertientes del real de la Santísima Trinidad de la Plata, atropellando su osadía por los presidios de Tubaca, Terrenate, y Fronteras, que a igual distancia sostienen aquella frontera. Las invasiones de este enemigo no son tan continuas como las de los seris y pimas, pero son tal vez más funestas por la muchedumbre de indios de que se componen sus asaltos.

Si el gobierno de Sinaloa se halla en casi todas sus provincias en tan lamentable estado como el que vuestra excelencia puede inferir de esta sucinta relación, no es nada más favorable el que en la actualidad padece la gobernación de la Nueva Vizcaya a causa del inhumano vasto furor de los apaches. Ciñe esta nación, por la parte del norte, las dos citadas gobernaciones; en casi cuatrocientas leguas, tal vez se arrojaban por el presidio de los Janos según se dejan experimentar sus asaltos por el valle de San Buenaventura, ya por la hacienda del Carmen, donde a vista de sesenta hombres de razón y armados, y una numerosa indiada empleada en el corte del trigo, acometieron estos enemigos llevándose once atajos de los citados sesenta hombres de razón, quedando estos sólo con la carga dispuesta, pero perdidas todas sus bestias. Iguales clamores, ocasionados de las invasiones de este enemigo se oyen en Chihuahua y sus cercanías, haciendo casi impracticable el camino real de las recuas mexicanas, por el valle de Basuchil, pueblo de Temechic, Papigochic, Santo Tomás, etc.

Habiendo dejado en la última y extrema necesidad las misiones de los reverendos padres franciscanos, es a saber: la misión de Namiquipa, y las Cruces, y la de Bachimba, y sus pueblos de visita, experimentando cada día los mismos atrasos las misiones que tiene en dicha frontera nuestra compañía, con especialidad las misiones de Temósachic, Mátachic, Santo Tomás, Papigochic, Temechic, Carichic y Coyachic; y consiguientemente las más pingues haciendas de aquella frontera que varios seculares, aviadores de las labores del famoso real de San Felipe el real Chihuahua, [poseen].

Es verdad que no pudiera el enemigo apache haberse internado en la Tarahu-

mara sin encontrarse con muchas de estas naciones que se hiciesen de su banda y compañeros de sus robos y delitos, pero esta misma infidelidad de estos miserables, da nuevo motivo a nuestro dolor, abrigando domésticos enemigos, que aunque con mayor cautela, sean la ruina de aquellas provincias. Así se experimentó el año pasado con unos indios pertenecientes a la misión de Temósachic, que por haber sido cogidos por cómplices en el robo con unos apaches, fueron llevados presos a Chihuahua, pero noticiosos sus parientes de dicha prisión, amenazaron que si quitaban la vida a alguno de ellos, sabrían ellos vengarla con ventajitas, dando la muerte a los españoles y al padre.

Este es, excelentísimo señor, el estado de las provincias de Sinaloa, Sonora y Pimería, y Tarahumara en la presente actualidad, y finalmente de las dos vastas gobernaciones de Sinaloa, y Nueva Vizcaya, en el que si bien sobran por todas partes motivos a nuestro mayor dolor, es sin duda incomparable la consideración de que estos enemigos, son rémora a nuevas conquistas espirituales, extendiendo el evangelio a nuevas gentes por el río Gila y Colorado, provincia de Moqui, y demás tierras de cuyo término hasta ahora se carece de noticia, conforme al católico celoso pecho de nuestro invicto monarca el señor Felipe V (que de Dios goce) quien a impulsos de su cristiandad y celo, expidió una cédula para que nuestras misiones pasasen adelante a nuevas conquistas espirituales, frecuentando al mismo intento sus cajas reales.

Y a este fin entregó esta provincia de Nueva España al ilustrísimo señor obispo de Durango, doctor don Pedro Anselmo de Tagle, veintidós misiones en la provincia de Topia para tener sujetos con qué poblar las nuevas misiones. Y acaso el día de hoy se hubiera hallado predicador conocido, y adorado el nombre de Dios en las vertientes del río Colorado, a no haber sido impedidas de tantos enemigos. Así lo confirman las conquistas espirituales de Californias, en donde desde el año de 1751 se han adelantado cerca de ochenta leguas, fundando desde dicho tiempo la misión de Santa Gertrudis, y la residencia de San Francisco de Borja, y con esperanza de fundarse en el paraje llamado Los Ángeles otra nueva misión, con cuyas fundaciones se hace verosímil se llegará en breve, por aquella parte, al desemboque del famoso río Colorado.

Prescindiendo del motivo principal, cual es el de la religión, de acudir al remedio de aquellas afligidas provincias, sobran otros muchos que se ofrecen a nuestra consideración, y por tanto no puedo ocultarlos a vuestra excelencia. Es innegable que las provincias que pueblan las gobernaciones de Sinaloa y Nueva Vizcaya abrigan en sus senos todas las riquezas de oro y plata que puedan hacer una monarquía estimable en sí, y envidiada de las ajenas. Prueba bien clara de esta verdad son los minerales de Chihuahua, Cusihuiríachic, Indé, Urique, Batopilas, los Frailes o Alamos, Sivirioja, Baroyeca, Río Chico, Aguaje, real de la Santísima Trinidad de la Plata, Soyopa, Atunes, Cumuripa, Suaqui, Cananea, y otros varios, dando lugar aparte al famoso descubrimiento del Arizona o Bolas de Plata, ora fuese criadero de ella, o tesorero escondido en la antigüedad.

Muchos de los citados minerales se hayan hoy despoblados, a causa de los enemigos, y aquellos en que se trabaja son ayudados remiseramente, o por la cercanía de los enemigos, o porque estos impiden el cultivo de las tierras y producción de frutos necesarios para este laboreo, siendo pues, cada uno de estos minerales capaz de reproducir anualmente una suma considerable trabajándose con el empeño

que piden las reales ordenanzas. ¿Qué suma compondrían si todos ellos se hallasen poblados y trabajados con igual empeño? ¿Cuánto el alivio de las necesidades de los pobladores de aquellas provincias, consiguientemente, cuán crecida suma lo que corresponde en los quintos a su majestad y cajas reales? ¿Cómo por el contrario, cuántos y cuán grandes menoscabos y atrasos se siguen de esta inacción y abandono de tantos minerales, así a los particulares, como al rey y al bien común de sus vasallos?

Justamente pide el lugar debido en esta consideración, el singular y rico placer de perlas de Tepoca, abandonado el día de hoy por el enemigo seri, y en otros tiempos tan solicitado de los armadores de canoas. Logra este placer, sobre la singularidad de ser de perla blanca y del mejor oriente, la incompatible ventaja de estar a las orillas de esta banda, y cercana a las provincias de Sonora y Pimería. Va para veinte años que los armadores no se han arriesgado a sondear aquellas enseñadas y bucear sus planes. Se hace muy verosímil que en el largo discurso de estos años, se hayan formado algunas extraordinarias varazones de conchas, de que puede resultar mucho aumento, así al bien común, a los interesados de esta arriesgada negociación, como a la real hacienda por el quinto correspondiente a su majestad.

Si todo lo dicho en los párrafos antecedentes, manifiesta claramente la utilidad, conveniencia y aumentos tan singulares que se siguen a nuestro invicto monarca, manteniendo en quieta y sosegada paz aquellas vastas provincias, sube sin comparación de punto esta utilidad, así a su majestad como a todos los pobladores de estas Américas, en el descubrimiento moderno y tan raro de oro de Soyopa, que tal vez no se hallará semejante en toda la monarquía. Va para cinco años que pasando por el arroyo de Soyopa un pobre vecino, descubrió por casualidad en dicho arroyo, unas arenas de oro. No bien satisfecho de su dicha, comunicó el hallazgo a otros vecinos; pasó de unos en otros la noticia, cuando a poco tiempo se formó el real de San Antonio de la Huerta, en donde llegó el número de pobladores a más de cincuenta mil personas, que sin más ajuar que una batea, se extendieron por todas aquellas orillas lavando las tierras de aquellos placeres; y si bien, desiguales en la busca, pero al fin todos vendían por la noche el fruto de su trabajo en el oro que sacaban, y sin beneficio alguno lo empleaban en las tiendas.

Mucho fue sin duda el oro que sacaron en la temporada, pero se puede dudar si fue más el que por menudo desperdiciaban de la batea. La proposición parecerá sobradamente hiperbólica, pero es clara la prueba: el modo de sacar los indios el oro con su batea, es ir metiendo los dedos y hacer un repaso por las tierras de la batea a impulsos del sentido del tacto y de la vista, y como el oro se oculte a alguno de estos sentidos, tiene el indio por perdido el tiempo de hacer muchas pruebas; pues como por otras partes espere encontrar en la siguiente batea lo que no ha hallado en la antecedente, poco dolor le cuesta el arrojar la primera. Se hace presente también lo dicho, a todos los que saben que en aquel real es tan desconocido el azogue, que muchos de los operarios no lo habrán visto jamás, ni oído decir, que ora sea entre los indios, ora entre los de razón haya habido quién se valga del beneficio del azogue en estos placeres. No es de omitir que en esta busca igualmente trabaja la mujer y el muchacho, como el varón.

Luego que empezaron las aguas, quedaron impedidas con las avenidas las labores del arroyo; pero cebados los operarios con el oro que habían encontrado en la cañada, se extendieron por las lomas inmediatas a pesar de la estación del tiempo.

No fue vana su esperanza, pues cuál más o menos hallaban igualmente materia para cebarse su codicia, no sólo en las cercanías de dicho real y a poblados, otros reales y placeres de oro, que en nada cederían al primero. Estos son el de Cumuripa, el de la Junta de los Ríos, labor de las Tortugas, el de Rebeico, el de Bacoachi, el de Saracachi, la labor de lo de Salas, el de Cuquiárachi, el de Bacanora, y ahora últimamente el de Lona Colorado [sic], no ha un año descubierto. Y en una palabra, desde el río Yaqui a Cuquiárachi, que dista 140 leguas de largo, y entre Bacanora y el real presidio de San Miguel, que son cincuenta de ancho, apenas se halla cañada o arroyo, loma o cerro, que no participe de este manto que la naturaleza ha echado sobre aquella tierra.

Pues si bien algunos discurren que estos placeres de oro, mayormente los de los arroyos, son partículas desprendidas de algún, o de algunos cerros en que se hallan algunas vetas o crestones de oro, tengo por más verosímil que es criadero o como antes dije, un manto de oro que la naturaleza ha echado sobre aquella tierra. Me persuade a este dictamen, el ver que muchas lomas adonde no tienen corrientes las aguas de los cerros se hallan igualmente salpicadas de este metal; lo segundo, porque a distancia de cincuenta, y cien leguas, se hallan otros placeres como ya se dijo; y estos últimos es cierto que no tienen comunicación alguna ni dependencia de los cerros que comunican sus aguas y corrientes al arroyo de San Antonio, Río Chico, etc.

En fin, sea de esto o lo que fuere, lo que hace a nuestro propósito, es que una tierra en que se ha esmerado tanto el Autor de la naturaleza, adornándola de tantos y tan preciosos metales, se hace también acreedora a las mayores diligencias para conservarlas con el mayor esplendor, mayormente teniendo presente que es estilo muy regular de la Divina Providencia, y muy conforme a la fragilidad de nuestra naturaleza, brindarla estos alicientes, para conseguir de ellos más altos designios de la propagación del enemigo y darse a conocer en nuevas gentes, conforme al decreto de su mente, de hacer salvos a todos los hombres.

Hasta aquí no he hecho más que poner ante la alta consideración de vuestra excelencia, el estado fatal en que se hallan las provincias de las dos gobernaciones de Sinaloa y Nueva Vizcaya, no porque pretenda persuadir a vuestra excelencia hallarse dichas provincias en tal abandono que no admitan remedio sus necesidades, sino antes bien el no ver el celo y amor de vuestra excelencia, así a nuestro rey y señor como a sus vasallos, porque dando las providencias más prontas y más conformes, según le dictase su bien experimentada conducta, logre aquel terreno la más pacífica posesión en lo ya conquistado, con bien fundadas esperanzas de adelantar nuevas y numerosas naciones, en obsequio de su Criador nuestro gran Dios, y en obsequio también de nuestro invicto monarca el señor Carlos III.

Pues a la verdad fuera sensible a su majestad y a toda su monarquía, que nuestra inacción en la conquista de aquellas tierras diese ocasión (a que otras naciones a quienes no se oculta la riqueza de aquellas tierras y la probabilidad de no ser inferiores las que siguen) tan ambiciosas de nuevos descubrimientos y nuevas colonias, penetrasen por la parte del norte o por el Canadá, y se hiciesen dueños.

De lo que se me ofrece acerca de los medios más conducentes al remedio de aquellas tierras, y absteniéndome de dar mi dictamen en cosas ajenas del carácter y estado que profeso, aunque de lo que dijere podrá la perspicaz penetración de vuestra excelencia, sacar las luces necesarias para sus determinaciones.

**P**rimero Medio:

El enemigo seri coligado con los pimas altos y pápagos, hasta apoderado de todas las tierras que hay desde Caborca hasta San José de Guaymas inclusive, que por la costa que es lo más largo, serán como cien leguas; por la parte del sur tienen la isla del Tiburón, aunque no es muy familiar la comunicación que tienen con sus pobladores, ni estos se sabe que salgan de aquellas islas a hostilizar la tierra, porque como ellos no aspiran más que a pasar la vida con aquel ocio y libertad que les dicta la naturaleza, hallan bastante materia para satisfacer su deseo en aquellas islas, ya con las frutas, raíces y animales que ella produce, ya con el marisco que les ofrecen aquellas orillas.

Por la parte del norte tienen el Cerro Prieto que es la fortaleza que hasta aquí se ha tenido por insuperable, no porque en realidad lo sea, sino porque tal vez nos dejamos preocupar de aquellas dificultades que produce en nosotros la fantasía. El Cerro Prieto no es como piensan los más, una fortaleza formada de la naturaleza a donde hay de entrada una sola puerta. El Cerro Prieto es un agregado de varios cajones pedregosos y llenos de maleza que le son el de la Nopalera, el de la Cara Pintada, el de Cosari, aunque no tan contiguo como los antecedentes, y a este modo otros semejantes. Por la parte del oriente y norte están estos enemigos circunvalados de los pueblos del Yaqui, Belén y provincia de Sonora y Pimería Alta hasta Caborca.

En el centro de dicho terreno se hallan los presidios de San Miguel de Horcasitas y el del Altar. Las invasiones más frecuentes de los enemigos son, de Guaymas por Belén al río Yaqui, del Cosari y Cerro Prieto, por Santa Rosa y Bacatetebe a Cumuripa, Tecoripa al real de San Antonio, Soyopa y Río Chico. También se destacan de dicho Cerro Prieto por los Pilares para San José de los Pimas y las vertientes de San Miguel, Anacori [Nacori], Rebeico, Nacameri, río de Sonora, Saracachi y Bacoachi. Tal vez hacen sus invasiones aunque no tan frecuentes por la Pimería Alta a Santa Ana, Tubutama, Caborca y sus inmediaciones.

Para impedir estos asaltos, tienen nuestras armas tantos parajes y puertos, tantos cuantos tienen los enemigos para sus salidas, comenzando desde el mar hasta el presidio de San Miguel; está lo primero el pueblo de Guaymas, aguaje bastante y perenne. A las cuatro leguas entre Guaymas y el Cerro Prieto hay otro aguaje en un tular entre cerros; en Santa Rosa, distante de Guaymas para el norte catorce leguas, dura todo el año el agua, aunque en pozos. Está el aguaje del Cosari, que también son buenos aguajes permanentes; el de Bacatetebe, el aguaje no muy distante del Pitic, el de los Pilares, fuera de los aguajes de los pueblos fronterizos.

Es verdad que si las armas de los presidios de San Miguel y el Altar no tuviesen más que oponerse a estos enemigos, pareciera ser bastantes para guardar su frontera y castigar al enemigo; pero como tal vez sucede que el enemigo apache se arroja hasta Mátape, Sahuaripa, Bacanora, Oposura y Cumpas, todos pueblos de Sonora, es necesario acuda también a los asaltos del enemigo apache, y en tal caso ya se ve la frontera de los seris, pimas y pápagos, queda, si no desamparada de nuestras armas a lo menos en gran parte debilitada. Los tres presidios restantes, es a saber, el de Tubaca, el de Terrenate y el de Fronteras, están fronterizos al enemigo apache, pero como este enemigo sea tan numeroso, y en sus asaltos venga con tanta gente, no permiten sus invasiones que las armas de estos presidios tengan más ejercicio que el acudir a los asaltos de este enemigo.

De todo lo cual se deduce, no ser en la actualidad todos cinco presidios, freno bastante para contener la osadía y fuerzas de tantos enemigos, antes sí, se hace preciso levantar a lo menos dos compañías o presidios de cincuenta hombres cada una, para el reparo o sosiego de aquellas provincias. Y mirando ahora como más inminente el peligro y riesgo que amenaza a aquellas provincias por la parte del enemigo seri, parece ser aún más conveniente, que la una compañía o presidio nuevo, se estableciese en el pueblo de San José de Guaymas o en Bacatetebe o en el Agua Caliente de Cumuripa, paso el más propio o casi necesario para asaltar el enemigo seri a la provincia de Ostimuri, y la otra compañía o presidio se estableciese en el pueblo de Bavispe o Bácerac, frontera de los apaches. Suponiendo que si dichos presidios o compañías asientan su residencia en algún pueblo de misiones, se pongan con independencia del pueblo y de sus casas como está en California en el real presidio de Loreto, donde a un lado de la iglesia está la ranchería de indios o pueblo y al otro lado o rumbo contrario, está el real presidio, atajando con este medio los inconvenientes que no se ocultan a la celosa penetración de vuestra excelencia.

Establecidas dichas compañías en los citados sitios, se consigue en que las armas del presidio de San Miguel y presidio del Altar, destinadas principalmente a refrenar las invasiones de los seris, pimas altos y pápagos, no se divirtiesen atendiendo a los asaltos de los apaches, desamparando su terreno y consiguientemente los cuatro presidios restantes, es a saber: el de Tubaca, el de Terrenate, el de Fronteras y la nueva compañía de Bavispe, pudieron con más facilidad guardar la frontera del norte, estorbando las invasiones del enemigo apache por aquel rumbo, fuera de que por esta providencia pudieran las armas de los presidios antiguos y compañías nuevas alternarse en frecuentes salidas a observar los movimientos y huellas de los enemigos respectivos.

Dando cuando menos cada mes todos los capitanes noticia de lo que ha sucedido y de lo que puede conducir en lo futuro, al señor gobernador, y su señoría, dando las providencias que juzgare más oportunas. Asimismo, de noticiarle a vuestra excelencia de cuatro en cuatro meses lo que ocurra, supuesto se facilita esta diligencia con el correo mensual de aquellas provincias a Guadalajara. Y a la verdad, en este nuevo sistema, muy debida es la obligación de los oficiales, comunicarse casi diariamente la escuadra de un presidio con la escuadra del otro, con lo que rara vez sucederá que el asalto del enemigo, a más de que los indios amigos que salen a cortar rastros en sus pueblos y respectivas jurisdicciones, avisen con tiempo a las escuadras de los presidios, logrando con este pronto aviso, o castigar al enemigo o quitarle la presa en sus nocturnos asaltos.

Se hace tan precisa esta frecuente comunicación de una escuadra con otra, o lo que es lo mismo, que anden volantes algunas escuadras de dichos presidios, que sin esta providencia fuera inútil el añadir nuevas compañías, y consiguientemente acumular nuevos gastos a la real hacienda infructuosamente. La prueba mejor de esta verdad es la experiencia de lo que ha sucedido estos años pasados en las invasiones de estos enemigos. Sucede tal vez que acometen en un pueblo distant[e] diez o veinte leguas del inmediato presidio; los pocos indios del pueblo, parte por su corto número y ninguna disposición en este género de expediciones, no se atreven a seguir al enemigo, tomando el partido de avisar al primer presidio, la invasión del enemigo.

El presidio se compone de cincuenta hombres, de los cuales es preciso dejar ocho o diez en la guardia de la caballada, otros diez cuando menos en el mismo presidio; de los restantes es preciso considerar algunos enfermos, prescindiendo de otros regulares motivos que no permiten se halle toda la compañía completa en el presidio. En este caso, cuando el capitán quiera acudir a la necesidad del pueblo invadido, destaca un cabo con el corto número de soldados que le permiten las circunstancias, y si tal vez alcanza éste al enemigo en número desigual, o en puesto ventajoso, se ve obligada dicha escuadra a retirarse vergonzosamente a vista del enemigo, o a exponer su honor en la acometida. Dije si alcanza al enemigo, porque claro está que en avisar los indios al presidio, en dar el capitán las providencias, nombrar los soldados, pasar a recoger la caballada y traerla al presidio, y últimamente, en salir dicha escuadra a seguir la huella del enemigo, se pasan dos o tres días, plazo sobrado para que los enemigos salgan impunes y con el robo que han hecho.

Creo que las razones dichas, omitidas otras varias, hacen patente la necesidad de la nueva creación de las dos compañías o presidios; pero me hago cargo de los gastos que ocasiona a las reales cajas este proyecto, en un tiempo en que la ocurrencia de la próxima guerra pasada, y el restablecimiento de la isla de la Habana, no solamente han agotado todo el fondo de las cajas reales, sino también han obligado a vuestra excelencia a valerse del préstamo que los vecinos de esta ciudad han ministrado como fieles vasallos del amor que profesan a su rey; pero estoy tan lejos de persuadirme que este nuevo proyecto sea gravoso a la real hacienda, que antes discurro que le sea en todo favorable, añadiendo nuevos aumentos al real erario.

Las razones que me persuaden a este dictamen son las siguientes: el costo de dos compañías de cincuenta hombres, inclusive el sueldo del capitán y sus respectivos oficiales, anualmente es de cuarenta mil pesos y un corto pico. Poco después del descubrimiento del oro de San Antonio de la Huerta, es cierto que fue grande y singular el aumento que produjeron a la real hacienda los derechos a su majestad, para lo cual es fácil consultar las oficinas peculiares de este producto en Durango, Guadalajara y esta corte. Hubiera crecido sin duda esta suma los años siguientes, a no haber dejado impracticable el trabajo de los operarios en muchas y nuevas ricas labores, el desenfreno y osadía de los enemigos, por lo cual pudo haber tenido algún menoscabo la producción de estos derechos en los citados años. En este presente se ha hecho alguna especial bonanza en los placeres de San Antonio y en el último descubrimiento de oro llamado el valle Colorado y Cieneguilla. Acaba de llegar a esta corte don Vicente Morales, arriero de tierra dentro y de los situados de los presidios, quien deja manifestados 946 marcos de oro en la ciudad de Durango; se está esperando otro arriero llamado don José Calvete, quien hace juicio que traerá más de mil marcos de oro. ¿Quién duda que otros arrieros habrán traído y manifestado otras sumas considerables correspondientes a su carga y facultades, y esto en un tiempo el más calamitoso?

Supuesto esto, discurro así: hoy trabajan y están empleados en el [la] labor de aquellos placeres, tres o cuatro mil operarios a pesar del riesgo eminente [inminente] que les amenaza. Luego puesta aquella tierra en alguna seguridad, y acordonada la entrada de los enemigos, sería sin comparación mucho mayor el número de los operarios, más activo e intenso su trabajo y mucho más ventajosa la producción o diaria saca de oro. No me detengo en averiguar el número de los que se

podieran emplear en aquellos placeres y busca de oro. Lo que puedo asegurar es, que en el año pasado, digo primero del descubrimiento en que me hallaba administrando una de las misiones del río Yaqui, sólo de aquella nación se contaban más de tres mil individuos pobladores de aquellos placeres, fuera de otros muchos de las numerosas naciones mayo, fuerte, opatas, eudeves, pimas bajos y otros, y los muchos de razón y españoles a quienes las necesidades esforzaba y obligaba a hacerse participantes de este beneficio. Y así, juntando todos los dichos, no me parece inverosímil el que llegase, o pasase el número de todos los operarios, diariamente a más de cinco mil personas.

Pues ahora vuelvo a nuestro asunto: pongamos que trabajasen diariamente sin el recelo de enemigos seis mil personas, o porque no parezca excesivo el número, sean las cinco mil; saque cada uno de estos media cuarta cada día, que me parece lo ínfimo a que nos podamos reducir con la experiencia de lo que sale y han sacado estos años, así en granalla, como en grano de una, dos y tres onzas, y aún de libra de oro virgen que han hallado, cinco mil personas diariamente a media cuarta sacan seiscientos veinticinco onzas que hacen setenta y ocho marcos y una onza diariamente; multiplíquese esta saca por trescientos días (dejando vacos los sesenta y cinco por los domingos y fiestas) y se verá que produce anualmente el trabajo de las cinco mil personas la suma de veintitrés mil cuatrocientos treinta y siete marcos y cuatro onzas.

El oro que hasta ahora se ha sacado, ha tenido la ley de dieciocho, diecinueve a veinte y algunos de veintidós quilates, pongamos en el medio término sea generalmente de oro de diecinueve quilates. Los veintitrés mil cuatrocientos treinta y siete marcos de diecinueve quilates de ley se han de reducir a la ley de veintidós que es el punto en que se debe considerar el oro para pagar los derechos correspondientes a su majestad. Reducidos pues los citados veintitrés mil cuatrocientos treinta y siete marcos a la ley de veintidós quilates corresponde a veinte mil doscientos cincuenta y dos marcos; de estos cada marco rinde a su majestad dieciséis, inclusive los dos pesos correspondientes al diezmo y señoreaje, y así dicha cantidad produce anualmente al rey por todos sus derechos, la suma de trescientos veinticuatro mil treinta y dos pesos, cotejada ahora esta cantidad con el costo de cuarenta mil pesos anuales de los nuevos presidios, excede manifiestamente dicha cantidad a este costo y gasto, doscientos ochenta y cuatro mil treinta y dos pesos. Con lo que queda demostrado al parecer que la creación de las dos nuevas compañías, o presidios, lejos de ser gravosa a la real hacienda, producen considerables utilidades al real erario.



Segundo Medio:

Aunque el medio antecedente es más propio y más conforme al actual y desgraciado sistema de aquellas afligidas provincias, por seguirse del más ejecutivo remedio, o a sus necesidades, sin embargo juzgo, que ni es el más eficaz, ni tampoco bastante para prometernos con sólo él, todo el sosiego necesario en dichas provincias, pues al fin pudiera llegar el tiempo, el que por la inacción de nuestras armas, o por nuevos enemigos que se levantan, fuera preciso añadir más y más compañías y presidios, cuyo temor se hace más verosímil a los que saben que no ha muchos años se mantienen aquellas provincias, ya que no en octaviana paz, a lo menos en no tantas inquietudes con los dos presidios; es, a saber, el uno en la villa de Sinaloa, y el otro en Fronteras. Después acá se han ido levantando



sucesivamente varios presidios como son el del Altar, el de Terrenate y el de Tubaca, experimentando no obstante cada día mayores lástimas y dolorosos gemidos de los pobladores de aquellas tierras; luego es forzoso confesar, que este medio no es el que necesariamente nos promete el deseado consuelo, o no es el único eje en que se deje librado el sosiego y paz de aquellas provincias.

El remedio más principal y único que yo hallo a tanta necesidad, y que establemente asegure, así a la tranquilidad actual de aquellas provincias, como la probabilidad, y facilidad de internarse más nuestras armas, dando en cada paso nueva y mayor gloria accidental a nuestro gran Dios y Señor, y nuevos vasallos y dominios a nuestro soberano, es el poblar aquellas tierras y valles despoblados, de correspondientes y respectivas familias de gente de razón y de españoles. Es cierto que una población de esta gente con bienes raíces que les asegure su subsistencia, que es el más fuerte presidio para oponerse a los asaltos del enemigo, cada individuo es un fuerte, cada familia una trinchera, y cada pueblo una e inexpugnable ciudadela.

Nadie ignora que aquella tierra no solamente es estimable por sus metales, sino también especialmente favorecida del cielo en el benigno clima que disfruta, y en la abundancia de todas especies de frutos con que pueda la tierra rendirse agradecida a los afanes del que las cultiva, añadiéndose a esto el saludable temperamento, libre por lo general de las epidemias y enfermedades, contagios tan frecuentes en muchas partes de este reino, sin poder omitir el singular beneficio de hallar los pobladores en aquellas tierras el antídoto de sus males y el remedio de sus enfermedades en las muchas y singulares yerbas medicinales, contrayerbas y raíces, gomas, sales, etc., con que pudiera la botica hacer más feliz, abundante y copioso el Anacerbeo Dioscórides, dando materia de admiración y envidia a toda la Spagirica.

Si comenzamos por la parte de Chihuahua, es digno de dolor el ver despobladas las mejores tierras y más amenos valles; despoblados se ven el valle de San Luis, el de Torreón, el de Ricacho, y casi toda la tierra que media hasta San Buenaventura. Este valle, aunque no está del todo despoblado, pero siendo capaz de abrigar muchos millares de pobladores, es bien escaso y corto el número de los que lo pueblan. A todos estos valles excede incomparablemente el valle de Casas Grandes o Palacios de Moctezuma (de donde es tradición salió este monarca con su gente a poblar estas tierras), el que logrando un caudaloso río que baña todo el valle, está rebosando fertilidad, y brindando con su amenidad, que a poco trabajo asegurarán su sustento.

Y supuesto me hallo en la suposición de estas tierras pertenecientes a la gobernación de la Nueva Vizcaya, no puedo menos que acordar a vuestra excelencia que los atrasos de esta gobernación han sido ocasionados en gran parte de la extinción [extinción] de los presidios de El Gallo, del Cerrogordo y el de Conchos, y consiguientemente que todo lo que llevo dicho a favor del remedio de las provincias de la gobernación de Sinaloa, se debe de entender con la proporción debida del remedio de estas provincias pertenecientes a esta Nueva Vizcaya. Esto es que en la actualidad se restablezcan, o erijan de nuevo alguno, o algunos, de los extinguidos presidios por el actual inminente riesgo que amenazan los enemigos, y temor de despoblarse aquellas tierras, y después para su estabilidad y permanencia del paraje de dichas tierras hoy abandonado. Por lo que toca al sitio donde pueden poblarse estos nuevos presidios, soy de sentir que a lo menos el uno se es-

tableciese en el valle de San Buenaventura distante de 25 a 30 leguas del presidio de Janos; pero por cuanto no tengo noticia tan individual y experiencia de los puertos y sitios de esta gobernación como de las provincias de Sinaloa, podrá vuestra excelencia tomar los informes de personas más prácticas del estado de esta gobernación de Nueva Vizcaya.

Volviendo ahora a las provincias de Sinaloa, Sonora y Pimería, y asentada la necesidad de la erección de los dos nuevos presidios para el más pronto remedio, y para en adelante el pueblo de aquellas tierras con gente de razón y españoles, es preciso me haga cargo de la distancia de aquellas provincias a esta capital y corte de México, de quinientas leguas a la provincia de Sonora, y más de seiscientas a lo último de la Pimería Alta, y de las dificultades que se ofrecen en la ejecución de este último proyecto.

Dos son las dificultades más poderosas que se ofrecen a mi ignorancia. La primera, qué gente había de ser la pobladora de aquellas tierras, o de dónde habían de salir estas familias. Y la segunda el transporte de dichas familias. La primera ciertamente no la juzgo insuperable; notorio es a todos, la multitud de gente pobre ociosa, vagamunda que abriga esta ciudad; esto mismo con la proporción debida, se verifica en la ciudad de la Puebla, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Guanajuato, y otras ciudades, reales de minas, pueblos y ranchos. ¿Qué daños se le siguiera a ninguna de estas ciudades o poblaciones en que se hiciese una poda de estos inútiles sarmientos e infructuosos a las repúblicas, que sólo sirven de chupar el jugo de ellos? Ninguno por cierto; antes sí, por el contrario, un beneficio tan grande a las repúblicas como a ellos, porque lograban con qué pasar una vida racional y cristiana en una inocencia moderada y libre de los riesgos a que los conduce la libertad, ocio y pobreza a las repúblicas, viéndose libres de una gente que aumentando solamente el vulgo, nada menos sirven de alivio.

No por esto es mi ánimo persuadir a vuestra excelencia que en tal caso se echase mano de una gente viciosa, inútil y escandalosa, antes por haber de pasar a aquellas tierras tan recientes y tiernas en la cristiandad, se hace necesario que los pobladores sirvan con su vida, más de ejemplo que de escándalo con sus vicios. Y si a este fin pareciese a vuestra excelencia más conforme enviar gente de menos distancia, la encontrará sin duda vuestra excelencia comenzando del Rosario para adelante, por la costa de Durango, por la sierra y del Parral, y Chihuahua, por la frontera; fuera de que sosegada aquella tierra pasarán voluntariamente tantos, que sobrarán de quien echar mano, pues la experiencia ha enseñado que sólo con la contingente esperanza de sus aumentos temporales, han pasado muchos millares de individuos de ambos sexos, así en el descubrimiento de la Arizona o Bolas de Plata, como en el último del oro de Soyopa.

La segunda dificultad es el tra[n]sporte de estas familias a aquellas remotas tierras, los excesivos gastos que ha de ocasionar su tra[n]sporte, la igual dificultad de mantenerse, no tanto por falta de bastimentos y víveres, cuanto por el subido precio de los géneros necesarios para su vestuario, pues conduciendo los mercaderes la ropa necesaria desde esta ciudad, por medio de los arrieros, es inevitable el excesivo precio de cada especie, cuya consideración aterrará aún a los más deseosos de pasar a aquellas tierras.

Este proceloso escollo, verdaderamente el mayor que pulso en la materia, se puede evadir si se pone en planta el proyecto, de que antes de ahora se ha tratado en otros tiempos en el palacio de vuestra excelencia, y el que se haría preciso

tenga efecto, si le ha de tener la cédula del señor Felipe V para el descubrimiento y población del río Colorado. Este proyecto se reduce a conducir a aquellas tierras, por mar, todas las mercancías, géneros y efectos necesarios para la vida racional y humana, o bien sea desde el puerto de Acapulco o del de Navidad, venciendo con esta providencia los atrasos que se ofrecen en la conducción de todo lo dicho, por tierra.

El año de 1750 hizo una representación el señor gobernador de Sinaloa, don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, al excelentísimo señor conde de Revillagigedo, virrey de esta Nueva España, haciendo patente la conveniencia y utilidad que se seguía así a la real corona, como a los soldados, fabricándose dos barcos que condujesen desde Acapulco todo lo necesario, o hasta el Yaqui, o hasta Guaymas, o hasta las costas de la Pimería, ofreciendo a dichos barcos para el tiempo de su carrera y descanso, el famoso puerto de Guaymas llamado isla de Pájaros, que en dictamen y sentir del insigne piloto don Manuel Correa es de las más apreciables, así por la espaciosa entrada como por los cerros que cercan la bahía.

No tuvo efecto esta representación, acaso por haber parecido excesivo el gasto de la fábrica de dichos barcos. El proyecto puede tener todas las dificultades de nuevo; pero mirando a buenas luces es tan racional y ventajoso, que vence su utilidad todas las dificultades que se pueden ofrecer, y oponerse en el asunto; pero cuando las dificultades que no alcanzo, fuesen tan poderosas que detuviesen en la consideración de vuestra excelencia, la ejecución del proyecto, gustase proponerlo al comercio de esta ciudad, concediendo su licencia para que anualmente pudiera celebrar una feria, o bien sea en río Yaqui, o en el puerto de San José de Guaymas, o en otro puerto que pareciese más acomodado. Admitirá dicho comercio esta propuesta, haciéndose cargo de fabricar dichos barcos, si bien juzgo que en tal caso fuera preciso que vuestra excelencia diese las providencias necesarias, para que el camino desde esta ciudad hasta Acapulco o hasta el puerto de la Navidad, se compusiese y se hiciese más traficable, y con menos dificultades, transitable de las bestias de carga.

A la verdad yo no concibo porqué en otras navegaciones, como son del reino del Perú y de España, se atropellen las dificultades tan graves y riesgos tan inminentes de unas navegaciones tan largas, por los aumentos que ofrece la negociación de sus caudales, y no se venzan en nuestro caso tan leves dificultades. La navegación desde el puerto de Acapulco al puerto de San José de Guaymas y otro de Sonora, sería regularmente de veinte días, o lo más de un mes; no tiene los peligros inevitables del golfo, porque con una mediana inteligencia de la náutica en el que los gobierna, pueden los barcos hacer su travesía costeando estas orillas hasta llegar al desemboque del río Yaqui, en que es preciso tomar altura para lograr el puerto.

La construcción y conservación de dos barcos, no puede exceder un gasto tan moderado, que cotejado no sólo con el poder de nuestro rey y señor, y con el fondo de un comercio de Nueva España, sino con caudal de un particular quede en términos de leve, pero la ganancia que ellos ofrecen será sin comparación mucho mayor. La razón es clara, pues prescindiendo del aumento y ganancias que reciben los interesados en la feria premeditada, pueden también disponer que dichos barcos lleven anualmente el situado de los presidios de San Miguel, del Altar, de Tubaca, de Fronteras y de los dos nuevos presidios; y tal vez en este sistema se agregarán las memorias de los padres misioneros de las provincias de Sinaloa,

Sonora y Pimería, cuya conducción excederá en pocos años el gasto, primero de los barcos y de los de su conservación y salarios de los que se emplean en la navegación, fuera de otras muchas utilidades, que a mí se me ocultan y acaso son familiares a la delicadeza de discurrir en estas materias de los comerciantes, sin las cuales con sólo lo asentado se hace evidente la facilidad y ventaja que ofrece la construcción de dichos barcos.

En esta suposición me parece que con menos gastos de la real hacienda, y menos incomodidad de las familias que habían de ser conducidas para poblar aquellas tierras, podían ser transportadas en dichos barcos ya que no en una ocasión, a lo menos en dos o tres navegaciones hasta el puerto de San José de Guaymas, de donde tomaban por tierra el rumbo y término que les tocaba; sino es que como ya se dijo, fuesen las familias pobladoras de aquellas inmediaciones y tierras no muy distantes, con lo que quedan ya vencidas las principales dificultades, es a saber el transporte de dichas familias cuya solución ha tenido digresión del párrafo antecedente.

Esto es, excelentísimo señor, lo que se me ofrece acerca del estado de las provincias que pueblan las vastas gobernaciones de Sinaloa y Nueva Vizcaya; he procurado hacerme cargo de las necesidades de ellas y también insinuar los medios y remedios que yo alcanzo para su mayor sosiego, y aunque me hubiera querido ceñir a mayor brevedad no lo ha permitido el objeto que me impelía: movíame principalmente el amor a la religión cristiana como a religioso; como a vasallo de nuestro invicto monarca, la fidelidad; y a prójimo, el bien común; si tal vez este papel es tan dichoso que merezca la dignación de vuestra excelencia en honra de nuestro soberano y mayor gloria del Altísimo.

Excelentísimo señor, beso la mano a vuestra excelencia.

Su más rendido siervo y humilde capellán,

JHS, Ignacio Lizasoáin.

Excelentísimo señor marqués de Cruillas,

Virrey de esta Nueva España.



## Glossary

*adelantado*. The individual responsible for the conquest or opening up of a new area—normally at his own expense. In return he usually continued as the Crown's governor with specified privileges.

*agave*. Plants of genus *Agave*, also known as century plant.

*aguardiente*. General term used for distilled liquor. See *mescal*.

*alcalde*. Municipal officer with administrative and judicial functions.

*alcaldía mayor*. Administrative district of an *alcalde mayor*, who was the principal municipal official of a city or district.

*alférez*. The lowest-ranking commissioned officer, roughly equivalent to an ensign or second lieutenant in the army; sometimes referred to as *teniente*.

*alférez reformado*. A lieutenant whose company has undergone reform, cutback, or abolishment. In any case, the reformado often received the salary of a retired officer.

*alguacil* (*alguacil mayor*). A constable, usually on a municipal level. An *alguacil mayor* was the chief constable.

*almaceneros*. A term used to describe a powerful group of merchants from Mexico City who provided loans and monies for the founding and continuation of presidios.

*almud*. A dry measure frequently used in relation to agricultural production of corn, beans, or the like. The measure usually was equivalent to five liters, but it varied throughout colonial New Spain.

*angelus*. Prayer commemorating the incarnation; said at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the evening. It was usually announced by the ringing of a bell.

*apoderado general*. An authorized representative of a province.

*arroba*. Common unit of weight equal to 25 pounds.

*arzobispo virrey*. An archbishop who also served as viceroy. While royal patronage gave the Crown authority over the Church in the colonies, it also allowed the Church to function as an arm of the state; thus, it was not uncommon for clergy to serve in government positions.

## Glossary

*atole*. A porridge made from corn flour.

*audiencia*. A judicial and legislative council that administered royal affairs over a substantial geographic area. Judicially, it was subordinate only to the Council of the Indies. In a legislative role, it acted in conjunction with the viceroy.

*auditor de guerra*. Special assistant to the viceroy in military affairs; he often was an oidor of the *audiencia* himself. In matters of military justice, he served as legal counsel to the viceroy.

*auto*. Judicial or administrative decree.

*ayuntamiento*. The municipal corporation or town council charged with local municipal government.

*bachiller*. Recipient of the lowest university degree; often a parish priest.

*barranca*. Deep ravine or canyon.

*barretero*. An ore digger; a mining laborer.

*batea*. Wooden tray or trough used for panning gold.

*batequi*. Well or water hole. Along the coast of the Gulf of California, it is employed specifically to denote freshwater springs that occur below the high-tide line.

*caballería*. Military unit on horseback; cavalry.

*cabecera*. Administrative head or central town of a region or mission district; headquarters; chief mission in a district.

*cabo*. Corporal; squad leader.

*cacique*. Indian chieftain.

*cámara*. Chamber, board, or council.

*camino real*. Patrolled route or road linking places where the Crown had operations.

*capitán de caballos*. Captain responsible for a company on horseback.

*capitán general*. Captain general; chief military officer. In the colonies the title belonged to the viceroy, although in a province the superior commander was so called. In frontier areas this rank was often filled by the governor of the province. Of necessity, the rank was sometimes a brevet type.

*capitán propietario*. Refers to a landowner on the frontier who, in times of need, acted as a military leader. Because frontier regions often lacked professional military personnel to protect settlements, citizen militia engaged in military operations.

*capitán protector*. A presidial captain whose responsibility was to protect Indians from mistreatment by Spaniards or hostile Indian tribes.

*capitán vitalicio*. Captain for life. As presidial commander, the captain often held civil authority as *alcalde mayor* of a region, as was the case in Sinaloa during the period 1660–1734.

*carga*. Unit of weight equal to about 150 pounds; the average load of a pack animal.

*carrizo*. Bamboo-like cane or reed grass that grows wild near springs, marshes, and rivers. In northern New Spain, especially Sonora, it was commonly used for the construction of ceilings and roofs.

*casa profesa*. House for professed fathers of the Society of Jesus; also headquarters of the Jesuit provincial in Mexico City.

## Glossary

*castellano*. Commander of a castle or fortification, usually at a seaport or on the coast.

*catán*. Indian cutlass; a long, thin fish.

*caudillo*. Leader or commander; military rank could vary.

*cédula*. Royal decree; order.

*chochomite*. A variant form of *chomite*, a Nahuatl term for woolen skirt.

*cibolo*. Bison; American buffalo.

*ciudad*. City or town. A *ciudad* was a civil community of substantial size possessing a charter that gave it more rights and privileges than a *villa* or *pueblo*.

*cochineal*. An insect that commonly infects the nopal cactus in warmer climates. A valuable red dye can be made from the dried bodies of this insect.

*colegio*. School or college; often a seminary for educating religious.

*comisario de justicia*. Deputy magistrate.

*compadre*. Godfather; one belonging to the *compadrazgo*, or god-parentage, a very important social institution that established ties between parents of a baptized child and the child's godparents. Also a term commonly used to describe a special friend.

*compañía volante*. Military unit on detached or roving duty; a "flying company."

*congrega*. A new type of *encomienda* particular to Nuevo León during the eighteenth century. *Congregas* replaced the *encomienda* after abuse of that institution led to its abolition.

*consulado*. Merchant guild.

*contador* (*contador de cuenta*). Accountant, bookkeeper, treasurer. The *contador general de real tributos* was a royally appointed accountant responsible for monitoring the collection of tribute. A *contador mayor* was the chief treasurer of a royal accounting office. *Contaduría de Real Hacienda* was an office of the royal treasury responsible for accountancy of royal financial matters.

*convento*. Community or dwelling place of religious men or women.

*corregidor*. Local political official. In most cases, the same as an *alcalde mayor*.

*cortadillos*. Small charges used to ignite the powder for a cannon blast.

*coyote*. Person of mixed blood having mestizo and mulatto ancestry.

*custodio*. Guard or watchman; guardian.

*decano*. Senior oidor of an *audiencia*.

*diezmo*. A tithe; church tax of 10 percent.

*diligencia*. General title or category of documents. They could be either administrative or judicial.

*doctrina*. A new conversion or mission; *doctrina* connotes an incipient congregation that is in the process of learning Christian doctrine, usually taught by means of the catechism.

*encomienda*. A grant of specified land and Indian labor made to a colonist; in return the grantee, an *encomendero*, agreed to provide for the Indians' welfare and instruction in Christianity.

*entrada*. Expedition into unknown or unsettled areas. Often associated with the military when the purpose was to confront unpacified natives.



## Glossary

*epazote*. From the Nahuatl word *epazotl*, an aromatic medicinal herb that grows throughout northern Mexico. It is used for the expulsion of worms from children.

*escribano de cabildo*. The secretary or notary of a town council.

*establecimiento de paz*. A settlement of formerly hostile Indians near a presidio.

*estancia*. Landed property; a livestock ranch.

*fanega*. Common unit of dry weight that varied according to the produce being measured.

*fiscal*. Attorney; official of lower rank (highly variable).

*fortaleza*. Military stronghold or fort; also called a *fuerte* or *castillo*, meaning castle. These are distinguished from presidios, which were garrisons specific to frontier regions.

*fuerte*. A military stronghold. See *fortaleza*.

*género*. A monetary unit worth 1½ pesos.

*genízaros*. Refers to plains Indians who, after capture or ransom, were incorporated into colonial society. They were often settled to act as a buffer against depredations on the frontier.

*gente de razón* (*hombres de razón*). Literally, "people of reason." Denoted social or economic superiority, usually reserved for Spaniards or Europeans, distinguishing them from Indians, who were considered uncivilized and therefore called *gente sin razón*, "people without reason."

*gentiles*. Indians who had not been converted to Christianity.

*gobernación*. The government; also an area controlled by a governor.

*hacienda*. Literally, a "doing," which might be a ranch, factory, or investment. Commonly, a large privately owned estate, usually in a rural setting. See also *real hacienda*.

*hechicero*. A native sorcerer or shaman; a medicine man.

*indios de rescate*. General term for Indians who were incorporated into colonial society after capture or ransom.

*informe*. A formal statement or report.

*juez comisario*. An official representative who was given authority in judicial affairs.

*juez general*. A title given to an official who was responsible for leading an investigation or commissioned to lead an official inspection or visita.

*juez pesquisidor*. A judge who conducts inquiries or investigations.

*juez receptor*. A judge in charge of collecting evidence or proof of payments.

*junta*. A gathering of people or committee formed for a specific purpose.

*junta de guerra*. Council of war. A committee of the Council of the Indies that supervised all aspects of military and naval affairs regarding the Americas, including military finances. It was composed of the president and three councilors of the council itself as well as four members of the *consejo de guerra*, an advisory council based in Castile.

*junta general de guerra y hacienda*. Committee of the Viceregal Audiencia in Mexico that advised the viceroy and oidores on all important military and fiscal matters.

*junta superior de la real hacienda*. The highest advisory council regarding fiscal affairs, supervising the final auditing of treasury income and expenditures. It was composed of the viceroy, members of the audiencia, and treasury officials.

## Glossary

*justicia*. Magistrate; officer of the law.

*justicia mayor*. Judge; member of a cabildo or town council who acted as the governor's deputy.

*juzgado de indios*. A special court created in New Spain in 1573 to handle affairs dealing with the abuse of Indians.

*ladino*. A Spanish-speaking Indian.

*latifundio*. A vast rural landholding.

*Leyes Reales*. Used in reference to the "New Laws" of 1542 that theoretically abolished Indian slavery and protected Indians from other injustices.

*libra*. Common unit of weight equal to slightly less than one modern pound.

*licenciado*. One who has become lettered through study at a university and has been awarded a specific degree.

*lobo*. Person of mixed Indian and mestizo ancestry.

*madrina*. Godmother.

*maestro de campo* (*maese de campo*). Field commander; superior military official in charge of a regiment, usually in the infantry.

*marco*. Unit of monetary weight equal to about 230 grams. A *tomín* was equal to about 0.6 grams. A *grano* was the smallest unit of monetary measurement equal to about 0.05 grams.

*mayordomo*. Municipal official attached to the cabildo and serving as the custodian of civic property. Also, a superintendent or foreman of an hacienda.

*mescal*. A generic term for the distilled liquor made from various species of the genus *Agave*. *Bacanora* is mescal made from *Agave angustifolia*. *Lechuguilla* is distilled from *Agave palmeri*.

*mestizo*. Person of mixed European and Indian blood.

*ministro de doctrina*. Title of a priest serving at a mission.

*mitre*. Bishopric; popular colloquial term for bishop.

*mojarra*. A common name for the variety of fish belonging to the species *eucinostomus*. It is a silvery, high-bodied fish with a deeply forked tail.

*mulato*. Person of mixed European and African ancestry.

*Nao de Filipinas*. Literally, "sailing ship of the Philippines"; the Manila galleon.

*nopal*. Nopal or prickly pear cactus.

*norteños*. Literally, "those who are from the north."

*oidor*. Member of an audiencia who served as a judge. An oidor often performed other duties, the most important being the administration of residencias.

*paisano*. Countryman; a Spanish settler or resident.

*partido*. Administrative district within a province or *intendencia*.

*personero*. Administrative agent usually given authority to manage the affairs of a superior.

*peso*. Spanish colonial monetary unit. There were several types of pesos (*de oro*, *de minas*, etc.) but the most common was the silver peso with a value of 8 reales.

## Glossary

*pichilingue*. A Spanish derogatory name for a Dutchman.

*piltontle*. A general Nahuatl term for animals of small size.

*pinole*. Ground cornmeal or parched wheat. Carried dry and consumed after mixing with water or other liquid.

*pita*. Pita is another term for the agave used to make *pulque*, soap, thread, and rope. Also refers to cloth made from agave fiber.

*plaza*. Military post; a military position in a presidio.

*plaza de armas*. Usually a designated area where soldiers gathered and where arms and munitions were stored.

*población*. Small town or village; a populace.

*podatario general*. Individual who had the authority to represent another person in addition to administering and executing his affairs.

*pozole*. A soup made with barley, beans, or hominy with vegetables and sometimes meat.

*presidiales*. Soldiers belonging to a presidio. Refers to the regular army personnel stationed at a presidio.

*procurador*. Attorney; generally, the city or municipal attorney. In religious and military matters, the person in charge of financial and temporal administration.

*provincial*. The religious superior in charge of overseeing all activity of a province.

*quintal*. Unit of dry weight roughly equal to 100 pounds.

*quinto real*. Royal fifth; the royal tax levied by the Spanish treasury on mining production.

*ranchería*. An Indian settlement in which dwellings were usually not permanent and were scattered some distance from one another. A native encampment.

*ranch*. Small privately owned farm or ranch.

*real*. Any place flying the royal banner; a military force or any place it might be stationed (as distinct from *real de mina*).

*real acuerdo*. Royal agreement; accord; members of a tribunal assembled in the form of a court.

*real de mina*. Town or district specializing in mining.

*reales*. Monetary units worth  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a silver peso.

*real hacienda*. Royal treasury.

*real tribunal y audiencia de cuentas*. Official council that audited all royal accounts.

*regidor*. Member of the cabildo.

*reglamento*. A regulation or rule given by royal authority.

*reino*. Kingdom; archaic term for a province or district.

*remuda*. Exchange or re-exchange. In military terms, a relay of horses.

*repartimiento*. Labor draft used to employ Indians in various activities in agriculture, mining, and ranching.

*residencia*. An official review held at the time an officeholder came to the end of his term.

## Glossary

*sargento mayor*. Major; the third in command of a regiment. In frontier areas, often filled by a nonprofessional who was often in command of local forces under the lieutenant captain general.

*sargento mayor de armas*. Officer in charge of military weaponry.

*secretario de gobernación y guerra*. Notary and advisor to the governor of a province. The person holding this position certified all official documents issued in the governor's name.

*señoreaje*. Special tax levied at royal mints.

*tapisque*. Nahuatl term incorporated into Spanish, referring to the forced labor drafts of Indians under the repartimiento system.

*teniente*. Literally, a lieutenant. A soldier authorized to exercise the powers of a ranking person in whose place he served.

*teniente alcalde mayor*. Assistant to the alcalde mayor.

*teniente coronel*. Lieutenant colonel; second in command of an infantry or cavalry unit.

*teniente de alcalde*. Municipal officer who served as deputy mayor.

*teniente mayor*. Lieutenant major.

*tepusque*. From the Nahuatl word *tepuzqui* meaning copper; referred to copper coins minted during the colonial period, often without royal permission.

*tierra firme*. A maritime term referring to the mainland.

*tierras de pan llevar*. A standard Spanish phrase for agricultural lands in a community.

*tinajas*. Rock tanks where rainwater is collected.

*tlatole*. (Nahuatl) Conference, discussion; message stick. The word was frequently used by missionaries and Spanish officials in reference to Indian convocations designed to stir up rebellion.

*tomín*. Unit of monetary weight equal to  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a peso de oro.

*vale*. Farewell or valediction; also approval or acceptance.

*vaquero*. Cowboy.

*vara*. Common unit of linear measure of approximately 33 inches. A *legua*, or Spanish league, consisted of 5,000 varas. A *tercio* is one-third of a vara.

*vecino*. Citizen of good standing; usually a property owner.

*villa*. Chartered settlement with royally defined privileges; town.

*visita*. (1) Official visit or inspection made for the purpose of gathering information. (2) A visiting station, church, or settlement on the circuit of a priest or missionary.

*visitador*. Person making the visita; an inspector.

*visitador general*. Individual making an inspection of an entire kingdom or province. The inspection could be conducted by an oidor of the Viceregal Audiencia. Ideally, however, such a general inspection would be presided over by a person appointed in Spain who had no ties of any sort to the colony.



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